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Deborah P. Britzman
University of Massachusetts Amherst

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REALITY AND RITUAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY
OF STUDENT TEACHERS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Deborah P. Britzman

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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School of Education

REALITY AND RITUAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY
OF STUDENT TEACHERS
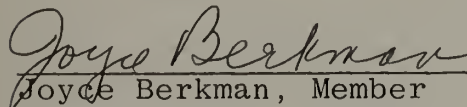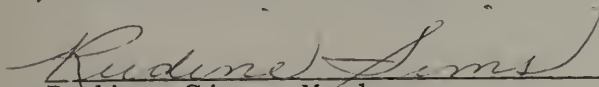

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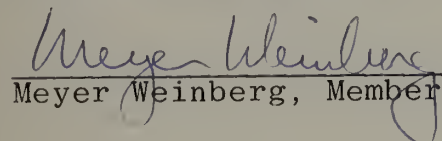Approved as to style and content by:

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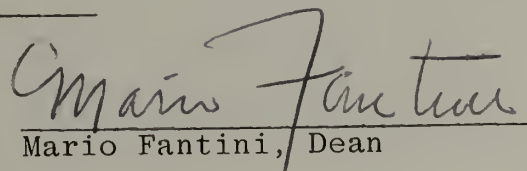
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Joyce Berkman, Member

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Rudine Sims, Member

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Meyer Weinberg, Member

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Mario Fantini, Dean

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initially led to this study's ethnographic design. Meyer Weinberg consistantly demanded my best. Throughout the dissertation process, Meyer thoughtfully and critically responded to each page of this manuscript. Our discussions on critical theory, ideology, and social change are reflected in this work. Dr. Rudine Sims introduced me to the field of psycholinguistics and reading, a theory which has strongly influenced this work. Her classroom teaching style represents the best in teacher education. As a committee member, Dr. Sims' comments were encouraging and thoughtful. Dr. Joyce Berkman, of the History Department, consistantly shared her enthusiasm, support and insightful editorial skills. Dr. Berkman's concern for quality education is reflected in her teaching efforts and her relationship with students.

No one knows this study and my own struggles as my best friend and colleague, Dr. Catherine Walsh. Along with her skillful editing efforts, critical eye, and friendship, our endless dialogues on critical theory, political struggle and problems of social change in education continue to be significant in my development.

ABSTRACT

Reality and Ritual: An Ethnographic
Study of Student Teachers

May, 1985

Deborah P. Britzman, B.A., University of Massachusetts

M.Ed., University of Massachusetts

Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Emma Cappelluzzo

Utilizing ethnographic methods of participant/
observation and in-depth interviews, this study critically
reconstructs the unfolding interaction between the student
teacher's biography and the social structure of the school
during student teaching. How this interaction frames the
student teacher's developing images of the work of teachers
and their understanding of and place in institutional life is
also examined. Built upon the tenets of critical theory,
this study depicts socialization as characterized by con-
tradictions, and as a complex movement between the self,
significant others, the curriculum, and the social structure.

Two secondary student teachers in the areas of lan-
guage arts and social studies were followed throughout their
four month internship. Two separate case studies, contextual-
izing student teaching within the life history of each

student teacher were then reconstructed. Professional significant others who in some way had contact with student teachers were also interviewed about their life experiences in teacher education. These people included: cooperating teachers, school administrators, a university supervisor and a professor of teacher education. An account of their interviews comprises a separate chapter.

Addressing the question, how do social forces frame the student teacher's understanding of school life and the work of teachers, this study found that student teachers internalize the ethos of individuality and privatism which pervades school culture. This cult of individualism encourages a false sense of autonomy and a push for social control while obscuring the reality of isolation, negotiation and dependency, significant features of institutional life. As these student teachers were formerly highly socialized students, their entrance into the familiar school territory encouraged an evocation of and dependence on their student biography to inform pedagogical decisions. This cultural lens reduced the social complexity of teaching to that of individual classroom performance. They lacked the critical understanding to analyze and transform how their circumstance shaped them and how they shaped their circumstance. Three

cultural myths embedded in the school culture and internal-
ized by all participants were then analyzed. They are:
1) Everything depends on the teacher; 2) teachers are expert
bearers and distributors of cultural information; 3) teachers
are self made. Each of these myths, while reifying the
problems of personal development, social activity and
knowledge, served to obscure the mutual webs of dependency
and power struggles operating in institutional life. The
participants' values of individuality and autonomy, pro-
moted by the social structure of education, significantly
neutralized the institutional contradictions which framed
their work. This study concluded that continuity rather
than discontinuity characterizes teacher socialization and
significantly delays critical understanding of how in-
stitutional values become internalized to frame the student
teacher's practice.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF TEACHER EDUCATION

The mass experience of public education has made teaching one of the most socially familiar professions in United States society. Life in the classroom connects the world of teachers and students; it constitutes the shared culture of the schools. So those entering teacher training appear to resettle in an accustomed world. They bring with them their educational biography and some well worn notions and common-sensical images of the teacher's work. This cultural baggage often frames their perceptions of and responses to the experience of teacher training.

The familiarity of the teaching profession has given rise to its popular cultural images and myths. These images and myths are as much a reflection of the cultural tensions of the schools as they are of the teaching experience itself. But like any cultural myth, they neither explain the actual conditions of teaching nor the life of the teacher. Rather, they symbolize the larger culture's latent desires, ideals, fears and ambivalencies about compulsory education. For example, the often quoted axiom, "Those who can do, those who cannot, teach," reflects the social ambivalence toward the profession. Here, the work of teachers is reduced to

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idle talk. This axiom also infers a laziness. Teachers are depicted as lacking real skill. A related image concerns the popular idea that experience makes the teacher. This image underscores the activity of teaching, while denigrating reflection and theory. Again, the skills which may inform the teacher's work are missing in popular sense. Teachers are reduced to either talkers or doers.

Stereotypical images of teachers abound. If one is said to "look like a teacher," that person is thought to resemble the subject content she/he teaches. Teachers are said to look "bookish", "brainy", "like a nark", "a big head", "mean", or, as in the case of women, "old-maidish". Indeed, many of the stereotypes commonly associated with women teachers are profoundly sexist and reveal a disdain for the teaching profession's female roots[1] Trapped within these images, teachers come to resemble things or conditions, rather than the people they are. So called favorable images characterize the teacher as selfless. The "good" teacher is presented as self-sacrificing, kind, overworked, underpaid, and holding an unlimited reservoir of patience. Although these attributes are also applied to women, these so called feminine qualities become neutralized when applied to the "good" teacher. Waller observed,

> We may say that (the) favorable stereotype represents the community ideal of what a teacher ought to be and that the unfavorable one represents the common opinion of what a teacher actually is" (Waller, 1961:419).

Since Waller first observed the role of teachers over fifty years ago, the prevalent stereotypical images of his time have persisted.

Regardless of each stereotype's connotation, teachers continue to be a mystified population. Their role is perceived as separate from the humanity which assumes it and from the social context in which teachers are a part. Consequently, how the complexity of school culture significantly shapes both the work and images of teachers become invisible. Instead, teachers are perceived as having sole responsibility for what occurs. There remains a socially pervasive blame the victim mentality when it comes to considering the teacher's world. So when teachers step into their role, they must also come to terms with these socially and institutionally embedded cultural myths.

Teachers themselves are not strangers to these myths. Their prior student experience has allowed these myths to be both learned and internalized. In this sense, the over-familiarity of the teacher's role often insures their cultural persistence. Individual teachers may challenge these images but, overall, they are so pervasively accepted as to appear natural. The cultural myths which characterize the work of teachers become part of the hidden curriculum of schools and as such, informally internalized by its participants.

Regardless of the cultural caricatures teachers confront, the problem of what teaching does to teachers is a shared problem of both schools and teacher training institutions. Over the last fifty years, the actual work and preparation of teachers remain a significant research problem in the world of educational research. The bulk of this research, however, has ignored this fundamental problem, possibly because educational researchers do not employ research methods which allow them to consider the school setting as a complex social, cultural and political site. Instead, most researchers approach the school as an instructional site, which reduces the teacher's role to that of instructors rather than as mediators in a social, hierarchical and compulsory institution. Consequently, a significant amount of this research has addressed the problem of instructional effectiveness, inadverently individualizing the problem of teacher education. Critical description of the daily world of teachers and students from the vantage point of its participants is rarely addressed.

This problem becomes even more heightened in the actual education of teachers, particularly in the last stage, student teaching. Here, researchers are in agreement: little is known about how to prepare teachers (Conant, 1963; Koerner, 1963; Sarason, 1962; Waller, 1961). The underlying reasons behind this problem, however, remain subject to

dispute. Consequently, the last fifty years of research on teacher socialization are characterized by an argumentative tone. In this literature, three dominant themes recur: (1) the disagreement over whether there exists a relationship between teacher training and the actual work and human situations teachers confront; (2) how the relationship between the individual and the school as social structure effect the work of teachers; (3) and a call for critical examination, based on in-depth description, of the meaning teacher education holds to its participants. However, the discord between educators and researchers on the purposes, functions and consequences of student teaching are a recurring underlying problem, affecting research on student teacher socialization as well as the living experience of student teachers.

Education students intimately experience the role ambiguity inherent in the circumstances of student teaching. Although educators may assume the student teaching period to be primarily a learning activity, education students receive a different message. To the education students, teaching is a "sink or swim" profession and student teaching is the final test in their teacher education. Knowing they must "sink or swim" alone creates a quite and private desperation within themselves. Internalized, this desperation becomes part of the cultural baggage (i.e., collective

life experience) the student teacher brings to the experience of student teaching. More than any other aspect of their teacher education, the activity of student teachers dramatically reveals teaching to be not only a problematic social process but also a problematic personal relationship.

Statement of the Problem

Student teaching is usually the culminating point in teacher training. During these six to sixteen weeks, pedagogical theory acquired throughout university teacher training is supposed to merge with pedagogical practice. Under the guidance of a classroom teacher and a university supervisor, the student teacher leaves her/his observation-apprenticeship (Lortie, 1975) cultivated in both the experience of compulsory education and teacher training, and enters the world of practice-apprenticeship. Yet, the role of student teacher is both constricting and conflicting. Part student, part teacher, the experience of student teaching is also an exercise in role marginality, social dependency, and an initiation into the cultural tensions of the profession.

Despite these complex conditions, student teaching remains the most active and genuine experience in teacher training. Indeed, for most students, it appears to be the

last gas station before the desert, the final stop on the road to becoming a teacher. Supposedly, student teaching determines the personal decision of whether or not one pursues teaching as a career. It may also affect the perspectives and frame of reference one brings into the teaching profession.

Decades of research on teacher education have produced little agreement as to what makes a teacher or how one becomes a teacher. Indeed, "Teacher education has been one of the stormier sectors of higher education for decades" (Tynack, 1967:412). Like compulsory education, institutions of teacher education are more than instructional sites; they are also political and cultural sites, mirroring every form of social conflict and contradiction experienced by the larger society. Similarly, the socialization of pre-service teachers is as problematic as the socialization of children in compulsory education. Research on both sectors of the population constitutes a perpetual argument over effectiveness, techniques, consequences, the roles of significant others, and the quality of life each population experiences.

Further, there is much dispute over appropriate research methods and questions to ask when examining the socialization process in teacher education. But, given the lack of descriptive studies in the process of becoming a teacher, the appropriate research question is not, how do we make

effective teachers, but, rather, what is the experience of becoming a teacher like to those involved in this process (Fuller and Brown, 1975; Zeichner, 1980).

Although there exists an extensive literature concerning the socialization of student teachers, an overwhelming amount of this literature is rooted in quantitative research procedures. This research focuses on the discovery and isolation of discrete variables in student teacher socialization--change of attitudes, levels of dogmatism, the effects of working in a bureaucracy, and student teacher attitudes toward classroom control. Decontextualized outcomes rather than contextualized experience characterize this research. The student teacher is presented as a cultural puppet, manipulated by the strings of socialization and social structure. Somehow, student teaching appears as an external experience about to happen to the student teacher.

Most research does not view student teaching as problematic, but rather as a taken for granted ritual which can be organized more efficiently to insure a smoother transition from student to teacher. Nor does this literature address what Maxine Greene has called, "the matter of mystification" in teacher training, that is, the deceitfully simplistic knowledge of the world which teacher training reproduces (Greene, 1978).

Few studies have detailed the daily world of the student teacher. Even fewer studies have explored the ideas, perspectives, beliefs, and cultural baggage the student teacher brings to student teaching. Finally, no study has examined the unfolding interaction between the student teacher's biography and the social structure of the school. That is, no study has contextualized student teaching within the life history of the student teacher and analyzed how biography frames the perceptions, activities and meanings student teachers construct during their internship.

The problematic nature and meaning student teaching holds for the student teacher remains little understood. This study, then, describes and analyzes the interaction between the student teacher's biography and the social structure of the school and looks at how this interaction affects the student teacher's socialization experience and the developing images of the teaching profession.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore, describe and reconstruct the world of the student teacher from the perspective of the secondary social studies and language arts student teacher. The following questions serves as guidelines:

1. What is the world of student teaching like for the student teacher?

2. What life experiences do student teachers use throughout their student teaching which may shape their construction of meanings, teacher perspectives, interpretations, and responses to situations in student teaching?

3. Who and what is important to the student teacher during student teaching?

4. When does the social, cultural, and political milieu of the school and community become revealed to the student teacher and how does this knowledge affect the quality of meaning the student teacher constructs?

5. What types of ideological images and perspectives does the student teacher develop, legitimize and internalize during student teaching? How are these images connected to their activities and world?

6. What meanings do student teachers construct from their daily routines?

7. How does the student teacher clarify the conflict, contradictions, and marginality inherent in her/ his role?

Based upon these guiding questions, the methodology of ethnography was chosen as the most fitting approach to this study.

The Significance of the Study

A distinguishing feature of the research on student teacher socialization is its lack of rich descriptive studies which focus on the daily life experiences of the student teacher. This is surprising, given the consistent call within this literature for in-depth analysis based on

description of the student teaching process (Eddy, 1969;
Horowitz, 1973; Iannaccone, 1963; Maddox, 1968; Sarason
et al., 1962; Zeichner and Grant, 1981). The handful of
descriptive studies which currently exist, however, either
lack analytical power or focus solely on the student
teacher's dependence on significant others (deVoss, 1979;
Ralston, 1980; Zeichner and Grant, 1981). There remains a
need for an interactive focus which considers the collective
social experience the student teacher brings to student
teaching and how the student teacher negotiates new meanings
based upon her/his prior knowledge and experience.

The most recent literature on student teachers
recognizes that the student teaching experience is not an
isolated activity and that it does not exist in a vacuum.
This literature argues that student teaching is a dynamic
social process (Tabachnick, 1981). For the student teacher,
the process of student teaching is both a culmination of
her/his total educational experience and a transitional
period symbolizing the first significant rite of passage in
becoming a teacher (Eddy, 1969; Iannaccone, 1963;
Pataniczek and Isaacon, 1981; Zeichner and Grant, 1981).
The process of student teaching, then, encompasses the
movement between the student's past, present, and future.
It is not a predetermined fate but a process of becoming.
This literature calls for rich descriptions of particular

student teachers' experiences which take into account the problematic interplay between biography and social structure (Lacey, 1975; Tabachnick, Popkewitz and Zeichner, 1979-1980; Zeichner and Grant, 1981).

Rather than portray student teachers as mere puppets, this study dialectically analyzed the multifaceted dimensions of the student teacher socialization process as the student teacher actively participated in her/his socialization. This study viewed the student teacher as actively constructing her/his world, while at the same time, confronting circumscribed conditions. There is a strong need for descriptive analysis of the process of how student teachers shape themselves, as well as how they are shaped by their experience (Dow, 1979; Lacey, 1977; Zeichner and Grant, 1981).

As no other study has critically reconstructed the world of the student teacher, this study is a pioneering contribution to the literature of the becoming a teacher. A review of the literature to this date indicates that no one has approached the study of student teachers from an ethnographic perspective which focuses on the movement between biography and social structure and how this movement affects the cognitive and emotional understanding of the student teacher.

This study may provide critical insight into the social forces and cultural tensions which shape the quality of personal and professional experience within school settings. It may clarify the impeding contradictions and promotive conditions which affect the integration of pedagogical theory with its practice during the teaching event. Consequently, this study may also raise novel questions for research.

The results of this study may hold implications for teacher training, broadly perceived. The descriptive style of this study is meant for educational practitioners, future teachers and academicians. This study, could, therefore be of interest to people concerned with understanding the nature and meaning of student teaching from the student teacher's perspective. Because the participants and their contexts are real, this study may give the reader a vicarious and emphathetic understanding of what it takes to participate as a student teacher.

Definition of Terms

Becoming refers to, "a fleeting, ephemeral quality and the surprise of unanticipated combinations from among the infinite variety of interactions which are possible" (Tabachnick, 1981:79).

Commonsensical knowledge refers to an understanding of reality grounded in an uncritical acceptance and interpretation of experience.

Cultural baggage refers to the summation of educational, cultural and social life experiences prior to and including teacher training which the student teacher brings to student teaching.

Embeddedness refers to, "Regular patterns of social behavior, social routines, and belief systems which form the anticipations and preconceptions which we bring to an event" (Tabachnick, 1981:78).

Ethos refers to the distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature or guiding beliefs of a person, group or institution (Lacey, 1977).

Ethnographic refers to a thick description of a cultural scene or event from that culture's perspective (Geertz, 1973).

Hidden Curriculum refers to an arena of activities and structures characterized by unexamined assumptions. The hidden curriculum concerns the relationship between formalized intended outcomes and informal learning processes of teachers and students.

Ideology refers to a set of beliefs and values which may guide social practice but also provide an idealized framework for interpreting reality.

Internalization refers to the process by which an activity, perspective or goal becomes incorporated consciously or unconsciously into one's subjective character.

Legitimation refers to the process whereby particular values, attitudes and activities are sanctioned and approved.

Perspectives refer to "a coordinated set of actions and ideas a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation; a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about acting in a particular situation" (Becker et al., 1961:34).

Problematic refers to conflictive and contradictory forces, events, situations or activities which comprise, encompass and transform social phenomena.

Role Marginality refers to the student teacher's distance from the teacher's role. The experience of role marginality is characterized by feelings of alienation and powerlessness (Cappelluzzo, 1983).

Routinization refers to the repetition of activity whereby the effects of that activity may remain unexamined and become routine (Cappelluzzo, 1983).

Social Structure refers to "the supporting frame or form of an organization which dtermines aspects and patterns of social relationships and social behavior with particular reference to the power and prestige within those interactions" (Dobbert, 1982:157-160).

Socialization refers to an impartial dialectical process of acculturation which encompass the process of becoming (Lortie, 1975).

Student Teacher's Perspectives refer to, "the ways in which students think about their work and the ways in which they give meaning to these beliefs and actions in the classroom" (Zeichner and Grant, 1981:310).

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitations of this study are those of the research methodology employed. Because this study focused on the experience of two student teachers and their network of professional significant others, the study's findings are highly specific and contextually dependent. Although this study will not be generalizable to broad populations of all student teachers, it is intended to raise questions and suggest research directions which go beyond these specific cases. However, because this study captured a fleeting moment in the lives of two student teachers, its results are like a photograph, capable of framing one unrepeatable condition in specific student teachers' lives. Similarly, this study's scope is as much a reflection of the researcher and what the resercher observed and elicited, as it is what the participants chose to reveal.

As a result, this study's focus is to describe the world of two student teachers. It does not suggest a model for change in supervision practices, relationships with significant others, or recruitment practices of student teachers and their placements. Rather, this study attempted to problematize the process of current teacher training practices as they were experienced by two student teachers.

Because this study focused on the actual experience and meaning of student teaching as it occurred, it will not benefit from the student teacher's historical hindsight which can enrich the interpretation of one's student teaching experience. Rather, the time frame of this study is the ethnographic present and how the student teacher's perceptions of her/his past and future heightened present meaning.

The student teachers are the primary actors in this study. The people with whom they interacted and the communities in which they were a part serve as the backdrop. The context of these student teachers, however, frame their possibilities as well as their limitations.

FOOTNOTES

[1]By the establishment of the common school movement
(1893), women constituted the overwhelming majority of its
trainee population and thus the actual teachers. Two
related factors are attributed to the number of women of
who entered teaching through the normal school in the
nineteenth century: (1) women were a large source of cheap
labor; and (2) the prevailing social ideology that women
were natural teachers of children due to their biology. It is
also noted that although women were the primary teacher
labor force, they rarely achieved managerial status. To
this date, the overwhelming majority of school administators
are men.
    For a feminist analysis of the historic role of women
in the teaching profession, see Freedman, Jackson and Boles,
"The Other End of the Corridor: The Effect of Teaching on
Teachers," Radical Teacher, No. 23 (1983), p. 2.

C H A P T E R   I I

RESEARCH ON STUDENT TEACHER SOCIALIZATION

A review of the literature on student teacher socialization reveals a contradictory literature of opposing values, perspectives, findings, and prescriptions. This literature's tensions begin with researchers' tacit assumptions about the nature of socialization and experience, the culture of professional life, and the participants' roles within these processes. Whether socialization is viewed as a problematic, an initiation rite, or a unilateral process, largely determines each study's argument. These assumptions affect the choice of the research methodology, the research instruments, and the scope of the research problem.

Despite this literature's argumentative tone with regards to meanings, processes, and consequences of student teacher socialization, two conclusions can be drawn. First, most research in this area has been historically limited by its quasi-experimental design (Bellack, 1978). Statistical outcomes and linear relations which reflect standardized instruments rather than in-depth examinations of actual student teacher experiences, shape and constrain these research findings. This literature review, then, demonstrates that the consequences of an over-reliance on

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outcomes of student teaching contributes to a deterministic conception of socialization while at the same time, ignores the social forces and cultural tensions which shape this very process. Second, over the last sixty years, there has been a consistent call for qualitative research which can illuminate the process of student teacher socialization by contextualizing the social interactions and perspectives of the student teacher. This need is significantly under-scored in the most recent literature which posits student teacher socialization as an interactive process encompassing both the biography of the student teacher and the social structure of educational settings.

Five broad categories of literature on student teacher socialization are examined in this literature review. Each category carries its own set of assumptions on the nature and consequences of student teacher socialization, and seeks to situate who and what influences the student teacher's philosophy, attitudes, values, behaviors, meanings, and professional images constructed during student teaching.

The categories of literature reviewed in this chapter are: 1) the literature written for student teachers; 2) the role of significant others in student teacher socialization; 3) the role of social structure in this socialization process; 4) the role of self in socialization; and 5) inter-active forces in student teacher socialization.

Literature Written for Student Teachers

Although the overwhelming bulk of research is
addressed to teacher educators, educational researchers, and
to a lesser extent, professionals in the field, there does
exist a small but historically outmoded body of literature
specifically addressed to student teachers. This literature
is characterized by its stress on mechanistic adaptation to
the teacher role and school structure. It is a literature
of advice, warnings and recipes. A brief examination of
this literature reveals the student teacher's depiction as
powerless and marginal.

One of the earliest books written for student teachers
is titled, Basic Principles of Student Teaching (Adams and
Dickey, 1956). As the book's title suggests, these authors
support the functionalist notion that learning to teach is
reducible to basic principles. Accordingly, student
teaching is "essentially a learning activity" where cognitive
principles are applied.

> Functionally speaking, student teaching becomes the
> experience resulting from the interaction of the
> student teacher with an environment designed to
> produce changes in his behavior aimed toward
> becoming a teacher. (Adams and Dickey, 1956:22)

According to these authors, student teachers, manipulated
and conditioned by the classroom environment, adapt to the
teacher role. In this guidebook, student teaching is

presented as a relatively painless process, primarily
involving following directions. Situations of conflict,
uncertainty, and power struggles are non-existent. The
world of teaching appears ahistoric, static, and reified.

Green's (1959) slim volume of thirty-nine open-ended
critical incidents collected from student teachers, focuses
more on warnings than advice. These problem situations
are meant to convey the student teacher's necessary
adaptation to authority. Incidents range from "The case
of the lost I.Q.", which warns student teachers never to
take school records out of the office, to "Blood in the
sink", which stresses the importance of a first-aid kit
for every classroom, to the devastating "Hit and run
accident", which underscores the importance of cross-walk
duty. The author's implied goal is to inform the prospec-
tive student teacher of the possible consequences of
unintentional behavior and the necessity for implementing
school rules.

The most recent book to date written for student
teachers is Meyer's (1981) The Student Teacher on the Firing
Line. Despite its dramatic title, this handbook follows in
the footsteps of its predecessors. It is filled with hints,
advice, and warnings, as well as a short course in "Pop"
psychology. This handbook also stresses adaptation to
student teaching constraints.

The outstanding features of these three "character-istic" books on student teaching include: a paternalistic tone, a simplistic and reductionist view of the activity of teachers, and an idealization of both the role of the student teacher and the teacher. None of the books mention issues of race, sex, class, culture, or power. The tone of each book assumes that the reader is more student-like than teacher-like, perpetuating student-like perceptions of classroom life rather than teacher world views. The teacher's role appears to be similar to the function of shoes: stepping into the shoes insures walking away as a teacher. This portrait of student teaching is substantiated by much of the research on student teacher socialization. Finally, these guidebooks subtly support the mistaken notion, "If I can get through student teaching, I will be a teacher". (Ryan, et.al., 1980)

The Roles of Significant Others

Any theory of adult professional socialization must identify the primary socializing agents (Edgar and Warren, 1969). This identification is justified by the notion that self-perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors are influenced by relationships with other people (Davis and Davis, 1980). Professional socialization, then, reflects the individual's acceptance of the interplay between personal commitment and

organizational power constructs supported by significant others.[1]

⋅   The research which focuses on the influence of the significant others in student teacher socialization assumes socialization to be no more than an adaptation to the expectations and directives of others. Adaptation is said to be accomplished by imitation, operant conditioning and reinforcement (Copeland, 1979). In the case of the student teacher, socialization is primarily influenced by people who, in some way, are more powerful than the student teacher. Five types of roles constitute the search for significant others: 1) the role of the cooperating teacher; 2) the role of the classroom students; 3) the role of past teaching models; 4) the role of the university supervisor; and 5) the role of peers.

The Cooperating Teacher: Mirror/Model Theory

    The belief that the cooperating teacher's influence dominates the student teacher's teacher training period is partially rooted in the historic function of student teaching.

    Historically, student teaching appears to have
    consisted of imitation and repeated practice of a
    particular method by normal school professor and
    demonstrated by the model teacher. (Andrews,
    1964:14)

Like an apprentice, the student teacher learns to teach by imitating the practice of the master teacher. That the cooperating teacher is the most accessible model with which the student teacher is in direct daily contact is assumed to be a second reason for the cooperating teacher's overriding influence. A third reason, is the evaluative and professional power inherent in the cooperating teacher's role (Edgar and Warren, 1969). Student teachers may have little choice but to emulate their cooperating teachers.

Several studies support the hypothesis that the cooperating teachers are the primary influence of student teachers' attitudes and methods. Iannaccone documents the influence of the cooperating teacher as that of teaching student teachers ". . . how to get a relatively large group of pupils through a lesson or unit of lessons within a limited amount of time" (Iannaccone, 1963:73). By the middle of the student teaching experience, the student teachers in his study identified more with the cooperating teacher than with the university. The student teachers had rationalized away their initial horror at their cooperating teachers' practices. Yee's (1969) study utilized the Minnesota Teaching Attitude Inventory (MTAI) in a pre/post experimental design to determine if student teachers' attitudes toward classroom control would converge with those of their cooperating teachers. He found, "the

attitudes of student teachers generally reflect the pre-
dominent influence of their cooperating teachers" (Yee,
1969:331).

Zevin (1974) supports the hypothesis that cooperating
teachers exert dominant influence in shaping the behavior
of their assigned student teachers regardless of the
philosophy of the teacher training program. In this study,
twenty-five secondary social studies student teachers were
assigned to cooperating teachers who used the traditional
lecture/recitation classroom instruction approach. Twenty-
five others were assigned to inquiry-oriented teachers. In
this study, all the student teachers conformed to their
respective cooperating teacher's instructional methods.[2]

Campbell and Williamson (1973) found an increase in
student teacher dogmatism during student teaching.
Attributing this increase in dogmatism to both the
personality structure of the student teacher as well as the
influence of the cooperating teacher, they recommend careful
placement and teacher training which foster open attitudes.

Five studies failed to find the dominance of the
cooperating teacher's influence during student teaching.
Boschee, Prescott and Hein (1978) attempted to measure the
effect cooperating teachers have on the educational
philosophy of the student teacher by utilizing the measure,
"What is Your E.P.?" (Jersin, 1972). Each question and

possible response represent positions on educational issues
which correspond to traditional liberal and conservative
educational philosophies. Although these researchers had
methodological difficulties, they found no student teacher's
educational philosophy related to that of her/his cooperating
teacher, and the student teacher's educational philosophy was
not a function of grade placement. The findings of Nelson
and Amhed (1972) support those of Boschee, Prescott and
Hein's results; the student teaching experience was shown
to have no effect on the value orientations of student
teachers.

Horowitz (1968) focused on the relationship between
cooperating teacher and student teacher goal dimensions in
terms of attitudes toward classroom control and teacher
role. These findings revealed that at the start of student
teaching, student teachers are more concerned with personal
needs (idiographic dimension) and less concerned with the
expectations of others (nomothetic dimensions). By the end
of student teaching, student teachers experience a subtle
shift of concerns.

> If we look at the school as a social institution
> embedded in a larger culture, but also with
> cultural characteristics of its own, then we can
> describe the change on the part of the student
> teachers as one of acculturation from student to
> teacher. Students become more like teachers, more
> nomothetic, whether or not they are assigned to
> cooperating teachers who score high nomethetically.
> The total experience effects this change.
> (Horowitz, 1968:323).

This research supports the hypothesis that student teaching, an early stage of the teacher acculturation process, is affected by a number of conservative forces.

Friebus' (1977) findings demonstrate that student teachers look to pupils and college supervisors for indications of success and failure and to their cooperating teachers only for coaching (i.e., ideas and suggestions) purposes. In this study, cooperating teachers are presented more as helpers than as dominant socializing agents. Although coaching should not be viewed separately from one's philosophic positions on education, student teachers may choose not to listen to suggestions from their cooperating teachers.

If cooperating teachers influence student teachers, do student teachers influence cooperating teachers? Rosenfeld (1969) examines this question in terms of the change in the degree of dogmatism and professional rapport of cooperating teachers. Utilizing the MTAI and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale in a pre/post test fashion, Rosenfeld tested cooperating teachers and pre-tested their student teachers. The results support the hypothesis that student teachers affect the attitudes of their cooperating teacher. That is, the cooperating teacher's initial attitudes registered during the pre-tests, had, by the post-test, become more congruent to those of the student teachers.

"There is reason to suspect that the student teacher wields more power than those in a position of apprentice normally do" (Rosenfeld, 1969:43).

A significant problem of the studies which focus solely on the cooperating teacher's influence over the student teacher is their deterministic view of socialization (Zeichner, 1980a). These studies assume that socialization is a hierarchical, unidirectional process, where the dominant authority (cooperating teacher) determines the subordinate's consciousness (student teacher). Here, the attitudes, philosophies, and methods of the cooperating teacher are viewed as static and isolated variables which can be decontextualized from the social setting. "There is an emphasis on the measurement of outcomes rather than on the reflective nature of the socialization process that contributes to those outcomes" (Friebus, 1977:264).

These studies raise further issues. The social dynamics of power inherent in both the organization of schools and in teacher roles are not considered. Neither are the varieties of social strategies the student teacher may employ to alter and negotiate situations. Finally, the role of the teacher is depicted as,

> a form of life that appears as external to its members. . .[this role conception] denied its members as self-constituting and therefore free, social individuals. (Bologh, 1979:9).

Consequently, both the role of the teacher and student teacher is objectified and appears as fixed.

Research solely utilizing standardized questionnaires in a pre/post test design also raises issues of validity. Shipman's (1967) study suggests that the student teacher's questionnaire response depends upon the participant's preconceived ideological expectations of the environment. Shipmen's attitude questionnaire was administered to the same population twice, first in their school setting, and then in their university. The students in Shipman's study expressed two levels of professional values: a conservative set in schools, and a liberal set in universities. Shipman labeled this behavior impression management, the ability to manipulate values according to the dictates of the environment. Studies based on standardized measures may be more a reflection of environmental fiat than the partici- pant's consciousness. Another aspect of contradictory behavior is demonstrated in the divergence between people's thought and their activity. Keddie (1971) and, Sharp and Green (1975) demonstrate that teachers' ideologies do not necessarily correspond to or determine their classroom behavior. In order to locate these contradictions, on-site observations and interviews must be employed. These methods will allow comparisons between attitudes and behaviors.

The Role of Classroom Students

Two studies of children's influence on their teachers
illustrate childrens' socializing power. Fiedler (1975)
demonstrates that the reciprocal nature of classroom inter-
action provides children with the space to negotiate for
power in the classroom. This study supports the hypothesis
that socialization is bi-directional, characterized by
negotiation rather than adaptation. On the other hand,
Haller's study (1967) answers the question, In what ways
do children influence the behavior of teachers outside the
classroom? Utilizing in-depth interviewing techniques
outside the classroom, Haller focused on the speech
patterns of elementary school teachers. His findings
demonstrated that elementary teachers become more child-
like in their speech patterns and that ". . . mode
complexity may be influenced by the setting" (Haller, 1967:
327).

In the only study of its kind, Kronowitz (1982)
explored early elementary school children's perceptions of
student teachers. This study revealed that children's
perceptions of and behavior toward student teachers were
affected by what they had been previously told by their
classroom teacher about the role of the student teacher in
their classroom.

> If children are told that student teachers are
> helpers, they will perceive and thus act
> differently than had they been told the new
> comer was a co-teacher or a person learning to
> become a teacher. (Kronowitz, 1982:80)

This finding, taken together with Fielder's study, is significant. If children negotiate for power in the classroom, aspects of this negotiation process will be affected by the children's role perception of both the student teacher and the teacher. This is an area in need of further study.

Classroom students' socializing power may also become heightened by the student teacher's perception. That is, student teachers may transfer their power to their students. Friebus (1977) utilizes in-depth interviews throughout the student teacher semester to understand student teachers' perceptions of significant others. This study demonstrates that student teachers look to their students for legitimation as well as for measures of success and failure. Evidently, the student teacher perceives the classroom students to have significant power in effecting their teaching success.

The student teacher's over-identification with the student role is another way classroom students become powerful. This over-identification is due to the fact that student teachers are still primarily students during their training period. Moreover, they have held this status for

the majority of their lives. Consequently, many researchers report that the student teacher's initial and most powerful identification is with her/his classroom students rather than her/his teachers (Fuller and Brown, 1975; Klein and Pereira, 1970; Lortie, 1975; Wright and Tuska, 1968).

The student teacher's identification with classroom students influences her/his teaching behavior, the meaning and perspectives brought to student teaching, and the process of negotiation for classroom power. In the case of classroom teaching behavior, student teachers often generalize their past student experience into applied categories of acceptable and unacceptable pedagogy (deVoss, 1979; Fuller and Brown, 1975; Klein and Pereira, 1970). If, for example, the student teacher's previous student experiences with spelling tests were negative, this form of evaluation is likely to be either avoided or altered in such a way so as to relieve its negative connotations. Similarly, in the case of negotiation for classroom power, if the student teacher brings issues of control into the classroom, negotiation will be a significantly structured process. This over-identification with students is attributed to the structure of student teaching (Ralston, 1980; Wright and Tuska, 1968), as well as the student teacher's prior student experience (Lortie, 1975).

In a recent ethnographic study of the student's world in a junior high school, Everhart (1983) described how students come to understand the work of teachers. Their understanding of teacher's work was based on their years of classroom observation.

> From the student point of view, there was little else involved in what teachers did in the classroom other than represented in this simple 'factory model' of learning; that is, the teachers pouring in the facts and the students pouring them back in the form of papers and tests. Students had little, if any conception of teachers planning lessons, debating alternatives of what to teach, agonizing over grading, the treatment of a student, wondering if their teaching had an effect, or anything like that. The student picture of teachers provided little room for emotion, with the exception of that associated with student violation of school standards. The teacher's world, in the student's eyes, was straightforward and linear, hardly complex at all. (Everhart, 1983:74)

The simplification of the teacher's work is a direct result of the context from which this work is viewed. What students tend to observe is the consequences of teacher preparation, school policy, curricula mandates, and school routine. The actual work and world of teachers remained hidden from the student's view. Beyond student recognition that teachers had more "police-like" power in the classroom, students perceived the work of teachers as similar to their own work. Consequently, teacher's work was reduced to mere classroom performance. Indeed, years of observing the work of teachers allowed students to accept and internalize this image as natural. Student teachers are not immune from

receiving this particular image of the teacher's work. Their student biography may inadvertently frame these images which is then carried into student teaching.

Students, then, through years of classroom experience have very specific expectations of how teachers act in the classroom. A significant expectation is that teachers must maintain classroom control (Everhart, 1983; Descombe, 1982; Woods, 1980). Student expectations for teacher directed classroom control are rooted in the compulsory features of school settings. The fact that students are mandated by law to attend school may affect the shape of their classroom participation. Often, compulsory attendance does incur student antagonism toward schooling which is then projected on to the teacher (Corrigan, 1979; Everhart, 1983; Waller, 1961; Willis, 1977). Both teachers and students are socialized to accept this antagonism as natural. Indeed, a commonly accepted school axiom is that if the teacher does not control the class, the class will control the teacher. These mutual expectations function to frame the student teacher's classroom behavior.

Another expectation students bring to their classrooms, rooted in the teacher's role of curriculum presenter, is that teachers must appear certain in their knowledge. Whether teachers are described as "big-heads" (Corrigan, 1979:51) or as experts because of their authority position

in the classroom, students expect teachers to be certain in their behavior. Student teachers are socialized to accept this condition throughout their student biography and university training. Although this image of the teacher as expert clashes with their role of learning to teach, the hidden pressure to know, exerted by their classroom students and previous experience, also affects the student teacher's performance.

Student expectations of teacher behavior, then, function as negotiation strategies. Student teachers who look to their classroom students for validation may tend to adapt to student expectations. The student teacher's previous student experience and familiarity with these expectations of teacher behavior increases their power. To understand the power of expectations on student teacher behavior and perspectives, it is also necessary to turn to the relationship past teaching models bear on present behavior.

The Role of Past Teaching Models

One of the most formative forces influencing the socialization of the student teacher is her/his past exposure to numerous teaching models prior to and including teacher training (Pruitt and Jackson, 1978). Lortie (1975) maintains that the student teacher's over-familiarity with the teacher's role, a consequence of participation in compulsory education, frames the ideas, teaching perspectives

and classroom behavior of the student teacher. Rather than depend upon pedagogical theory, student teachers tend to fall back on the methods of their favorite teachers. Yet, the influence of past teaching models may have a conservative effect. Student teachers learn more about the perpetuation of past techniques perceived as successful during their student lives than create innovations for present teaching success (Eddy, 1969). DeVoss (1979) employs ethnographic techniques to construct a picture of the student teaching experience. His case studies reveal the student teacher's return to her/his idealized past teacher models as justification for methods and teaching approach.

Past role models tend to exert a conservative effect over the student teacher's classroom practices. Student teachers often romanticize past models from a student's perspective, reproducing their past rather than understanding present student need. This over-reliance on past teaching models encourages imitation in practice rather than critical reflection and professional growth. Since the student teacher not only knows what she/he likes, but likes what she/he knows, the student teacher is prone to reproduce existing social relations grounded in past experience.

The Role of the University Supervisor

The marginal role of the university supervisor during student teaching limits any significant influence on the student teacher. Many student teachers and cooperating teachers perceive their supervisors as intrusive, more interested in classroom techniques than in classroom realities (Blumberg, 1980; Sarason et al., 1962). Tabachnick et al., (1979-1980) finds that supervisors play a legitimizing role for the student teacher's adaptation to existing classroom practices and school norms. The university supervisor's advice of "don't rock the boat", or "remember, you are a guest of the classroom" provides student teachers with a strong rationalization for adaptation to existing practices (Hooper and Johnson, 1973).

Many researchers contend that the university supervisor's socializing role during student teaching is temporary. Corcoran (1981), deVoss (1979) and Zevin (1974) conclude that student teachers only follow their supervisor's advice during supervision sessions. Because of the supervisor's evaluative power, student teachers appease their supervisor; they may apply the supervisor's advice of "don't rock the boat" to the student teacher/supervisor relationship.

The university supervisor's main effect may be as a source of anxiety for the student teacher (Morris and Morris,

1980; Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981). Sorenson's (1967) study
shows that student teachers are considerably hostile and
cynical toward their supervisors. These studies support
Edgar and Warren's (1969) hypothesis that those with
evaluative power are the most influential during face-to-
face interactions. But this influence, dependent upon fear
and anxiety, dissolves when the supervisor leaves the class-
room.

The Role of Peers

Other student teachers and friends play a limited and
passive role in student teacher socialization (Friebus, 1977).
Their function is mainly restricted to listening to the
survival concerns which confront student teachers. Because
the student teacher seeks sympathy, listeners are carefully
selected. Corcoran (1981) concludes that the student
teacher's position as "teacher" prevents dialogue on
conditions of not knowing. As teachers, student teachers
believe they are expected to know. Disguising uncertainty
is a significant activity of both teachers and student
teachers and impedes both peer dialogue and peer solidarity.

Teacher training programs which intentionally structure
peer interaction outside the classroom do result in signifi-
cant peer influence in the socialization process. Dow (1979)
reports on an Australian teacher training program in which

concurrent peer university classes greatly reduce student teacher isolation as well as create an environment conducive to peer support and authentic dialogue. However, the greater reality of peer isolation and the individualistic activity inherent in both teaching and student teaching pose significant problems to peer culture formation (Lortie, 1975; Pataniczek and Isaacon, 1981). Consequently, structural features framing the work of student teachers and teachers greatly inhibit peer influence.

The Combined Effects of Significant Others

Ralston's (1980) ethnographic study, grounded in symbolic interactionist theory, examined the interactive role significant others play in the development of student teacher perspectives on learning to teach. Her findings were determined by the student teacher's perceived powerlessness during the student teaching semester. Perceptions of powerlessness were legitimized by the power struggles which characterized student teacher relations with significant others as well as the "pseudo experience" student teaching represented to all involved. Ralston concluded that student teachers learn to set aside their initial teaching per-spectives in order to succeed in the present. "From interactions with others. . . student teachers discover how to control feelings, alter values, and postpone ideals"

(Ralston, 1980:232). Ralston concluded that the role significant others perform is in helping student teachers learn how to student teach.

Two related qualities separate Ralston's study from others reveiwed in this category. First, as an ethnography, it depicts the student teacher's process of developing teaching perspectives. Second, the development of perspectives is contextually portrayed. Rather than isolate the effect one significant other has on the student teacher, the combined power of all significant others is considered. However, like other studies which focus on the role of significant others, student teacher adaptation rather than the range of potential social strategies employed is stressed. This deterministic emphasis functions as a constricting feature in the category of the role significant others play as socializing agents during student teaching.

The Role of Social Structure in Student Teacher Socialization

Researchers investigating the effects of social structure on student teacher socialization support the belief that socialization is context dependent. The student teacher is believed to fit into a predetermined teacher role defined by the social structure in which this role is a part. Here, it is the organizational structure rather than

the individual personality (of a significant other) which
shapes professional socialization and school culture.

.   Much of this literature assumes that the work of
teachers is a knowable and a particular activity; it is the
apprenticeship which allows student teachers to learn the
customs, traditions, and behavioral regularities of the
institution (Popkewitz, 1976). This view is congruent with
Becker's (1964) notion of socialization as the process
whereby the individual adapts and internalizes the
characteristics necessary for the organization's reproduction.

Three organizational contexts comprise the literature
category which promotes the primacy of social structure in
student teaching socialization. They are: the context of
the classroom as social structure; the context of the
school as bureaucracy; and the context of the university as
training ground.

The Context of the Classroom as Social Structure

The effect classroom structure has on the socialization
of both teachers and students is well documented in the
literature (Apple, 1979; Berlack and Berlack, 1981; Bussis
and Chihenden, 1976; Mehan, 1982; Sharp and Green, 1975).
This literature supports the hypothesis that classroom
organization merely reflects the larger school context.
However, the typical "egg carton" structure of schools does
allow for an appearance of classroom autonomy. Further,

for students and teachers who remain in the same classroom day after day, the classroom takes on the appearance of a separate world (Sharp and Green, 1975).

Doyle postulates an ecological model of classroom behavior where, "environmental demands moderate performance and establishes limits on the range of response options [available to student teachers]" (Doyle, 1977:51). In a three year observational study involving fifty-eight student teachers in their classrooms, Doyle discovered that all student teachers developed strategies which attempted to reduce the complexity of the classroom.

> It is possible that the classroom environment
> is substantially more important in shaping
> teacher behavior than has been conventionally
> recognized. (Doyle, 1977:55)

Inherent in Doyle's findings is that traditional classroom demands encourage custodial behavior on the part of student teachers.

Drawing from Doyle's research, Copeland (1979) hypothesized that the classroom environment determines which teacher training skills the student teacher uses. In this research, the classroom environment mediates the responses between the student teacher and the cooperating teacher. Because both the cooperating teacher and students structure the classroom tone, the acceptance or rejection of a particular teaching method depends upon the degree to which the classroom environment is open or closed to the student

teacher's approach. Like Doyle, Copeland's research presents the student teacher as adapting to the constraints of the classroom.

It may be that the experience of the classroom structure has more affect on teacher behavior and images of professionalism than has been previously considered. Descombe (1980; 1982) contends that classroom experience is the common denominator in the teaching profession which, in turn, may account for a set of shared beliefs and images of teachers within the school culture. In secondary education, classroom structure is distinguished by four characteristics: 1) the subject content; 2) the student grouping; 3) a specific time frame; and 4) the teacher's personal teaching style (Descombe, 1982). Although the first three characteristics are structural features of school organization, it is the teacher's personal teaching style which appears to mediate between these factors. The ability of the teacher to orchestrate large groups of students through a common classroom routine is popularly attributed to the teacher's personal qualities or charisma (Descombe, 1982). This, in turn, transforms the structural dictates of classroom organization to appear like an extension of the teacher's personality. In this sense, classroom experience reproduces particular images of teachers, which in turn, are

internalized by its participants. Contrary to Doyle's
(1977) and Copeland's (1979) findings, the classroom
environment provides more than context. It also provides
particular images of teachers which obscure the very
context from which these images are embedded.

A significant image of classroom teachers is their
appearance as autonomous actors who personally determine
the course of classroom events. The isolation of teachers
becomes a hidden dimension of the teacher's world (Lortie,
1973). This isolation:

> . . .fosters a sense of autonomy which comes to be
> highly valued and jealously guarded by experienced
> teachers and the closed classroom, in this way,
> tends to institutionalize both the isolation of
> the teaching situation and the autonomy of the
> teachers--factors which combine to foster the ethos
> of 'privacy'. (Descombe, 1982:257)

Within the confines of the classroom structure, teachers
appear autonomous, self-made (charismatic), and in control.
These images serve to reduce the social features of the
classroom experience into individualized efforts of the
teacher as well as contribute to the taken for granted
cultural myths which sustain a false sense of control.

The organization of the classroom does affect the
student teacher's definition of problems and the solutions
imposed (Iannaccone, 1963), as well as her/his images of
the work of teachers. The classroom is the most immediate
reality confronting the student teacher. However, the

classroom must also be considered as part of a larger school context, as classroom structure reflects school philosophy and organization.

The Context of the School as Bureaucracy

The bureaucratization of public education is a well documented historical transformation (Apple, 1982; Callahan, 1962; Geer, 1972; Katz, 1971). Success in this bureaucracy depends on one's ability to conform or appear to conform to its demands and purposes. Bureaucratic socialization, then, concerns the acceptance of orientations necessary for the bureaucracy's maintenance and reproduction.

> Bureaucratic orientation refers to the individual's commitment to a set of attitudes, values and behaviors that are characteristically encouraged and rewarded by bureaucracies, i.e., self-subordination, impersonalization, rule conformity and traditionalism. (Hoy and Rees, 1977:24).

While it is generally accepted that the bureaucratic organization of school plays a role in student teacher socialization, the extent of that role remains a source of contention.

Hoy (1967) argues that teachers experience a double socialization process. While university training stresses ideal teacher actions in a democratic framework, the classroom experience of school settings requires custodial actions in an authoritarian context. Hoy's study concerns the attitude changes of student teachers' pupil control

orientation. To measure this variable, the Pupil Control Ideology (PCI) was administered in a pre/post test fashion to two hundred and eighty-two Oklahoma student teachers of all grade levels. The PCI instrument measures attitudes toward pupil control which range from democratic-humanistic to authoritarian-custodial. Hoy's findings demonstrated that student teachers in his study assumed, "significantly more custodial pupil control ideology after student teaching than before" (Hoy, 1967:154).

Ten years later, this same experiment was replicated (Hoy and Rees, 1977). One hundred and twelve secondary student teachers were tested in the same manner. The conclusion of this study substantiated its predecessor's findings. "Secondary student teachers became more bureaucratic in orientation as a result of student teaching" (Hoy and Rees, 1977:25). Hoy and Rees maintain that it is the structure of schools rather than teacher education which must change; since the values in teacher education appear more acceptable than the values in schools.

The notion that student teachers shed their idealism once they are confronted with the bureaucratic dictates of school life, has recently been challenged. Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1984) two year longitudinal study of beginning teachers found that first year teachers do maintain their idealism. Moreover, by analyzing bureaucratic control as a

complex and contradictory force mediated by the culture of the school, these researchers concluded:

> The common assumption regarding the existence
> of one homogeneous culture into which all teachers
> are socialized and of the lack of contradiction
> in institutional influence within a single school
> was not supported in this study. (Zeichner and
> Tabachnick, 1984:31)

Their study warns against conclusions drawn through central tendency measures. It also argues for a more complex analysis, based in qualitative data, of how bureaucracy is shaped by as well as shapes its participants.

Freedman, Jackson and Boles (1983) analyzed the problem of why teachers may appear more conservative over their years of teaching. Over a two year period, they interviewed women elementary school teachers in a variety of school settings. These researchers contend that the contradictions between the ideology of schools and the actual functions schools perform significantly affect the work and per-ceptions of teachers.

> . . . as we investigated the views held by teachers,
> we come to see that schools as institutions create
> contradictory feelings and demand contradictory
> actions from teachers. The rhetoric surrounding the
> institution of public education often proves to be
> in direct conflict with the function a teacher
> finds herself required to perform. The dissonance
> between the goals teachers presume they are
> striving for and the realities they encounter may
> be more or less pronounced depending on where they
> teach, but the contradictory requirements of
> schools have always existed. (Freedman, Jackson,
> and Boles, 1983:3)

These researchers locate teacher change not within the
individual, but as a response to the cultural tensions
embedded in school bureaucracy.

Helsel and Krchniak's (1972) study reveals another
dimension of student teacher bureaucratic socialization.
Using a Likert-type scale to measure professional and
bureaucratic role orientations, samples of one hundred and
thirty-five education students, and one hundred and thirty-
five experienced teachers were compared. Both groups
showed no significant differences in professional orientation.
However, "experienced teachers demonstrate a less positive
orientation toward bureaucratic organization of schools
than their preservice counterparts" (Helsel and Krchniak,
1972:92). This difference is explained by the teachers'
identification with teacher unions rather than as employees
of the schools. Yet, Helsel and Krchniak do not explain
the reasons behind student teachers bureaucratic orientations.
The literature on student teacher anxiety, however, pro-
vides a psychological explanation for this change in
orientation.

Stress and role conflict are significant aspects of
the student teaching experience (Gettone, 1980; Grace, 1972;
Iannaccone, 1963; Lacey, 1977; Morris and Morris, 1980;
Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981). Although university personnel
may understand student teaching as a learning experience

(Adams and Dickey, 1956), student teachers view it as the final test (Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981). Trial by fire is an unacknowledged ritual of teacher socialization (Pataniczek and Isaacon, 1981). Conflicting notions of the purpose and function of student teaching consequently encourage student teacher stress. Morris and Morris (1980) reviewed the literature of stress in student teaching. They concluded that feelings of stress affect behavior. The more stress a person feels, the more that person is likely to fall back on authoritarian and rigid approaches to gain some semblance of control.

Sinclair and Nicoil (1981) examined the relationship between stress and behavior in student teachers. Using the PCI in a pre/mid/post test design, a sample of one hundred and sixteen student teachers demonstrated that attitudes toward classroom control became more custodial during student teaching. These researchers concluded that the conflict between university ideals and compulsory education's reality accentuate student teacher feelings of stress, thereby triggering authoritarian responses in an attempt to control conditions of uncertainty.

A post interview of twenty-eight student teachers, however, produced discordant results forcing Sinclair and Nicoil to question the effectiveness of the PCI instrument.

> The mean scores with respect to state anxiety and pupil control ideology do little more than summarize the surface manifestations of reactions to teaching practice. They provide little information about the qualitative characteristics of the anxiety experience, the way in which anxiety expresses itself in feeling states and in the behavior of the student. They also provide little information about the sources of threat and anxiety in the classroom (Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981:5).

Their post interview revealed that the central concerns of student teachers are the evaluation and the fear of losing control over students. Pedagogical issues do not enter this stressful world. What matters to the student teachers is what seems to work in the classroom (Iannaccone, 1963; Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981; Tabachnick, et al., 1979-1980). In traditional classroom structures, what appears to "work" for the student teacher serves the demands of the bureaucracy. Consequently, fear of failure and lack of power may be significant reasons for an increase in custodial and bureaucratic behavior.

Tabachnick's et al., (1979-1980) study further illustrates the relationship between stress and behavior in student teaching by documenting how the subordinate activities of student teaching encourage bureaucratic behavior. Because student teachers have little control over the classroom routines performed, and because they experience a low status position in the school, student teachers succumb to a, ". . . tremendous institutional

press to move children through prescribed lessons on time
[which] seemed to prevent any serious reflection and analysis
of their work" (Tabachnick et al., 1970-1980:23). These
researchers observed student teachers in a variety of
contexts. In all observations, themes of what and how to
teach rather than the whys and consequences of teaching
dominated. Documented is the university's role in
encouraging student teacher conformity to classroom life.

Although the bureaucratic constraints perceived by
student teachers affect their classroom behavior, Lacey's
(1977) study illustrates that individual responses to the
bureaucratic structure can vary strategically. Lacey
identifies three social strategies individuals can employ:
strategic compliance, internalized adjustment, and strategic
redefinition. Strategic compliance may allow an individual
to adapt to the situation regardless of personal beliefs.
Internalized adjustment conveys accepted conformity.
Strategic redefinition, however, is a strategy of
resistance to bureaucratic norms. The social strategies
individuals employ cannot be revealed by standardized
instrumentation. It is only through observations and in-
depth interviews that this range of human behavior can be
revealed.

Palansky and Nelson's (1980) study illustrates the
strategic compliance of social studies student teachers.

Because schools are political as well as educational
institutions, this study focused on the student teacher's
perceived political restraint in the social studies class-
room.

> Among [school's] political activities is the
> control of knowledge. . . the process of control
> include, the retention of faculty and the
> preparation of those who will become teachers
> (Palansky and Nelson, 1980:19).

A sample of forty-six student teachers participated in in-
depth interviews. These student teachers revealed that
both a formal and informal censorship of controversial
issues existed in their classrooms. Although disagreeing
with this censorship, the student teachers learned not to
"rock the boat". Results, here conflict with those of
Tabachnick et al., (1979-1980). Palansky and Nelson
believe that the norms of the school prevailed over the
norms of the university. However, the dichotomization of
the university experience from the school experience
obscures the fact that universities are also bureaucracies.
Like schools, universities reflect political as well as
educational concerns.

The Context of the University as Training Ground

Two major training experiences characterize teacher
education. The first experience is that the prospective
teacher learns a great deal about teaching by passively

listening to lectures. "The prospective teacher, like all other college students, spends a lot of time in a seat in a classroom or library" (Sarason, et al., 1962:7). In actuality they learn how to be students. Beyond the voluntary participation in universities, there seems to be little difference in the ways prospective teachers are taught in teacher education and the ways students are taught in compulsory schooling. In both educational settings, the classroom structure and the role of the teacher are synonymous.

The second experience in teacher education is student teaching. There, the prospective teacher must put into practice the knowledge she/he obtained from college courses. The student teacher is expected to transform this received classroom knowledge from a student's perspective to that of a teacher's perspective. However, this transformation of both knowledge and the role is highly problematic. Consequently, the research literature concerning the university role in student teacher socialization considers these two training components by attempting to answer two related questions: what teacher training experiences count during student teaching?, and, what relationship do the university and compulsory education have to student teaching?

There is little agreement as to what courses in
teacher training prove to be useful during student teaching.
It seems easier to discover what does not count. Courses in
pedagogical theory, child psychology, educational history,
comparative education and sociology generally do not inform
the student teaching process. That is, previous information
learned in lecture type course work is not utilized by
student teachers (Iannaccone, 1963; Maddox, 1968; Seiferth
and Purcell, 1980; Tabachnick, et al., (1979-1980).
Maddox's findings from sixty-two graduate student teacher
interviews show that student teachers learn by a process
of intuitive trial and error during student teaching
rather than depend on knowledge acquired in teacher training.
"The general academic instruction which proceeds the
practice period, even when cognitively accepted, seldom
influences classroom conduct" (Maddox, 1968:190).

Lack of theoretical guidance to inform pedagogical
practice seems to characterize the majority of the student
teacher's experience. A common explanation for this
theoretical void resides in the nature of student teacher
practice. Many researchers believe that student teachers
are more concerned with survival than with theory (Fuller
and Brown, 1975; Iannaccone, 1963; Popkewitz, 1978; Sorenson,
1967). Corcoran's research, for example, on the shock of
transition from student to student teacher, contends that

lack of role familiarity can send a beginner into a state of shock, "wherein it becomes impossible to transfer previously mastered concepts from university to public school" (Corcoran, 1981:20). However, this research individualizes the issue of the atheoretical posture assumed by student teachers to a psychological response rather than as a structural feature of the student teaching circumstance.

Other explanations for this theoretical void are rooted in the activity of student teaching. Because survival appears a "sink or swim" situation, student teachers are more likely to consider what works in the classroom while ignoring the reasons and consequences of the activities which appear to work (Hooper and Johnson, 1973). Further, the concept of what "works" in the classroom is usually congruent with bureaucratic expectations and norms. Thus, when the one hundred and sixty-two student teachers in Sorenson's study were asked to list for their best friend the things one must do in order to get an "A" grade in student teaching, the following advice was most frequently given: do as you are told without question; be well organized; and, keep your class under control.

> The only mention of the application of theory to
> student teaching was by students who warned
> their friends not to attempt to apply it
> (Sorenson, 1967:177)

Significantly, although this research documents the quiet desperation for practical approaches to teaching and classroom control, underlying reasons behind these demands are not sufficiently explored. Instead, the bulk of research in this category focuses on the discontinuity between university training and classroom life. Descombe (1982) pointed to this omission with the heuristic device of the hidden pedagogy.

> [The hidden pedagogy] . . . is an implicit theory
> of teaching and is based on the assumption that
> without first establishing classroom control and
> being able to establish it without help from
> colleagues, there is no chance of being able to
> put across the subject matter of the lesson, and,
> consequently, little chance of being regarded as
> a competent member of the teaching profession
> (Descombe, 1982:250).

This implicit theory is embedded in the teacher's student experience: students daily observed the consequences of the teacher's private battle to maintain classroom control. The popular image of teaching as an individual activity, privatized by the architectural features of schools, is an image students bring to teaching training (Descombe, 1982; Maddox, 1968; Mardle and Walker, 1980). Consequently, "it is not college experience, but classroom experience (as pupils as well as teachers) which shapes the vision of teaching" (Descombe, 1982:252). However, Descombe also points to the fact that within school settings, university theory counts for little. That is, teachers are evaluated

on their ability to orchestrate classroom control rather than articulate pedagogical theory. The discontinuity between university and school experience may be affected by the apparent lack of value university theory has in school settings.

Practical method courses, however, seem to be most valuable to the student teacher (Maddox, 1968; Seiferth and Purcell, 1980). Yet this "value" is also subject to dispute. Many methods of teaching encourage simplifying the classroom environment (Iannaccone, 1963; Zeichner, 1980b). Atheoretical methods tend to encourage routinization rather than reflection. Techniques become ends in themselves rather than the means toward specified educational purposes (Zeichner, 1980b). Methods courses may do little more than aid the student teacher in getting a large group of children through the same lesson in a prescribed time (Tabachnick, 1980). Methods courses which focus on mechanistic application implicitly encourage conservatism among student teachers in two ways. First, knowledge is presented as if it were separate from human creation. Second, the curriculum and its presentation are alienated from students' needs. Both knowledge and students are dehumanized in this process (Popkewitz, 1976).

That student teaching tends to be a conservative force in the making of a teacher is a significant finding

(Giroux, 1980; Hoy, 1967; Kalsounis and Nelson, 1968; MacDonald and Zaret, 1971). However, there is little agreement in this literature as to why student teaching is such a conservative force. The roots of this disagreement appears to reside in the researcher's perceptions and assumptions about the relationship between the university and the schools.

Most research on student teaching socialization represents the relationship between the socialization functions of the university and compulsory education as characterized by discontinuity. "Conventional wisdom" idealizes the university as a liberalizing force and the schools as a conservative force in teacher socialization. Within this battle, the student teacher is "torn" between these opposing ideologies. The conservative force usually wins. Explanations for this outcome vary, although the theme of the student teacher's disjointed training experience is the unifying thread which weaves this literature together. The fact that the university is as much a bureaucratic organization as compulsory education is rarely considered.

Although universities and their schools of education appear to be neutral settings solely concerned with the free market place of ideas, higher education's social, political and economic function serves to reproduce

particular world views which correspond to particular class interests (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1980; Karabel and Halsey, 1977). Universities are significant contributors to and legitimizers of a society characterized by class hierarchy based upon private property and the unequal distribution of economic and social power. As schools of education and compulsory education exist in the same social, political and economic context, more similarities than dissimilarities characterize these settings.

The academic process in teacher training is a continuation of the academic training in compulsory education. At times, university classes resemble Freire's (1971) model of banking education. In this model, domination and subordination are structural features of social relations and frame the process of learning. In banking education, students are viewed as empty deposit receptacles to be filled by objective knowledge. Thus lecture/recitation and teacher-centered classrooms characterize both settings. Although the university setting may expound liberal philosophy and theory, its practice is as conservative as schools (Bartholomew, 1976; Giroux, 1980). Bartholomew perceives the separation of theory from practice as the key to understanding the student teacher's internalization of conservative attitudes and practices.

> The key is that as a student, he never experiences
> in practice the liberalism which he is so freely
> allowed to express   in theory. . . the change
> to conservative attitudes merely expresses what
> was the position in practice all the time
> (Bartholomew, 1976:123).

University taught theory rarely has a practical context.

From a different perspective, Mardle and Walker (1980) argue it is not so much the separation of theory from practice which encourages conservatism as it is the familiarity of the school setting. They support Becker's (1964) view of socialization as a life long and continuous process. In the case of teacher socialization, these researchers argue that teachers bring their student accumulation of past definition to the current situation. As these definitions have been internalized throughout their student years, they come to be taken for granted. Rooted within student experience, these definitions appear as common sense. Consequently, Mardle and Walker conclude:

> Teachers do not become re-socialized during their
> course of training, nor in the reality of the
> classroom since, in essence, this is a reality
> which they never actually left (Mardle and
> Walker, 1980:103).

Additionally, these researchers contend that these common sense formulas tend to reinforce and rationalize the hidden curriculum of schools. It is not the discontinuity of teacher training but its continuity in failing to challenge the common sensical notions embedded in the teaching profession which encourage conservatism.

> We have suggested that long held conceptions of
> teaching originating in experience as a pupil
> are compounded by the experience of training
> . . . practice experienced becomes practice
> reproduced in conditions experienced (Mardle
> and Walker, 1980:121).

By the time student teaching occurs, the student will have experienced sixteen years of an educational structure characterized by hierarchical inequality, student powerlessness, separation of theory from practice, competitive social relations and teacher directed activity. Indeed, schooling is a familiar setting. The activity of student teaching is not a disjointed experience. Rather, its conservative tendencies mirror the constraints of the two institutions the student teacher represents: the university and the school. Student teaching embodies the contradictions of both institutions.

Yet contradictions not only define a context's limitations, but also provide insight into a context's possibilities. It is this dynamic quality of contradictions, an an embodiment of opposing tensions, which allows for a creative range of human responses in seemingly repressive conditions. The contradictions inherent in the student teaching situation may be the most authentic reflection of reality which the student teacher confronts. Contradictions, then, both shape the context and affect one's preconceptions of what is possible.

The Role of The Self

Any theory of professional socialization must also account for the role of the self. The individual, replete with prior experiences, interacts in a variety of social situations and draws upon prior knowledge relevant to the given situation. It is the individual who lends continuity to the apparent disparity of experience encountered through contact with significant others in the context of social structures. Through social interaction, the individual makes sense of her/his world. The individual's power of interpretation and meaning construction, based on the interaction of past and present experience, provides the framework for the literature focusing on the role of the self in student teacher socialization. Here, socialization is assumed to be both subjective, incomplete and dynamic (Friebus, 1977; Lortie, 1975; Tabachnick, 1981).

Lortie maintains that the individualistic and subjective nature of teaching makes learning by experience more legitimate than academic training. Teachers, the popular wisdom suggests, are largely self made.

> From this prespective, socialization into teaching
> is largely self socialization; one's personal
> predispositions are not only relevant, but,
> in fact, stand at the core of becoming a teacher
> (Lortie, 1975:79).

Much of this theory is based on the idea that teaching is the most familiar professional activity to which the student is exposed. One's years of compulsory education create an apprenticeship through observation thereby giving the student a "common sense" view of teaching. These views are internalized and triggered when one becomes a teacher.

Fuller and Brown (1975) believe that a teacher's early student experience determines not only whether one becomes a teacher, but also the ideas and perspectives one brings to teaching. Pruitt and Jackson (1978) call a teacher's formative experiences "presage variables". Friebus (1977) also believes that student teachers function as active contributors to their own socialization, in that they draw on prior experience.

From a Freudian framework, Wright and Tuska (1968) argue that future teachers' behaviors are rooted in childhood fantasy. They believe the most serious deficiency in teacher education studies is the absence of a theory of teacher personality. Utilizing a teacher attitude questionnaire constructed of bipolar adjectives based on the idea that words, ". . . evoke as well as manifest a replica of feelings" (Wright and Tuska, 1968:256), their research findings show that the condition of student teaching perpetuates child-like preconceptions and behavior.

Labeling student teaching a half-baked experience more
conducive to fantasy than reality, they conclude:

> While practice teaching appears like preparation
> to become a teacher, it may do more to strengthen
> the student teacher's identification with
> children and inhibit identification with
> teachers (Wright and Tuska, 1968:290).

The student teacher's over-reliance on personal
experience and common sense at the expense of a more
critically informed practice concerns a number of researchers.
Petty and Hogben (1980) document students' dependence on
personal experience with a semantic differential scale to
determine the meaning school holds to Australian teachers,
student teachers and non-education university students.
Regardless of professional background, this sample defined
school consistently in single minded terms. All retained a
definition of schooling and teaching from their own student
school days. As a result, these researchers conclude,
"Teaching practices tend to remain personal synthesis of
idiosyncratic experiences" (Petty and Hogben, 1980:60).

Kleine and Pereria (1970) examine pre-service
education majors' perceptions of classroom life. After
observing urban and suburban classrooms, ninety graduate
student teachers (MAT's) were asked to describe, in writing,
their perceptions of the most significant features of
classroom life. The results are supportive of Petty and
Hogben's (1980) findings. These MAT students observed the

classroom from a student's perspective, focusing on teacher

behavior rather than on classroom interaction. The work

of teachers was seen in custodial and negative terms. No

student perceived teachers as creative and inspiring. So

these researchers conclude:

> What a person sees [or fails to see], when he
> observes a classroom, is influenced as much by
> what he brings to the situation as by what
> actually takes place in the classroom. . . The
> spectacles which a prospective teacher
> initially uses to structure his observations
> in the classroom appear to have serious flaws
> . . . He brings to the observation considerable
> experience as a student, perhaps, 12,000 hours.
> He thus has some well-worn notions about what
> there is to look at in the classrooms, making
> it likely that he will observe only from the
> point of view of a student (Kleine and
> Pereira, 1970:496).

Maddox (1968) asked student teachers their sources of

ideas about instruction. He found students depended upon

their own student experience.

> It seems that most students, before they approach
> their practice, already have many presuppositions
> about teaching and the fact that their pre-
> suppositions are poorly formulated in language
> makes them perhaps unaccessible and unlikely to
> be questioned (Maddox, 1968:189-190).

Maddox's study suggests the problematic nature of tacit

experience.

Although not without problems, the research literature

on the role of the self in student teacher socialization is

a dramatic departure from previous literature reviewed.

Here, the individual is depicted not as a mere puppet, nor a

tabula rasa, but as a complex individual who interprets reality with prior experience; socialization, then, is a continuous process, rather than a series of dysfunctional or unconnected experiences that happens to a person. That new experiences of student teaching in the familiar context of schooling might trigger a different interpretation of prior experience and knowledge, however, is not considered. That is, the student teacher is still a prisoner, not of significant others, or social structure, but a prisoner of her/his own experiences. Unable to transcend her/his own perspective, the student teacher appears to be trapped in her/his past.

Interactive Socialization

An interactive approach to student teacher socialization examines the interplay between biography and social structure (Zeichner and Grant, 1981). Rather than assume socialization to be static and one dimensional, an inter-active perspective approaches teacher socialization as a dynamic process of becoming. As such, socialization is incomplete and partial, continuously subject to inter-pretation and change (Lacy, 1977; Zeichner, 1980a). As intentional beings, people both shape and are shaped by the conditions and situations which they confront (Marx, 1981). Consequently, any theory of socialization must

identify and account for resistance (Apple, 1982) as well as the variety of ways adaptation is experienced.

Lacy (1977) examines the changes in the social person as students become teachers. In his study, "the process of socialization is viewed as the development of sets of behaviors and perspectives by an individual as he confronts social situations" (Lacy, 1977:30). As such, socialization is an individual's interaction with a constant flow of choice. This interaction may involve a number of strategic choices ranging from utilitarian responses of adaptation and compliance to more empowering responses of negotiation and strategic redefinition.

Stratetic redefinition occurs when the student teacher actively resists conformity and attempts to change the institution or classroom through creative and reflective activity. Although Lacy explores only the student teacher's successful redefinition strategies, unsuccessful strategies are just as significant and in need of description (Zeichner, 1980a). Lacy's study does not consider the student teacher's unsuccessful but attempted strategy of redefinition as allowing for reflection on both the possibilities and constraints of the social structure.

Few research studies approach student teacher socialization as an interactive social process. However, recent studies provide the framework for this approach. Zeichner

and Grant (1981) assess the relationship of biography and social structure in determining student teacher attitudes toward pupil control. The students in this study did not become more custodial. This research further critiques the limitations of focusing solely on student teacher ideologies. As a result, the authors call for more qualitative research which considers, "the effects of biography and social structure together with an interactive model of socialization" (Zeichner and Grant, 1981:298).

Tabachnick's et al., (1979-1980) study of how professional life is interpreted and acted upon as student teachers engage in their work reveals student teaching to be a process of knowing, acting, and being. By rendering student teaching problematic, taken for granted assumptions of the relationships between the university and school are examined to reveal a partnership rather than a subtle competition of ideologies between institutions. The student teachers in this study learned what they did not want to be. They employed the social strategy of strategic compliance, that is, doing what they are told while simultaneously, disagreeing with the activity.

Tabachnick's (1980) study of the Teacher Corp documents the intern's movement from idealism to disillusionment. Students' expectations toward their own ability to effect progressive change in schools dissolved into

feelings of powerlessness. Again, interns learned to become what they did not want to be.

Tabachnick's (1981) most recent model of student teacher socialization perceives the process of becoming a teacher as a set of dynamic social events. Two dialectical qualities are involved in such events: embeddedness and becoming. Embeddedness refers to the experiences and preconceptions an individual brings to a situation. Becoming suggests the possibilities a situation presents. The interaction of these two qualities suggest sustained change.

The burgeoning research which posits socialization as an interactive process is significant to this literature review in at least four respects. First, people are viewed as active participants in their socialization. They are capable of making choices and taking creative action. Second, the concept of social is restored to socialization. Individuals interact within a social context. Third, socialization is perceived as a complex, problematic process. This allows for critical examination of taken for granted assumptions. Fourth, an inquiry into socialization as a dynamic interactive process is a prerequisite for under-standing the complex process of becoming a teacher.

The image of student teacher as puppet or poet is not sufficient. As this research suggests, ethnographic inquiry

can provide insight into the constraints and possibilities confronting the student teaching circumstance. Ethnographic inquiry may reveal the human consequences of the educational process from compulsory education to university training. As such, it can lend insight into the cultural tensions of educational settings. Finally, ethnographic inquiry can restore intentionality to the student teacher's behavior. That is, the underlying purpose and intent which guide the student teacher's interpretations and activities can be revealed. The image of the student teacher as a vapid puppet needs to be infused with humanity.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Within the literature of professional teacher socialization, significant others is defined as "a person(s) in the organization whose evaluation of a new teacher's tasks have the greatest influence on organizational sactions" (Edgar and Warren, 1969:389). This definition will be modified to: a person(s) in an educational setting whose evaluation (both formal and informal) and/or response to a student teacher's activities have a strong present influence on the student teacher's behavior, attitudes, and perceptions.

[2] The most significant aspect of Zevin's findings, from this literature review's perspective, is that student teachers conformed more readily to the lecture-recitation method of instruction than to the inquiry method. This may be an outcome of secondary education teacher training's dependence on academic content rather than on teaching process. Social studies education majors spend a major part of their training in liberal arts courses, which are predominately lecture-recitation in structure. Consequently, adaptation to traditional approaches to social studies may be easier because it is more familiar to the student. This over-familiarity is a result of the continuity between the university's and the compulsory school's pedagogical process. However, Zevin concludes otherwise: "The results of this experiment confirm conventional wisdom in teacher education that schools and cooperating teachers are more potent training agents than colleges" (Zevin, 1974:9).

C H A P T E R   III
ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODOLOGY

Current research into teacher socialization argues
that the work of teachers and the teacher's perspective are
context specific, dependent on the individual, the school
setting, and the training context (Egan, 1982; Descombe,
1982; O'Shea, 1984; Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1984).
Although classroom experience is the common denominator
which links teachers and students to a shared culture
(Descombe, 1982), how that experience frames individual
activity and interpretation of meaning remains unique.
Moreover, the dominance of quantitative research into teacher
socialization has not provided insight into the particularity
of individual experience. As Zeichner and Tabachnick
observed:

> The alternative strategy of describing central
> tendencies in groups of beginning teachers, while
> assuming school contexts to be relatively homogeneous,
> tends to obscure important differences among teachers
> and among schools and has generally failed to illuminate
> the subtle process of beginning teacher socialization.
> (Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1984:5).

Given that teacher socialization is both subtle and contin-
uous, specific cases can illuminate how individuals act and
construct meaning during student teaching. Additionally,

the contextualized case can provide a framework for examining how the individual's biographical context qualifies the situations she/he confronts.

The use of case studies to describe the particular ways people navigate and negotiate through their educational and life experience has been well established (Ryan, 1984). For example, Elbaz (1983) and Wolcott (1973) each documented the life experiences of one participant in an educational setting. These single cases, built on ethnographic data, reconstructed the participant's phenomenological world. Heightened detail, or thick description (Geertz, 1973) characterized each study. Neither researcher sought generalizability. Rather, their shared goal was a valid account of the participant's world from the inside. The power of particular case studies then, resides in their ability to analytically portray the subjective reality of the participant and to locate that reality within the larger cultural context in which the individual moves.

The purpose of this study was to descriptively re-construct the particular world of the student teacher from the student teacher's perspective. As this study required in-depth description, the methodology of ethnography was the most fitting approach. Consequently, this researcher was the primary research instrument. She employed participant/observation, and prolonged in-depth interviewing as the major

data gathering procedures. This chapter describes the
methodological perspective of ethnographic research, issues
of methodological rigor in the research design, the
theoretical framework of the study, and finally, an over-
view of the research design.

Ethnography: A Methodological Overview

Ethnography is one of the methods of cultural anthro-
pologists. The term ethnography connotes both a process
and a product. More than a methodology, ethnography spans
an "intellectual effort...an elaborate venture in, to borrow
a notion from Gilbert Ryle, 'think description'" (Geertz,
1973:6). The concept of thick description suggests layers
of meaning which description should unfold. Doing ethno-
graphy, then, requires generating a thick description which
is grounded in the observation of a culture in its own
setting and from its distinctive perspective. Geertz' con-
ception of culture is semiotic,

> Believing...that man is an animal suspended in webs of
> significance he himself has spun...I take culture to
> be those webs and the analysis of it to be therefore
> not an experimental science in search of law, but an
> interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973:5).

This lucid definition of culture as webs of significance
stresses the interaction of complex relations which connects
the individual to the social whole. The social individual,
accordingly, is both producer and reproducer of culture.

Dobbert (1982) emphasizes the need for a definition of culture prior to doing ethnography. She defines culture as,

> an historically developed pattern of life which includes beliefs and ideologies; formally and informally established interrelationships between persons and groups; and material goods and technologies, all of which are systematically related so as to form an integrated whole (Dobbert, 1982:10).

This approach to culture, utilized in this study, stresses culture's historical, social and material nature. The search for cultural patterns implicitly suggests the work of ethnographers.

Ethnography's distinguishing feature is that it is field-based. The actual research takes place in the culture's setting because the ethnographer seeks to understand a culture as that culture understands itself. To achieve this understanding, the ethnographer must place herself/himself in a position to experience that culture. Because the ethnographer is the primary tool of research, that is, no other research instrument stands between the ethnographer and participants, fieldwork cannot be viewed as separate from the fieldworker.

Wax and Wax define fieldwork as,

> the process of social research in which the investigator attempts to enter the universe and meanings and participate in the moral system of his host community (Wax and Wax, 1980:28).

Since social relationships comprise fieldwork, the field-
worker must develop a relationship with her/his participants
which is distinguished by mutual cooperation and respect.
In this relationship, the fieldworker assumes the role of
learner whose goal is understanding. Understanding is, "a
social phenomenon...of shared meanings" (Wax, 1971:10-11).
It is grounded in experience which is gained by participating
in a culture.

Further, the fieldworker enters a culture's setting not
to test preconceived hypotheses, but to be open to inquiry
unforeseen. Both the fieldworker and her/his analysis of
data are guided by an inductive approach to reasoning. The
inductive approach. ". . . is a method of arriving at
correct generalizations from observed data" (Dobbert, 1982:
9). The inductive approach begins with the investigation
of specific instances or events and then proceeds with the
grouping of those events to form patterns. As the field-
worker gradually develops a finer understanding of the
setting, her/his observations become more focused. Observa-
tion becomes instructive in that it provides the ethnographer
with subject matter which leads to informed questions. The
inductive approach encourages self-correction in the
ethnographic process. Both the questions and study's
direction may change as the process of inquiry gains depth
(Mehan, 1982).

The task of the ethnographer is to contribute to a theory of culture by producing a thick description of a culture congruent with that culture's perspective. Indeed, the test of a good ethnography is whether or not the reader is provided with a vicarious and empathetic understanding of what it feels like to be present in the culture described. The holistic perspective of ethnography should create, "a well-rounded picture from the inside" (Dobbert, 1982:7).

Educational Ethnography

Educational researchers' application of ethnography to educational settings constitutes a growing body of research. Educational ethnography, however, diverges from anthropological ethnography in at least three significant ways. First, the educational researcher may be indigenous to the environment she/he studies. In this case the culture and environment of schools are quite familiar. Consequently, rather than render the strange setting familiar, as in the case of cultural anthropologists doing fieldwork in other countries, the educational ethnographer renders the familiar setting of school as problematic. Second, the primary setting in educational ethnography is the school rather than the total community. The school is depicted as both micro-community and micro-social system, manifesting the cultural characteristics and contradictions of the larger society. And third, educational researchers have

created ethnographic methods to specifically meet these unique conditions. There now exists a growing body of ethnographic research techniques addressed to the unique circumstances which confront educational researchers (Bodgan and Bilken, 1982; Dobbert, 1982; Erickson, 1977; Green and Wallat, 1981; Hymes, 1980; Spradley, 1979; Wilson, 1977; Wolcott, 1975).

Educational ethnography is usually defined in relation to its goal in educational settings.

> The researcher wants to understand what is occurring
> in the educational setting, how it is occurring, what
> definitions of the event the participants hold about
> these occurrences, and what it takes to participate
> as a member of the various groups within and across
> these occurrences (Green and Wallat, 1981:xii).

Their definition focuses on understanding, through descrip-
tion, the relationship context hold to thought and to
behavior. Their underlying assumption supports the
ethnographic notion that meaning is context-bound (Mishler,
1979).

The use of ethnography in education is influenced by
the constructivist theory which respects the primacy of
meaning. In this perspective, ". . . the constructed
reality/meanings of the participants is the primary focus"
(Magoon, 1977:670). The basic tenets originate with the
perception that people are knowing beings whose actions
are guided by intent and purpose, creating multiple complex

meaning structures to interpret reality. Although people are viewed as active constructors of both meanings and environment, the constructivist approach maintains that this capacity can be inhibited or restricted by outside forces. Magoon believes that the meanings participants take from a situation are influenced by the setting. To fully grasp intended meanings, one must investigate meanings contextually.

> A constructive approach. . . amounts to a refocusing of educational research on another part of the schooling phenomenon and consequently, taking an approach that is called ethnographic: that is an extensive descriptive and interpretive effort at explaining the complexity (Magoon, 1977:652).

Wilson (1977) expands the constructivist theory. His hypotheses concern how human behavior informs educational ethnography. The naturalistic-ecological hypothesis concerns the importance of settings as the primary context. People inform and are informed by their setting. To understand people, one must observe and participate in their natural setting. Settings inform people of appropriate behaviors and meanings (Sarason, 1971). For the ethnographer, ". . . it is from an interpretation of the world through the perspectives of the subjects that reality, meaning and behavior are analyzed (Rist, nd:v). Ethnography allows us to understand the connections a particular meaning has to the daily lives of people.

The qualitative phenomenological hypothesis deals with the relationship between the researcher and the people she/ he seeks to know. This hypothesis suggests that human understanding is most enhanced when one understands. ". . . the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions" (Wilson, 1977:249). "Knowing" resides within the culture, not the researcher. The research relationship must be characterized by empathetic understanding, which can only be achieved through the researcher's involvement with the culture. Yet the qualitative phenomenological hypothesis qualifies the research relationship. "The researcher must develop a dynamic tension between the subjective role of participant and the role of the observer, so that he is neither one entirely" (Wilson, 1977:250). Ethnographic researchers must reflect on their dual role in the research process as both participant and observer. The researcher's reactions and experiences will become a part of the ethnography (Wolcott, 1975). The researcher must understand the people she/he studies as well as understand herself/himself.

The priority that ethnographers give to the participants, as intentional beings, distinguishes ethnographic research from other educational research paradigms. Because the ethnographer seeks to understand the participants' perspectives, ethnography validates and legitimizes people's

life struggles. "The concomitant of that priority is on empowering of participants as sources of knowledge" (Hymes, 1980:xiv) This point is compelling because ethnography has the potential to provide a genuine arena for the participants' self-reflectiveness on the meaning and quality of their everyday lives.

Issues of Methodological Rigor

Attention to methodological rigor guarantees that ethnography will move beyond the descriptive stages of fieldwork. It depends on the researcher's training and the desire to effectively reconstruct the private life of a culture and then bring it into public view. Methodological rigor demands that educational ethnographers become critically familiar with ethnographic experiences of anthropologists. Otherwise, there is a tendency to, ". . . fit the tool to the data" (Lutz, 1981:51), or venerate "the method [above] the clear and crisp articulation of the problem" (Rist, 1980:9).

The completed ethnography is comprised of diverse research methods. Researchers may employ: participant observation, in-depth interviews, video-taping, and event analysis, to name but a few. The methodology in educational ethnography is eclectic. But eclecticism can be both a danger to methodological rigor and as its greatest

strength. Each researcher must carefully explicate her/ his research methods. Methodology determines the study findings and how nearly it achieves comprehensiveness.

Reliability and validity are the primary measures of methodological rigor. They are the final determinant of a study's acceptance or rejection within the larger academic community. Ethnographers must prove that their studies are authentic. "Reliability is concerned with the replicability of scientific findings while validity is concerned with the accuracy of scientific findings" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982:32). Dobbert's evaluation of a study's reliability and validity begin with its ethnographic function. "Valid and reliable data are data that are accurate for a given purpose" (Dobbert, 1982:260).

Reliability poses a unique challenge to educational ethnographers. Both the people and their setting are in constant flux. An ethnography is like a photograph, capable of capturing one unrepeatable condition in a culture's life. "Because unique situations cannot be reconstructed pre- cisely, even the most exact replications of research methods may fail to produce identical results" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982:35). Ethnographic research is best suited for describing the present conditions of a given culture. It is necessarily limited as culture continuously changes.

However, there is a strong need for follow-up studies
which can strengthen educational ethnography's reliability.
This comparative effort, highly utilized by cultural
anthropologists, will be realized in education only when
more ethnographies of similar situations and focus are
attempted. As educational ethnography within the United
States matures, there will be a greater possibility for the
appropriate handling of reliability.

The ethnographer's attempt to accurately describe the
participant's cultural life makes validity a significant
goal. Validity is ethnography's major strength (LeCompte
and Goetz, 1983; Magoon, 1977; Rist, 1979). In ethnography,
"the study is valid if it describes what actually is--what
conditions existed, and what interaction took place"
(Tikunoff and Ward, 1980:227). These researchers recommend
three criteria for measuring internal validity: phenomeno-
logical validity which involves the participants' judgment
of the study's accuracy; ecological validity which concerns
the preservation of the integrity of the natural setting;
and contextual validity where tasks or treatments performed
by people during research are not unnatural to the setting,
role or activity. A major task of the ethnographer, then,
is to seek participant validation because the participant
is viewed as the locus of knowing (Green and Wallat, 1981).

A significant debate within the field of educational ethnography concerns the role of generalization. Guba and Lincoln (1981) and Patton (1980) argue that generalizability is not the major concern of descriptive research as meaning is context bound and in constant flux. Moreover, to these researchers, generalization is an outcome of a particular research paradigm and is inappropriate to the study of human interaction. Similarly, Wehlage (1981) argues that the goal of educational research should be to discover cultural rules and perceptions which frame people's actions in school settings. However, with ethnographic research, it remains within the reader's power to decide a study's generalizability by contrasting personal knowledge and experience with the study's findings. Again, as the goal of cultural analysis is intregral to educational ethnography, cultural regularities across similar situations should be compared and contrasted.

Assessment of educational ethnography must begin with attention to each study's methodology. Four outcomes distinguish the validity and reliability of an educational ethnography: the internal sense the study holds to its participants; the external sense or vicarious experience gained by the reader from the study; the likelihood of cultural patterns the description generates; and, the potential comparative power each study holds across similar settings, populations and situations.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework which informed this study's organization is within the tradition of critical theory. The present researcher combined phenomenological methodology with Marx's method of historical materialism in order to better understand the relationship between individual biography and her/his social and historical context. To accomplish this relationship, both the individual's experience and the social context of schools were rendered problematic. That is, this study sought to reveal the taken for granted assumption which guided the student teacher's behavior in order to distinguish between the surface appearance and the deeper reality of which it is a part. Consequently, people were viewed as complex beings, reflective of the larger culture of which they are a part, yet, at the same time, struggling to be viewed in their own right. Both the people and their context were understood in relation to their historical development. A critical theoretical assumption which guided this study was that people's actions

> ...cannot be understood apart from their biographies and the histories of the groups with whom they identify, which live on in their consciousness; or apart from the time and place in which they act (Berlack and Berlack, 1981:111).

Marx considered the problem of human action in its historical context in his early work, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. There he analyzed the relation history has to social consciousness, and the historical forces which often limit people's potential for creative action.

> Men make their own history, but do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances directly chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis, they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries, and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language...
> (Marx, 1981:15).

Although Marx was describing a specific historical crisis, his observations of how historical forces are internalized and consequently shape human activity and intentions provide insight into the problems of social change. People have the capacity to reproduce as well as recreate their historical circumstance. However, they remain as influenced by what has preceded them, as by what they imagine their future to be. In this sense, present circumstances must be considered in relation to its historical development.

This study approached the problem of beginning teacher socialization as an historical development. The student

teacher's circumstance was analyzed against the backdrop of her/his constitutive life experience. When the student teacher assumed her/his newly acquired teaching role, she/he actively combined the past with both the present and future. That is, personal biography lent continuity to the new situation. A dialectical approach to analyzing the problem of becoming a teacher considers this movement as significant. Moreover, the hidden contradictions and cultural tensions embedded in the process of becoming may be revealed with this approach.

A dialectical approach to teacher socialization also recognizes that people are intentional beings, capable of transforming, transcending, or sustaining the social situations they confront. Geertz' (1973) phenomenological approach to culture underscores this dialectical tendency for people to be producers as well as reproducers of their cultural reality. His metaphor of people spinning webs of significance, or culture, takes into account their ability to construct meaning and make relations which may or may not correspond to their material or "objective" conditions. People's intentionality is a two-edged sword; capable of rationalizing, imagining, ignoring, and changing, intentions may not necessarily correspond to their social actions. But neither can intentions be seen apart from the actor's social circumstance.

Additionally, a phenomenological approach to historical materialism allows the concept of the material world to include the notion of consciousness (Bologh, 1979). Like intentions, consciousness does not necessarily correspond to the social context in which the actor moves, but, remaining a part of that social context, also incorporates imagination, projection, future desires, and psychological and social needs. Consciousness, embedded in the subjective experience of the actor, may allow for the actor's acceptance of the lack of congruency between intention and activity. It may also serve to value intention over activity, and accept this separation as natural. In this sense, consciousness is an interior monologue that in some way attempts to make order out of chaotic experience.

Yet consciousness is not without contradictions. Lukacs (1971) observed that

> ...thought and existence are not identical in the sense they 'correspond' to each other, or 'reflect' each other, that they 'run parallel' to each other or 'coincide' with each other (all expressions that conceal a rigid duality). Their identity is that they are aspects of one and the same historical and dialectical process (Lukacs, 1971:204).

Consciousness is the relation between the personal self and the social and historical context in which the actor moves. By analyzing the relation between consciousness and social existence, a clearer understanding of the social forces and cultural tensions influencing both aspects of social reality is possible.

Critical theory is also concerned with the question
of how social ideology mediates consciousness and existence.
Giroux (1983) argues for an approach to ideology which is
dialectical rather than deterministic.

> The complexity of [ideology] is captured in the notion
> that while ideology is an active process involving the
> production, consumption and representation of meaning
> and behavior, it cannot be reduced to either con-
> sciousness or a system of practices, or to a mode of
> intelligibility... (Giroux, 1983:43).

Ideology can promote as well as limit human action. This
dialectical quality allows for human agency, since ideology
is not a congruent set of internalized beliefs. Rather,
ideology is a complex contradictory set of explanations,
meanings, interpretations, and suggested guides to social
practice. Moreover, ideology is mediated by the power
relations of the larger society. As such, ideology is both
mental and material (Giroux, 1983).

Ideology as representative of social values and guide-
lines for thought becomes a limiting force when its
appearance becomes separate and hidden from its human roots.
This separation, known as reification, occurs when social
relationships lose their historical quality and become both
objective and static.

> Ideology as reification was a form of unconsciousness
> in which the historically contingent nature of social
> relationships under capitalism had been "forgotten" and
> took on the appearance of mythic permanence and un-
> changing reality (Giroux, 1983:148).

In the case of teaching, reification occurs when ideas, practices, beliefs and needs appear "frozen" and given, or taken for granted, rather than analyzed in relation to their social and historical development. Significantly, reification reduces the complexity of social reality, flattening reality to resemble an accomplished fate rather than as a problematic development. In this sense, reification delays critical thought and action.

The concept of reification is particularly helpful in understanding how social roles appear separate from the individual actor. In the case of teachers, this role presents itself as separate from the person who assumes the role. Teachers are expected to shed their subjective life to assume objective and seemingly neutral qualities of professionalism. While the rationale for neutrality is often cloaked in the guise of fairness to every point of view while favoring no particular point of view, the concept of neutrality or objectivity seems to reinforce as well as hide the separation of the actor from her/his personhood. Moreover, the notion of objectivity, where knowledge is presented so as to appear value-free, tends to objectify the teacher, the students and the curriculum. Wynne (1984), in discussing the process of emotional and cognitive reification, grounds this process in educational settings. As thought and world view are cultivated in education,

schools tend to be a significant source of cognitive and emotional reification. The consequences of this process are that human actors are encouraged to become mere spectators of their social world rather than authentic par- ticipators (Wynne, 1984).

The concepts of ideology, reification, and con- sciousness, briefly sketched in this section, served as theoretical categories in which this study's data was analyzed. Although they remain abstract, when applied to the social world these concepts allow for a deeper his- torical contextualization of the problems in teacher socialization. They serve to demystify human behavior by positing relationships rather than individualizing or rendering idiosyncratic, the process of meaning, inter- pretation and action in everyday life. These concepts are approached dialectically in order to take into account their contradictions and movement.

The Research Design

The Participants

During the Fall 1983, student teachers in the areas of language arts and social studies were asked to volunteer to participate in this study. Of the eight student teachers who began their Fall student teaching internship, three volunteered, two of whom were in social studies,

the third in the area of language arts. Both social studies
student teachers were observed weekly and interviewed in
their respective school settings throughout their four
month student teaching internship. The language arts student
teacher was interviewed in her home for two hours each week
throughout her entire semester, as classroom observation was
not possible. Upon the completion of data collection, two
in-depth case studies were reconstructed, representing one
social studies and one language arts student teacher. The
third student teacher's observations and interviews provided
this researcher practice as well as additional background
data and field of contrast. However, as the third student
teacher's experience was similar in terms of the issues
explored, two in-depth case studies were deemed sufficient.

In order to expand this study's focus, professional
personnel, in some way connected to the student teaching
experience, were also interviewed. Their inclusion was
warranted, given the research literature's stress on the
role of significant others. The open-ended interviews,
lasting from forty-five minutes to two hours, focused on
individual perceptions, experiences, and concerns about the
student teaching internship. Those interviewed were: two
cooperating teachers, a university supervisor, a high school
principal and head of the social studies department, and
one education professor. These interviews allowed a field

of contrast to the student teacher's experience as well as provided insight into the shared professional culture in schools.

Data Gathering Procedures

Three primary procedures were utilized to gather this study's data. They were: participant/observation; in-depth interviewing; and open-ended interviews. In this section, each procedure is described.

In-depth weekly interviews: case one. As participant/ observation was not possible in the case of Jamie Owl, a language arts student teacher, this case was solely recon-structed from prolonged weekly in-depth audio taped inter-views. Each interview focused on the student teacher's description of her classes and weekly events. During each interview, the researcher attempted to raise questions which would encourage the participant's detailed recollection of her weekly experience. In addition to these weekly inter-views, this student teacher also participated in the three phenomenological interviews described below.

Participant/Observation: case two. The primary method of data collection for Jack August's case study was participant/observation of the student teacher in his school setting. Spradley (1980) identified types of participation depending on the researcher's proximity to involvement.

This researcher's stance was that of a passive observer. That is, the researcher was involved with the participant rather than in his activities. Consequently, this researcher did not participate as a student teacher but remained on the "sidelines", observing and taking notes in order to discover what it takes to be a student teacher. However, because this researcher's stance was that of a learner, the term participant/observation is appropriate to this study.

Four methodological characteristics separated the participant/observer from the participant (Dobbert, 1982: 102-105). First, the participant/observer systematized and organized the data. Second, unlike the participant, the participant/observer attempts to uncover tacit understandings and assumptions. Third, the participant/observer's stance was neutral. And fourth, the participant/observer constantly checked all observations for evidence of personal bias, prejudice and inaccurate generalizations. This researcher's goal was to present the situation from the insider's view.

Four principles guided notetaking during observations. The language identification principle (Spradley, 1980) allowed the researcher to identify who was using what language. This insured identification of the researcher's rephrasing, as well as an accurate recording of the actual language of the speaker. Similarly, the verbatim principle (Spradley, 1980) required the researcher to make a verbatim

record of what people said which encouraged the awareness
of any restating, summarizing, or condensation of the
participant's words. Third, the researcher only described
observable phenomena and behavior (Mehan, 1982). This pre-
vented speculation on the psychological processes of the
participant. Finally, the time, setting, and all significant
actors in each and every observation was identified as well
as the researcher's role in the setting (Dobbert, 1982).

Phenomenological in-depth interviews. Three
phenomenological in-depth interviews of ninety minutes to
two hours each were scheduled and tape recorded throughout
the student teaching semester. These interviews served two
purposes. First, they added a time depth to the view of
this study. As prior life experiences affect one's present
views and behaviors, life histories contextualized present
behavior and perspective. Second, these interviews pro-
vided the researcher with a broader understanding of the
participant's perspective that could have been obtained by
individual observation or weekly interviews. Through in-
depth interviews, the researcher learned about whole patterns
of learning through the participant's life, not just patterns
that prevailed at the research site (Dobbert, 1982).

These open-ended interviews were sequential and
supported specific themes. These themes were: 1) How did
you come to be a student teacher?; 2) What is it like to be

a student teacher?; 3) What is the meaning of your student teaching experience? As such, the first interview was autobiographical, the second interview, occurring during the middle of the semester was present-oriented and focused on daily routine, and the last interview was reflective. In each interview, the participants were encouraged to tell concrete stories and experiences.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data allows the ethnography to move beyond the descriptive stages of fieldwork. However, in ethnographic studies, analysis is an on-going and continuous process, usually divided into two stages.

The preliminary analysis occurred throughout the stages of fieldwork. Detailed notes were refined after each observation period in order to create as complete a picture as possible of the observed phenomenon. All audio-taped interviews were transcribed by this researcher, in order to become better acquainted with the student teacher's experiences and language usage. As this researcher became more familiar with both the settings and individuals, questions and observations became more focused and informed. Further, as the researcher was primarily interested in patterns of behavior, preliminary analysis of the data provided the researcher clues to cultural patterns.

The second stage of analysis occurred when the field-work was completed. Each case was separately analyzed for the particular patterns and themes. A chronological narrative form structured the data presentation, and was followed by this author's comments concerning the specific themes and patterns each week presented. Care was taken to present a descriptive account of each student teacher's experience as it unfolded. Moreover, each case was comprised of a descriptive summary of the student teacher's weekly experience, interspersed with the participant's retelling of specific events.

Each case study describes the student teacher's underlying assumptions, intentions, and concrete experience. Various social strategies, language use, and quality of social relationships were then analyzed in relation to the "cultural baggage" the student teacher brought to student teaching. Underlying intentions behind particular strategies were also examined in order to understand the relationship between biography and social structure, which was the fundamental question of this study.

CHAPTER IV

THE JAMIE OWL STORY

Jamie Owl was a language arts student teacher at Hurston High School. To understand Jamie Owl the student teacher, it is necessary to meet Jamie Owl the human being. Indeed, Jamie's story concerns her life struggle to be seen in her own right. Consequently, although framed in the ethnographic present, her life story is woven throughout.

Jamie's story unfolds chronologically and is primarily informed by how Jamie perceived her life.[1] The methodology which shaped this story is described, as is the community and school context in which Jamie moved. Each section concludes with this researcher's comments. These comments are analytical, and, like a third eye, allow the reader as well as this researcher to become more distanced from Jamie's immediate story. This distance encourages us to consider the larger issues Jamie confronted, as well as to identify the themes of Jamie's circumstance. The reader is reminded that although Jamie Owl is real, her name and the names of people and places have all been changed in order to preserve her privacy and anonymity.

<u>The Context of The Story</u>

<u>The Methodology of Jamie Owl's Story</u>

Jamie Owl volunteered to participate in this study on September 12, 1983. Soon after, I telephoned the principal of Hurston High, Mr. Barrison, to set up a meeting for the purpose of securing his permission to observe Jamie's classes. Mr. Barrison requested a copy of my research questions and data-gathering techniques prior to this meeting.

On Friday morning September 16, I delivered the requested documents to Hurston High. Later that afternoon, I received a telephone call from Jamie. She reported that Mr. Barrison and both cooperating teachers felt it would not be in Jamie's best interest to have a researcher in her classroom. They had three major concerns. First, the teachers believed my presence would be disruptive to students. Second, they thought it would change the nature of Jamie's student teaching as they desired her to have a "normal" experience. Finally, all three believed my presence would cause Jamie to feel too self-conscious in her classroom manner. Jamie was quite upset about their decision. She wondered how this would affect her participation in the study.

A few days later, Mr. Barrison reiterated these concerns; he also suggested that I might later request classroom observations, "after Jamie has her feet wet", should both cooperating teachers consent. I agreed to pursue this possibility by early November. But, three unusual circumstances foreclosed my entrance into Jamie's classroom. First, Mrs. Michaels, Jamie's primary cooperating teacher, was unexpectedly hospitalized in early October, not to return to her teaching duties for seven weeks. Second, by mid-October, the Hurston teachers voted for and implemented a "Work to Rule" job action which lasted for three weeks and dramatically altered the normal pace of both the school day and the work of teachers. Finally, by mid-October, it became evident that Jamie's student teaching experience was becoming extremely difficult and would best be played out without a researcher. Therefore, the decision was made not to pursue participant observation, but instead conduct weekly interviews outside of school.

Jamie Owl's story, then, was composed from our ex-post-facto interviews. The interview transcripts totaled one hundred and sixty seven pages and represented nine weekly interviews which spanned October 7 through December 21, 1983. Each audio-taped interview lasted two to three hours and occurred in Jamie's apartment. Consequently, Jamie Owl's story is dependent on her perceptions of student teaching as

this experience unfolded; its limitations are those of the participant as well as the researcher. The text and interpretive analysis were framed by Jamie's understanding of her experience and what she chose to emphasize.

Central to ethnographic research is the primacy of descriptive analysis of the participant's perspective. Heightened description of this perspective can be accomplished through regular in-depth interview sessions (Spradley, 1979). To construct the participant's perspective, the researcher must establish rapport by gaining the participant's trust as well as trusting the participant's perspective. The rapport between Jamie and me was open and honest. It rested on my demonstrated empathy with Jamie's experience as well as the nature of my research questions during our weekly interviews. My questions were characterized by inquiry rather than judgment.

Upon completion of the first draft of this study, I again contacted Jamie Owl to see if she would be interested in reading and commenting on this work. Two considerations guided this request: the need to cross validate this case as participant observation was not possible, and the desire for accuracy. Jamie's reading and comments provided both. She found my accounts of her story compelling and accurate. She did suggest minor changes which were incorporated. Most importantly, the reading of her story allowed Jamie

insight into her recent past. She wished she could have read her story as it unfolded. Jamie felt this investigation and analysis of her personal experience were a powerful means for understanding and guiding self-reflection.

The Actors, Places and Classes

Jamie Owl . . . . Student Teacher

Mrs. Carley Michaels . . . . Primary cooperating teacher and head of English at Hurston High

Ms. Karla Murr . . . . Secondary cooperating teacher

Jean Snough . . . . University Supervisor

Mr. Fred Barrison . . . . . . Principal of Hurston High

Hap Cleveland . . . . Instructional director of Hurston High

Mrs. Gretta Grettle . . . . . Parent of a ninth grade student

Gertrud Grettle . . . . Ninth grade student

Gardenville . . . . Jamie's hometown

State University . . . . . . The university Jamie attended

Hurston . . . . The town housing State University and Hurston High

Hurston High School . . . . . The high school site of Jamie's student teaching

Introduction to Literature, A ninth grade advanced tracked English class of twenty-five students. This class was originally Mrs. Michaels' class.

Remedial Reading, A small class of five students. This class was originally Ms. Murr's class.

Persuasion, A tenth-grade basic tracked class of twenty-five students. It was originally Ms. Murr's class.

The Context of the Town: Hurston

Hurston is a college town. Surrounded by rural farm-lands situated between mountains, the town itself reflects college rather than country life. It is the colleges rather than the land which are the largest employers of the town's population.

Hurston houses three well-known places of higher learning. State University is the largest public university. Its total undergraduate and graduate population exceeds 25,000 students. There are also two exclusive private undergraduate colleges. Hurston College, originally a men's college, serves the children of the country's ruling class. Hampville is a small private experimental college. Although exchanges occur between institutions, each one appears as if it were a world of its own.

Colleges, then, provide Hurston with its major source of income and have created its own industry.

Student-oriented businesses, such as bookstores, stationary supply shops, clothing stores, bars and resturants, and computer stores, take up much of its center. Yet, Hurston's major population is largely transitory. Its population swells when the colleges are in session, and shrinks each summer. Housing shortages, coupled by run-away rental fees and a recent movement toward gentrification, are among the town's biggest issues.

According to the 1982 census, Hurston's town population is 33,229. Of this number, 30,517 people are white. The largest minority is Afro-American (1,467), followed by Hispanics (837), and Asians (620). Although the white population perceives Hurston as racially liberal, the minority population's experience contradicts this perception. Recently, an influx of Southeast Asian refugees and a growth of the Puerto Rican community are challenging the town to provide multilingual services as well as bilingual and English as a Second Language instruction in the schools.

Although Hurston's median income in 1979 was reported as $22,119, Hurston's racial minorities earn less than half that sum. Of the total population, forty percent of all families are at or below the poverty level. Yet, despite these statistics, the town's reputation is that of middle-class. It is the colleges' presence which perpetuates this myth.

Hurston's colleges have powerfully affected its public schools. The town has four elementary schools, one junior high school and a large high school. Its public school system has the reputation for being innovative. Most of its schools have been influenced by the philosophy of humanistic-open education.

Beyond the philosophic influence the colleges seem to exert over Hurston's schools, State University's School of Education provides most of the town's student teachers; it also works with the Hurston School Department in areas of evaluation, curriculum development, and in-service teacher education. Many student teachers believe Hurston schools will provide them with a unique although unrealistic student teaching experience. Indeed, the freedom Hurston schools appear to offer in its pedagogical opportunities is a strong influence in the student teacher's choice of educational site.

The alliance between Hurston Schools and State University, however, is an uneasy one. Cooperating teachers, for example, see a decline in student teachers' academic preparation and commitment to education. They believe the University does not adequately screen its candidates, nor is the supervision of student teachers respected. Further, cooperating teachers seem to distrust the quality of

education occurring in teacher training. Often they feel that student teachers enter their schools poorly trained.

Hurston High. Hurston High School is a modern structure; its architecture reflects the educational innovations of the early Seventies such as modular scheduling, and an emphasis on large group and small group classes. Its student population is approximately 1200. Currently, the school is organized by a departmental structure, and uses a tracking system of Advanced, Standard, and Basic. The school's racial make-up reflects that of the town. However, minority parent pressure and minority teacher support have encouraged moments of multicultural education. There is also a large foreign student exchange program which affects the entire school. A majority of Hurston High's graduating seniors move on to higher education. Of this group--about three-fourths--attend State University.

Although historically the town's taxpayers and teachers have worked in tandem for quality education, Hurston teachers have recently pressed economic and contractual demands. Like most school systems across this country, teacher layoffs have severely qualified teacher employability as well as class size. Each year, rumors fill school corridors, hinting of layoffs, budget cuts and dismemberment of extra-curricular activities.

Hurston teachers began the 1983 school year without a
teaching contract. Agreements were not negotiated the
prior spring and by mid-September, the Hurston Teacher
Association and the Hurston School Committee had reached an
impasse. Teacher demands included an across-the-board
pay raise which was not requested in previous years due to
budgetary constraints. When negotiations broke down, the
Teacher Association voted to implement a Work to Rule job
action which dramatically demonstrated teacher demands.

Work to Rule lasted three weeks. During that time,
the teachers presented a united front and performed only
those duties contractually specified. Each morning, teachers
collectively walked into their respective schools at the
specified contract time and left in unison, empty-handed,
at the conclusion of their working day. Because no work was
brought home, teachers used class time to grade and plan
lessons. Further, all extra-curricular activity was
stopped. By the end of the second day of its implementation,
the entire town felt Work to Rule.

Town loyalties were divided. Public school students,
initially sympathetic, became angry with the lack of
services they had taken for granted. Parents felt Work to
Rule robbed their children of their education. Many tax-
payers were outraged at the teacher's labor strategies

in a profession which was perceived as selfless. Outside
negotiators were called to help settle the dispute.

Three weeks after it had began, Work to Rule ended
when the School Committee and the Teacher Association agreed
on a contract. Both parties had compromised. Community
criticism against the teachers, however, was slow to fade.
Further, many teachers were frustrated with their new
contract. Although schools soon returned to their normal
pace, the bitter sentiment between both parties lingered.
Still, the knowledge that other school systems had Work to
Rule for as long as two years, and that the Hurston teachers'
settlement seemed comparatively quicker, helped to bring
some relief.

Biographical Background

Jamie Owl is a small woman of Swedish ancestry. Her
eyes are intent and serious, her smile and manner, warm. She
was twenty-three years old at the start of her student
teaching. That semester was her last; Jamie graduated with
a Bachelor's of Arts Degree in English in Feburary 1984.
She did not qualify for a secondary English teacher certifi-
cation because she did not complete all education course
work requirements.

Compulsory Education

Jamie Owl grew up in a small factory town, Gardenville, approximately thirty miles from State University, which she would attend eighteen years later. The town's noted chair factory employed both her parents. Jamie's father had an eighth-grade education and worked in factory production. Her mother, a high-school graduate, worked in the factory's sales department. Jamie received a Catholic upbringing.

Gardenville's public schools provided the context for Jamie's compulsory education. Although she characterized herself as a "good learner" and "popular kid" in elementary school, Jamie's junior and high school experiences were painfully alienating.

> Where I went to grammar school, it was a working
> class school. It was a neighborhood school. When
> you got to junior high, you were with everybody,
> from all the [town's] schools. And you know they
> were better schools. My classmates were smart, if
> not smarter, learned faster, learned more, made
> friends easier. I became very shy, very withdrawn.
> Maybe it was class shock. [10/7/83]

Jamie's most positive and influential high school recollection was of her sophomore English class. It was there she felt validation.

> When I was sixteen, I remember one of my teachers
> had us do a short story. And it was the first time
> I ever wrote anything that I got an "A" on. I
> wasn't a good English student in high school. I
> always got "B's". There was something that never
> connected with me on how to write a good paper or how
> to read a book. I don't know where I messed up
> along the way that I didn't get that information.

> I remember writing the story and really enjoying
> writing it and learning a lot from it. And I got
> an "A", and I got an excellent, and I said, 'Oh,
> wow. I can do something.' I was at that point
> when you're sixteen and you're wondering what you
> are going to do with your life. And OK, college
> was at the back of my mind. But what am I going
> to do?
>
> And I decided to be a writer. I think a lot of
> it was also because I was so quiet. I always figured,
> if I can't speak my thoughts, I can at least write my
> thoughts. So I hung on to that.

The idea that she somehow "messed up along the way" contrib-

uted to Jamie's self-devaluation and lack of confidence. She

believed she was in some way responsible for her educational

situation, but in other ways resented that situation.

However, despite her resistance to the power grades had over

her self perception, grading also provided an external source

of validation. In writing, Jamie felt the pleasure of doing

something she enjoyed, as well as receiving outside

recognition for this activity. Writing provided her with a

voice.

But the positive experience her sophomore English class

afforded did not change her deeper feelings toward grading.

Throughout her educational experience, Jamie's relationship

to grades was self-depreciating and disparaging.

> I never felt school was personal; I never felt I
> was looked upon as an individual. I was very
> susceptible to those grades because of my own
> problems with dealing with my image of myself
> or my lack of it.

> So when I got a "B", knowing full well I had really
> done nothing to deserve the "B" half of the time,
> it would still affect me deeply. I am stupid. I
> had a very hard time accepting the fact that I was
> an intelligent person. And those grades never helped
> me.

> But I stayed in school, partially because I know that
> a degree is the passport to a lot of other things in
> my life. But in my mind, I wanted to get out of
> thinking grades were so important. I knew it, but
> when I saw it, I would fall under it. And I didn't
> like that, succombing so easily to that foolish
> little mark on the paper.

But Jamie's intellectualization that grades have nothing to

do with intelligence was overshadowed by her emotional

acceptance of the grade's power.

By the middle of her high school years, Jamie began

experimenting with marijuana.

> I did it because I think I knew I wasn't supposed
> to and also because I didn't like what was around
> me and I was turning off. When I first tried it,
> I'm somewhere else. [It] offered that escape. I
> was able to create my own world.

Jamie initially began experimenting with marijuana alone.

Over the next five years, however, Jamie would socially

participate in the drug subculture of both senior year and

later at State University.

Toward the end of Jamie's high school experience, she

regularly skipped school while continuing to pass her

academic subjects. Rebelling against the "straight" life

associated with the small-town high school experience was

most important to her, and her participation in the town's

drug subculture drew her to the "hippie" movement of the late
Sixties. Yet, because Jamie was a child of the Seventies,
her understanding of the Sixties was shaped by mass media
images. She recalled: "The Sixties was always a distant
television program then."

By Jamie's senior high school year, her overwhelming
desire to escape small town life and the seeming inevi-
tability of factory work motivated her to apply to college.
Economic constraints mandated her eventual attendance at
State University.

> College was an escape for me. It was an out. I
> didn't particularly care about going to college at
> that point. But I knew to get out of Gardenville, I
> had to go to school. I knew all along that State
> University is where I'd end up because of its low
> tuition.

Life at State University

In early Fall 1977, Jamie moved from Gardenville to a
dormitory at State University in Hurston, where she began
her life as a full time undergraduate. Because all incoming
first year students must declare an area of study, Jamie
chose English. Her intent was to become a writer, and an
English major seemed to provide that avenue.

In contrast to her early school experience, social
relationships with peers became more meaningful than class-
room life during her first year. Ideas seemed to flow
freely outside the classroom.

It was the first time I met people who were con-
cerned about things other than their immediate life.
There was a deeper respect; there were people
talking about politics, which I had never really
exposed myself to, or been exposed to.

My parents weren't political people in any sense.
They voted, they had their politics. Everyone's
political whether they think it or not.

There was a lot of people just tossing around
ideas and what they wanted and their feelings and
who they were and what they were going to do. And
that was different and that was what I loved doing,
just being with those people. And part of that
environment included drugs and I started smoking
pot heavily and experimenting with other drugs.
And I met a good friend there.

Near the conclusion of her first year at State

University, Jamie and her good friend, Phyllis, decided to

drop out and hitch-hike across the country. That summer,

the two young women worked in a garment factory, saved

enough money to buy camping equipment and, by early Fall

1977, began their adventure. Jamie recalled that trip as a

time of self confidence. She gained a sense of her life

possibilities. After that trip, Jamie and Phyllis returned

to the garment factory and worked a full year.

Jamie re-entered State University in the Fall 1979.

Her second year seemed more intellectually challenging

because she had more academic choice.

I took some courses that I wanted to take instead of
those introductory things that they make you take for
your major. I took things like, "American Rebellion".
I loved that because it related so much to what I had
been through; people who sort of have to break out
of certain situations they are in. It was about

the Sixties, which I love. I was very much
mesmerized by that whole era and the events and
the music.

"American Rebellion" allowed Jamie insight into her own
life struggles. She had found her historical antecedents
and felt a part of something larger than herself.[2] Her
inner world, however, continued to be characterized by
turmoil. She saw herself as having a lot of problems which
mainly concerned a low self image.

A few weeks into the start of her third year at State
University, these problems "all seemed to surface". Jamie
recalled:

> . . . walking around very depressed and sad all the
> time. I had lost a tremendous amount of weight and
> finally called up my parents and said, "Come and
> get me, I need love." And they were there.

She left State University to return to Gardenville where she
voluntarily entered a community mental health program for
about ten days. For the next two months, Jamie saw a
therapist and then took a full-time job in a pharmacy for
the rest of that year. Throughout her stay in Gardenville,
Jamie began to read and write. She read psychological
literature and worked hard at rebuilding her self image
and confidence. She characterized this time as:

> . . . a battle of religion. I was brought up
> Catholic. They give you a lot of thou shalt nots.
> There's a lot of guilt associated with it.

After a year of self reflection, Jamie again re-entered
State University.

Jamie was twenty-one years old when she began her junior year in the Fall 1980. By Spring semester, she began to actively participate in her course work. That semester, she took a series of politically oriented courses such as, "Culture through Literature" and "Marxism, Feminism and Black Nationalism". She perceived herself as much more politically aware. For the first time, Jamie felt that her life was more in control. Internally, she felt more at ease; externally, Jamie actively participated in her social world. The political content of these courses gave Jamie a framework and language from which to name and analyze past experiences. She felt less like a victim and began to seriously consider her future. Jamie began to think about acquiring skills which would aid in her escape from the dead-end jobs previously experienced.

Entering the School of Education

By the middle of her third year, Jamie began to consider a number of careers. She toyed with the idea of entering a technical school to become a printer.

> At intersession, I decided, this is it. I don't want to be in school. I was thinking of working more with my hands, doing something tangible. I wanted to become a printer. I did a lot of applying and realized I wasn't going to get a job in that area without experience. And it would mean going back to school and studying something totally different to get any sort of break in that field.

She also considered a career in speech therapy.

But [I] didn't want to put in the time to memorize
things. That turned me off. And I was having a
hard enough time getting through my English major
that I couldn't see five more years of school.

Finally, Jamie decided to enter the School of Education's

Secondary English Teacher Certification program.

Her decision rested on her need for economic security,

a desire to move beyond the self and assume social

responsibility, and the utilization of her background and

academic credits in English.

I was scared. I knew I didn't have a lot of
marketable skills out there in the real world and
I didn't want to get stuck in a dead-end job. I
had a lot of those. And there was no way I would
end up working in a garment factory ironing belts
for eight hours a day.

And I read Kierkegaard. Told me all about self-
deception and how you had to have social
responsibility and social consciousness which I
knew, but didn't know if I wanted to act upon it,
or in what fashion.

And I was an English major for one thing. I guess
teacher training wouldn't require a lot more of me.
I met a woman in my apartment complex who told me
about an Alternative Learning Center high school
program. It sounded interesting and I decided to
get away from myself, spent too much time thinking
about myself. Wanted to see what was going on with
other people. And considering all these things, I
decided to go into teaching.

Jamie entered teacher training with an image of teaching as

a way of helping others. She also felt the need to be of

social value. Teacher training also seemed the path of

least resistance. However, Jamie did not perceive herself

as wanting to learn how to be a teacher. Rather, she

decided to go into teaching. This distinction was important; it affected the meaning Jamie constructed from her experience in teacher training.

A semester before her official entrance, Jamie volunteered as a tutor in the Alternative Learning Center on State University's campus. This center serviced adolescents who have difficulty in traditional school. Despite its alternative philosophy, Jamie felt the program was constricting, but whe was reluctant to condemn its structure.

> I was coming from nowhere and having no background
> in education, except for my own, I did not feel very
> confident in pursuing a lot of issues. But watching
> what went on in that school concerned me very much
> and it brought me back to what I myself had gone
> through, in knowing it wasn't a good system.
>
> And with that in mind, and thinking you have to
> commit yourself to society in some fashion--if you
> don't like it, to try and change it, or at least have
> some sort of responsibility.
>
> And when I entered the Education Department, with the
> thought that perhaps I will and perhaps I won't,
> but at least I will learn about the education
> system.

Jamie's surest expectation of teacher training was that it would teach her something about the education system. She needed a more critical frame of reference from which to analyze her own educational experience and those of others. At this time, she was still struggling to move beyond her personal world. Observing educational settings still

summed up her past. She felt teacher training might
separate herself from her own experience.

Teacher Training: Course Work

Jamie was twenty-three at the start of her formal
teacher training. That first semester, she took five edu-
cation courses, three of which had in-school observation
components. Jamie felt best about the one which examined
the work of teachers, a course which required students to
carefully reflect on their educational biography and reasons
for wanting to become a teacher.

Throughout that Spring semester, Jamie observed rural,
suburban, and urban high school classrooms. She was
disenchanted with much of what she saw. These observations
seemed to confirm her belief that the school system was not
very good.

> Most things I didn't like much made it stronger than
> ever my desire to learn more. I did not like the
> tracking system. I saw kids at one high school who
> had internalized that label, especially in basics.
> I sat through classes where kids go, 'We're not that
> dumb', and would turn to me and explain, 'I'm only
> in this class cause I couldn't fit this and I'm
> really in business.' And watching their lack of
> confidence and watching them beat on themselves and
> feeling so many times the teachers beat on them
> also. I found that upsetting.
>
> In the urban classrooms they lock the doors and don't
> let the students out. Perhaps because there's a lot
> of racial issues, flare ups, I'm not sure. That
> didn't seem right.

> I saw that whole conditioning process in so many
> classrooms. I saw humiliation going on. Teachers
> putting kids down, awful remarks to make to another
> human being who's trying to learn. That just made
> me more angry. It was rare to find a teacher who
> really liked what they were doing and really
> communicated to the students.

During these observations, Jamie focused on students.
What she observed was more a reflection of her own ex-
perience in compulsory education than what was necessary to
consider because she was in teacher training. Her frame
of reference was that of a student; she identified with the
student's plight in a repressive social structure. The
actual work of teachers was not yet a concern. What struck
her most was the way teachers related to students and
whether teachers treated students like human beings. In
this sense, these observations permitted Jamie to relive
her own life as a student.

Just as Jamie's perspective during her observation
work reflected a student's concern for how teachers acted,
so, too, did this student perspective dominate her per-
ception of her own educational course work.

> I had Instructional Planning, which I despised. And
> not so much because I didn't like the professor.
> I didn't like the way he taught. I used to think,
> these are teachers teaching people to be teachers.
> And they're awful teachers themselves.

> [The professor] didn't listen. And not that I
> didn't think what he was giving us wasn't valuable.
> He's teaching you to do a lesson plan, objectives,
> activities. It was tedious work and you didn't
> want to do it at the time. The professor was

> very much willing to talk and tell you what to do, and
> keep you on task, but he never heard you and that
> bothered me. And that's when I'd walk out at
> certain points. That's not teaching to me. That's
> not a classroom that I want to be in. Instructional
> Planning, I felt, could have merged with the methods
> class, or leave it to job training, something like
> that, on the job.

This course afforded her no insight into the process of

planning as her focus on the class' social relations super-

seded its content. Consequently, she concluded that her real

insight into teaching would come with the teaching territory.

Jamie was aware that there was a body of pedagogical

knowledge to be learned but believed she could best acquire

it on her own.

The remainder of Jamie's educational course work seemed

to reinforce the negative lessons of learning what not to

become and what not to do. One course suggested a critical

perspective from which to view the educational system, but,

again, Jamie's perception of the professor often over-

shadowed any potentially validating information.

> I would rather have just been given the information
> and go do it. Some of it was a waste of time.
> But other times, I can ask myself, what is it I don't
> like about this? And then start learning, well, I
> don't want to teach like this because of that.
> And teacher training doesn't compare to actually
> being in school and learning. And I don't know
> how much help that did give me, all those educa-
> tion classes.

Finding a Student Teaching Placement

Jamie's educational course work qualified her to begin
student teaching in September 1983. By late Spring, she
began looking for her placement. Although she originally
intended to teach at Smithville High, a small town high
school similar to her own experience, a professor in the
program dissuaded her.

> He told me that the English department head was very
> tough and very conservative and had thrown an intern
> out because they taught a book [the department head]
> didn't approve of. And I considered that.
>
> And the professor sent me back to Hurston High, to
> look at more teachers. So I went and did happen to
> find one I really liked. She's the first person
> who really talked to me. I walked into her class-
> room and she was playing music to her class. So I
> approached her and asked her if she'd ever considered
> taking an intern.

Unfortunately, Jamie's first choice for cooperating teacher,
Ms. Karla Murr, had not acquired tenure status which
disqualified her from serving. So, Jamie worked out a
compromise; she would work with two of Ms. Murr's classes
as well as work with the head of Hurston's English depart-
ment, Mrs. Carly Michaels, for one class. Mrs. Michaels
would have all responsibility in signing Jamie's
certification papers at the conclusion of her student
teaching. Both teachers agreed to provide Jamie with
feedback.

That summer Jamie previewed her course material but had no idea what to expect in the Fall when she would formally begin student teaching.

> I had never taught formally before my student teaching. I had only observed classrooms. I had no idea what to expect. It's not until you actually get in there and realize you're supposed to be transmitting, you're supposed to be teaching people, other human beings. And it didn't hit me what a responsibility that was until I got into the classroom situation and I actually met a few students on orientation day.

> And I was overwhelmed and I was very scared; partially because I had never been up there, and partially because I knew what an impact someone has in your life standing in from of a room. I knew I wanted to be there. That was a decision of mine, a very conscious decision.

Jamie initially conceived of teaching as a tremendous responsibility which had generational consequences. For this she felt ill prepared. Her image of her teacher's classroom stance, as "being up there", reflected to her the awesome nature of the role she was about to assume.

Still, Jamie's decision to student teach did not resolve any conflict she brought to student teaching. Upon further reflection on her decision, Jamie located the major issue she was to confront.

> I haven't fully reconciled being a teacher [while] hating school. Partially I think I dislike my own school so much and because I dislike my own education and what I see going on, that perhaps there's some way. . . One is to understand how much of it was me and how much of it was the education process I underwent that made me think as I thought about myself and the lack of skills I took with me to

college. And partially because I feel that things
can be different. And they should be different and
perhaps I can do it different.

Comments. Jamie Owl's working-class background
provided a lens to view life experience and focus her life
choices. Early on, she experienced "class shock", a
circumstance which described her alienation from the middle
class values and expectations school demanded. Class shock
distanced Jamie from both her peers and her education.
Throughout compulsory schooling, Jamie practiced social
withdrawal while, at the same time, she internalized the
activities which surrounded her. Grading, for example,
became her internalized yardstick of self-worth. The
tension between anger toward the school system and self
blame was a contradiction Jamie brought to teacher training.
She was caught between acceptance and rejection of her
socialization experience.

Her university experience stood in stark contrast to
her early education. Although her first three years were
characterized by entrance and exit, by her third year, she
began to take control of her life. Her years of political
exploration encouraged her awareness of the need to assume
social responsibility, a stance which the teaching pro-
fession afforded. Although her emerging political discourse
tended to validate her need to break out of constricting
situations, it did not provide her with strategies for

taking social responsibility. So when Jamie Owl entered the School of Education, although she was sure the system was not very good, she had no strategies to change it.

Jamie's previous education would also serve as a major force in structuring her understanding and participation in teacher training. Here, however, her student perspective was reinforced rather than challenged and transformed by educational course work. The social relationships in her education courses permitted her to relive rather than critically reconstruct and transcend her student experience. Further, the familiarity with the work of teachers, experienced through years of compulsory education, led her to believe that becoming a teacher could be self taught.

So, much of Jamie's educational experience prior to and including teacher training informed her of what not to do. This negating experience would later become problematic in the classroom, as Jamie had little validating experience from which to draw, and because she believed she could teach herself. The value of her self knowledge was in its constricting limits rather than its expansive possibilities.

Jamie's early educational biography challenged the popular conservative assumption that people enter teacher training because they have been successful students. Success in this sense signifies an internalized acceptance of the cultural norms schooling promotes. The conservative

roots of this assumption begin when the process of acculturation schools perform is assumed rather than rendered problematic. Jamie's experience tells us otherwise.

What seems to give personal experience its power is its generalization potential. The use of prior knowledge, rooted in personal experience, allows one to measure, anticipate, or predict outcomes to achieve a semblance of the expected. Personal experience can lend consistency to new situations and make us more comfortable in the face of the unknown. In this sense, personal experience often informs present actions. However, if that experience warns one how not to act, while lending no clues to action, as in Jamie's situation, it becomes reactive rather than promotive. Such was Jamie's educational experience. It served as a constraining force, a boundary which limited her to reaction. Her educational biography could not inform the creation of new perceptions but rather, limited her stance to re-living her recent past. Jamie was experiencing an internal power struggle between her past and her present, between rejection of dominant cultural norms and the potential to reconstruct acceptable and validating ways of being in the educational world. This is the struggle she brought to student teaching.

Doing Student Teaching

Grand Questions

Jamie Owl entered Hurston High as a student teacher
the second week of September. Although she began by
observing classroom teachers and the classes she would
eventually teach, her sudden immersion into school life was
overwhelming. She characterized these early weeks as a
time of being scared to death.

> Before I went to school, I threw up a couple of
> times, which I had never done in my entire life.
> I've never gotten that nervous about anything.
> I felt like I walked in a daze that first week.
> What do I do? What's going on? That's gone now,
> but it seems like years ago that I began.

By September 26, Jamie "took over" her first class,
Introduction to Literature, which was originally taught by
Mrs. Michaels. The class was just about to begin reading
a novel which Jamie chose. After considering three novels,
she decided to begin with The Ox-Bow Incident, selected
because of the social issues it raised. Despite her
relative ease with selecting curriculum content, deciding
on her pedagogical approach was not so easily resolved.

> How am I going to introduce the material? How
> was I going to involve the students? What should
> they be understanding? How was I going to bring
> that about? What were the important ideas?

During these early weeks, Mrs. Michaels provided
support, suggestions, and some initial structure for Jamie.

They give you a folder, complete with all sorts
. . . quizzes, essay tests, multiple choice
[tests].   There's Monarch Notes and someone's
own notes as to how they approached it, which
was very valuable, as far as going through all
that material and sorting things out.

Mrs. Michaels asked me to have a week's plans, a
week of planned lessons, before I went into the
classroom. And as I started to do them, I found
it difficult. I don't know what was going to
happen day one. So to go to day two, three and
four without knowing how day one is going, was
very difficult.

But Mrs. Michaels is very supportive and for the
most part, she left it up to me. She's given me
incredible freedom. It was trial and error and
she let me go with it at that point.

Despite these guidelines, Jamie's early pedagogical

activities were largely self informed; she relied on

instinct and intuition. As her instinct became heightened,

teacher training faded into vague recollections. So, too,

did her original goal of attempting to change the educa-

tional system. Faced with her own inexperience, Jamie

redefined her social responsibility to that of raising

questions.

Maybe I used my teacher training. The only reason
I say that is I have felt my first weeks I went
through on a very instinctive level as far as how
to approach teaching. Whether any of this has
sunk in from those teaching courses, maybe, maybe
not. I don't feel a lot has. The most you can do
is stimulate thought, and you have to ask
questions first.

Her initiation into stimulating students' thoughts

immediately became problematic. Fearing she would be

misunderstood, Jamie saw misunderstanding as inevitable.
She began to formulate the grand questions of knowing what
and how to teach.

> There's twenty-five in the ninth grade class;
> that was my challenge, getting up there and
> speaking to twenty-five people. And one of the
> things I find incredibly difficult is, I may have
> one idea about what I want to get across, but
> knowing that these twenty-five people are coming
> from so many different places and so many thoughts
> in their heads. They're at different places even
> when they come into my classroom. And all of a
> sudden, how am I supposed to get them to focus on
> one thing? This is a tremendous challenge.
> Whether it can be done or not, I don't know.

These questions followed her home, triggering self
doubt and magnifying her inexperience and difficulty with
school structure.

> Sometimes when I'm at home preparing my work, I
> think, I don't want to do this. I don't want to
> be in this position of responsibility. It's too
> much to ask of an individual, or at least for me.
>
> And I don't like having to work within that
> structure. But I walk into that classroom and I
> feel totally different. It's a difficult
> conflict. And I don't even know when I'm
> thinking about it half of the time, cause I'm
> usually coming home thinking, how can I get these
> kids to understand? Am I communicating with
> them in any way? And that's my biggest concern
> right now. Am I teaching them anything? Are they
> learning anything? Am I helping them in any way?

Jamie began coping with her self doubt by integrating
it into her ninth-grade curriculum. Themes from The Ox Bow
Incident easily lent themselves to an investigation into
justice, socialized bigotry and its consequential mob

violence, as well as people's educational formation.
During these classroom discussions, Jamie's primary
objective was to communicate with the students. This was
missing in her own education. Raising grand questions
and soliciting student response were her primary pedagogical
approach. Yet the philosophic nature of her questions
seemed puzzling to the students; Jamie's questions were
often met with their silence.

Jamie turned to the students for direction and feed-
back. Although she had other sources of feedback, the
strongest source was the students themselves. Much of
their power to influence Jamie's ways of being in the
classroom occurred because of their daily and immediate
contact. But because, at this early stage, Jamie
identified more with students than the teachers, she more
readily turned to them. But the students' feedback was
often contradictory on both the formal and informal levels.
Informal feedback concerned student body language rather
than oral articulation. It was Jamie who had to make
meaning from their symbolic interactions. She read
student grimaces as indicating disagreement with assign-
ments, classroom discussion, and classroom activities:
blank stares reflected boredom, unanswered questions meant
personal rejection.

In an attempt to alter the emerging routine of class-
room discussions, Jamie introduced role-playing into the
class. She thought it would structure more student
participation and encourage self reflection. The role
playing activity did not work; students became silly with
giggles and laughter. Rather than investigate the meaning
of these responses, Jamie dropped the activity. In her
frustration, she blamed the school structure for socializing
students into their passive learning behavior and their
rejection of anything different.

Students' formal level of feedback said something
different. During class, Jamie often directly asked
students how they felt about the class. They first said
she covered the material too quickly. When she slowed down,
the students felt the class moved too slowly. The students
felt the material was too hard and they did not understand
the novel. Students use of formal and informal feedback,
as a means of negotiation for classroom power, was
illustrated in an early confrontation between Jamie and
her students.

> [On] Wednesday [October 5], I first started hearing
> complaints. I had them do character sketches.
> Mrs. Michaels suggested I have them do that. It
> sounded like a good idea to me too. So I pre-
> sented that to them. And I got, 'I'm being
> overworked!' and 'We don't understand.' I
> tried to listen and hear what their complaints
> were.

As a result of that exchange, Jamie gave class time for
students to complete their work. The students, however,
had a different agenda and viewed class time as free time.

> But they wouldn't work on their character
> sketches. They were tapping on their desks,
> having jam sessions, talking with friends.
> After hearing their complaints, I told them,
> 'You just told me you don't have enough time and
> you're being overworked, but yet when you have
> this time in class, you're not working. What am
> I supposed to do?'

So throughout this discussion, Jamie unintentionally created
an informal structure for student negotiation for classroom
power. What seemed to complicate matters more was the
conflicting understanding of control. Jamie understood
control as a negative consequence of an authoritarian
school structure. The students saw control as a way of
doing less work.

A few days later, Jamie decided to use class time to
discuss the students' learning process, the problems they
were having with the novel, and to clarify her own
expectations of the students.

> I decided we were just going to get into a circle
> and talk. I told them how I felt when I was up
> there and that I was having a hard time reconciling
> a lot of how I felt about education, and what I
> was doing as a student teacher. I told them how
> I felt when I was in school. I told them how Hurston
> High was different, how I felt teachers had a lot
> more freedom in approaching their classes, in
> contrast to when I grew up, as far as, desks were in
> a line, eyes forward, don't talk to your neighbors,
> speak when spoken to.

I told them I didn't like the grading system and
what it was and that I don't want it to be going
on in this class if at all possible. And we talked
about their anxieties over grades, which is very
much similar to any high school. And I just see
it ruinous to people's learning. I was hoping they
wouldn't let that occur with themselves.

They don't want to read The Ox Bow Incident. I told
them why I was teaching it. Those three books were
given to me and that was my choice. And I also felt
it was a good book and there was some good ideas and
that's why we had to work more at it.

I told them, well, I listened to them. They told
me about their other classes and they had a lot more
homework. That English wasn't their only subject,
and that's how they felt I treated it. They felt
I wasn't clarifying assignments. They didn't know
what they were supposed to be doing. They want to
know why they have to do something. They didn't
understand why they had to do those character
sketches. They thought it was just busywork. And we
had a long talk about that and then that's when
some people said it was a good idea. They talked
about how they felt about grades and we talked about
that's how the educational system is set up. Someone
suggested letting them teach a class. And I'm all
for that. But I also told them I wanted them to
work. And that being a student teacher, I wasn't
going to be easy or lenient. That's not how it was
in the real world, that's not how it's going to be
in this class.

I told them how I was going to grade and what to
expect cause they had expressed concern over that.
I told them I would grade on mechanics and on
content. They said, 'How can you grade us on content?'
I told them it was very subjective when it comes to
grading certain things. I don't know if they
understood the term subjective. That's the thing, I
don't always know if what I'm saying is over their
head and they're not telling me. I sometimes rush
to ideas, rather than getting to procedures.

But I also told them it's hard work to be a teacher.
It was also scary for me to get up there and face
25 people and supposed to have this wealth of
information, knowing I don't. They came up with

the idea that maybe they could teach class as we go
along. And I think it's great. And if my cooperating
teacher will allow it, they have to prepare the lesson
and teach their classmates.

I felt [the discussion] went really well because
more people talked about what they were really
thinking. I felt some sort of an understanding
was reached when we walked out. I don't know. I
won't know until sometime next week and I see how
we act with one another, and if they do work.

Jamie's recollection of that discussion revealed the

tension created by her desire to personalize learning in an

environment maintained by depersonalized social relations.

She was torn between preparing students for the harsh

realities of the outside world, which, in her mind, meant

assuming an authoritarian stance, and, at the same time,

creating a human environment. She realized the futility

of keeping social forces and expectations outside the

classroom walls. Yet, because Jamie had few ways of

managing her classroom, she turned to her students for

advice.

Her honesty in sharing past and present fears with

students may have led the students to empathize with her

struggles. They offered to teach her class. But Jamie was

still responsible for the class progress and evaluation.

She attempted to reveal her struggles against assuming

an objectified role by stressing the impossibility of

objectivity in evaluating student writing. However, by

asking her students to trust her judgment, she was, at the

same time revealing her own self doubt. As this point,
Jamie's credibility, which automatically came with the
teaching territory, was beginning to be questioned.

In contrast to what her students were saying, Mrs.
Michaels offered another view, that of a teacher's
perspective. She suggested Jamie use traditional
pedagogical techniques of classroom management to establish
control. Although Jamie questioned these strategies, she
tried them out and defended their use.

> Mrs. Michaesl would make suggestions, which were very
> good. Things to focus on, as far as not forgetting
> about people sitting on the outside, and perhaps
> moving as I taught. She would make suggestions like,
> 'Why don't you give them a quiz after you assigned
> the first night of reading?', which I did. Sort of
> to find out if they were going to read, and establish
> the fact that I was going to be firm and expect a
> lot from them, which was fine. I don't mind doing
> that. It was strange, giving those quizzes and
> expect people to give me information. But it also
> let me know they react to those grading situations
> and what they are learning.

Jamie's rationalization for giving quizzes partially
served to distance herself from her teacher actions. She
saw giving quizzes more as an experiment than a permanent
activity. In this way, she absolved herself from
responsibility by transferring it on to the students. Yet
even approaching the quiz as an experiment in student
reaction to grading situations could not separate her from
the quiz results. She was still uncomfortable with being
the recipient and evaluator of student learning. Giving

quizzes seemed incredible. She could not believe the authority she could wield with a mere quiz.

Mrs. Michaels encouraged Jamie to expect a lot from the students. After all, she reasoned, these students were members of an advanced tracked English class, and thus, presumably, highly capable. To Mrs. Michaels those expectations meant pacing the curriculum more quickly, attending to the subject matter rather than the student views of learning, and providing the students with challenging classes and homework assignments. By this time, Jamie was caught between the official expectations of her cooperating teacher, the students' unofficial expectations of negotiating for classroom power, and her own philosophical explorations of the activity of teaching. Although Jamie felt the institutional pressure to move more rapidly and cover the material, her desire for the students to appreciate the concept of justice, illustrated by the novel, also influenced her curriculum pace. Student resistance to the novel, regardless of pace, however, persisted. Jamie took this resistance personally; she felt the students rejected her.

Jamie's self doubt was also grounded in her image of the teacher as all knowing. Rather than reconstruct this objectified role, Jamie reacted against it. This reaction again triggered Jamie's reenactment of her previous

educational experience. She felt inadequate and empty.
So although she desired something different for her classes
as well as for her self, she had difficulty taking action.
Her self doubt was constant.

> I don't know what I'm doing in so many respects.
> I have to say that. And I don't know if it's fair
> to be up there. I was telling friends the other
> night. Trying to find out something about the
> judicial system in this country and realizing how
> ignorant I am on that subject. And here I am,
> supposed to be going in there and having some
> knowledge to give these students. I don't. I can
> help them with certain things, particularly with
> writing. I have a very good eye for writing. I
> know that.
>
> But how to apply all this and how to approach my
> own classroom, I don't know. I don't know what
> I'm doing in so many respects. I'm on instinct
> right now, and I'm learning, I guess, as I go
> along.
>
> Constantly I'm always drifting back to high school,
> which is really strange. It's like, I'll see the
> teachers in my high school, particularly in English.
> You just sit. They ask questions, you paraphrase
> The Illiad and The Oddyessey. There wasn't anything
> creative, there wasn't anything stimulating. You
> sit around and read your book and discuss it in
> class. In a lot of respects, that's what I'm
> doing at this point because I don't have a lot of
> resources to draw on.

Jamie felt condemned to replicate her educational past.
Since this was the only model she had mastered, however
reluctantly.

Comments. Jamie wanted to succeed as a teacher. But
this required of her that she transcend her own problematic
school career. She was still struggling to achieve

transcendence, yet her inexperience as a teacher delayed this process. Another contributing factor was her strategy of making sense of her current classroom life; she compared her student past with future desires and found no congruency. Instead, it led her to raise grand questions. These questions served to multiply self doubt rather than encourage action.

Internally, Jamie struggled with her own biography. External forces also shaped her conflict. Her early descriptions of the teacher's classroom position as, "being up there", symbolized her image of the teacher as omnipotent knower. It embodied the social pressure to direct the classroom with answers rather than questions. Being up there also meant assuming a fantastic responsibility. Jamie remembered how past teachers had influenced her own life. She felt her "teaching self" could affect her students' lives in untold ways. However, Jamie could neither predict her present or future influence on student development. It seemed unknowable. Although she was aware of the social expectations that teachers act like knowing beings, Jamie could not imagine and did reject such control. To deal with her condition of uncertainty, Jamie raised grand and unanswerable questions.

Jamie's difficulty in distancing herself from her recent student past contributed to another struggle. She

assumed that by providing students with what was lacking in her past education, students would act in ways similar to how she would act under these conditions. She felt that if given the opportunity, students would naturally take charge of their education and be clear about their learning needs. Her theory of educational development, however, did not take into account the conflicting messages students acted out in their classroom negotiation patterns. She also expected that if she identified with her students' experiences, they would reciprocate. While none of these expectations materialized, they shaped her perception of classroom life and created a clash of interpretation over the meaning of classroom life.

Should I Stay Or Should I Go?

By the first week of October, Jamie began to seriously consider whether to remain a student teacher. The first experience was painful. In addition, two circumstantial situations beyond Jamie's control developed: the Hurston Teacher's Association voted to implement a Work to Rule job action, and Mrs. Michaels developed gall stones which required her hospitalization for the next seven weeks.[3] Taken together, these two situations dramatically limited Jamie's access to her cooperating teachers. It unexpectedly accelerated Jamie's pace of assuming responsibility for

learning to be a teacher as well as magnified her growing
self doubt as to whether she could make the grade.

The human drama surrounding Jamie forced her to confront
the real work of teachers. Her marginal student teaching
role, however, prevented participation with Work to Rule.
She was expected by both the university and the school
administrators to carry on as if everything were normal,
but these unfolding events told her otherwise. Her sideline
stance led her to perceive herself more as an observer/
student than as a participant/teacher. Jamie's description
of Work to Rule reflected her feelings of marginality as
well as her psychological distancing from the teachers'
actions.

> They have this Work to Rule thing, which is really
> interesting. I sort of thought I'd hang around
> for this meeting, sort of keeping track with the
> political issues that have been going on, cause
> it's all part of the educational process. It's
> sort of a slowdown on work. It seems to be a
> method of striking and letting the school
> department know that they want ot be considered
> more worthwhile citizens, worthwhile contributors
> to the community and be paid for it, and to show
> them that they do an awful lot of work on their
> spare time that is not covered by the contract.
> [10/17 Interview]

Jamie's interest in the political content of this
action did not resolve her personal conflict. She was torn
between the popular image of the teacher as selfless, an
image experienced as a student teacher, and the economic
realities of a low status, poorly paid profession, a

condition she had yet to experience. Moreover, those
teachers who resented the Teacher Association's mandated
action fueled Jamie's ambivalent loyalties. At times,
these conflicting sentiments served to reduce Jamie's
perception of the teacher's economic realities to mere
personal gripes.

> I myself can't consider myself a teacher and really
> aware of everything that goes on in this school
> system. I can see the teacher who did not want
> to let his priority on the quality of education he
> gives his students suffer, because of a personal
> gripe that they're not getting paid much, which
> is what it comes down to, but which involves other
> factors. Just the fact that teachers have to take
> on other jobs just to remain teaching, to live and
> support a family. I don't know where I stand on
> Work to Rule. As a student teacher, it won't
> affect me. I still take my work home, prepare my
> lessons, and correct my papers.

Jamie's initiation into teacher work and classroom
responsibilities overwhelmed her. Now responsible for two
English classes, she felt her life energies were being
consumed by paper work and planning. At the same time, she
began to look at the work of teachers from a different
perspective, that of a teacher.

> Teaching seems so much like. . . it's rushed. It's
> crowded. I have a lot of respect for those teachers
> being in there. If one thing has changed, it has
> been my outlook on teachers, as human beings, and
> what they do have to undergo and what is expected
> of them. Cause they are asked a lot.
>
> I know what it is just for one class. I know I have
> to take over two, and then three. I should have my
> third class this week, and I've barely taken over
> my second one, and I'm already not sure about my
> first. And I can see myself getting my first, my

my second, my third, and perhaps, if I had not
questioned, getting my fourth. I would have been
so bogged down, so caught under, I'd have to dig
myself out.

This subtle shift of persepctive was further enhanced
by an incident in Mrs. Murr's class.

A girl broke down and cried when she got a "B" on
her paper in the class I'm observing. She was one
of the more talkative members of the class who you
wouldn't expect to take it so hard. And she started
crying in the middle of class. And I remember how
many times I cried over my "B's". Not realizing it's
a "B". But you still take it, I'm stupid. And
that's how we associate those grades with our self-
image. And watching that girl cry, and knowing
during the semester she's not going to be the only
one doing that. The teacher took her out into the
hallway and talked to her. I think we were all
sort of stupified.

And listening to Mrs. Michaels and Ms. Murr after-
wards, it was like, their reaction was like, "So
what?" Not to belittle what this girl was feeling.
They know very well what she was feeling but
knowing this is how the system has and its effects
on these students. And that's to be expected almost.
And you get to a point where it doesn't surprise you
anymore and you're not shocked by it, you can't get
personally upset. . . And it's up to these kids to
deal with it. That's hard. I could understand
being teachers for five and twenty years, seeing
so much of this. And yet knowing that they are good
teachers and do care about their students, but
knowing their limitations that they can't buck the
system.

I realize, I guess, you have to make certain
compromises to have to work within that system. I
don't know if I can, if I'm willing to, or even how
to go about it.

Part of what shaped Jamie's perception of this incident was
her identification with the student. The student's tears
took Jamie back to her own educational past. At the time

this incident occurred, she initially focused on the detrimental effects grading had on student self image. Later, she was privy to the teachers' perspectives.

Jamie found something shocking about Mrs. Michaels' and Ms. Murr's nonchalant acceptance of the inevitability of student pain. Although she wavered on whether grading was a student's or teacher's problem, Jamie's student side felt somewhat betrayed by her cooperating teachers' hardened stance. However, her cooperating teachers' coping mechanism for this incident also appeared an inevitable outcome of the school structure which required teachers to become distant from in order to rationalize student pain. Now Jamie considered the necessary skills of taking pain in stride as an inevitable compromise required by the system. She wondered if and how she, too, could assume this firmer stance.

The symbolic power school exerts in shaping students' self image and activities seemed to crystallize when Jamie considered grading. Although she could not avoid this duty, her feelings, questions, and doubts were internal strategies for coping with compulsory grading. Jamie conducted herself as if the social and school validation of competition, symbolized by the grade, was more potent than her own struggle to reconstruct her values and influence students in another direction. This conduct led her to feel powerless

and isolated, especially when she considered whether one person could really change the system.

The power of the grade to affect student behavior was again illustrated during another discussion with a student. The student asked for a book-report assignment weeks before it was to be assigned. Valerie, a ninth-grade student, explained that her mother, "Has me sit down and have all my outside reports done by the 15th of the month."

> I said, "Oh, is that to make yourself do them?"
> She goes, "Well, [mother] wants me to get "A's".
> Without those "A's", I can't do anything in this
> world." I said, 'Humph.'
>
> I know a lot of the parents put a lot of pressure
> on their kids, especially, my ninth-grade advanced.
> I've had more than one come up, "I've got to get
> those "A's". And you see their devastated faces
> when they get a "B" or heaven forbid, something
> less. And Valerie, who's been getting "B's" has
> been thinking of dropping down to a standard class
> so that she'll get "A's". What do I say to that?
>
> Well, I could say, that's not the way it has to be
> and you can learn. But knowing it's a whole
> different ball game when they get home and parents
> are telling them this and you have one person
> telling that grades don't matter? Knowing full well
> they do? I can't say in all honesty that grades
> don't matter, knowing that they do for them to get
> to any university, but especially a prestigious
> university that this system emphasizes.

While Jamie felt the pressure to prepare students for the real world, her perception of students' acceptance of compliance to authority figures, such as teachers, remained unsettling.

> I'm very much aware that they respect authority
> as far as if they do not do these things, they
> won't get far in their education. If they're not
> going to get good grades, there will be many things
> at stake. The fact that already these kids are
> trained and taught to sit when told to sit, and be
> quiet when the teacher asks them. And that bothers
> me. My ninth graders, they do respond to the
> commands, the orders, the requests I ask of them.
> They do their work. Sometimes I would like to see
> someone dissent. I would like to see someone
> rebel, just because they are so willing to accept
> everything they are told to do in school.

Jamie's expectations and wishes for student rebellion prevented her from recognizing the forms student rebellion took. Having no prior experience with ninth-graders, either with their issues, concerns, or developmental processes, she did not interpret the students strategies for negotiating classroom power as a form of rebellion against her authority. Further, the students contradictory behavior contributed to Jamie's misreading of their shared situations and lessened the effectiveness of her consequential strategies for encouraging student reflection on the experience of schooling. Jamie's expectations proved to be powerful cognitive blinders, delaying her understanding of classroom life.

Student feedback on Jamie's emerging teaching style intensified as her cooperating teachers became inaccessible. Student resistance to her philosophic questioning was clearly evident. As Jamie became more familiar with the Introduction to Literature class, she began to feel the

pressures of students' expectations for concrete answers
rather than philosophical explorations. She felt her
students wanted a teacher who possessed answers to
questions raised. Yet, the combination of struggling to
redefine the teacher's role in a setting which expectated
traditional models, having primarily negative experience
from which to draw, and being dissatisfied with the quality
and quantity of her own knowledge, reinforced Jamie's role
uncertainty. Given these conditions, Jamie began to
consider leaving. The image she used was, "removing myself
from the educational system."

> The more I talk about it, the more I think I really
> don't want to be there and be a part of that,
> knowing my own limitations, because I don't have
> the resources to draw upon to initiate any sort
> of creative learning or self motivating learning.

An especially perplexing classroom discussion with her
ninth-graders seemed to heighten her need to "remove"
herself. Once again, this discussion illustrated a clash
of expectations as to what student teaching is really about.

> I expected the students to think independently,
> to already have some ideas in school. I didn't
> expect them to look to me for all the answers.
> This is the crux of the matter to me. This is what
> scares me the most. This is what makes me question
> teaching the most. They look to me for the answers.
> I'm the one who asks the questions, therefore, I must
> have the answers.
>
> And one day in particular, when we were having a
> discussion and I asked them if they had any questions
> about the book they were reading. No one said a
> word. I tossed out a few more [questions] what do

you think of this, what do you think of that? And
they looked at me and I looked at them and they're
waiting to have those answers and I don't have
those answers.

And that's when I started realizing how ignorant
I am about certain things, knowledge of the world.
I say I don't like the system, but I also question
how much of it do I even understnad, how much of it
am I aware of myself. Whether it be the political
system, the judicial system, which was brought into
question and I couldn't answer, but I realized I
could go out and find information. But at this
point, it's so complicated and cannot be answered
by running to the library for a week.

I find myself not knowing what I believe in, not
knowing what I believe is right and wrong, yet we're
up there talking about right and wrong and laws and
the conscience of society and I don't always know
what I think about the world today. I've gove from a
place in my life where I've shattered my value system
or the value system that was given to me and have
reached a point where all my beliefs have been
questioned to now. Where do I go? And being there
in a classroom, with kids who already seem to have
such strong convictions about things which I question
very much. I don't know if I should, if I can, if
I will bring into my own doubts and questions
into the classroom, or even if it's fair that I'm
standing up there struggling with my own knowledge.

I can remember talking with my cooperating teacher,
that the one thing that scares me about teaching was
that I wouldn't know enough about my subject. Well,
it's not even knowing enough about my subject. I
could get by with that. But it goes deeper than
just having a foundation about your subject. It's a
foundation of the world. And to stand up there and
assume some sort of authority role, or role of
position, that I'm not sure what it means, seems
hypocritical and almost detrimental to their
education . . .

And that class was when it really struck me what had
been occurring and what I was doing as I stood up
there. They [students] had no questions for me. . .
And I looked at them, and they looked at me, and I
looked at them, and it started becoming very
uncomfortable. People started giggling and

laughing, not knowing what was going on. I didn't
know what was going on. I knew I had it in my
power, I was going to bring this class back and put
it into focus, or at least return it to normalcy,
if that is the case. And I just looked and said,
"I have nothing more to say to you, I really don't."
And I said what you can do is read and talk quietly.

And I remember someone sort of walking around the
classroom during this very incomfortable discussion,
and having the assignment and looking for a stapler
and just walking to my desk. And I'm watching him.
And after I had given them the freedom to do what
they wanted for the rest of the period, I saw him
walk out into the hallway. The bell was going to
ring in about a minute. And it was just an instinct
reaction. I don't know where it came from, I don't
know. I said, "Matt. Please come back in here."
I stopped him. It was like, what? Why should he
come back here? We're not doing anything in this
room. He's just sort of wandering out toward the
hall. And there it was, my sort of immediate, you
have to come back in here, and that whole sense of
control, of controlling people. . . and having that
in certain respects, is power. I don't know if I'm
ready to handle that responsibility. I don't know
if I want that.

I came home, I started thinking heavily about what
was going on. I wasn't sure if it was just one of
those day things, or if all of a sudden, all of the
things I had been feeling all along from the first
day I walked into the Education Department has made
me question and consider.

The power struggle between teachers and students was an
antagonism Jamie desperately but ineffectively attempted to
prevent. Yet she found herself living this tension. It
appeared to have a life of its own. However, this classroom
incident allowed Jamie insight into her own socialized
image of the teacher and her unconscious internalization
of the role of teacher as enforcer of school rules. Her
reflex action, for example, told her to stop Matt from

leaving the classroom before the bell signified dismissal time. She knew students were not allowed in the hallway during class time. Yet compared to what was occurring in her class, this rule appeared arbitrary. Jamie became cognizant of the incongruency between school rules, which upheld the facade of normalcy and her own uncertain classroom order.

This incident also forced Jamie to question her image of the teacher as knowledge bearer; she responded by assuming a teaching style which questioned the objectified appearance school knowledge often manifests. While Jamie's inquiries might allow students to consider knowledge as a social construction, she hoped, at the same time, that her students would raise their own questions. Their lack of questions, during this particular class, was threatening since Jamie could not determine the meaning of student silence. Was it rejection of her teaching style? Did it mean students blindly accepted the material? Were the students bored?

Moreover, when students did raise questions, their questions were as problematic for Jamie as those she raised. Student questions raised her specter of self doubt. If she could not answer specific questions, rather than encourage mutual inquiry, Jamie felt cast in doubt which in turn triggered a more severe doubt over everything she

knew. Jamie it seems, was still engaged in the process of
"shattering" her socialized value system. She felt the void
of uncertainty as she confronted the problem of value
reconstruction. Indeed, Jamie felt empty when she located
her problem as lacking "a foundation of the world". The
real problem, however, was that Jamie objectified this
foundation; she viewed it more as a product than as a
lifetime development. Inadvertently, Jamie invalidated
her own search for meaning.

A second incident further heightened her awareness of
involuntary role internalization.

> Jeremy walked up to me in the middle of [a] class
> and said, "May I go to the bathroom?". And I
> looked at him. It was like, what do you you mean
> you want to go to the bathroom in the middle of my
> class? And that's how I felt I looked. It was this
> whole big question. And then I realized. He said,
> "I lost a tooth." Again, my G-d, he has to go to the
> bathroom. No big deal, no matter what reason, whether
> it was just to get out of the class for a minute for a
> breath of air, or to smoke a cigarette, or to fix
> his tooth. Who am I to question what he wants to do?
>
> Already that role is seemingly internalizing within
> me and I'm acting it out. I'm acting it out as I'm
> questioning it and it's hard stuff and that scares me,
> assuming that role.
>
> Of course I let him go to the bathroom. But that
> minute where I had to stand there and for a minute
> I was ready to say no. And it was like, No? Where
> am I getting that from? It almost seems to come
> with the territory, but that's not true. I'm a
> human being, he's a human being. It doesn't have
> to be like that.
>
> Because I realize, yes, it is a repressive
> environment, it is an oppressive environment.
> When I went through it I found myself very bottled

up, very self contained and not able to find ways of
expressing myself. I don't think I can allow
myself to leave with that reasoning because I
don't have to be like that. But I don't know how
I want to be.

The bathroom incident symbolized Jamie's internal role
struggle to be different in a social situation which seemed
to unconsciously circumscribe her behavior. She experienced
the tension of extricating her behavior from the power she
could wield. Jamie's reflex response of considering
whether to recognize Jeremy's organic need revealed the
absurdity of the teacher's position of controller of
behavior beyond her control. Jamie was shocked at the power
of the classroom to transform her perception of ordinary and
natural activities into forbidden behaviors. She was torn
between the unconscious reaction of internalized acceptance
of the territory and carving out her own space. Like the
previous classroom discussion, this incident was another
indication of Jamie's directionlessness. However, she now
began to blame herself rather than the territory.

Soon after these incidents, Jamie sought the advice
of her two cooperating teachers and the university
supervisor. In part, she wanted these women to convince
her to stay. Instead, each gave Jamie contradictory advice,
and to a lesser extent, suggestions for survival, should
she decide to stay. Jamie first approached Mrs. Michaels
the day before the latter's hospitalization. Mrs. Michaels'

told Jamie that she had the stuff to be a good teacher, but the decision was Jamie's alone, declaring that there was nothing worse than being uncomfortable.

Ms. Murr took another approach.

[She told me] that many teachers go through the same kind of doubts, perhaps not questioning them as soon, cause [Ms. Murr's] been teaching for five years and has not started questioning a lot of these things until the last year. That they were concerns, but if you kept thinking about them . . . I got the sense she did enjoy what she was doing and there were a lot of good things in the teaching profession. . . that you just have to work around the things you don't like. And if you question, you go crazy.

[She] didn't convince me to stay. I knew that what I was questioning a lot of teachers had questioned, and had somehow struggled their way through to allow themselves to remain in the profession. But again, she didn't have any answers, and again, I didn't have any answers. I don't know if there are any. It could be as simple as that.

This piece of advice contained two contrary suggestions. On the one hand, questioning was normal. Everybody raised them. Yet if you question too much, you will go crazy. On the other hand, to remain in the profession, strategies must somehow be created by the questioner, to work around unappealing aspects of the profession. Again, Jamie knew this advice to be true. She could not, however, conceive of the precise actions to enable her to live it.

Jamie's university supervisor had observed Jamie's classroom once, but contacted Jamie during the weekly student teaching seminar meetings. Jean Snough took a

different approach upon hearing Jamie's story; she stressed
adaptation to the school structure. She attempted to talk
Jamie into completing her student teaching semester. Jean
did not see leaving as an option.

> [Jean] was profoundly distressed and wanted me to
> stay. And I was so close and she asked me to re-
> consider a lot of things I had thought about but
> weren't my priorities, as far as being so close
> [to finishing] and two more months and you'll
> have your teaching certificate. And when things
> clear up in your mind, you'll have that permission
> slip to teach. That has to be considered. I know
> what she was trying to do, to encourage me to stay.

Each piece of advice Jamie received from her pro-
fessional support network was consistent with each of their
roles. Although both cooperating teachers suggested
different approaches to considering the decision, both
women took a guidance role and treated Jamie as a person
first, a student teacher second. Ms. Murr's advice was
more closely linked to that of Jamie's university super-
visor; both believed Jamie could adapt to the school
environment if she would only refocus and learn to
accommodate. But Jamie was ambivalent about their advice
because she was of two minds about her own needs. She
remained deeply uncertain about her role.

Advice becomes powerful if it can be applied. Such
was the case for Jamie. A few days later, during a discus-
sion with a student, the professional advice she received
suddenly made sense.

It's funny. I almost told the kids. And there was
one girl who was the biggest griper about reading
The Ox Bow Incident all along. She finally turned
to me and said, "Gee. This is getting kind of
interesting. I like this". And I said, "Oh. It's
nice you gave it a chance". And I found myself
making the connection between giving things a
chance and griping and grumbling before you're even
sure what it's about.

I had planned on saying, I don't know if it would
have been an apology for the strange classes I've
been having the past couple of days, which I don't
know if the students even noticed. This week is a
different week and they're willing to accept that.
And I couldn't tell them that day. I'm not going
to say anything until I'm absolutely sure I'm
staying and then let them know. I know they'll
adjust either way.

Surprisingly enough, Jamie's students had also become a

source of inspiration. In this instance, Jamie was

beginning to learn the lessons she tried to teach. More-

over, when her classes ran more smoothly, Jamie started to

feel more adequate, as did her students. During this

brief reprisal, Jamie began to understand the issue of

leaving from another perspective. This encouraged her to

rethink her decision.

However, because Jamie had entered student teaching to

discover whether she wanted to be a teacher, her possible

departure was not shocking. Most disconcerting were the

extreme feelings of vulnerability, self doubt, and

uncertainty rooted in her circumstance. Jamie had not

reckoned with the pressure to conform.

[My teacher training] prepared me for it in some respects, but it's different reading it and applying it to real people and seeing it actually happen. The instructors were concerned with making us aware of what to expect as a teacher. They did have us look at those things, as far as the intense realization of those issues. They were intense to me then, and they seem to be only intensified even by such trivial issues of letting someone go to the bathroom or not.

I knew I was going to have problems when I walked in there with the educational system. I have problems walking around here and living in this society. I just didn't think they'd come up so quick and so prominent, so often. And then to find myself part of it, thinking I could work within it, not knowing how easily I could get caught up in them, too. I don't think I was ready for that.

Jamie was dismayed at how effortlessly she could act in ways contrary to her beliefs. The power that unconscious internalized attitudes have over behavior had never struck her so forcefully. Confronting these constraints in actual situations rather than between the covers of a textbook, the shock of recognition jarred Jamie.

Comments. The circumstance of student teaching provided the arena where Jamie's student side did battle with her emerging teaching side. There, she was privy to the concerns of both worlds. Her attempt to integrate these worlds to inform her actions, however, was problematic. The power struggles embedded in the shared world of the school required Jamie to take a stand, that is, to commit herself to the teacher's role. Although Jamie went through the motions teachers daily perform, internally her intent

did not unify her actions. She wanted to be different but found herself reacting as her past models.

Even though Jamie's classroom position defined her external role, internally, she continued to feel inadequate. The responsibility seemed overwhelming. Her engagement with the daily taken for granted teacher activities raised unanswerable questions and deeper doubts. Grading is one such example. Both teachers and students contended with grades. Each seemed trapped in a game neither created. The players' rules demanded coping strategies. As a student, Jamie's strategies were ineffective. Now, as both a past receiver and recent provider of grades, Jamie had difficulty transforming her position. Instead, she focused on the effect grades had on teachers, for here, too, grades seemed to also control teacher behavior. Providing grades meant becoming insensitive to their painful consequences.

Thus a series of critical incidents, from Work to Rule to the bathroom incident, provided the backdrop for Jamie's induction into the complex realities teachers confront. Her loyalties remained divided. In the case of Work to Rule, Jamie was torn between the teachers' labor struggles and her perception that the students needed continuity of instruction. Her early class consciousness, grounded in her life experience, did not mature with her present role,

but instead, became delayed. Solidarity with the teachers'
struggle was difficult because of Jamie's idealized notion,
rooted in the historical development of the profession, of
the teacher as selfless professional. This was reinforced
by Jamie's apprenticeship condition; she was unpaid while
performing a full time job. Outside the class, then,
Jamie's marginal role prevented her from acting more like
a teacher.

Inside the classroom, Jamie confronted student
pressure to be more like a teacher than a student. They
expected that behind each question she raised was an
answer. Jamie shared their image of teacher as knowledge
bearer despite her attempt to crack this cast. Her
students' demands for certainty seemed to delay her attempts
at role reconstruction. Jamie began to turn her questions
inward. As long as she herself was directionless, Jamie
was ill prepared to guide her students.

Moreover, Jamie's tendency to compare her idealized
image of the teacher as one who possesses a foundation
of the world with her own lack of knowledge only magnified
feelings of inadequacy. This image seemed to haunt her,
conjured up, so it seemed, by both her perceptions of
students as well as her internal turmoil. Each interaction
with students became critical, a symbol of all she

lacked. Jamie was beginning to understand that a vague intention to be different was no guarantee of desired behavior.

Still, Jamie's expectations of both teacher and student behavior became powerful cognitive blinders which limited her vision of classroom interaction. Her notions of each role did not include coping mechanisms for compromise and assimilation. Consequently, when witnessing other teachers interacting with students, Jamie had difficulty separating the teaching role from the human actor and her own biography. In many ways, Jamie saw what she felt rather than what occurred.

I'm Not a Teacher

One of the positive outcomes of Jamie's decision making process on whether to remain a student teacher was that she began discussing her experiences and doubts with her friends and peers. Talking seemed to ease her feelings of isolation. A telephone conversation with an old friend challenged Jamie to reconsider.

> She called me up and when I was telling her how I was leaving, she just ranked me right out. She said, "How can you do this? You're always letting your doubts get in front of you and your insecurities."

> She's probably like the second or third person who's mentioned my insecurities getting in the way. And it made me stop and think. Was it my insecurities that were drawing me out of the teaching

> environment? Insecurities about my own academic
> abilities, my own knowledge? Insecurities about
> relating to people, especially on a larger
> scale? [10/24/83]

Talking with friends permitted self examination. This telephone conversation, like the informal realization of giving things a chance, seemed to tap into Jamie's subjective experience.

Jamie also tried to consult with her peers. She had coffee with two other Hurston High student teachers after school.

> I had gone out with two other interns hoping that
> at some point they would talk about their
> feelings. . . And no one really brought it up,
> brought up teaching. . . I didn't feel like
> saying, "Don't you ever feel like this?" Or all
> my doubts. Everyone knew I was leaving at that
> point.

The knowledge that Jamie might leave might have inhibited the student teachers from expressing their own doubts. They, too, may have felt the professional pressure to know and act certain. Her decision may have also tapped into their own fears of failure. Later that day, Jamie also had dinner with another student teacher, Rebecca Goldstein. Rebecca drew Jamie out and honestly shared her own concerns and doubts.

After these conversations, Jamie was still torn between leaving and staying. Although she initially decided not to involve her students, Jamie walked into her ninth-grade class and decided to announce that she was leaving.

I didn't have anything prepared for that day. My
ninth-graders asked to get around in a circle, sit
in a big circle with their seats. And I was very
pleased 'cause I was going to ask them to do that
anyway. So we sat around and I said, "Well, I'd
really like to talk to you for a minute. I have
decided not to teach." And I went into a few
reasons why.

Actually, I really didn't know how to express, I
found I was at such a loss of words. I was very
vague. "It's something to do with me and it's
something to do with the structure and the way the
system was set up." And they were wonderful.
"Oh why? Why do you want to leave? Is it us?"
They thought maybe if we worked harder, you would
stay. That was nice. They threw out ideas of
what I should do, maybe I should be a psychologist,
a counselor, or philosopher.

And I started to cry during the class after they
had expressed these sentiments. I left the room
and went out in the hall for a few minutes and
thought about what am I doing? Do I really want
to do this? If it's right for me to leave, why do
I feel so bad? [I] walked back into the classroom.
Someone said, "Where did you go?" They'd been
looking for me. I said, "I went to cry." We
talked about it for maybe a minute more and then
we went to work.

After that discussion, the ninth-grade class was somehow

different for Jamie. The students showed an enthusiasm

for discussion and seemed to try harder. She began to

feel better about her classroom and reconsidered her

decision. Later that evening, Jamie decided to remain a

student teacher.

Jamie realized that by staying, she was committing

herself to a struggle with her doubts and questions.

> For two more months, I think I can learn a lot.
> I'll be. . . clearer when I leave. My doubts are
> still there and the problems I have with the
> structure and the system and with myself. But I
> won't know until I immerse myself more deeply
> within that system . . .

Jamie believed that time might clarify her relation to the

school system's structure, for time provided experience,

and experience was the greatest teacher. Moreover, the

ninth-graders' renewed efforts seemed to revitalize her

hope.

Still, in order to remain in student teaching, Jamie

constructed a complex coping mechanism which allowed for

her inexperience, vulnerability and doubts. Rather than

assert her role, Jamie asserted herself.

> I have finally decided when I enter that school
> building in the morning [that] I'm not a teacher.
> I'm a human being who's assuming a role that has
> been designated teacher. And I carry out some of
> the functions of that teacher. But that when
> things go against my grain, I don't want to do it,
> I don't believe in it, or I just don't know, then I
> admit that. And that way I save my own peace of mind
> and I can deal with the situations that arise. And
> OK, I don't know everything, but I'm not a teacher
> anymore, I'm a human being, which in a lot of
> respects was my own expectations of what a teacher
> should be when I walked in there.
>
> I can't say it's easy to separate. It seems easy
> to get caught up in teaching. It's easy to assume
> the role, easy to assume the function. I guess I
> have assumed my own high school teachers' role,
> the role they have played, the function they have
> performed.

Jamie's coping mechanism hinged on a strategic redefinition

of her role. This redefinition allowed her a semblance of

control over her doubts and questions. Being a "mere"
human, Jamie felt a right to her doubts because doubts
were part of the human condition. Her psychological
rejection of the dominant image of teacher, and the seemingly
inevitable compromises teaching entails, freed Jamie of the
guilt surrounding her uncertainty and her perception of
self ignorance. Jamie was making peace with her limitations.
At the same time, she began to do battle with a reified role.

Outside the classroom, Jamie became more fascinated by
Work to Rule. She found teachers willing to talk to her
about their action; she was slowly meeting teachers and
feeling less estranged. Jamie's description of the practice
in its second week revealed her vicarious participation.

> The Work to Rule is fascinating because you're
> finding teachers in a much more pressurized situa-
> tion, much more so that it would be under natural
> teaching conditions.
>
> It's an unusual happening. It's people expressing
> themselves and utilizing a method of rebellion, a
> method of expression. . .
>
> I'm not affected by it. I bring home my work,
> correct papers at night. I feel removed from that
> aspect of it. I don't have a contract. I'm a
> student teacher. I don't have anything to draw
> back on. I have to do my preparation. It affects
> Ms. Murr. She's restricted in a lot of her own
> preparation and how much she can give to me.
> Mrs. Michaels is in the hospital.

Part of what fascinated Jamie was that the teachers touched
her desire for rebellion against oppressive conditions.

She could empathize with the teachers when they stood up
and demanded their rights.

Jamie was still pulled between accepting the popular
image of the teacher as selfless and the right to self
assertion.

> I understand both points fully. I understand
> where the students are coming from, feeling
> cheated in their education, and I see where the
> teachers are coming from, as far as feeling
> cheated in their appreciation and their worth as
> human beings. . . I suppose if I was a teacher,
> I don't know. . . In a lot of respects, I think
> I'd be right there with the teachers.
>
> When you're a teacher, your priority really
> should be your students, as far as giving them
> the best, as far as being the best available
> resource for information in your area of study.
> It's hard to express myself with still so many
> doubts about what teaching is about.

Jamie's struggle with the teacher's role made it difficult
for her to imagine what she would do if she were a teacher.
She described teacher priorities in the second person.
This reflected her recent decision to distance herself
from the role. She also again mentioned that teachers
should have the best information, an indication that her
unconscious acceptance of teachers as knowledge bearers
remained.

By the end of October, Jamie had taken over two
classes, the most recent being remedial reading, and was
observing her third class, Persuasion. Compared with her
first class, Remedial Reading, was a small, highly

individualized class of five students. In this class, the

teacher's role was that of an individual helper. Ms. Murr,

the original teacher, often assisted Jamie. The class met

early mornings and, by the end of the month had settled

into a routine of going to the cafeteria for a snack, once

a week, as a reward for doing work. This was Jamie's first

experience in teaching reading.

Since Jamie had taken over Remedial Reading, she begain

to notice the class was going to the cafeteria more

frequently.

> I'm getting frustrated because I feel the kids are
> not doing the work that is going to enhance their
> reading ability and I'm at a loss as to what they
> should be doing.
>
> My cooperating teacher has established a pattern in
> which they are allowed to go to the cafeteria before
> they start reading. At first it was only going to
> be on Fridays, as a treat, which I thought was nice.
> But it's almost gotten to a routine basis, when we
> go in there everyday. . .
>
> [When we go] they all buy sugar and after that it's
> very hard to keep them focused on what they're doing.
> I myself ate one of these peanut butter cookies
> because they all seemed to like that. I walked out
> of there saying, "My G-d, I cannot eat this again."
> Because I felt so overloaded and worried, that I
> couldn't maintain control over the classroom
> situation. It took me all day to calm down from
> that. . .
>
> The day I ate the cookie, no one was listening. They
> got into vocabulary. They were so into it they were
> ignoring my questions. They get points for finding
> the word in the dictionary. And there was a mad
> dash, looking for a word. I always have to
> reinterpret what the dictionary says. They write
> it down and then all of a sudden, they started

> getting way ahead and looking instead of listening
> to what was being read and the questions I was
> asking. . . they were a page or two ahead so they
> could be ready and look it up so they would have
> a point. . . I kept the structure 'cause Ms. Murr's
> been in there for most of it. [10/31/83]

Part of Jamie's feelings that the class was out of control

had to do with the peanut butter cookies. The sugar-high

Jamie and the students experienced encouraged an excited and

rushed behavior on the part of all. But besides the effects

of sugar, Jamie was also beginning to see the effect the

class structure had on the students and herself.

> Jamie began to feel trapped within Ms. Murr's structure.
>
> It would be different if I had the class from the
> start. It's very different going in there and
> already having patterns established by the previous
> teacher. What doesn't seem so harmful to me now,
> does.
>
> But yet I don't feel I can tell my cooperating
> teacher that, which is an established practice.
> It's intense. The effects for me were detrimental
> to maintaining a class, to conducting a class.
>
> I don't know what to do. I don't feel I can
> come in there and tell them, no way, we can't go to
> the cafeteria today. If I said no, that would mean
> no. I don't know. They might talk to Ms. Murr,
> they might not. I think Ms. Murr would talk to
> me. I don't think she would be opposed. I'm sure
> she would understand my view point. And then again,
> I wonder. I feel strange breaking a pattern that
> has already been established by the previous
> teacher. . . It's not my class. . .

Jamie was reluctant to change Ms. Murr's classroom structure

because change, in this instance, implied criticism, which

seemed like overstepping her boundary. As a student teacher,

Jamie was concerned that if she changed the structure, students would go over her head and tell the real teacher. She was not sure if Ms. Murr would support her authority, or, indeed, if she had a right since the class was not really hers.

In Remedial Reading, Jamie felt more like a temporary, yet compulsory visitor. Her feeling that the class was not her own allowed Jamie to make do with the situation. Even though it was not her class, Jamie still felt responsible for covering material and helping students improve in their reading skills. She felt subverted by both sugar and the class structure, both of which seemed out of her control. It was this class where Jamie felt more like a student teacher than anything else, for her cooperating teacher, unlike in her ninth-grade class remained with her in the classroom. Ms. Murr's presence seemed to control Jamie's boundaries.

Comments. Jamie's psychological rejection of the teacher's role would have left her without a social definition in the school environment which is organized by role. So Jamie constructed her own role by reverting back to her self. It was Jamie's way of asserting her self identify. She desired to be viewed in her own right, rather than as a refelction of a role.

Feelings of heightened vulnerability were another consequence of her redefinition. Jamie's inexperience made her feel as if she were walking on thin ice. In contrast, experienced teachers walked confidently, sure in their strides. They emulated assuredness. Unable to assume such a stride, Jamie stepped into her own shoes. The disengagement permitted her to stress her human qualities; she could accept her human condition of fallibility.

This internal redefinition did not change her daily activity. It did, however, change her perception of that activity. Jamie now attempted to view her actions differently, in a less involved manner. She might have appeared to comply with the teacher's role, but as long as she preserved her internal self, the actions were not really hers. They belonged to a role she rejected.

Ironically, Jamie's ideal image was a teacher who admitted mistakes, raised grand questions, and struggled to change classroom life. She desired personalization which was internally realized by this new strategy. As a human, Jamie could attempt to transform this reified role which threatened to overtake her. When she succumbed to this role, she could admit being only human.

Yet the danger of psychological distancing is in the behavior patterns it creates. Within a two week period,

Jamie had not only decided that she was not a teacher, but that a class beyond her control, was not her class. In this way, her distancing mechanism removed her from taking responsibility for what occurred around her. Her role redefinition subtly became that of a human visitor to the classroom. As a human visitor, Jamie felt powerless to initiate change and felt pulled by the stream of events someone else set in motion. So although her new definition was initially comforting, it also delayed Jamie from taking creative action. Instead, she merely became more immersed in her inner world.

The Ox-Bow Incident

As the ninth-grade students completed the reading of the novel The Ox-Bow Incident, Jamie turned to questions of evaluation. She knew the novel's completion signaled a unit test which she constructed from the teacher information packet she had received. The morning the test was to be given, Jamie arrived extra early to type the test. Upon her arrival at the English office, Jamie found herself locked out; she had forgotten that Work to Rule kept the office closed until the first morning bell. The principal's office was open so she began typing the test there. But by the first bell, Jamie suddenly realized she had typed the test on the wrong side of the ditto-master, necessitating

a retyping. Time did not permit this, so the principal's secretary ended up retyping the test as Jamie rushed to her first class.

When Jamie handed out the test that day, she had not anticipated that it would take the students two days to complete it; they barely finished half of the test. Still, she corrected their completed sections, and the next day, when she handed their tests back, students were angry that she had graded those parts. They had expected her to wait until the test was finished before she began the grading process.

Both the testing procedures and the test itself did not sit well with either Jamie or the students. Initiating the test was material evidence that Jamie was participating in a role she attempted to avoid. She also felt the tension of the subjective nature of evaluation which its seemingly objective appearnace could not disguise.

> I got a strong feeling that this was an unfair test
> due to my own lack of having it prepared in time.
> So I added a bonus question. I graded it. Some of
> it was very subjective. What's fair? [On] essays,
> I concentrated more on content that structure. In
> some respects I felt like a teacher. It's hard for
> me to maintain that sense of human being. There were
> right and wrong answers and I was evaluating.

After the test, Jamie used the succeeding class to discuss the next choice of reading material. She wanted her students to choose the next reading. Her wish to have

students select the material was rooted in her philosophy
of education as well as her desire to have the class more
more smoothly.

> I wanted them to have a say in what material they
> would be studying. I feel students should have some
> sort of input into what they're being taught. And
> watching how much they rejected and maybe by having
> a choice, they would feel more a part of it and
> have more responsibility for what they are studying.

It took a few days for the class to agree. They decided to
read Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice.

The transition from ending the first book to beginning
the second, however, was not smooth. Before the new
reading began, Jamie asked students for feedback on the
last five weeks. The feedback students gave shocked Jamie;
they seemed to contradict her own perceptions of classroom
life.

> Then we started to talk about how they had felt The
> Ox-Bow Incident had gone. That's when I found out
> they were bored and unstimulated. . . They felt I
> was too lenient. . . They wanted to have something
> happen to them if they didn't get something done on
> time. They wanted absolute deadlines, they wanted
> discipline. They wanted to be told what to do.

> I was shocked. . . because it sort of goes against
> everything I was hoping I was establishing. They
> didn't want to discuss with their classmates. They
> didn't feel they were really learning anything by
> doing that, which for me, that's almost what English
> has to be about, discussing everyone's ideas. I
> tried to explain my point of view. They said, "Well,
> you can talk to people on the street [I asked]."
> "Do you want more homework?" [They said] "No, we
> don't want more homework." [I asked], "What is it
> that you want that stimulates you?" [Someone
> answered], "I don't know, but we went too slow."
> [I said], "You went too slow? But you people were

the ones who were telling me that we're going too
fast!" "No. No. [they said] That was a long time
ago."

I was shocked when I walked out of that room because
I felt they really did not know how to accept the
responsibility for their own learning, that they
had for so long geared everything toward what the
teacher wants, that nothing else mattered. I got
this sense their classmates didn't matter, it was
only the grades and what went on in that capacity.

They never asked me a question the entire time I
taught The Ox-Bow Incident. I said, OK, they don't
know how to formulate a question. But they seem to
have no desire to learn how to think for themselves.
And to want more discipline! I just remember going
through high school and that was one thing I did not
like, everyone telling me what to do. I would have
loved more freedom. Maybe not. Maybe I forget what
it was like to be fourteen.

It just made me question public education again, as
far as what is it teaching kids to do. It all just
seems like a big paper chase. Maybe that's one
thing I should throw out as an essay question, what's
your idea of learning?

Jamie's defensiveness was rooted in frustration. Her

students seemed to be pushing her back into the traditional

teaching role she had fought against. Moreover, she had

difficulty making meaning of the students' contradictory

requests; her own high school experience had created her

resistance to that type of structure. Jamie could not

imagine that given a choice, students would embrace

traditionalism. The confusing nature of this discussion

made Jamie wonder whether she understood her own high

school experience.

The students were challenging Jamie to restructure the
class. It may well be that what they were asking was
something different from their initial complaints. They
were frustrated with Jamie's use of objective tests which
had nothing to do with the open-ended discussion which
preceded them; they may have been asking for consistency
rather than authority. They were, however, continuing
their patterns of negotiating for more power in the class-
room. But to Jamie, these requests, like the novel itself,
seemed like an instance of mob justice. That is, the student
majority, devoid of rightiousness, wanted their way.

Jamie's reflection on this discussion became as
contradictory and as tautological as the discussion itself.
As her own high school experience bore no comparison with her
present condition, she began to doubt her past as well as
her present.

> . . . I'm still not sure what I'm shocked about.
> I'm wondering how much I am just unaware with what
> children need at that point in their life. Maybe
> it isn't such a shocking thing as what I thought,
> that they want everything done for them, that they
> want all sorts of guidelines, that they don't
> know how to appreciate a discussion with their
> classmates. I'm not sure how much of it is what
> they've been taught from day one since they entered
> public education, and how much of it is their level
> of learning ability at this point.
>
> [I'm thinking], I'm shocked that kids don't want to
> think for themselves. [But] why should kids think
> for themselves if that's the way they've been
> taught since the beginning of education. Yeah, that's
> where the shock wears off. Is that the way public

education is run because that's the way children
learn? I don't know. And that's why I'm wondering
is this initial shock just because of an ignorance
[about that]? That it's good for children and
that's how they're supposed to be brought up?

I hated the way I was brought up. I felt very
restricted, very contained, very much unable to
discover what I wanted to do. That's why I'm
shocked still.

Jamie now wavered between collusion with and rejection
of the system's structure. She decided to take some of their
suggestions and within the next few days felt the classroom
pace pick up. Yet these changes did not contribute to
Jamie's development; she felt compromised, a position she
equated with the role of teacher.

I think I am beginning to feel more like I have to be
a teacher now. Now that I've heard from my students
that that's what they want. At least their per-
ceptions of a teacher. I feel I can only go so far
with that role. And then I will not. Somehow I
will convey my own philosophies to them just to
let them know who I am. And how that evolves,
I'm not sure. . .

Despite her students' pressure to assimilate Jamie into
the teacher's role, Jamie still attempted to exert her
individuality, and to be seen in her own right. Yet how
this was to occur remained a mystery. What was most clear
was her role discomfort. What made matters more painful
was Jamie's perception that her students' rejection of their
first five weeks was a rejection of herself.

The deeper dilemmas created by the use of grading as
the primary form of evaluation became even clearer to Jamie

when she observed Ms. Murr's advanced Persuasion class.
She liked watching this class because of the high level of
student participation. Occasionally Jamie would also act
as a substitute for Ms. Murr. During these times, she
felt like a "substitute student teacher". This specific
discussion, however, reminded Jamie of her ninth-grade
class.

> They got into a discussion about war. Is war
> necessary to human survival? One person wrote an
> incredibly excellent, well, a well organized, well
> written essay [titled] "Yes, War is Necessary to
> Human Survival." It seemed to me he had gathered
> all of the information you would get out of a
> history class, as to why war was good. . .And in
> the last sentence he said, "Yes! War is necessary
> to life."
>
> I was shocked. He read it to the class. [Until
> then] I had not said a word in the class. . . After
> he read it, the interesting thing about it was
> everyone responded to it as, yes, that's an
> excellent paper, very well written. But it's so
> far above us all. Only political scientists could
> do something like that!
>
> And I was like, My G-d! You didn't even hear what
> he said! And during that entire discussion of war,
> not one person in that classroom ever, ever
> discussed the loss of lives in war. It never came
> down to human beings. . .
>
> I, for one, was appalled. I don't know how human
> beings, students, I don't care how old they are.
> Not one of them considered that. That shocked me.
> I told them, "I will tell you, these are my
> opinions, and I'm not attacking, I'm just
> disagreeing." And I went point by point through
> his paper and the fact that he was just considering
> that in materialistic terms . . . It was
> uncomfortable after I did that, which I don't know
> where that uncomfortableness came from . . . When I

started to disagree with him, he said, "Yeh. I
wrote this but I don't know if I actually believe
this."

I'm appalled that he'd write something for the "A"
and not look at what he's saying. I guess if I were
a teacher, I'd have to give him an "A" for the
organization of that paper. And his content, it was
perfect, he had all the facts. With the exception
of one little contradiction which personally is
appalling. I'd give him an "A" but I'd make sure I
commented on that paper. If what means more to
them is the "A" rather than what they're thinking
about, what can I do? What can I say except I
disagree?

Jamie found the absurdity of this student's logic

frightening. She could not comprehend how one could divorce

war from its devastating human consequences. That this

logic could be sanctioned and legitimized by an excellent

grade seemed to add insult to injury. The student's

insincerity made matters worse; he seemed more concerned

about the grade than about his paper's alarming content.

Still, had Jamie been the teacher, she too would have

graded the essay highly. Although she believed the grade's

status may have further validated the student's ideas,

Jamie could see no other solution. She felt powerless to

do anything other than play out her role in the grading

game.

Although Jamie was an observer in this class, she felt

compelled to separate herself from the class' consensus by

opposing the student's ideas. When she spoke out, she was

confronted with an uncomfortable silence since Jamie had

broken a tacit rule that observers should be seen, not
heard. But whole observing, Jamie's humanity triumphed
over professionalism. She responded as a student might,
and stepped out of her observer role. Although she could
do this as a student, she could not yet imagine an analogous
teacher response.

Comments. Like it or not, Jamie was perceived as a
teacher by her students. They did not distinguish between
her intent and actions, for her actions were their only
reality. That is, Jamie performed the activity of teaching:
she stood in front of the class, raised the questions,
and gave tests. Her performance, however, was ambiguous,
and this is what the ninth-grades rebelled against. They
expected certainty and consistency, neither of which was
possible as long as Jamie's interior battle persisted. She
could not demonstrate role conviction until she achieved
role clarity.

Yet conviction was important to Jamie. When students
lacked conviction, such as in the case of her observation,
she became outraged. It was more natural for her to
respond as a student, for this stance was located in a
familiar realm. As a student teacher, however, she felt
powerless to act on her convictions, for she believed
humanity and professionalism were irreconcilable. Moreover,

behaving like a teacher was still perceived as an act of
self-betrayal.

As long as Jamie regarded her presence as temporary,
or as a substitute for the real thing, she felt trapped
in a predestined structure. Her distancing strategy
prevented her from accurately interpreting classroom life,
since she expected everyone to act in ways similar to her
own. But distancing also began to qualify her perception
of biography. Her past now appeared as elusive as her
present.

Learning How to Walk and Talk

Although beginning a new unit on Shakespeare might
have signaled a new start, Jamie as well as her students
had difficulty breaking out of the patterns previously
established.

> I realize being a beginning teacher, I'm still
> learning how to walk and talk when I'm in the
> classroom. And I don't have a lot of opportuni-
> ties to come up with creative ideas on my own.
> I don't have that background behind me. At some
> points I blame myself. . . Maybe I shouldn't be
> a teacher if I don't come up with anything
> different than mere discussion, even though I
> felt they were valuable. At certain points, I
> realized there are alternatives to presenting
> material in an interesting fashion that are
> stimulating to the students. When Mrs. Michaels
> left, I didn't have that advice. It was up to
> me to go to other people for advice. [11/7/83]

Both Jamie and her class were frustrated with mere dis-
cussions, especially because Jamie had difficulty

demonstrating their value. Yet, she was at a loss as to what else to do. She had to cover the material which at times was boring to the students. Other English teachers suggested using film strips. Jamie did utilize film strips and also left discussion for awhile; she began concentrating on lecturing.

Lecturing, however, did not stablize the class. Even when Jamie carried out these traditional activities, the students' resistance continued.

> It's at a point where everything I'm doing they don't see the point. . . To get into Shakespeare's background, I put an outline on the board, elaborated points. I didn't really want to do it in that manner, but I had nothing else accessible to me. I thought maybe they had to know this background. . .But there were many people who turned off immediately. Just the look on their faces, "Oh, this is ridiculous," "What are we doing this for?" [Some] refused to do any sort of notes on it.

> We started to do notes and I found out they don't know how to take notes. They feel everything is important and I had to slow down everything. One person started to say to the class, "Not every-thing's important." And they all told him to shut up, just because he knows how to take notes and they don't.

> I felt at a loss as to how to deal with that. How to say, well, this is important, and this isn't important. But important to whom? To me? To them? An important fact? A lot of it was just trivia. But when I started to speed up, it was like, "Wait, wait, we got to get this all down." I didn't like that. They're supposed to have a quiz on this.

The students' resistance was frustrating; they seemed to
be questioning the material as well as Jamie's authority.
Jamie's original strategy for dealing with student doubts
was to resort to traditional means to get students to take
her seriously: she lectured, required students to take
notes, and gave them quizzes. As she had no real invest-
ment in teaching Shakespeare, other than it being required
by the English department, she had difficulty justifying
both the process and content of her class. Moreover,
because Jamie took student resistance personally, she did
not connect the student note-taking panic with the
knowledge that they would be quizzed on this lecture
material. Students were really asking what was important
to know for the quiz.

Regardless of misreading this situation, Jamie did
feel that the use of a quiz was a poor strategy for
motivating students to pay attention and take notes.

> I thought about why I told them they were going to
> have a quiz. In a sense it was because I wanted
> them to listen and take it seriously. And I knew
> if I didn't threaten them with something, it would
> just go by the board. . .

> I didn't like doing that. I'm finding out, more
> and more, in these last two months how I don't
> want to proceed in the class style I have been
> going. I don't like grading. I don't like being
> the one who focuses their attention on this topic,
> or that aspect of the book.

Jamie's awareness of these contradictions gave her no insight into the teaching activity. Rather, this situation was another instance of negating experience; it offered no strategies for positive action. By this time, Jamie had nothing to fall back on but the traditional coercive means teachers employed.

A few days after Jamie distributed copies of the Merchant of Venice the students asked if they could read Romeo and Juliet instead. Jamie told the students that Romeo and Juliet was not part of the ninth-grade curriculum, but said she would see what she could do. Their request pleased her; Jamie took it as an indication of student initiative rather than a rejection of their first choice. So Jamie asked a few teachers whether the book switch was possible. Her search ended with the eleventh-grade drama teacher.

> He let me know that this isn't a normal procedure but he realized I was a student teacher and wanted to have a good teaching experience and is something [the students] wanted so he agreed. From his tone of voice and his definite facial gestures, [he let me know] that it was very difficult for him to do [this] but in his own words, "I would like to see you have a good teaching experience, so therefore, go ahead."
>
> I ran out and said, "Yay!" And I got all excited. OK, now what can I do with this?. . . I was very pleased that they initiated a choice of book.

Her students' new request provided Jamie with new hope.
Moreover, for the first time, Jamie's student teacher status
worked in her interest.

A few days after this change of books, Jamie was
browsing in the school library. By circumstance, she
happened to be in the Education section, and accidently
picked up, Carl Rogers' Freedom to Learn. Attracted by its
title, Jamie began reading it. This was the first and only
educational theorist Jamie read during her student teaching
semester. For Jamie, Rogers validated her teaching
philosophy as well as her feelings toward her own educa-
tional experience. Moreover, reading Carl Rogers seemed a
positive way to transform her personal feelings of power-
lessness; the book promised direction.

> Freedom, what's it all about if it isn't about
> freedom. That's one thing I believe in greatly,
> that should be incorporated in education. People
> should be free to learn what they want to learn.
> One of my biggest frustrations is when they
> present you with a curriculum and say, this is
> what they have to learn. And somehow I'm supposed
> to know what it is that interests them. I don't
> know. And that's been one of my greatest frustra-
> tions since going in there, dealing with my
> ignorance, realizing I don't know what's good for
> them. I don't know what they should be learning.

Jamie's reading of Carl Rogers initially allowed her to
move beyond her tautological arguments of how children
learn. She agreed with Rogers' emphasis on individual
needs and his feelings that the current educational system

is destructive to "actualizing the self-potential". This
book touched Jamie in another way; it helped ease her role
struggle. She could feel more in control when she approached
her students as individuals rather than as a crowd. Rogers'
work allowed Jamie an educational rationale for stepping
down from "up there".

Rogers' theory also provided a rationalization for
giving students the chance to learn what they wanted to
learn. However, Jamie's real situation as a student teacher
mandated a predetermined curriculum. Both Jamie and the
students found this curriculum script boring, yet neither
knew how to fill the void, should the curriculum suddenly
disappear. Although Rogers' philosophy personally
validated Jamie's search, it did not help her with the
more practical activity of application. Also, although
Jamie's search seemed eternal, the pressures of the
practical side of student teaching made time and resources
appear scarce. Jamie began to count her remaining days
at Hurston High.

> There's only twenty-two teaching days left till
> December. I'm already thinking there's no way we
> can get through Shakespeare by the end of November.
>
> I also feel I have these ideas but I don't have the
> background to initiate classroom activities that
> would promote this type of learning environment
> that would get them involved in their own educa-
> tion. I go from points of being so frustrated
> the two weeks previous, to the last week, that

> I can't wait to get out of there. And I go from
> this past week, that there's not enough time.

With the start of her third month as a student teacher,

Jamie became more cognizant of the practical problems of

teaching. For the moment, she refocused her energies from

the problems of the school structure to the daily problems

of how to implement her educational philosophy. Self-

directed learning, advocated by Carl Rogers, was personally

appealing; it promised to relieve Jamie of the responsi-

bilities of authority. The irony was that Jamie would

still have to initiate and direct this new approach.

Other advice. Although they stood on the sidelines,

Jamie's university supervisor and her present cooperating

teacher, Ms. Murr, also attempted to ease Jamie's doubts.

Jean Snough was perceived more as a sounding board than a

supervisor, despite her bimonthly classroom observations.

In fact, much of Jean's energy was spent listening to

Jamie's frustrations and advising her to take the path

of least resistance. During classroom observations, Jean

attempted to build Jamie's confidence; she focused on

her strengths and occasionally would make irrelevant

suggestions like having Jamie walk around the class as

she spoke. Ms. Murr was viewed by Jamie as more of a friend

than a cooperating teacher. Also, because Ms. Murr often

confided in Jamie about her personal life, Jamie was

reluctant to approach her as she seemed to have problems
of her own.

By the first week of November, Jean organized the
second mandated certification conference with Jamie and Ms.
Murr to review Jamie's progress and set final goals for her
last six weeks as a student teacher.

> Both Ms. Murr and Jean said I was organized, as far
> as presenting my materials and having a format for
> the day. [That] came as a surprise because I
> never feel organized when I'm in there. . . I
> always feel when I go in there something different
> comes up and we're somewhere else. [They told me]
> I have good questioning tactics. I come down on
> their level, which was nice to hear. It didn't
> particularly change me. It's not until I seem
> a significant change in the students, perhaps an
> interest and involvement in what they're doing that
> I will feel like I'm doing something good.
>
> I appreciate what they tell me, especially at
> some low points, it's nice to hear somebody thinks
> you're doing something good. But yet I know when
> I go in there I don't feel I am at this point and
> I don't think my students are seeing that either.
> At this point, I'm realizing that I'm a very
> mediocre teacher, very mediocre. But that's OK.
> This is my first experience. . . In the next two
> months, if I can't bring anything different to that
> classroom and by so doing, interest them and myself,
> then I will not continue with teaching.
>
> They told me I needed to work on having fun . . .
> for myself, which is one of my goals. . . At certain
> points, I would have fun, like having a good
> discussion with the whole class. But apparently
> [the class] didn't always feel the same way. So
> that makes me question exactly what's been going
> on. The students are perceiving one way, and I'm
> perceiving another.
>
> Jean has a list [of goals] . . . this is all very
> nice, but what does it do for me now? I mean it

still leaves me with me and my students and it
still leaves me with a lot of areas I need to
explore.

I think it was from someone else, who, when I
was talking about those kind of feelings, said,
"You cannot go in there expecting your students to
like you and if I'm looking for affirmation in a
personal sense, then I shouldn't be in teaching."
It was another student teacher. I have questioned
that. It's hard to separate my person from my
teaching. And I'm not there to be a nice person
and not have them learn anything in the classroom.
But I do want to be respected as much as I would
like to respect them.

To be successful for me in teaching, I would like to
see them become involved, interested in what they're
doing, taking care with it, getting excited. I don't
think that's really happening and I think a lot of
it's my fault, too. At this point, I'm working at
a very personal level, as far as teaching. I'm not
thinking about the system anymore. Well, I'm not
focusing on what the system does as what my own
actions are, which, I suppose, are inseparable.

Jamie dissociated herself from her supervisors' positive

comments; their feedback was alien to her inner world.

The inner scenario Jamie wove from her classroom ex-

perience confirmed her feelings of inadequacy and

mediocrity. At this point, Jamie's self image was more

dependent on her students' actions than her supervisors'

sporadic observations. Daily interaction with her students

was Jamie's major indication of success. Moroever, her

supervisors' talk could not create the respect and motiva-

tion she desired from students. Their list of goals seemed

to underscore Jamie's feelings of inadequacy and still

left her feeling alone.

The one piece of advice which made the most sense concerned the goal of having fun. Having fun signified a release from the heaviness of student resistance. It also meant leaving her critical reflection behind by not taking classroom life so seriously and personally. The goal of having fun also contained a hidden message. Both Ms. Murr and Jean attempted to encourage Jamie to transcend her self-consciousness. They had observed Jamie's painful beginnings and tried to warn her that taking herself too seriously only increased anguish. Moreover, the goal of having fun also reinforced the myth that student teaching should be a happy time.

Everyone involved, however, knew that Jamie's student teaching reality clashed with this goal. Like other goals, Jamie received no concrete strategy for its implementation. Jamie's perception that other student teachers were having fun raised more internal doubt.

> I notice with the other two interns in the school that whenever I have approached them with teaching, it's on a very superficial level. They don't want to talk about it, or everything's fine. . . I don't really know where people are at.

> And when I see other [student teachers] who have so easily and most comfortably made the transition from who they were to what they think they are now, going from that student role they played, to that teacher role, I start wondering what's wrong with me. . . Why am I making it so difficult? Maybe if I refer to myself as a teacher for awhile, I'll

become a teacher. I don't know if I'm different from
any of the other teachers, or if I'm just thinking
I'm different. . .

Part of Jamie wanted to believe that being a teacher was
as simple as accepting and enacting the role. Another part
of her struggled with a view that teaching was a complex
and contradictory experience. However, Jamie did not
receive any support for these struggles either from her
peers or supervisors. Consequently, Jamie tended to
personalize her difficulties, viewing them as internal
problems of misperceptions.

Jamie's inner dialogue was firmly rooted in self doubt.
She felt she had moved from student to teacher, skipping the
student teacher step. To Jamie, learning and teaching began
to appear indistinguishable.

I'm a human being who's undertaking the activity
known as teaching and is at a loss as to what to
make of it and what to call herself.

Student teaching doesn't make it in any real sense
of the word for me. Student teacher? Someone who
is learning to teach? If I listen to Carl Rogers,
I would say no way. No one can teach another
person, everyone must teach themselves. I have
all these feelings and doubts about it and yet
I'm still trying to figure out what it's all about.

Comments. Jamie's metaphor comparing learning to
teach as a process of learning how to walk and talk
revealed how unfamiliar the activity of teaching appeared.
She felt inarticulate and immobile. Like an infant
surrounded by adults who take mobility and language for

granted, Jamie felt helpless, dependent more on circumstance and the whim of others, than on her own resources. Unlike an infant learning these skills, her mistakes were not easily tolerated.

In this sense, teaching was different from learning to walk and talk, both of which presumably comes naturally. For with walking and talking, practice leads to competency. Jamie's teaching experience suggested something else. The more she practiced, the less certain she became. Practice challenged, rather than supported, her educational foundation. On the other hand, when Jamie did compare learning to teach with learning to walk and talk, teaching became grounded in skill acquisition and particular methods. This was a more concrete approach.

Although Jamie began approaching other teachers and her peers for advice, she had no audience for the deeper epistemological issues her experience as a student teacher raised. Jamie was deeply concerned about the nature of teaching and knowing. She questioned, for example, Shakespeare's relevance to her students' lives. She questioned the nature of school organization and how its structure shaped student and teacher relationships. Power struggles, role definitions and most taken for granted social relationships were personally problematic for Jamie. The advice her professional support network offered was

meaningless compared with these grand issues. Jamie's real goal was to reconstruct an image of a teacher which was empowering rather than debilitating.

Give Them What They Want?

By early November, after two months of being largely on her own, Jamie's professional supervisory network suddenly reappeared: her university supervisor observed more frequently, her cooperating teachers held a series of meetings, Mrs. Michaels returned, Work to Rule ended, and a Hurston administrator took an unexpected interest in Jamie's classes. However, this renewed accessibility to her significant others did not soothe Jamie's deeper dilemmas, for these people urged Jamie to assimilate into her role.

Inevitably, the grand questions plaguing Jamie found their way back into her ninth-grade curriculum. Jamie returned to the strategy of integrating her philosophical questions into the class. A quiz on Shakespeare, for example, contained the question, "Write everything you think is important about Shakespeare." Thus the students, rather than Jamie, decided the material's import. Jean Snough happened to be present during this particular quiz.

> I had told them you're going to have a detailed quiz on the background and worksheets on Shakespeare. And my first question is, tell me everything you think is important about Shakespeare.

That really threw them because it was such an
open-ended question. For me that was an interest-
ing question and for them it was confusing.
They were unprepared for the type of quiz it was.

That's one thing I'm finding out, that I don't do
well and have to do better, as far as clarifying
everything I say. Detailed to them meant dates
. . . There was a lot of uproar about the fact
that this isn't what we studied for and this is
unfair.

[During the quiz], I told them I was leaving for a
couple of minutes and to hold their questions 'till
I came back. I left them there, 'cause my super-
visor was in and I had another hand-out that I
wanted to go run off. And that was a very
conscious decision knowing that during the quiz
my supervisor was going to be there and I was going
to leave the room.

It was interesting because when I did leave the room,
there was a mass grouping of people cheating. They
jumped on one another and said, "What is this
[answer]?" Jean was amazed. I wasn't sure if they
would be more discrete about it. Jean said,
apparently they didn't care. It was interesting
to know waht's important to them, the grades rather
than any of the material presented. [11/14/83]

Jamie approached both the quiz and her impromptu exit as

experiment in student reaction. This approach prevented

her from examining the deeper issues of using traditional

evaluative measures in untraditional ways. Neither Jean

or Jamie explored the deeper implications of Jamie's exit

in terms of supervision or evaluation.

After students completed their quiz, Jamie handed out

another assignment, designed to encourage students to

reflect on their definitions of and roles in learning.

Titled, "What is learning?", Jamie hoped this ungraded
assignment might give her insight into student needs and
expectations.

When she collected the assignment a few days later,
twelve out of twenty-five students handed it in. Many
students resented not being graded for their efforts; they
didn't feel they should write something which would not
count. Others simply refused to do the essay since they
had already discussed their understanding of learning in
previous classes.

> There were some people who very much and very
> vocally expressed that there was no point in
> this, this had no place in an English classroom,
> that they wanted to be reading and writing and
> doing work. . . They're aware of what the
> system is, and aware that in order to succeed
> they had to get those grades. And yes, learning
> is important, but grades are more important and
> that's the way the system works. They have very
> much accepted that it is that way and it's not
> going to be changed. Why even talk about it?

Jamie's attempts to challenge students to think in new
ways backfired. Rather than receiving direction from her
students, she received their fatalistic sentiments, which
in turn, made her feel more helpless.

Student resistance to the quiz and the essay assign-
ment depressed Jamie. She shared her frustration with
both Jean Snough and Ms. Murr. Jamie met with Jean
after Jean's observation of the quiz and assignment explana-
tion. During that meeting, Jean informed Jamie of the

cheating incident but told her there was nothing she could do about it. After listening to Jamie's frustrations, Jean offered some advice.

> Jean said, give them what they want to do, anything to get me through the next seven weeks. I remember walking out of there feeling defeated. And thought everything I've felt and thought and believed in was to be so easily thrown away.
>
> I [then] went to the teachers' lounge, where I hang out, and Ms. Murr happened to be there and asked me how the class went. And I just looked at her and put my thumbs down. It was lousy, miserable. She asked me what had happened and why did I feel this way. And in essence, I just all of a sudden realized I felt defeated. I felt like I had to compromise myself and become a teacher. I said, "I got to be a teacher."

Despite her feelings of personal defeat, Jamie played the teacher's role. She attempted to implement her supervisor's advice of taking the practical path of least resistance. She lectured, gave quizzes, graded papers, and directed the class. Students quickly settled into this routine. Jamie's internal tensions, however, continued to plague her. Still, these tensions could not inform her practical activity. She returned to the practice most accessible, those of traditional pedagogical routines.

A few days before her return, Jamie had telephone contact with Mrs. Michaels. She was surprised to learn that Jamie had switched the Shakespeare plays and disagreed with Jamie's decision to implement the students' choice. She also told Jamie that her class was covering material

too slowly, and that unless Jamie hastened her curriculum pace, the class would fall behind.

Comments. Jamie had difficulties following her supervisor's advice of giving students what they wanted. First of all, Jamie was not sure what students did want. Both her quiz and essay assignment were unsuccessful attempts to solicit student needs. Moreover, the unconventional manner in which both occurred subverted Jamie's original intentions. With the quiz, a clash of expectations prevented any meaningful exchange. With the essay assignments, students were tired of discussing grand questions.

Jamie's renewed attempt at external role compliance only served to deepen her quest. As she could not bring these questions to either her students or supervisors, Jamie attempted to contain them in an internal monologue. In this sense, her grand questions became privatized. Externally, she felt she was mechanically going through the motions. Yet, her attempt at role compliance also sustained her image of the teacher as controller, an image rooted in her educational biography. Lack of support, experience, and resources to implement meaningful alternatives, haunted her. At times, Jamie blamed herself for all that she lacked. When this occurred, she became as fatalistic as her students.

Maybe I Should Go Out in a Blaze of Glory

The week before the three-day Thanksgiving school
break, Jamie had an unexpected meeting with Hap Clevelend,
an administrator in charge of Hurston's curriculum.
Although Jamie had briefly been introduced to Mr. Cleveland,
as well as the principal in early September, until this
meeting Jamie had not had contact with the school adminis-
tration. A question concerning the semester's grading
procedures brought Jamie to Hap Cleveland's office.

> . . . It was right around lunch. He was on his
> way out. And when he saw me, I said, "Oh, I just
> have one quick question," and he asked me to come
> into his office. He said, "I want to talk to you."
> He had only been in my classroom once, and that was
> for a brief minute. I had a seat.
>
> Hap Cleveland goes, "I realize there are certain
> people you can trust and certain people that you
> can't in this system. And I just want you to know
> that you can come and talk to me." And immediately,
> I was on guard. What does that mean? I should
> have asked him. That's. . . my lack of confidence
> . . .
>
> He said it wasn't a complaint but a concern from a
> parent in my classroom and he sort of wanted
> feedback on that situation. And this meeting
> happened after the time I had mentioned in the
> ninth-grade class [about] abolishing the school
> system. I felt sure I was going to have parents
> in my class the day after, after I had thought
> about it.
>
> One day [in the ninth-grade class] we were talking
> about education and learning. It came out in the
> course of the conversation. They asked me what
> should be done about the educational system, and
> I said, "I think it should be abolished." And
> immediately one girl asks me, "Well, what would

you do if you didn't have schools?" At that point,
I sort of panicked and thought, should I have
talked about that?

And when Hap Cleveland called me in, it was with
that expectation. He said that Mrs. Grettle had
called and Gertrude was in my classroom. She
expressed three different complaints.

One, there was some concern as far as I was
leaving and then I was staying. And they didn't
understand that. So I had to explain to Hap Cleveland
how I had been very frustrated. . . and at one
point I decided I wanted out but eventually changed
my mind. Mrs. Grettle had expressed concern that
one day I had walked out on the classroom. I mean
these are ridiculous things to complain about.
But it was also a realization that a lot hadn't
been communicated to the classroom, is the fact
that I had left the classroom during the conversa-
tion with my students that I was leaving. I had
gotten very emotional and started to cry and
decided to go out into the hallway. . . I
explained that situation to Hap Cleveland.

Then Mrs. Grettle had expressed concern over the
fact that Mrs. Michaels had left on her operation
and when was she coming back? I didn't know. How
was I to express that to my students?

Then he expressed that Mrs. Grettle was upset over
an assignment I had given them, as far as para-
phrasing Shakespeare. And I said to put Shakespeare
into real English. And she was aghast because
Shakespeare is real English. I just laughed. But
that's what Gertrude went home and told her
mother.

Nothing about abolishing the school system, which
is what I felt anyone would call about. I was
astounded! And he knew I was helping him out by
the fact that I was taking over Mrs. Michaels'
class and they weren't paying a substitute. So
I saved them lots of money. And he was real
appreciative of that.

Since Mrs. Michaels' left, which was a good six to
eight weeks, no one had ever come into that
classroom to find out what I had been doing. Hap
Cleveland hasn't been in my classroom, never a word,
never a foot in that classroom. I could have
been telling those kids anything. I'm an intern.
That made me wonder about their concern for educa-
tion, as far as no one had come in to observe me.
Maybe it would have been nicer to have people who
would give me suggestions. But there's also that
imposition on teachers and I don't feel comfortable
doing that. [12/9/83]

What began as a circumstantial meeting became a

critical incident. Jamie expected consequences for her

controversial remark advocating school's abolition. She

knew that was a serious error and expected angry reverbera-

tions. But, the parent's concerns seemed trivial compared

with that remark. What was most surprising was that

Jamie had already settled these concerns. Her decision to

continue student teaching and the drama surrounding that

decision was already a distant memory. Jamie had not

imagined that her students would take those events outside

the classroom, nor somehow reinterpret them to their

parents. She had considered her classroom as a closed

world. Now Jamie was confronted with a contradictory

reality.

The second concern, Mrs. Michaels' prolonged absence,

was not of Jamie's control. The real issue, side-stepped

by Hap Cleveland, was Jamie's unsupervised student teaching.

Whereas Jamie believed supervision to be the responsibility

of the school, Hap Cleveland felt Jamie should seek
supervision when needed. The fact that Jamie had saved
the Hurston system substitute money, coupled with the
administration's neglect toward Jamie and her situation
obscured the larger issue of who was responsible for
Jamie's supervision.

Finally, Hap Cleveland's indirect approach to the
concerns raised only made Jamie more suspicious of school
administrators. However, Jamie's initial expectation of
being reprimanded for her political views, and the relief
she felt when she was not, may have prevented her from
confronting Hap Cleveland's neglect. In her mind, the
administration had made a serious error in ignoring her
student teaching circumstance, since Jamie believed it was
the school, rather than herself, who was ultimately
responsible for the quality of her students' education.

Although Jamie left this meeting more perplexed and
angry, she expected her explanations had settled the
matter. Further, she was attempting to relieve student
frustrations by assuming the teacher's role and getting
back to English. But two days later, Mrs. Michaels phoned
Jamie and reported that Hap Cleveland had called to tell
her about the barage of parent phone calls complaining
about Jamie's classroom. Jamie was very surprised, for
Hap Cleveland had only mentioned one parent's concerns.

Mrs. Michaels told Jamie to attend a meeting the next morning with Hap Cleveland, her university supervisor, Ms. Murr, and herself at 8:00 A.M. sharp.

> That morning, Hap Cleveland had another crisis to attend to and didn't come to the meeting, which I was very disappointed in. The university supervisor was there because it was a very big issue. Parents were calling and complaining; something had to be done.
>
> I suppose I went in there thinking I had to defend myself. I didn't. I got more support from those three people than I thought was possible. I went there wanting to be honest and they were right behind me all the way.
>
> After the conversation, I sort of decided to do what I can, do the best I can, and have fun. I had settled it in my mind that I'll do what I can until I get out. To this day, I still don't know if parents had been calling in. I haven't wanted to bother Hap Cleveland.

The meeting's tone surprised Jamie; she expected a trial but instead received support. Still, the deeper issues surrounding this event, from administrative negligence of Jamie's supervision to Hap Cleveland's handling of the matter, were not explored. Instead, the sudden re-emergence of Jamie's cooperating teachers seemed to make this matter moot. With only two weeks of student teaching left, Jamie was suddenly surrounded by supervisors.

Jamie first began feeling more like a student teacher upon Mrs. Michaels' return. Part of what encouraged this role acceptance was that now Jamie had someone to whom she could compare. With her cooperating teacher back into the

picture, Jamie noticed a difference in herself as well as her students.   She also began observing Mrs. Michaels' other classes.

> I'm a student teacher. I say that because Mrs. Michaels' been back and I see what happend when she walks into that classroom. Maybe it's her personality, and also the fact that she is the teacher and I'm the student teacher and there is a difference and the students are aware of that. They haven't come to me from day one and we don't have a year to go. . . There's no lasting bonds that are going to be established. And they know that and they sense I know that.

> Mrs. Michaels had been observing me a couple of times. And every time she walks into the room, there had been an incredible difference and my students are all perked up and participating and incredibly respectful. Their teacher is there. And they know that and I think they're earning points for when she takes over officially when I'm gone. . . They respond with less resistance, less pulling on my part. When other people come in, the kids don't really care. It's Mrs. Michaels. It's teacher. And she would see a fairly decent class and say, "Oh, the kids are participating." I told her the difference between her being in there and when I'm in there alone. It's like night and day.

> So maybe in the past couple of weeks, that's what it's been. I've been a student teacher, which is sort of half way in between human being and teacher. And maybe that's part of my problem, it all comes down to being me.

> If I had been able to develop a more positive attitude and working toward establishing a strong relationship from the start, I don't think I made that priority. And that's teaching. If you don't have that, you don't have anything. I knew that. It's funny how you know those things when you go in. You know a lot, at least you are given a lot of information. But you go in with the theories, you go in with the ideas, you go in with you and

somewhere along the way, it all got jumbled up.
If I went back into the classroom now, I'd do
everything different.

Mrs. Michaels' return dramatically reminded Jamie of
her temporary student teaching status; the class was not
hers. That her temporary condition may have inhibited the
development of meaningful student relationships was not
considered, instead she blamed herself. Mrs. Michaels'
presence reminded Jamie of all she lacked. For example,
Mrs. Michaels' mere presence transformed student behavior.
The past power struggles between Jamie and her students
dissolved. During observations, Mrs. Michaels found no
evidence of Jamie's classroom struggles. It was left to
Jamie to explain what really had happened. In some ways,
the students' dramatic behavior transformation personalized
Jamie's social struggles. It almost seemed as though Jamie
had imagined all that preceded Mrs. Michaels' reappearance.
Most significantly, Mrs. Michaels' presence demonstrated
that Jamie was not the real teacher, that she was somewhere
in-between a mere human and a teacher. She now saw herself
as neither here nor there. This new wave of self blame
transformed into self denial.

Mrs. Michaels' return also allowed Jamie to reach new
conclusions about the nature of teaching. She began to
view teaching as bound to teacher/student relationships.
However, like other ideas about teaching, Jamie was unclear

as to how to form these relations. She attributed Mrs.
Michaels' success to personality and to the condition of
being the real teacher. But Jamie was not confident about
either of these attributes and therefore felt her frustra-
tions were somehow her own.

Mrs. Michaels' return affected only Jamie's self
perceptions, but also how she viewed her classroom
activities. Mrs. Michaels' frequent observations made
Jamie more vulnerable. Jamie felt more was at stake, more
exposed, and deeply concerned about Mrs. Michaels' per-
ceptions of her class. Jamie believed she was at her
worst, and expected negative comments.

> One day in Persuasion [class], Ms. Murr and Mrs.
> Michaels were both in there observing me. I was
> carrying on a discussion . . . just getting through
> the material that Ms. Murr had just passed out.
> It was dry material . . . I ended up doing it the
> way Ms. Murr had conducted it in another class. I
> hadn't had time to put anything else together. It
> was such a lousy method.
>
> As I was going along, I was thinking, this is just
> awful. I could feel myself panicking inside and
> partially because I was being observed. I haven't
> been observed in such a long time, and feeling that
> I didn't want to be here, I didn't want to be doing
> this, and the kids aren't listening and they're not
> interested and I'm not making sense up here and
> I'm repeating myself. . .
>
> All of a sudden, Mrs. Michaels walks out in the
> middle of the class. And I'm thinking, "Oh G-d,
> she's totally disgusted." All this is going through
> my mind while I'm there trying to teach a class.
> At that point, as soon as Mrs. Michaels walked
> out, I lost everything I was talking about,
> panicked and just looked at my class and said, "I

really don't know what I'm doing. I don't know
where I'm going with this lesson. If I were you,
I would not be very persuaded by what I am saying."
Then the bell rang.

Then I talked with Ms. Murr afterwards, and I said,
"That was a disaster." She said it wasn't a
disaster and pointed out some of the good things and
what wasn't good.

And I didn't want to see Mrs. Michaels. I kept
expecting her to come in and was waiting for the
negative criticism. I didn't see her until the end
of the day. I walked into her room and I looked at
her and she looked at me and said, "That was a good
class." And I was stunned and I was devastated and
I started to really re-examine what I thought and
felt all semester. How was I preceiving things in
the classroom?

Being observed while using another's teaching routine

was disconcerting. Mrs. Michaels' sudden exit both

triggered and confirmed Jamie's internal scenario that,

indeed, she did not know what she was doing. Yet her

cooperating teachers' feedback was shocking compared to

Jamie's perceptions. It caused Jamie to again question and

re-examine her interpretation of classroom interactions.

But Jamie's public announcement of her self doubt did

warrant her teachers' concern. They saw it as an

indication that Jamie did not care about her students.

In early December, Jamie again met with Mrs. Michaels

and Ms. Murr to re-negotiate Jamie's last day of student

teaching. Initially, Jamie thought her last day would be

December 23, but recently learned in her university

seminar that all student teachers would leave their schools

by December 16. Mrs. Michaels' concern was that Jamie had
not spent enough time in her newly acquired third class
to meet state certification requirements. But Jean Snough
assured her that Jamie had indeed met the classroom hour
requirements.[4]

During this meeting, Mrs. Michaels told Jamie she
would not write her a recommendation, although she would
sign the final certification form.

> The reason she would not give me a recommendation
> was not because of the state requirements. She
> felt I fulfilled those as far as capability on
> the job. It was she did not feel I had a happy
> experience and she did not feel it was something
> I wanted to do. In other words, my heart wasn't
> really into it. And that to her is the major part
> of teaching. And I agree. Teaching apparently
> was not my career.

> Mrs. Michaels said she would feel real good if I
> could start doing brilliant things in Persuasion.
> Maybe I should go out in a blaze of glory. I
> still had a chance to redeem myself. The pressure
> was there and I felt it as I walked out and started
> thinking about brilliant things. But then when I
> came home, I felt really scared because now the
> pressure is on all sides, myself, my supervisors.
> I don't want to leave there feeling like I hadn't
> done nothing.

Mrs. Michaels' decision not to recommend Jamie confirmed
Jamie's internal scenario. Jamie tended to agree that her
heart was not into teaching which resulted in reduction of
her struggles to matters of mere sentiment. This in turn
created more self blame. Jamie began to feel her grand
questions were inappropriate and instead decided to

concentrate on brilliant endings. But like other goals,
Jamie received no direction or strategies for its imple-
mentation. As Jamie began her last two weeks of student
teaching, she felt the terrific pressure to go out in a
blaze of glory.

Comments. Jamie's realization of her student teacher
status heightened her feelings of vulnerability. She was
not being regularly supervised but received no comfort
from these efforts. Her supervision was problematic; it
introduced yet another perspective on classroom reality,
one which conflicted with her inner perceptions. She felt
less in control than ever. Jamie continued to question
her activities as well as her perceptions of them.

Conflicting perceptions of her classroom practice
were further realized during her meeting with Hap
Cleveland. She learned that what occurred in her classroom
was carried to her students' homes and that these events
somehow found their way back to the school. Still,
compared with her potentially controversial classroom
remarks, the meeting seemed trivial. The initial distrust
Jamie felt at that meeting became magnified when she learned
that Hap Cleveland told her cooperating teacher yet another
version of the story. On one level, Jamie felt betrayed
by the benign neglect of supervision. She felt she was
being held responsible for something which was not within

her realm. On the other hand, once supervision ensued, conflicting perceptions of her practice became heightened.

Jamie's feelings of isolation increased upon Mrs. Michaels' re-entry. Part of this feeling resided in Jamie's acceptance of the popular myth that everything depends on the teacher. That is, whether the class is successful or not rests with the teacher's ability to orchestrate the class regardless of context. The effect of her cooperating teacher's return, especially on student behavior, confirmed this myth. Jamie's pattern of decontextualizing each class interaction intensified feelings of isolation, vulnerability, and self blame.

Mrs. Michaels' decision not to write Jamie a recommendation but merely sign her certification papers, contained contradictory messages. In Jamie's mind, Mrs. Michaels appeared to down grade state certification requirements when she elevated her own personal requirements of what it takes to be a teacher. So even if Jamie had met these requirements in terms of accumulated classroom clock hours and job capability, she still believed Jamie's commitment was lacking.

Still, putting one's heart into teaching meant different things to Jamie and Mrs. Michaels. Jamie came to believe she had not tried hard enough. The expectations she had brought to student teaching had not been realized.

Her final attempt to achieve great moments seemed a possible remedy to a bad experience. For Mrs. Michaels, however, putting one's heart into teaching meant acceptance of the school structure, the teacher's role, and the teaching material--all of which Jamie deeply questioned.

She continued to waver between blaming herself and blaming the system for her plight. At times, she did believe that personality was the most significant factor in successful teaching. Here teaching was reduced to natural talent rather than a process of skill development tempered by experience. When she viewed teaching as a function of personality, Jamie easily concluded she did not have what it takes. In some ways, this perspective eased Jamie's feelings of guilt and self blame. She could absolve herself of the responsibility for the quality of her student teaching when she saw teaching as rooted in one's individual nature.

Finally, Jamie's desire to go out in a blaze of glory became an additional pressure and an unreachable goal. Her rejection of her cooperating teachers' feedback prevented Jamie from building on her own strengths since Jamie believed she had no foundation from which to build. Her wish superseded any formation of concrete strategies or even scrutiny of what this wish represented.

The Final Days

The pressure of attempting to be brilliant only
served to magnify Jamie's shortcomings and mistakes.
During her last two weeks at Hurston High, classes that
did not go according to plan were seen as lost opportunities.
Intellectually, Jamie knew her expectations were too high;
emotionally, however, she needed them to revitalize her
hope.

Three days before her student teaching ended, Jamie
experienced deep disappointment in her Introduction
to Literature class. This incident became a symbol for
all she lacked.

> I had a bad day and that's my own fault. I did
> my first unprofessional thing I've ever done in my
> whole life. I wasn't prepared for class. . . while
> Mrs. Michaels was there. She wanted to watch one
> more time before I finished up.
>
> My intention was to finish up student projects and
> go back over certain Shakespeare characters for
> the test. However, not taking into consideration
> that the students really wouldn't be enthusiastic
> . . . and not having any other back up, [I] just
> watched nobody having anything else to say, and
> then me not having anything else to say. There was
> what seemed like a half hour, but was only three
> minutes where nothing went on. For me it was
> uncomfortable because I knew it was my fault. Mrs.
> Michaels picked up on it, and so I'm sure the kids
> did too.
>
> And at the end of the day, I saw Mrs. Michaels and
> I said, "What did you think of it?" And she said,
> "Well, I had the sense that you weren't prepared."
> And I said that was the way it was. She tried to
> make me feel better. She know me enough to know

> that I would whip myself, knowing how badly I even
> take my better classes.
>
> With three more days of student teaching, why did
> I let even one class go? Being unprepared and
> seeing the consequences bothers me. It doesn't
> reflect for me quick thinking, or how can I get
> myself out of this bind that I'm in, which in
> teaching seems like a requirement. To be able to
> know, what next, what next. If something isn't
> working, or to make those transitions really fast
> to avoid unpleasant silences. [12/14/83]

What might have been an informal review before the next

day's test became a formal teaching lesson for which Jamie

had not prepared. What seemed worse was that she could not

think on her feet and transform a momentary silence into

dynamic learning. Because every minute counted, three

minutes of silence seemed like an eternity. She felt she

had let down Mrs. Michaels, her students, and herself.

Jamie equated her inability to act with unprofessional-

ism. She felt if she had only prepared more fully, had

only anticipated student response, the class would have

gone smoother. Jamie believed preparation was an essential

component of professionalism. But even if Jamie had pre-

pared more fully, there was another issue she confronted:

planning did not insure success. Along with preparation,

teachers need the ability to anticipate and cope with the

unexpected. Teachers' knowledge must be immediate and

unwaveringly certain. Like Houdini, they can get themselves

our of binds. But Jamie was trapped in her own creation. Her hesitation had cost a lost opportunity.

The last three-way meeting involving Jamie, her cooperating teachers, and university supervisor occurred a few days before Jamie left Hurston High. The meeting reviewed Jamie's total experience and its participants ascertained whether Jamie had met the state requirements for teacher certification. Jamie viewed the meeting as largely perfunctory.

> It was a matter of we had to go around and sign [the form]. We talked about what our strengths and weakness, where I needed to improve. Mrs. Michaels [signed] all of the things on my certification [but did not] write my recommendation because of my unhappiness and my seemingly lack of desire to teach.
>
> I remember Jean asked me what do I feel would have to happen for me to go into teaching. . . As I put it, a surge of belief in myself. But as soon as I said it, I was echoing what everybody else said. I was uncomfortable saying that. I'm not sure what I'm catering to, whether I'm saying things because this is what they expect me to say, or because I really believe these things.
>
> Mrs. Michaels asked me what would I do if I walked into a system that handed me a curriculum and told me that's exactly what I had to teach. I didn't know. . . I don't know if I can work around the system, if I could work within it. I don't know what I would do. They seemed comfortable with that answer.
>
> I got my certification form signed. But it didn't seem, gee, congratulations, or gee, you did a good job. It didn't feel that way and I wasn't expecting that at all. It didn't seem like a big moment in here, like graduating [or] getting your

degree. . . It seemed a ritual for them but not for
me. It was the least relevant to my student
teaching.

It all seems so meaningless. It's a piece of paper.
Like we signed this form and everybody says I can
teach now. What does that mean? How many people
were in there all semester long? How many people
really saw me teach? Truthfully, I don't think
anybody did. And in the end, I'm the one who
should sign and say, Yeh, I'm capable of doing all
these things. [12/21/83]

The certification signing seemed like an arbitrary end to
unfinished business. Although the questions her super-
visors raised during the meeting summarized much of Jamie's
struggle, Jamie still could not say what she needed to be
effective or if she could carry out a system's curriculum
mandate. Moreover, Jamie's disappointment and anger
surfaced; she felt let down at a time which should have
been a big moment in her life.

The English Department had a party for the student
teachers of Hurston High on their last day. Jamie
reluctantly attended. She did not feel like celebrating
and felt uncomfortable with the other student teachers.
When the last bell excusing the last period of the day
rang, Jamie left Hurston High. Her brief description of
her exit was of one who feels defeat but is grateful for
an opportunity to leave. This is how Jamie initially
felt during that last day.

It was not until later that Jamie began to feel
differently.

> There's one thing I remember on Friday. Went into
> the center of town after everything was done to pick
> up some things. All of a sudden, I just started
> realizing there's another world outside Hurston
> High School. There's a whole different world!
> It's so easy to just get caught up in where you're
> at at the moment.
>
> There's so much going on and you can isolate your-
> self and get so wrapped up in that one place, and
> you think that's all there is and that's all that
> goes on. And I started feeling a sense of relief
> almost. "Wow! I'm out!" And I can start looking
> around and start getting back in touch with things,
> cause I feel way out of touch.
>
> School, school, school! That's all I've had in my
> mind for the past two years. I don't even know
> where to begin to start sorting it out. It was an
> intensive experience. And one direction I want to
> bring myself to is to slowly go over the things
> that have occurred and I can start thinking it
> out and finding perspectives which I have not done
> all semester.
>
> As much as I've tried to do, I've had to cut myself
> off at certain points, and get the work that's at
> hand done. You're not allowed to think in there.
> As much as I've tried to take the time, the
> pressure not to do that is so incredible. Now
> I'm going to make the time.

Jamie re-entered the world. With the immediacy of school
life behind, she suddenly felt free to reflect on her
recent past. Although Jamie had "slunk out" of school,
she felt she was beginning to regain her stride in the
world.

On December 18 and 19, Jamie was required to attend
a two-day de-briefing workshop for student teachers at

State University's School of Education. There she filled
out the remaining certification forms, attended a series
of workshops ranging from how to prepare for job inter-
views to sexual harrassment at the workplace, and was
confronted with a workshop which required reflection on the
student teaching experience. This was Jamie's first day
back at State University since she began student teaching.
She felt as if she had walked into another world.

> It was strange [being back]. It's like coming
> back to an alien country. It seemed like things
> have changed a lot that five or six years ago
> when I first started college. Superficially, the
> appearance of students, very well dressed. That
> clean collegiate look that you always used to read
> about but didn't know it was taking place. I
> don't even feel in touch with that world.

Jamie's realization that time did not stand still during
her absence was disconcerting. Her university friends
had graduated or left, and the next two workshop days were
unsettling.

Jamie resented the workshop's underlying assumption
that student teaching had been a good time for all and now
that it was over, everyone would naturally enter the
teaching profession. She felt the workshop's tone in-
validated her entire experience. Finally, as a last form
of protest, Jamie walked out of the last workshop session
which asked its participants to reflect on their student
teaching experience.

Comments. During her last days of student teaching, Jamie focused on all that she did not know and on the experience she did not have. Each shortcoming, oversight, or mistake symbolized a lost opportunity. As her student teaching semester drew to an end, time became her worst enemy, for it seemed to rob her of both experience and opportunity. The scarcity of time seemed to prevent her from trying new things. Jamie felt defeated. She had not met the imposed challenge of going out in a blaze of glory. Indeed, just the opposite occurred.

Further disappointment and disillusionment occurred during her last meeting with her supervisors. She was angry at her lack of supervision and resented being evaluated by those who she believed had no idea of her reality. By the end, the signing of the certification papers was more like a ritual than a confirmation of her reality.

Final Reflections

Jamie left with the questions she had brought to student teaching. She was still formulating her understanding of teaching and teacher's role. But by the end of her experience, Jamie identified the complex forces which pulled her in so many directions. Her isolation was a significant factor, but Jamie focused more on the pressures to conform.

I had a lot of freedom.   I didn't have someone
who told me I had to teach this.   I had sugges-
tions. . . well, you could quiz them, keep them
on their toes.   And I rebelled initially against
that.   I didn't like that idea, but eventually
I was doing that, giving them tests, because
at this point, being the student teacher and
being here for one semester, I didn't know how
to break through the expectations from students,
from other teachers.

You're learning more of the things you don't want
to do than the things you want to do because you
are feeling your way out and don't know quite where
your beliefs, philosophy, your whole personality in
the classroom, that you end up falling back on
what's been done previously, the things you
remember.   And a lot of that just doesn't seem to
work.

I don't have a view of the master teacher.   I
have an idea of what a teacher should be like.   I
have an idea of what a teacher should be and then
I rebel against it 'cause that's not right either.
I don't know for myself what a teacher is.   That
was one question I started out with and one question
I haven't answered yet.   And yet, in between, I've
always, whether from inside or outside, gotten
those cross currents of, gee, that is a good teacher,
and gee, this isn't a good teacher, and I'm not
doing this right, and I'm not doing that right.   I
don't know whether it's internal pressure or outside
pressure.

Jamie's inexperience with the teacher's role, con-

trasted with her familiarity with the school environment

from the student's perspective, created a contradiction she

could not resolve. She found herself falling back on the

methods she had experienced while a student. Internally,

Jamie disagreed with her teaching actions but rationalized

them because time and experience seemed beyond her control.

Still, even when she acted in traditional ways, they did

not work the way she had remembered them. She was pulled by cross current forces which challenged her perceptions of both classroom reality and teaching. Student teaching also reinforced Jamie's teacher training in a disconcerting way. Once again, she was learning what not to become and learning what not to do. She felt trapped in a cycle of reproducing her powerless educational past and what Jamie reproduced was ineffective. Experiencing a method as a student versus using that method as a teacher were two different situations. Jamie's student experience could not inform that shift perspective.

Jamie's students were a significant force in shaping her teaching activities and perceptions of them. In many ways, the students gave Jamie her teaching cues. Her image of teaching, however, also came from other teachers. Although her contact with Mrs. Michaels was minimal compared with her entire teaching experience, Mrs. Michaels did qualify Jamie's images and assumptions about teaching.

> Teaching looked like a real grind at certain points, what could be a mechanical job. Teacher asks questions, students respond, pass out tests, go through your semester. And students already have ideas of what you're supposed to be doing, what you're there for.

> But Mrs. Michaels really appeared to love teaching. And I loved going to her classes and watching her teach. And that was worse, in some respects, because she made it look so easy. She made it look fun. Why can't I do that? . . . I'm not saying she hasn't had her moments. . . But

overall, when she's in the classroom, it's wonderful to be there. . . And I realize there's a lot of what she does that I would not do. But as far as her overall personality and the atmosphere she brings into the classroom, it's really hard to compare or beat.

Mrs. Michaels' apparent ease as a teacher seemed to confirm Jamie's ideal of the natural teacher. Jamie did not consider her experience as a factor contributing to her classroom manner. To Jamie, Mrs. Michaels' knowing presence supported the popular myth that everything depends on the teacher, that the teacher even "brings" the atmosphere to the classroom. Jamie's idealization of Mrs. Michaels was partially rooted ina student's understanding of teaching.

Romanticization of the teaching activity affected what Jamie believed would happen if she were a real teacher.

Maybe I didn't say it, but I think I felt it at different points. If this was my classroom, if I was here for the whole year, if they didn't know someone else would be here, things could be different. Perhaps with the establishment of relationships, or choice of the material, or not feeling the pressure that someone was looking over my shoulder, or is going, at any moment, come in and check out what I was doing. Interestingly enough, even though no one was, I still felt it. There's a presence you feel. Students have to learn something, you have to be doing something in the classroom.

In Jamie's mind, real teachers did not have to worry about unexpected visitors entering their classroom. They had more

control. Jamie's student perspective of teachers as power-
ful controllers of classroom life impeded her understanding
of the role of teachers within the total school context.
The power Jamie attributed to teachers was the view from
a student's perspective. Real teachers, then, were
autonomous and safe from unwarranted intrusions.

Apart from her images of teacher, Jamie also struggled
with her images of the school curriculum. This battle
occurred by the middle of her student teaching. It was
not until Jamie began teaching Shakespeare to her ninth-
grade students that she began to confront curriculum
relevancy. These concerns were often obscured by the
larger issues of Jamie's role struggle. But at times,
especially when she questioned how teachers determined
what was important, or important to whom, questions
concerning the material's relevancy dominated. By Jamie's
last month, Mrs. Michaels occasionally questioned her as to
whether she believed in her teaching material. Jamie
always answered that she believed the material was
worthwhile. She was constantly, however, wrestling with
the problem of making the material relevant.

> How do you make it relevant? That was one of the
> questions Mrs. Michaels asked me during our
> meetings. That I did not seem to feel that the
> material we were teaching was worthwhile.

> And ever since then, I've been thinking, is it
> worthwhile to teach Romeo and Juliet. Why is it
> worthwhile? Why do they have to know that? Big
> deal. So it brings in certain questions about
> parents. It's two rich kids.
>
> In some respects, I almost think there has to be
> other material. But in other respects, you take
> away. I mean, you don't expose them to things
> like Shakespeare, the so-called classic books,
> there can be a loss, too.

Jamie's ambivalent acceptance of the need for students to

be exposed to the classics was partially entangled in her

own university training as an English major. There,

Shakespeare classes are required for English certification.

Despite the fact Jamie was personally alienated from

Shakespeare's work, she also believed teachers must trans-

form the seemingly irrelevant curriculum into dynamic

learning. Once again, it was the teacher rather than

the material which made the class relevant.

By our last interview, Jamie concluded that to be a

teacher meant accepting the school structure and working

within it. She still did not know if she could accept

this challenge.

> Sometimes it almost felt for me that in order to
> teach you had to accept a lot of what was
> already there and start working within it. I
> didn't accept a lot but eventually I eased on that
> because of the high frustration level. Whether
> or not [I'd do that as a future teacher], I don't
> know.

> I think at certain points I did become assimilated
> into school life but I don't feel a part of it.
> I don't think I ever did. I felt bad because I
> didn't like the school environment. I never felt
> it was healthy or natural, I never felt comfortable
> there.
>
> And I did fulfill some of the expectations. But
> I wasn't me. And now I have to decide whether, well,
> is it because I'm just not comfortable with myself
> that this discomfort came, or is it really that
> environment that is making it so uncomfortable for
> me. I don't know. That's something I may be
> confronting all my life. Is my discomfort because
> I'm not just comfortable with me, or is it every-
> thing out there that's making me this way.

Jamie's alienation from the school structure contributed

to her strong feelings of displacement. When she did comply

with the teaching role, she felt distanced from her real

self. Her reflection led Jamie to wonder how much of her

discomfort was personal and how much resided in her social

situation. This was one question she articulated in our

first interview and brought to our last interview.

But much of Jamie's discomfort with the teaching

role was also embedded in her image of the teacher as

knowledge bearer. Throughout student teaching, Jamie felt

the pressure to have answers for any question raised.

> For me, either you know [something] or you don't
> and don't try to fake it. The pressure is there
> to know, whether it's from yourself or the
> students, or other teachers. I mean there's a
> category on the teacher certification evaluation
> form. Is this person knowledgable in her fields?
> Whatever that means.

> That's another thing. I've had these classes, but
> how much does anybody really know? As far as, one
> thing everyone always expressed to me, cooperating
> teachers, other teachers, you don't know something,
> just say you don't. Which is OK, but when you're
> in the classroom, initially you're trying to prove
> yourself and you want to know. And when someone
> asks you a question, there is that tug. Gee, why
> don't I know. I should know that. Oh, shit.

At the close of her student teaching semester, Jamie

continued to raise the difficult issues about knowledge

and uncertainty. Often, Jamie perceived the classroom as

a proving ground. When she viewed it in this way, questions

appeared more like threats than as aids to learning.

However, this pressure to know was not merely a personal

one. It was also part of a cycle of pressures rooted in

Jamie's educational formation and continued with the

standards for teacher certification.

During the last interview, I asked Jamie, "Is there a

place for you in the public school system?" Her answer

reflected her persistence and strength.

> Right now? No. That was one of the things in the
> meeting Mrs. Michaels asked me. Seeing I had such
> an unhappy time, seeing that I was questioning the
> value of everything I was doing. . . And I got the
> feeling from her if I did feel those things, then
> I shouldn't be here. And at one point, I was
> knocking myself down. . . Why can I not, what is
> so bad about feeling those things, of having those
> questions, of not having a good time.
>
> I remember sitting in the final workshop and every-
> one saying it was wonderful. Student teaching was
> wonderful. And it was like, what is wrong with me
> and what are they looking at? What's happening

here? And is it so wrong to see these things and
question these things and not have a happy time?

I think maybe, sometimes, I don't have answers but
at least I was looking and maybe that's something
that should be brought into the school, that you
don't see a lot of. There's a lot going on, let's
look at this.

In some respects, I think I even expected and wanted
to know that I was going to walk in there and some-
how this was going to be for me. . . And when it
didn't work out that way, then this isn't my world.
I don't know if it was so bad going through that.

At the end of the semester, Jamie was beginning to value

her difficult student teaching semester. But she was on

her own, for the dominant assumption that student teaching

should be a relatively painless experience denied the deeper

issue student teaching represented for Jamie. She had no

forum or support for her questions.

Indeed, Jamie's struggle of understanding her sub-

jective experience and attempting to clarify her perception

of reality continued. The early questions she entered

student teaching became deepened by her experience. She

continued to question the teacher's role, how to know

social reality, and her place in society. Jamie concluded

that raising questions was her primary learning style,

and although she felt different from her peers, she was

beginning to accept this difference.

Emerging Themes and Patterns

Jamie Owl began learning about the work of teachers her first day of elementary school. Like every education major, Jamie entered formal teacher training with developed ideas about her profession. Providing a field of contrast, her educational biography informed Jamie's goals. It was not until student teaching, however, that Jamie's vicarious relationship to the teachers role became challenged. Student teaching seemed to challenge her past, present, and future.

Jamie's understanding of teaching was rooted in a student's perspective. As a receiver of teachers' directives and activities, Jamie's student experience provided her with personal criteria for teacher success. But like the uniqueness of each student biography, its generalizing power was limited. These experiential boundaries were tested when she began student teaching. There, Jamie realized her students would not accept her classroom approach. When Jamie attempted to organize and present the curriculum in a way she would have liked, had she been a student in that class, it became evident that her ideals and desires were not shared by her students.

As she began to realize her biographical uniqueness and its lack of generalizing power, Jamie felt she had "nothing to fall back on". She was referring to actual

experience and felt the dilemma of a beginner. Feeling like a beginner in the familiar territory of school was disconcerting. She had expected her intuition to inform her practice. But because it was rooted in and informed by her student experience, it only served to limit her activity; it warned her of what action not to take. Moreover, Jamie began to realize the dimensions of meaning one might construct from shared situations. Perception was as elusive as perspective.

The idea that "real" teachers have "something to fall back on" was a regressive force in Jamie's practice. It prevented her from actively researching curriculum ideas and classroom techniques. This idea implied that teachers automatically possess the understanding and tools of the trade. How these were acquired, remained a mystery. The notion of "falling back" had more to do with possessing a repertoire of techniques, than learning a process. This notion unconsciously allowed Jamie to rationalize her use of traditional teaching techniques acquired from previous role models. Because she did not know what action to take, Jamie reproduced traditional techniques such as lectures, quizzes and tests as these provided her with a semblance of certainty. She fell back on what she previously experienced. However, the problematic nature of this experience made the use of traditional techniques

appear as a personal betrayal. That is, Jamie began to feel more like a perpetrator of traditionalism than the change agent she desired to become.

Moreover, Jamie's student perspective became displaced during student teaching, since it was in direct conflict with her newly acquired role. Even as a student, Jamie could not identify with the next generation of her class-room students; their ten year age difference dramatically separated their respective ideals, dreams and life goals. These high school students had not yet questioned or had been challenged on their social values. Nor had they embarked on the self quest in which Jamie was so immersed. Despite their awareness of the problems of school structure, the students appeared to adapt and accede more readily to its demands. These students appeared more certain of their needs and goals. Jamie, however, was still struggling for self acceptance.

Like Jamie, these students also had a particular understanding of the work of teachers. Their expectations frequently shaped Jamie's teaching activities. Jamie often complied with student demands, but deeply questioned the roots of these demands. Did their demands reflect their school socialization? Do students really learn better if controlled? Is this control necessary to survive the world outside the classroom which rewards conformity? These

questions plagued Jamie. But there was another factor
that neither Jamie, her students, nor her professional
support network considered. Just as student teachers
prepared for their new role, so too do classroom students
need preparation for being students in a student teacher's
classroom. They are also participants in this training
experiment and, as such, exert influence.

Although both Jamie and her students had expectations
about how teachers act, neither had an understanding of
how student teachers act. Students were not prepared,
and indeed, resented the experimental nature of Jamie's
student teaching. With daily engagement in the teaching
act, however, Jamie's classroom appearance was that of a
teacher rather than as a student teacher. Her unsupervised
situation further reinforced this perception. The teaching
act allowed little space for learning to become a teacher.
There was no room for dress rehearsal; the students as
both audience and critic were constantly present. Mistakes
and hesitations were public. Stage fright seemed to come
with the territory. In this way, student teaching became
a proving ground.

Moroever, because each performance was the actual
experience, the curriculum script, as well as the
improvisational skills of performance, were necessary
components of the act. Improvisational skills, however,

require confidence, thinking on one's feet and the ability to construct meaning from the unexpected. But if student teaching is viewed as a proving ground, unanticipated events of classroom life appear as personal threats. An inability to improvise, became a personal failing. Jamie Owl was more exposed than protected in her role. She felt constantly on trial and, indeed, the students' behavior contributed to this reality. The defensive position she often assumed was encouraged by the situation. Jamie felt the pressure to know. At the same time, however, she questioned her own knowledge of the world.

Jamie's ideas about the teacher's role were not unique to her. Rather, they represented the constitutive practical knowledge of students. As a student, Jamie experienced teachers as cultural bearers who attempted to impose that culture upon herself and others. As cultural bearers, teachers possessed and distributed the social information necessary to proceed through school as well as enter the larger society. Jamie, however, deeply resented this stance. She had rejected their cultural views which she termed, "a shattering of values". She could not accept their idealized cultural information, for it did not speak to her own existence in the world, and, as such, rarely validated Jamie's personal quest.

Jamie's university years provided a brief reprival
from this pressure. There, she was exposed to critical
ideas which allowed both the insight and vocabulary to
frame cultural contradictions. Although validating ideas
flourished, the context of the social relationships in the
university classroom was not dramatically different from her
previous educational experiences. University professors
still selected, organized and presented ideas to students.
Students were graded and these grades were of import
inside and outside the university. Participatory learning
was the exception. Her university professors still assumed
the stance of cultural bearers and, indeed, appeared even
more expert than her previous teachers. Professors did
not model their teaching behavior very differently from
those of her previous years.

This was expecially true in her university-based
teacher training; Jamie's professors did not provide her
with a sense of the skills or modeling behavior necessary
for student teaching. They, too, believed that these
things would be best learned on the job. An additional
shared training assumption was that learning to become a
teacher was a largely self taught activity. The professors
of education, as well as the students, viewed the student
teaching semester as the real training. However, education
students were unprepared to assume an active learner stance

demanded by on the job training since their training rarely required this posture. Instead, they were trained as observers without the transition skills necessary to translate passive observation into active participation. Jamie had observed school settings her entire life. These observations mainly informed her of what not to do. This experience was repeated throughout her teacher training. The passive observational stance, frequently a key component of teacher training, did not inform Jamie's activity. Her experience points the problems of mere observation if this is the dominant approach to learning to teach.

Still, armed with new and validating ideas, Jamie began student teaching. She expected on the job training which inadvertently caused her to devalue her theoretical preparation. Because the power of theory to inform practice was never demonstrated, she was ill prepared to make that connection alone. On the job training consisted of total absorption with the teacher's role. Jamie's situation was unique, outside forces rapidly accelerated her responsibility for learning to become a teacher on her own. However, her teaching practice did not automatically lead to the expected competencies. Because she resisted the necessary role assimilation and because she felt the pressure to act in ways contrary to her beliefs and intent,

each action was personally unacceptable and hence invalid. Jamie could not build on her teaching strengths since her actions seemed to only inform her of her weakness. Each day began as a new chance but became a lost opportunity.

Jamie's most consistent struggle was her unsuccessful attempt to reconstruct the teacher's role in ways more personally acceptable. However, Jamie was also not clear about what was acceptable; her ideals of a teacher were often contradictory. They represented divergent aspects of her past, which she believed she had intellectually rejected, and vague future aspirations which she had difficulty atriculating. Her ideal teacher was more like a real person (human being) than a role category (teacher). It was someone who could readily admit and embrace the human condition. Here, the human condition symbolized uncertainty, fallibility, vulnerability, and authentic emotions. Although teachers do possess all of these qualities, their real life is often masked by their class-room role. Their real emotions are largely inaccessible to the student world.

Jamie fought against a reified role, where role appeared separate from its human actor. She described aspects of this role reification as, "not being me", as well as that which comes with the teaching territory. Her description of the territory as, "being up there", again

revealed her understanding of the teacher as knowledge bearer, and as someone always in control. This territory appeared to have a life of its own; it somehow controlled her behavior, dictated her activities, and promoted an unconscious internalization of the bureaucratic values she attempted to reject.

Jamie was not prepared to automatically assume the behavior which came with the teaching territory. Yet, despite her internal role struggle, Jamie's reflex actions were congruent to the teacher's role which valued the school structure over the personal self. She found herself acting out the compromising behavior she had philosophically rejected. These actions were seen as "controlling students". Jamie's social context rather than her personal intent framed her actions. At the same time Jamie's reflex action told her to control students, her interior monologue raised problems of credentials. "Who am I to ask students to do anything?" was a frequent question. Engaging in traditional teacher activities, such as grading, quizzes and leading discussions, only triggered self doubt and defeat.

The internal contradictions of Jamie's subject area may have added to her defeat. Unlike other school subjects which more readily adapt to objectified standards and traditional right and wrong answers, the subject of English

is more expressive and subjective. Communication skills, such as forming and articulating opinions, interpreting meaning, and philosophizing about truth and society, are appropriate activities. However, the students' tolerance level for the ambiguity of this subject is rarely cultivated. When the student enters English class, she/he must often reorient her/his ways of thinking as other classes demand much less of a student in terms of participation. Although Jamie valued student participation, she was ill prepared to either articulate her goals, or prepare her students for this reorientation. Moreover, when Jamie presented and evaluated her curriculum in ways more congruent to so called objectified content, she gave students mixed messages. However, Jamie received no guidance in analyzing the particular contradictions English teachers confront.

Most significantly, Jamie's student teaching experience did not provide an arena for self reflection. Her consistent interior monologue often remained in a stream of consciousness mode, rather than as a critical discourse. It was characterized and framed by emotionalism which prevented Jamie from distancing herself from her situation. Her professional network discouraged these monologues; they encouraged rapid assimilation and uncritical acceptance of the school structure. Their focus was technical, suggesting traditional methods

without a deeper exploration of the meaning these methods might hold to Jamie's larger teaching goals. In fact, much of their advice was remedial, allowing Jamie to maintain rather than transform her situation. Without any critical support, Jamie became a prisoner of her experience. That is, she replicated her past, and then blamed herself.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The date of each particular interview woven throughout each section is noted at the beginning of each section. A change of date signifies a new interview.

[2]For an insightful account of what it is like for a professor to teach about the decade of the sixties, see P. Lyons, "Teaching the Sixties," Socialist Review, 79 (January - February 1985), pp. 71-91.

[3]For a discussion of "Work to Rule", refer back to pages 106-108.

[4]Student teachers are required to work 300 classroom clock hours. Work is divided into: observing, assisting, and taking full responsibility. Although the state does not stipulate the amount of time for each activity, it is assumed that the majority of time is spent assisting and taking full responsibility.

CHAPTER V

JACK AUGUST'S STORY

The Context of the Story

The Methodology of Jack August's Story

In early September 1983, Jack August was one of six
social studies and language arts student teachers who
attended a series of preparatory university workshops prior
to their entrance into high school classrooms. It was there
that I briefly presented my research plan in order to solicit
student teacher volunteers. Immediately after my presenta-
tion, Jack August approached me to volunteer to participate
in my study. I expressed my surprise at his immediate and
receptive response. "Why not participate?" he grinned.

Jack August's story was composed from 197 pages of
interview transcripts and classroom observation fieldnotes.
I met with Jack a total of twelve times, nine of which took
place in Greenville High for classroom observation and
interview sessions, and three of which took place in Jack's
apartment. These three in-depth interviews roughly coin-
cided with the beginning, middle and end of his student
teaching experience.

Weekly classroom observations extended from October 6 to December 14, 1983, during his most active student teaching weeks. From the back of the classroom, I observed Jack and took detailed descriptive fieldnotes which tended to focus on Jack's presentation of class material, his formal and informal interactions with students during class time, and the activities which ordered his class. Time notations ordered my fieldnotes since I was interested in understanding the diversity of activities and necessary transitions he employed to maintain curriculum cohesiveness and consistency.

Each observation was formally scheduled, allowing interview time before and after specific class. In-school interviews focused on Jack's general experience as a student teacher, his instructional intentions, and impressions of a particular class. I usually met him in the social studies office. Occasionally, we met for lunch in the teacher's cafeteria or in an afternoon study hall he often supervised for his cooperating teacher. Each week, I spent approximately two hours in Greenville High, although by late October, my time there increased as Jack assumed additional history classes. I observed a total of fifteen of Jack's history classes which provided the opportunity to view each of his history sections a number of times.

Jack's story unfolds chronologically; it follows his development as a student teacher.[1] Sections of interview transcripts and actual fieldnotes were selected because of their concrete features which reflected Jack's perceptions of and experience in classroom life. The dual research methods of participant/observation and in-depth interviewing allowed insight into the comparison and contrast between Jack's intentions and his activities. Moreover, observations allowed a deeper understanding of the dimensions of interpretations occuring in the classroom.

On gaining access to Greenville High. My entrance to Greenville High was surprisingly smooth; this high school seemed isolated from State University by distance and by design. My initial impression that Greenville was relatively closed to university researchers by personal whim more than by school policy, was substantiated by others who had tried and failed to study this school setting. But Professor Harry Probe of the School of Education suggested I contact his student of twenty-two years ago, currently the chair of social studies at Greenville High. I contacted Burt Rerun by telephone and was relieved to hear a friendly and receptive voice. A meeting to discuss my research intent was immediately arranged.

Our meeting was brief; Burt was on his way to supervise a school pep-rally, or "scream-a-thon" as he jokingly termed it. He listened to my proposal and immediately gave me permission to observe Jack throughout the semester. Burt told me he had a soft spot for student teachers and anyone who studied them. He reminisced about his own student teaching experience at Greenville in 1962; he was committed to help every student teacher have as good an experience as his own.

He also secured the principal's permission for my weekly visits, as well as the permission of Jack's cooperating teachers. Beyond checking in and out of the school's office during each visit, I had no formal contact with this school administration. Both cooperating teachers were open to my presence in their classrooms and at the conclusion of Jack's experience were interviewed about their general perceptions of student teaching.

The Actors, Places and Classes

Jack August . . . . Student Teacher

Burt Rerun. . . . . Chairperson of Social Studies

Roy Hobbs . . . . Primary Cooperating Teacher

Edith Daring. . . . . Second Cooperating Teacher

Alberta Peach . . . . University Supervisor

Thorn Parker. . . . . Professor at State University

Harry Probe . . . . Professor of Education

Greenville . . . .   Town which houses Greenville High

Greenville High School . .   Secondary school, site of Jack's

student teaching semester

United States History, section one, level two (U.S.H.

I,II) (1492-1865)

Originally taught by Roy Hobbs, this course serviced

standard tracked ninth and tenth graders. Jack eventually

taught two of these sections.

United States History, section two, level two

(U.S.H.II,II)

Originally taught by Edith Daring, Jack began teaching

this class in late October. This class surveyed the years

1860 through the present. Students were tenth and eleventh

graders and had passed their first history class. These

students were also of the standard track.

The Context of the Town: Greenville

Greenville's source of official pride is in its

typicality. During the late fifties, the town seemed to be

on the "up and coming". It boasted of jobs and decent

housing. An apparent economic boom promised a good life

to its citizens. Indeed, at that time, Greenville adopted

its official slogan, "Greenville, a typical town to live in."
Its citizens expected normalcy and stability.

For much of its history, Greenville has been a relative-
ly quiet town. Initially, it did not suffer from extreme
urban problems of larger cities. Because the town is ninety-
nine percent white, race has been an invisible issue; class
divisions outweigh those of race. These divisions can be
observed in its housing patterns; neighborhoods are
economically segregated. After World War II, federally
funded low-income housing projects were built on the town's
outskirts.

By the mid-Seventies, Greenville was in economic decline.
Its major factories closed, either to relocate in Southern
non-unionized towns or to other countries which guaranteed
cheaper labor costs. After the factories closed, wholesale
and retail manufacturing outlets absorbed some of the un-
employment. Currently, clerical work employs the greatest
number of the people. Newer industries such as high
technology have stayed away from Greenville, since it is
geographically isolated from larger metropolitan areas.
Beyond its few movie theaters, the main street downtown
shopping area offers little beyond daily needs. Although
Greenville has public transportation, it is costly and
limited.

Those born in Greenville tend to live out their lives there. In fact, most people in the town were born in the state. Greenville Community College absorbs most of the town's high school graduates, offering affordable vocational two-year training. Although universities throughout the country send recruiting personnel to Greenville High, only one percent of its graduates leaves the town for higher education. Army recruitment personnel have been more successful in their recruiting efforts; approximately forty percent of the male graduating seniors and eight percent of the female seniors enlist each year.

Approximately 20,000 people live in Greenville. Of these, sixty-three percent are over eighteen years of age. Whites comprise well over ninety-nine percent of the population. Afro-Americans are the largest minority but less than two-tenths percent, followed by Asians (one tenth of a percent), and Native Americans (one fiftieth of a percent).

Over the last fifteen years, social service agencies have been established in Greenville. They seem to come and go, depending on the current political administration and the availability of federal funds. Unemployment tends to run high in Greenville despite job retraining, adult literacy, and head-start programs. But its day care centers barely begin to meet the labor force's needs. Over half the school-age families of Greenville are headed by a single

parent.   Recently, women and children's shelters for
battered women, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, and
community counseling programs have become more available.
Persons working in such programs perceive Greenville as a
troubled city with social problems reflective of the country,
such as unemployment, child abuse, wife abuse, alcoholism,
teenage pregnancies, illiteracy, and rape.   Recent media
attention to these problems has made treatment appear more
accessible and socially acceptable.

Greenville High.   Greenville High, the town's only high
school, enrolls approximately 1,100 students.   Like the town,
its student population is predominantly white, reflective of
the town's social class divisions as well.   Ethnic and
racial minorities have an invisible presence.   Its few Puerto
Rican students, for example, are placed in the academic
Spanish class; no bilingual or English-as-a-Second-Language
services are available despite the recent arrival of a small
group of Southeast Asian refugees sponsored by a local church.
Yet, it is the high school more than any other institution,
which brings the town's four corners together.

The school's structure reflects its modest student
population growth of the late Sixties.   A new school wing,
primarily servicing vocational students, stands in stark
contrast to the original structure built in the late Forties.

The school organizes and processes students into a three-tiered tracking system of advanced, standard, and basic. Its classroom architecture is traditional, square rooms with individual rows of students' desks correspond to its departmental design. Each academic department has its own corridor and office. It is in these offices where teachers congregate each morning with their departmental colleagues.

It is a short walk from Greenville High to area fast foods restuarants and shopping centers. Although Greenville is a closed campus, students are permitted to congregate outside the main school entrance to smoke cigarettes. It is not uncommon, however, to see students in these off limit shopping centers during the school day. Housed in the parking lot   is a large indoor ice skating rink, a popular hang-out for students after the school day. Ice skating is a year round sport but becomes especially popular during the school's hockey season. Indeed, the majority of administratively sanctioned social activities revolve around sports. This is the primary way school spirit and community are cultivated.

Currently, the school's student enrollment is declining. At the same time, the town's shrinking tax base, coupled with a property tax revolt has greatly affected school offerings. Beyond athletics, few extra curricular activities have survived budget cuts. Each academic department has

drastically cut special interest courses and teachers. The
Social Studies department was especially hard hit with
budget cuts; in the early Seventies, for example, its course
offerings reflected the New Social Studies Movement. At
that time, courses in oral history, contemporary society,
anthropology and psychology revitalized both teachers and
students. As funding diminished, so, too, did course
offerings. Currently, traditional United States History
courses dominate the department's offerings. There is one
special topics class, but it is limited to advanced-tracked
students. Each social studies teacher carries two to four
sections of United States History.

The basics, then, define Greenville's curriculum, which
in turn qualifies its teaching staff. Few new teachers are
hired. Approximately ninety-five percent of its teaching
staff is tenured. Because of teacher layoffs, few teachers
have been at Greenville for less than fifteen years. Most
teachers are known by the town and have been educated in the
state. They have often taught generations of the same
families and have reputations which preceed them. Students
usually predict which teachers they will have before
officially enrolling in their class.

Few educational innovations are attempted except those
which allow the school to run more efficiently. An

alternative learning center, for example, absorbs special education students. Their population includes students with such diverse labels as learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, and chronically truant. Although self-contained, the center's goal is to eventually mainstream their students back into the regular classroom. Mainstreaming, however, is not readily accepted by regular classroom teachers who feel overworked and ill prepared to handle this special population. But because mainstreaming is mandated by state law, teachers have little say. Computers have also been introduced into the school's business classes, and the vocational training classes are filled to capacity.

Above all, Greenville is a practical school, and like the town itself, takes pride in its typicality. Its teachers believe the school has been spared the social and racial problems of larger urban schools. Still, social problems exist, but remain largely unattended. Drug and alcohol abuse, a high rate of teenage pregnancy, high teenage unemployment, a growing drop-out rate, and racism and sexism deeply affect its students. However, although teachers may privately acknowledge these problems, they also maintain that it is not their responsibility. Instead, they point to family negligence as the primary cause of such problems.

Biographical Background

At the time of this study, Jack August was enrolled in a Master of Education program at State University. There he was taking courses which would lead toward secondary teacher certification in social studies, and the advanced degree. Jack gave the immediate impression of being a mild-mannered, soft-spoken man. Of medium height and weight, he is distinguished by a ruddy complexion, slightly balding red hair, and a close cropped red beard. He is known by his peers and professors as a shy individual. Indeed, his university supervisor and professors were puzzled by his decision to participate in this study as he was rarely vocal in his education classes. Jack was twenty-four years of age at the start of his student teaching semester.

Compulsory Education

Jack August was born and raised in the small rural village of Plainfield, forty miles north of State University. Known as a farming community, Plainfield's population is predominantly white. He attended public schools throughout his formal education. Jack's social class background is working class, his ethnicity, Irish.

Jack barely remembers his early childhood. Characterizing himself as a loner, having few friends, his childhood

and adolescent activities were solitary. He played in the woods, rode a trail bike, and was interested in mechanics. It was not until his senior high school year that Jack remembers having close friends.

What seemed to matter most during our first interview was Jack's stress on his early relationship to the teaching profession. He began the interview by phrasing his life story around how he decided to become a teacher.

> I can remember wanting to be a teacher even in elemen-tary school. I thought at different times that maybe the only reason that I wanted to be a teacher . . . was it was the only professional job that I was exposed to. And when you're in school, you see a lot of teachers. You see teachers all the time and you don't really see anyone else unless you've been to the hospital, or something, doctors or some other kind of professional person. [9/21/83]

Jack's early desire to be a teacher, however, depended more on his perceptions of teachers as role models than his success as a student or his enjoyment in being in school. He described himself as an average student, doing just enough work to pass his courses, although he did remember scoring well on an achievement test and being placed in his junior high school's upper tracked classes.

But despite his meager school effort, Jack looked up to his teachers.

> I really don't remember a heck of a lot. I just remember bits and pieces from those years. I remember looking up to teachers. Maybe that was an attraction or something. They were significantly professional

> people, people that you want to emulate. They were
> significant in the sense that they were the teacher.
> I don't know if it's true any longer, I don't know if
> it's true in 1983, but I had some respect for teachers
> in the fourth and fifth grade. I can remember some of
> the teachers, but I can't remember some of the incidents.

Jack could not explain what it was that drew him to his

teachers. But their familiarity as well as their power

affected him.

Jack attended a regional public high school of about

800 students. If teaching as a professional career was in

the back of his mind, by this time it was more as a

distinct childhood memory than an actual career possibility.

By his senior year in high school he considered going to

medical school. He took a pre-med course load and volun-

teered in a local hospital, working in the operating room.

After a year of preparatory course work, Jack reconsidered

his decision.

> I think it was that I really realized that it was
> something I thought would be good to do for other
> people. I guess I got to a point where I thought I
> should be a professional person, or what's one of the
> higher ones. You can make a lot of money and it's a
> higher social status kind of thing. I finally realized
> that those were the reasons, and I didn't want to do
> it.

By his high school years, Jack felt the pressure to

declare and prepare himself for a career. Much of that

pressure was gender specific. As a male from a working

class background Jack was socialized to accept that he

would be the sole economic support for his adult life. He

also wished for a career which would give him both economic
security and social status. His early career explorations
were in the area of social services. The "helping" pro-
fessions were most attractive to him, perhaps because of
their accessibility and the respect Jack had for others
engaged in these professions. However, Jack also realized
that altruistic reasons for any career would not lead to
satisfaction. His decision must first and foremost be his
alone.

Undergraduate Education

The summer after Jack graduated from high school, he
began his first two years in higher education at a local
community college. During this time, Jack commuted to the
college and lived at home.

> I went to a community college with the intention of
> transferring into some place like State University. At
> the time, community college was a little bit less expen-
> sive and within commuting distance from my home. It
> seemed like a pretty good move. I ended up getting an
> associate degree, too.

While Jack focused on fulfilling the general liberal
arts requirements for the associate degree, be began to
explore the discipline of psychology. An instructor drew
him to this field.

> I can remember having at the back of my mind, if I got
> a degree, I could always, I could teach also, without
> ever really finding out what it would take to get the
> teaching degree. I can remember another instance of
> considering that as a career choice. It was while I

was at the community college. It was a teacher. I
think he was only there a year or so.

He was somewhat outspoken and a little less than con-
ventional. And he really didn't last that long. I
got the impression that they sort of wanted him out.
He didn't have tenure or anything. But I like the way
he taught. In fact, he taught one of the psych courses.
But he had sort of an unstructured approach to the
classroom, not to the course, but the classroom. If it
were a nice day, we could go sit outside. A little
more freedom and common sense. Why sit inside as long
as you can keep peoples' attention? Why do you have
to sit where its 90 degrees when you can sit somewhere
under a tree?

I can remember thinking at that point that a career
like a community college teacher would be great. I
hoped to hold a job a little longer than he did.

Jack was impressed with this teacher's classroom approach as

well as his treatment of students. He viewed common sense

and unconventionality as positive teaching attributes. But

he also was witness to the dangers of being outspoken and

unconventional in a social structure which awarded conven-

tionality. What Jack learned was the necessity of adopting

one's behavior to the system's demands.

During his community college years, Jack began to

identify the types of educational structures which were most

stimulating to him as a student.

I did pretty well in the community college although I
hadn't done all that well in high school. I think I
responded pretty well to the way college is, in compar-
ison to high school. They give you some responsibility
and freedom. You have some required things but you
also have more choices and more opportunities.

> One of the things I've liked is when the teacher. . .
> sort of treats you as, gives you some vestige of being
> adult and having some responsibility. I still think
> that would be something to strive for, to treat students
> as semi-adults at least.
>
> I realize there will be some times when that approach
> really won't work. I'm sure there'll be times when a
> little bit of freedom and a little bit of responsibility
> will be abused. But I'd still like to give it to the
> students who will appreciate it.
>
> That's part of the positive experience I've had with
> college and it's also one of the attributes of teachers
> I've had. So I've internalized that as a positive
> attribute of teaching, or something I've liked to
> strive for.

Jack depended on his student educational experience to inform him of the kind of teacher he would like to become. He realized much of what he would like to do as a teacher might be too idealistic, at best only affecting a small minority of students. But what seemed to matter most was his educational philosophy. For Jack, intentions were more significant than necessary adaptations.

After receiving his associate degree in liberal studies, Jack entered State University for his junior year. He had completed all general university requirements with his work at the community college, and declared himself a psychology major in the college of arts and sciences. During the next two years, Jack became involved in both psychology courses and internship work. He was strongly influenced by his psychology professors' emphasis on behaviorism, and there he focused his studies.

Behaviorism just seemed like a succinct, scientific,
simple kind of way to deal with maladaptive behaviors.
The principles are supposedly universal, you could use
on to help just about anybody . . . One of the things
I used to think was good about it was that you really
didn't have to know why there was a problem. All you
had to do was deal with the problem.

The interest in behaviorism was kind of like jumping on
the band wagon kind of thing. . . It was sort of a way
to identify myself with something. I can remember
wanting to be a radical behaviorist. Once I found that
initial interest, I continued it without really
diversifying it or without really exposing myself to
anything else.

Jack's attraction to behaviorism began with this

theory's promise of effectiveness. If practiced correctly,

behaviorist theory promised concrete and clear results.

Beyond the theoretical attraction, Jack had the need to

belong. The psychology department offered a community.

His energies went into his studies, leaving little time for

extra curricular activities.

The summer before his senior year, Jack worked at a

small private school for autistic children in the eastern

part of the state. It had a national reputation for being

one of the best behaviorist schools in the country.

I heard about the school the year prior to my gradua-
tion. I didn't know what autistic kids were. I didn't
know anything about them. [The school] was real
behavior oriented. The first summer I went down there,
I was in a classroom. I worked as a teacher. They
didn't have too many male applicants at that point.
And they wanted to put a male into the classroom
because it was sort of the one with all the physically
toughest kids to work with.

> Going in for just a short time like that, with all the
> behavioral ideas fresh from the textbook in your mind,
> it was a pretty neat place.

During this work, Jack began to seriously consider a career
in teaching special education. His summer's work as a
teacher was positive and rewarding. He found behaviorist
theories could be effectively practiced and received strong
validation from the school staff for his behavioristic
approach.

In Fall 1981, Jack returned to State University to
complete his senior year. He considered a graduate Ph.D.
degree in behavioral psychology. But upon graduation, the
private school for autistic children re-hired him. Jack
began working there full time as a direct care worker.

During his year's work, Jack slowly became disillusioned
with behaviorist practices. Whereas his first summer job
at the school was both short and sweet, the prolonged time
spent during his second stay allowed Jack to witness the
underside of school life. Part of what triggered this dis-
illusionment was his perception of the staff's treatment of
the children.

> My attitudes were changing. You come out of school
> with textbook ideas of how things should work. And
> about how principles and procedures should be imple-
> mented. And when you see how they are actually done,
> it's not the same. I didn't like the way the
> principles were implemented at the school. And the
> school is considered to be the best of its kind in the
> country. And if that's the best, I feel there's a long
> way to go.

I worked the 3-11:00 P.M. shift. We come in just as
the kids were getting out of school. The kids would
have been worked all day, and we got on them. The fresh
staff would come on and work them again until 9:00
P.M. The kids never got a moments rest all day long.

I guess the reason I got turned off to it was the
behavioral procedures. I get the impression anyway,
that the school tends to attract people who are just
kind of mean. Or enjoy feeling power over these kids
and would use excessive force in physically promoting
kids to go through procedures.

And I got a little disheartened, a little disillusioned
with the behavioral, well the behavioral procedures
implemented there and sort of got turned off to the
field of psychology.

Jack's disillusionment allowed him to critically view

behaviorist practice and his relation to it. He began con-

sidering other careers. Further, Jack realized that direct

child care workers were poorly paid, had low status, and

ultimately were engaged in a dead-end job. He knew an

undergraduate degree would not award him economic security

or social status. At this point, Jack returned to the idea

of becoming a teacher. Initially, he thought about teach-

ing moderate special needs children because of his work with

autistic children.

The M.Ed. Program: Teacher Training

Jack's decision to formally enter teacher training

began in Spring 1982 while he worked as a direct care worker.

He visited State University's teacher certification office,

originally to find out the procedures for elementary educa-

tion teacher certification.

> Actually, I sort of wandered into the certification
> office. I was leaning more toward elementary and I
> had that idea. But I was introduced to Harry Probe
> and Thorn Parker and they were secondary people. I
> really hadn't made a firm decision, anyway.
>
> I was thinking elementary because I thought it would be
> a little less, it wouldn't be. . . well, you hear all
> the horror stories about controlling the classrooms and
> I thought maybe elementary school because I'd be a heck
> of a lot bigger than them.

Jack's image of high school life was mainly formed by the

media. He described his own high school as quiet with none

of the problems characteristically used to describe schools

in more urban settings. Media reviews of the state of

education present a picture of school life as that of a

battleground. Whether people, methods, educational theories,

morals, or economic circumstances were blamed, the

emotionalism of the popular press and media accounts

simplified a problematic reality. Jack accepted this account.

Jack decided to enter the Master's program for Second-

ary Education with the goal of completing course work leading

to secondary state certification in the behavioral sciences

and social studies. The dual secondary teaching certificate

was appealing because Jack could apply his undergraduate

psychology credits to the behavioral science certification

and take four history courses for the social studies certi-

fication. Of the thirty-three credits required for this

degree, twenty-one credits would be taken in the School of

Education.

That Fall 1982, Jack took four undergraduate history
courses from State University's History Department. Al-
though he was a stranger to the discipline of history, by
the end of that semester, he was deeply affected by what he
had studied. For the first time Jack learned of Black
slavery resistance, women's role in history, the United
States government's genocidal policy toward Native Americans,
and the Reconstruction period from a Black perspective. In-
deed, Jack became aware of the role perspective played in
shaping historical writing as well as an individual's
understanding of and relation to history. His professors
helped rescue history from between the pages of history
textbooks. More signficantly, Jack traced his new histori-
cal awareness to those courses. He was challenged to
reconsider and critically question his own educational
biography. Jack was determined to take this "new" knowledge
into his own student teaching classroom.

Rather than recall specific course titles for the five
education courses Jack took during Spring 1983, he remembered
their general themes.

> There was the work of teachers and Thorn Parker's
> course, I can't think of the title. It's the one
> where you develop something more than a lesson plan.
> You develop an entire course. At least a month a time.
> His term is learning unit. We have to do one as part
> of the requirement for student teaching. There was a
> methods course specific to social studies teachers.
> And there was this critical thinking course which was
> real good.

They're all theory courses, outside of the one where
you develop something. None of the courses are like,
this is how you fill out a grade book, or this is how
you teach. I guess they more or less assume that
you're going to develop your own style or you're going
to do it your own way anyhow. All they can do is hope
that you'll be creative and use creative teaching
methods and strategies and ways to develop critical
thinking. But as far as actually having a course that
says, this is how you grade papers or something, you
just don't get it there.

I think that approach is pretty good because it doesn't
make much sense to waste much time. How you're
actually going to teach or run a classroom. It's
something you're going to develop on your own anyway.

I think it's something that I'm going to learn how to
do myself. Nobody's going to be able to teach me,
tell me how to do it. I don't think you become a
teacher by going to the University or any place else.
You have to rely on your experience. I think you have
to do it and develop your own style.

Educational theory appeared more like an intellectual idea

that a guide to action. Although he knew it might be im-

portant, Jack was hard pressed to see the relationship

between education theory and practice. Experience rather

than theory provided Jack's link to successful practice.

The details of teaching appeared unrelated to theory and

were best learned by doing rather than by mere reflecting.

Jack's belief that teachers were self made seemed

supported by his educational courses. He felt that people

would do what they wanted regardless of what they were

taught. In this sense, the School of Education seemed

powerless to affect change. Teacher training programs

merely prepared students to hope for the best. For Jack,

teaching was more like a craft, learned from personal experience. Successful teaching was dependent on style rather than on theoretical substance. Jack's impression of teaching was that it was a highly individualized activity dependent upon the person rather than the social context. That experience could be problematic in either activity or interpretation was not considered. Rather, Jack assumed he could automatically be a teacher from the experience of teaching.

What Jack's education courses did give him was a lens from which to view educational life. Jack strongly believed critical thinking was the key to personal and social aware-ness. He assumed that because he was a critical thinker, he could teach others this same process. Throughout his education courses, Jack read critiques of current education-al practice and began to understand how social inequalities become structural features of high school life. His developing critical awareness encouraged his desire to do something creative, something other than the traditional lecture model approach so endemic to high school classes recently observed. Yet how this desire would be translated into practice was not a concern until Jack became immersed in high school life.

Finding a Placement

Jack decided to teach at Greenville High because it was geographically close to home. He also believed the school would give him the most typical and generalizable teaching experience. This belief seemed supported by the teaching staff.

Jack would have preferred to teach behavioral sciences, an area in which he felt knowledgeable, but because a tax-payers' revolt had seriously affected school funding, most social science courses had been eliminated. Instead, Jack would teach three sections of United States History, a two year requirement for Greenville High's students.

At Greenville High, student teachers choose their cooperating teachers, a process Jack appreciated.

> The way the social studies department works, you do some observation. You're not assigned to a cooperating teacher. You have some choice of who you'd like to work with and you have some say as to the type of course you'll get. I had an idea of who I'd like to work with. I observed some classes, even those I didn't want to teach [like] the history of Western Civilization, which I don't have any knowledge in, and European History, which I really don't know anything about. I sat in six out of seven classes a day.
>
> I've been wearing a tie and sport jacket, until it got really hot. If the teacher wasn't around [when I was in the room], students would ask, "Is he sick?" "Are you a substitute?" "Did you come back to high school to get your diploma?" You know, the kids are just curious. They want to know who's the strange person sitting in the back of the room. But after the first day, you sort of become a fixture there.

Of the six social studies teachers Jack observed during those two weeks, Jack chose to work with two different teachers. His primary cooperating teacher, Roy Hobbs, had been teaching in the social studies department for seventeen years and was the last teacher hired by the social studies department. Roy's fluent articulation of history impressed Jack. But Roy Hobbs' primary pedagogical approach was the lecture format, a method Jack would rather avoid. Because Roy was personable and friendly, however, Jack felt he could work with him and decided to begin his formal teaching by taking over the first of Roy's two United States History courses.

Edith Daring, the only woman faculty member of the social studies department, was Jack's second choice. She offered something different. Edith Daring was also a veteran teacher of thirty years. What drew Jack to Edith was her creative approach to teaching. She involved students as much as possible, integrating popular culture, women, and minorities into her history curriculum. Her classroom environment reflected a creative approach to history. Bright posters, maps, pictures for each histori-cal era, art work, and plants filled her classroom, and stood in stark contrast to other social studies rooms which were empty except for desks and standard maps. But Edith Daring seemed less approachable and had the reputation of

of being a loner.   Jack would eventually take over one of
Edith Daring's classes, United States History-1865-Present.

While observing social studies classrooms, Jack was
surprised at how relatively calm classroom interactions
between students and teachers appeared.   He expected to
observe a battle ground and had heard other student teachers
recount their "war stories".

> I can remember last semester, how some of the students
> used to talk about their observation experiences.   How
> their kids were little monsters and hard to control
> and the teacher didn't get anything done in the class-
> room.   It doesn't seem to be true in what I've observed.
> Maybe there aren't any real bad classes in the ones
> I've been watching.   They don't seem terrible to me.
>
> Maybe I haven't witnessed a bad day.   All the teachers
> [in social studies] are veteran teachers.   The one I'm
> working with is the last one in and he has seventeen
> years experience.   They've been at it for awhile.   Any
> kid that lives in the area, all their brothers and
> sisters that have had them, they've heard of the
> teachers before.   You have a reputation already, a
> little of a head start.
>
> But I really didn't have too much idea of what student
> teaching was like.   I sort of thought it would be like
> substitute teaching in a sense.   You have the
> difficulties of a substitute teacher.   I know from
> working with the autistic kids and I know from my
> personal experiences of having done it as a student.
> You know you have to establish yourself with people.
> They are going to see how far you'll go and put you
> through some tests.   So I assume I'll have to go through
> a period where I'll have to establish myself with
> students.   I'm not going to have the same sort of
> control that my cooperating teacher who has seventeen
> years of experience in the system.   It doesn't bother
> me.   You have to go through it.

The "worst" problem Jack observed was student resistance to doing school work. He had watched one of his future students joke about not doing work and laugh about failing grades. Overall, however, the students seemed highly compliant to teachers' requests and classroom assignments. Jack attributed this compliance to the teachers' reputation; their veteran status seemed to control student behavior.

But Jack did not have a teacher reputation which preceded him. He was about to step into a role that had the status of a substitute teacher. Nor did he have years of experience to fall back on. He had a sense of how students might act because he had been a student. The generalizing power of his personal experience as a student, however, could not inform him how teachers acted. Although he had two cooperating teachers to serve as models and two classrooms to step into, the structure and curriculum script were already in place. By taking over, Jack expected to feel more like a substitute than a "real" teacher. And, like many student teachers, Jack assumed students would initiate him into classroom life.

By the end of September, he had settled into an initial routine. Each morning he would go directly to the social studies department office and have coffee with the men of the social studies department. Edith Daring never joined them, although her classroom adjoined the office. During

coffee, before the first bell of the school day, the men would joke together, discuss sports, and talk about school. Jack would then observe three or four classes, spend time in the library reviewing material, have lunch in the teacher's cafeteria, and occasionally walk with Roy Hobbs during the latter's hall duty.

Comments. Jack's formative exposure to teachers as potential role models influenced his career choice. He remembered respecting teachers but wondered if this respect still existed. What struck him during his early years was not so much the actual work of teachers, but their power- ful presence in his daily life.

As a university student, what seemed most important to Jack was his need to belong to a community and to utilize practical theory. Indeed, what drew him to behaviorism was its concrete approach to solving complex problems. It promised both methods and results. However, once context- ualized by social practice, behaviorism lost its ideal qualities. Significantly, Jack began to consider the dilemmas of hierachical power relationships this theory employed. As Jack contrasted the type of educational relationships most personally significant to his own develop- ment, he could not personally reconcile the use of this method. He valued choice in his own education which behaviorism denied.

But Jack's disillusionment toward behaviorist theories and practices led him to generalize this disillusionment to all textbook theories; he became cynical toward textbook learning and professional training programs. This cynicism became a lens through which he viewed his educational course work.

Curriculum development seemed to be Jack's most practical education course. The professor's formula for creating curriculum was routinely specified. It reduced curriculum design to its smallest component parts and then provided strategies for long term planning. In many ways, curriculum design was similar to the behaviorist approach toward dealing with people. Each method offered specific and simple steps toward accomplishing observable goals. Each depended more on the practitioner's directives than on a socially interactive contextualized model. Both fragmented solutions from problems. At the root of each method was an assumed hierarchical power dynamic that valued the practitioner at the expense of the student/client. The practical uses of curriculum development, however, influenced Jack's uncritical acceptance of this method.

Throughout his educational course work, Jack believed the best teacher training programs could hope for was to expose its students to a variety of methods; even then, teacher training could not guarantee teacher success. It

really depended on the individual. So because Jack believed teachers were self made, much of teacher training course work seemed worthless. Jack expected that actual practice rather than theory would be the primary informer of his pedagogy. Consequently, he entered student teacher expecting on the job training. This over-reliance on direct experience caused Jack to have little concern for the process of becoming a teacher.

Jack's decision to have two cooperating teachers during his student teaching semester served dual needs. First, there was Jack's need to develop his historical awareness into an area of expertise. He believed he needed to know all the traditional knowledge before he could do creative work. Because Jack would have to learn the content of history in order to teach it, he believed a knowledgeable cooperating teacher was important. Although he had recently taken four history courses at State University, Jack had not mastered the "details" of history mandated by Greenville's history curriculum. Consequently, Jack chose to work with Roy Hobbs, known for his fluent lecturing style. Jack's second need was to be creative in his teaching approach which Edith Daring offered. She structured her classroom to maximize and encourage thoughtful discussion and had strategies for students to participate in history. Moreover, her approach to history was from "Botton-Up", rather than

"Top-Down" like that of Roy Hobbs. Edith Daring taught a people's history. Roy Hobbs taught the history of the ruling class with an emphasis on military history.

Why Jack chose Roy Hobbs as his primary cooperating teacher and Edith Daring as his secondary teacher can only be surmised. Certainly Edith Daring's approach to history was more congruent with Jack August's beliefs. But beyond philosophical compatibility was the need for social acceptance and social compatibility. Roy Hobbs was one of the "boys" of the social studies department; Edith Daring was not. She neither participated in the social studies department's daily gatherings, nor joked about with "the boys". Edith Daring separated herself from her teaching peers and in turn was ostracized by them. Indeed, Edith was preparing for a lengthy legal battle of sex discrimination in the social studies department's hiring practices. Her case was about to go to litigation, but although she did not speak of it, it was common knowledge. Perhaps Jack August thought choosing Edith Daring as a primary cooperating teacher would be too great a price to pay. Jack had a need to feel accepted at Greenville High. The male faculty afforded him that opportunity.

By selecting two cooperating teachers, Jack assumed he would receive strong supervision and guidance. Indeed, having two cooperating teachers so different in teaching

style appeared advantageous. He could pick the best features from both teachers, and learn both traditional and innovative approaches to social studies. Jack expected to depend on their support for he believed his real teacher education would begin with student teaching. He expected to learn the practical details of teaching like an apprentice learns a trade, through participation, practice and guidance from a master teacher.

When Jack entered student teaching, he had some idea of the types of social relationships and kinds of teaching orientations he would like to accomplish. He wanted to give students responsibility and be fairly unstructured in his classroom approach. His recent course work in history and education stressed the importance of critical thinking and of understanding reality as a social construction rather than a natural phenomenon.

Jack August's goal was to stress critical thinking skills, which meant critically questioning any information by analyzing and historically situating its source. He knew of one model on how to translate his own critical awareness into curriculum objectives and procedures. This was the university model, a model which worked for his student self. The university model presupposes the student has ascertained advanced literacy acquisition, maturity, self motivation and an interest in the material. At State University, Jack's

professors lectured and handed out critical articles for classroom discussion. The courses were on an intellectual level, focusing on content rather than on teaching process. Jack entered student teaching with the idea of organizing his history classes like the university classes he had so enjoyed. His student experience informed this practical desire. Jack wanted to run his history classes like a university seminar.

Doing Student Teaching

Shouting Out Ideas

Jack August officially began student teaching on October 5, 1983 when he "took over" Roy Hobbs' United States History class. The course was known by everyone involved as "U.S.H.I.,II." spanning the colonial era to the Civil War. Prior to Jack's official takeover, this class had been meeting daily with Roy Hobbs, who organized the material chronologically, focused on pivotal events emphasized in the text book, and underscored these events with a specific concept. Students received this information by lecture and recitation, all of which reinforced their history text. Roy Hobbs also devised a complex point system which ordered his grading procedures. Students earned points by taking frequent quizzes and tests based on the text and class lectures. Class participation also earned

points. These points were subjectively determined by Roy; he compared recent student class participation with previous years of student participation.

Although Jack would have this class for fifteen weeks, or two graded quarters, he decided to continue Roy's structure with the reasoning that continuity would be in the students' best interest. After all, he reasoned, students would be back with Roy for the rest of the school year. So, Jack decided to structure his class presentations chronologically, continue using the text, and cover the same concepts Roy Hobbs covered in his other history sections.

Greenville High's rotating schedule meant that each day this class met at a different time, despite the fact that the class was always held in the same sparsely decorated rectangular classroom. Its furnishings were the same as that of many high school social studies classrooms. There were five straight rows of five desks each facing a large teacher's desk located in the front of the classroom. Above the teacher's desk hung a large United States flag. Behind the teacher's desk was a green chalkboard which covered the front half of the forward wall. On the left side of the classroom, hermetically sealed windows provided a view of Greenville High's large cement parking lot. The right classroom wall was taken with bulletin board space, empty except for a Pepsi Cola calendar. Textbooks were stored on

built-in shelves beneath the window. Tightly rolled maps hung above the front board. Above the only classroom door was a large clock.

On October 5, Roy Hobbs introduced Jack August to the students. Then, as Jack expected, Roy immediately left the room.

> I asked him how he'll turn the reins over to me. He said, "I'll introduce you and leave for a week or two." Roy's philosophy is to have me start on my own and then come back. [10/6/83]

However, because Roy often taught in the same room the period before Jack's class, Roy usually sat behind the teacher's desk and watched Jack's students file into their history class. Jack would wait on the sidelines for Roy to leave. Roy usually left a few moments after the school bell announced the period's official beginning. Jack would then move to the front of the classroom.

Jack began his history class with the year 1763 by focusing on the events which led to the American Revolution. During these early weeks, Jack, through Roy's instruction, stressed the concept of colonists as natural rebels. That is, colonists had good cause to agitate for independence. Jack appreciated this concept; it heightened his perspective that people participate in history. The term natural rebel also occurred frequently in the course's history text, History of a Free People, eighteenth edition, 1970.

I observed Jack's second class meeting. I sat in the
back of the classroom, without being introduced, largely
ignored by students. Twenty students were present, nine
females and eleven males. The males sat in the front of the
room, the females, toward the back. Seats were unassigned.
Of the twenty students present, nineteen were Anglo, primarily
working class, one student was Asian. This session occurred
on a Thursday at mid-morning. The students entered the
room highly animated, boisterously talking about events of
the previous night. Roy Hobbs was in the front of the room
collecting student papers. Two minutes after the bell rang,
he left abruptly.

On this particular day, the cooling system was mal-
functioning. Loud clanging noises steadily reverberated
throughout the classroom, overriding individual speech but
blending into the general din of loud student conversation.
Jack began the class in a soft, barely audible voice.

```
10:38
Jack:  I'm going to take attendance so I can learn
       everyone's name.  Jack Damon?
Class: WRONG CLASS!
Jack looks through a stack of papers on the teacher's
       desk:  I don't have the class list.
Class continues talking among themselves.  The cooling
       system commotion makes everyone talk louder.
Jack:  I want to talk about the concept of natural
       rebel.  (Writes Natural Rebel on board).  Does
       anyone have an idea of what a natural rebel is?
The class continues talking among themselves.  Ignores
       Jack.
```

Male student to Jack: Could you speak a little louder
        please?
Jack: Sure.
Jack continues to speak softly. His voice can barely
        be heard above the clanging of the cooling system.
Jack: How are colonists different?
A few students answer differently at the same time.
Jack questions a few students in the front of the room
        and they answer as softly as Jack questions.

10:44
Jack hands out a two page, fourteen paragraph xerox
        reading to each person in the class. The reading,
        taken from one of Jack's university courses,
        described the social and racial make-up of the
        early colonial society. It depicted colonial
        America as a melting pot, socially and culturally
        alienated from England.
Jack: Who'd like to start reading? (Jack points to
        a male student in the front row)
Male student: Not me.
Jack: Go ahead.
Male student begins reading in a soft voice which can
        barely be heard above the clanging cooling system.
        The student has great difficulty reading the names
        of countries.
No student volunteers to read. Jack picks each reader
        until fourteen students have read one paragraph
        each. Each student reads for approximately forty
        seconds and most students, when called upon, slump
        in their seats and stumble through their paragraph
        in low quiet voices. A few students punctuate
        each sentence with, "I can't read".
Some students joke about not hearing the class while
        Jack summarizes each paragraph.

11:00
Jack: OK, what's this all about?
A few students in the front of the classroom summarize
        the reading.

11:04
Jack: All right. I'll give you the rest of the period
        to work on your time line. [10/6 Fieldnotes]

For the remaining twenty minutes students continued to

talk and joke among themselves. Jack attempted to get the

students back on task twice, warning them to work quietly.

But student conversation continued, at times escalating
into loud noise. Toward the end of the period, Jack momen-
tarily slipped out of the classroom returning with the
correct attendance list. He read the student names out loud
while two students were throwing rulers at each other. A
few minutes before the bell rang, students began gathering
their books and walking to the classroom door. As the bell
rang, students jumped over desks and ran out of the room.

After class, Jack wondered about the students' noise
level but felt he was off to a pretty good start. Jack
believed that if he could create a more relaxed atmosphere,
students would feel free to participate.

> I want to encourage responding in class. They're not
> used to it. I wanted to be a little bit different. My
> cooperating teacher had more a lecture, a certain
> structure. More formal. I don't want to become pre-
> occupied with discipline. I'd rather have free respond-
> ing. I'm trying to incorporate some of the ideas in
> the education theory courses, that discipline isn't that
> all consuming goal. I'd rather be more lax in exchange
> for participation. I want them to shout out their ideas
> if their want.

Jack wanted to conduct an exciting history class, a class
where, similar to his past university seminars, ideas deter-
mined classroom structure. Although Jack believed his
students were not "used to" this form of classroom discourse,
he did not foresee its implementation as problematic. For
Jack, what was most important was free discussion, something
he was willing to "exchange" for discipline. However, the
theory Jack brought to this history class gave him few cues

as to how to implement it. Consequently, Jack depended on his student experience to inform his emerging classroom strategies.

In order to promote discussion, Jack selected what he believed would be a highly stimulating article which he had read in a university history class. Here, ideas took precedence over classroom process. He had not considered the reading level of either the article or students. At this point what was most important for Jack was that his article appeared to directly challenge the emphasized ideas of the required history text, A History of a Free People. Jack was wary of this text. In fact, one day during his critical thinking course in the School of Education, his professor brought this very text to class as an example of one of the worst textbooks ever published. Still, Jack was not discouraged about having to use this text. Instead, he saw the text as an opportunity to teach critical awareness.

Teaching critical awareness was paramount to Jack. This approach to knowing was stressed in his education and history courses at State University.

> At some point, I'd like to introduce the idea that students should be more critical of historical accounts. Just because it's in their book doesn't mean they should believe it. I have to use it but I can use it just as well and point out it's not perfect but bring in other sources. I don't want to just stick with the textbook. I also don't want them to learn just what I say, but to consider it.

Jack wanted students to consider history for themselves by questioning the authority of the teacher as well as the text. Jack's only strategy was to bring outside readings which challenged the text. But how he would get students to challenge his own authority, in the way he desired, was not yet formulated.

From the very beginning of Jack's official takeover, two ideas seemed important. First, that students have the freedom to actively participate in their class. This meant foregoing a traditional classroom approach which stressed order through teacher control. Second, that critical thinking was paramount to understanding history. Jack believed students must decide the relevancy and truth value of the received information. He wanted to put history on trial with the students as the jury.

Comments. Jack's analogy of his new classroom stance as "taking the reins" signified his acceptance of Roy Hobbs' original classroom structure. On the other hand, Jack decided to hold these reins loosely, giving the students the slack which might encourage their participation. Although Jack believed that student interest would best be served by preserving the familiar structure and routine established by Roy, he was frustrated by this familiar structure, believing it inhibited the free flowing of ideas. But although Jack desired to be a different kind of teacher

his actual strategies were underdeveloped. Consequently, he felt compelled to retain aspects of Roy Hobbs' classroom structure because this structure suggested specific teaching strategies, ordered the material, and offered certainty.

The main teaching strategies Jack used during these early classes resided in his own educational biography. He vaguely knew what stimulated his student side. But his student side was largely formed during his university years. There, with the freedom and challenge seminar courses afforded, Jack thrived. Jack projected his university experience on to his high school students. He believed his own student experience could be replicated by reproducing the seminar structure in his class, and by introducing historical accounts which influenced his own development.

However, Jack had not reckoned with the remedial skill level of his students. He assumed they would be able to read and understand the material. On the other hand, Jack might not have trusted the students to read the material on their own, and so devoted classes to oral reading. That students resisted oral reading and ensuing discussion was not yet a concern. Jack was not aware of any diagnostic strategies to guage student understanding of the material.

His outside readings, however, presumed a complex acquisition of critical reading skills as well as prior historical knowledge, neither of which his students possessed.

Further, Jack's initial questioning strategies were too open-ended, directed more toward the general classroom than specific students. When he received no response from the open-ended questions, Jack began to ask surface comprehension questions, directed to no one in particular. What students shouted out during that class was resistance to Jack.

Keeping Them on Their Toes

On the advice of Roy Hobbs, Jack August gave his history class weekly quizzes. Usually students had prior notice but occasionally Jack surprised his class with a "Pop" quiz. These quizzes asked students to list or define specific details of historical events. Students received twenty minutes to take each quiz and then Jack discussed the correct answers. Such quizzes filled the history period.

Jack believed a quiz served two purposes: first its warning function. Jack borrowed Roy's phrase of "keeping the students on their toes", which implied an expected student readiness based on preparatory study. Both Jack and Roy expected students to take their homework assignments seriously. The quizzes were a way to check up on whether students did their homework. In this sense, quizzes were a coercive measure. They reinforced the authority of both the teacher and the material. Because they could help or hinder a

student grade point average, quizzes reminded students that homework counts.

The second purpose of quizzes was to encourage and reward students for taking notes during class. During quizzes, Jack allowed students to use their class notes. If students took good notes, they would do well on quizzes. However, the students then understood the purpose of note-taking as a means of scoring well on quizzes. As a result, during every class students would interrupt Jack's explanations with the question, "Do we have to know this for the quiz?", or "Should we write this down?" Quizzes rather than understanding shaped students' relationship to history.

Jack's quizzes were worth one point, while Roy's were worth two. Roy Hobbs' quizzes were long and detailed. Each contained twenty-five questions, spanning true or false, essays, and multiple choice. Students had to answer sixty percent correct to receive credit. If a student failed a quiz, two points were subtracted from her/his semester point accumulation.

Although Jack believed quizzes were "good" for students, he disagreed with Roy's format. Indeed, Jack felt Roy's quizzes were more exam-like than quiz-like. If a student failed Jack's quiz, no points were subtracted at all. For Jack, quizzes could only help a student's grade.

Not subtracting points from students' grades was a specific strategy Jack brought to student teaching. Jack believed positive reinforcement had a more powerful effect on student behavior. This belief was grounded in behaviorist theory. So, although Jack was disenchanted with applied behaviorist theory, he still maintained that aspects of this theory were relevant to his current situation.

Jack gave his first quiz on October 13th. He announced the quiz at the start of the class. Immediately students tried to negotiate. They asked to go to the library instead, told Jack they did not have enough time to read the chapter, and denied having previous knowledge of the quiz although it had been announced and posted on the board days before.

12:49
Male Student: You know that quiz date? It wasn't there.
Jack: I put that date there last Thursday. The quiz is a little different that Mr. Hobbs. It's worth only one point, not two and it will take about 15 minutes. . . OK, let's get quiet!
Male Student: Can we use our notes?
Jack: OK. You can use your notes but not your books. (Jack hands out the five question quiz. Students begin reading the quiz and talking out loud.)
Female (holding head): Oh my G-d. I have no idea.
Jack: This is a quiz. Let's get quiet or I'll take your paper away. . . You want me to read over the questions? (Jack begins to read each question out loud)
Female: Give us some hints.
Jack: That question is pretty straight forward. I took it right from the book.
Male: Do you want us to list or explain?
Jack: Just list it.
Male: Can we get extra credit if we put more down?
Female: OH SPARE ME!

Male: Can we use our notes?
Female: Who takes notes?
Female: That was easiest enough to flunk.

1:06
     (The quiz is over and Jack collects the papers.
A female student asks Jack when the time line homework
is due.)
Jack: I'm not sure.
Female: YOU'RE NOT SURE!
Jack (to class): Alright, You wanna go over the quiz?
A few students in unison: NO!.

     (Jack reads the questions in a soft, barely audible
voice. Although a few students answer, Jack ends up
answering his own questions. Few students are listening
to Jack. A few minutes later, Jack takes off his sport
coat and rolls up his long sleeves shirt to his elbows.
He is now talking about the colonists' boycott of
British goods.)
Jack: You don't have to have the word boycott in your
     answer. You just have to explain what it is.
Female: When's the next test going to be?
Jack: I'm not sure.
Female: Well, can you tell us ahead of time.
Jack (to class): Let's be quiet. You have a couple of
     options. You can either sit here quietly or . . .
     (End of sentence can't be heard because of student
     talking.)

1:16
Jack: Anyone has any questions on economic growth?
     (Class doesn't answer.)
Jack: No one has any questions on ecomonic growth?
     Especially since we haven't ever gone over that?
     Karen Tarr, can you tell us about economic growth?
Karen: We didn't go over that.
Male: Oh yes we did.

     (Jack spends the remaining period discussing
economic growth. He answers his own questions and
appears to be talking to himself. Finally the bell
rings and students quickly crowd out of the class.)

     When the room had emptied, Jack said to me: G-d,
that was really hard today for some reason. They don't
really understand about economic growth. It suddenly
got very hot up there, too. I hate to threaten people
with the office, but I really don't know . . . I haven't
figured it out. I don't mind a little bit of noise.

(Roy Hobbs walks into the classroom)
Roy to Jack: How'd it go?
Jack: It wasn't easy. (10/13 fieldnotes)

After class, Jack expressed deep concern over his pro-
cedures for communicating the material to the students.

> I really don't know how to put myself in their place.
> I have a good idea of natural rebel.

Jack was reflecting the gap between knowing a concept and
explaining that understanding. He also wondered how he could
know the students since he had difficulty imagining their
world. Jack knew his quiz had been ineffective. So, too,
had his discussion about economic growth. However, Jack did
not perceive the quiz's purpose as contrary to his goals
of creating an environment of free flowing discussion where
authority was questioned. Neither did he consider, as
contrary to his goals, the detail oriented type questions
asked throughout the lesson. Still, Jack wanted the students
to be familiar with the concepts. He thought a quiz would
help. As Jack put it:

> I want to establish that I'm not going to let their
> reading go. The quiz wasn't worth a lot, a bit of
> coercion to do the reading.

Jack attributed his classroom difficulties to in-
experience with both the material and methods of presentation.
With little experience to fall back on, Jack was hard
pressed to do anything but follow in Roy's footsteps.

Roy had a thematic approach and he tries to develop a theme. I'm trying to stick with that. I'm talking about the same things he is in his other classes. You have to start somewhere. He's eventually going to have this class back and I can't get too far away from his ideas. They seem like valid ideas.

I don't want to just become a lecture teacher. I think I'm getting frustrated because I seem to be doing that. I don't want to model everything I see. I haven't been inventive enough. There's a bunch of things I'd like to do but I don't know how to organize it.

But I have to present material they need to know. I don't want this class to be too difficult from the other history level two that Roy has.

There is a couple of things that Roy doesn't do. I'm going to try them. But then again, it's not like it's my own class. Not that I could probably organize my own class. It's a little bit difficult when you take over somebody's class. I look forward to the day when I have my own way of organizing. I don't know if I'll be able to do that, but I guess it will be easier to be consistent with things.

In some ways, Roy Hobbs' classroom structure served as Jack's safety net, allowing Jack to practice his new role. Initially, despite its contradictions, Jack rationalized Roy's structure as a means of organization. Jack believed that if he could somehow learn his own brand of organizational skills his situation might drastically change when he became the real teacher. Then he could introduce meaningful material which stressed social issues of oppression and people's history. In the meantime, although he was frustrated with performing in ways contrary to his own goals, he would have to make the best of things.

But even when Jack considered the practical circumstances confronting history teachers, he had difficulty accepting the department's approach and goals.

> The material should supplement what you're doing, not dictate what you're doing. In a sense, the material is supplementing the general theme. The general goals of the class is not to memorize but come away with some kind of concept of what happened, which seems to make sense. I don't remember the dates in my high school. I hardly remember the history classes I had.
>
> I'm wondering about what realistic goals are. Some of the social studies teachers are under the opinion that you're not going to turn any of the kids into historians. Another social studies teacher believes [you can] spark an interest. The way others talk, they think its all futile, that they're wasting their time. Maybe the goals and means need to be reassessed. I'm going to grapple with that when I get my own classes.

For Jack, the role of curriculum in history class was an early concern. Now, however, Jack's perception of the curriculum took a new shift; the curriculum assumed the potential of overpowering the teacher as well as the students. Jack expressed a fear of the material controlling him. This fear led him to reconsider curriculum goals. It seemed sensible to help students develop a sense of what happened rather than focus on trivial details acquired by memorization. Jack's own high school history experience validated this understanding. He had not developed a sense of history until his university years. Yet Jack also believed that in order for students to get a sense of history, they needed the details. This was especially true for Jack's experience

as a student teacher; he had to learn the details as well as strategies to convey his own historical understanding to his students.

The social studies teachers were giving Jack conflicting messages. Most of the staff had low expectations of their students. They were sure that no historians would be made at Greenville High. Some believed teaching students history was a waste of time. Here, teachers seemed to appreciate the material more than the students. Jack thought this teaching fatigue could be circumvented by reassessing the department's goals and material. Yet, he also knew it was beyond his role to make any changes. Once again, the constraints of his present circumstance propelled him into his future. There he believed he could grapple with means and ends.

One social studies teacher did offer support and creative suggestions. Edith Daring rarely lectured. Instead, she used games, projects and participatory discussion techniques to engage her students in history. She also gave Jack a book on games for classroom discussion.

> Well, I got this little book from Edith on how to do classroom discussions using games. I don't want to just stand there and ask questions that only a few people answer. But I don't want to spend the whole period moving desks around.

But Jack was still torn between covering material and having some semblance of control while establishing an open, free flowing classroom. His conflict was between rigor and relevance. He wanted to show the students he meant business. This was demonstrated with his use of quizzes which appeared to support rigor. Being rigorous meant coercing students to learn the material. On the other hand, Jack also wanted relevance which he felt demanded free flowing classroom exchange. The games might accomplish that, but his class might fall behind. He also feared losing control in a situation which already seemed uncertain.

Comments. Jack's early strategies of weekly quizzes unintentionally sustained two aspects of the authority he wished to eliminate: the authority of the text and the authority of the teacher. Quizzes reinforced the popularly held notion that history is filled with right and wrong answers. Because students were soon geared into the routine of weekly quizzes, they questioned Jack's classroom lectures in specific ways. When students punctuated Jack's explanations with the question, "Is this important?", they were asking whether it was important to the quiz rather than for understanding history.

The types of questions Jack raised also framed the meaning students took from history. These questions prompted detail over contextual meaning. History appeared more a

trivial pursuit than a cohesive force shaped by and shaping
people's reality. It resembled discrete and isolated pieces
rather than the humanity which shaped it. Jack asked his
students to question both history and himself but at the same
time provided the answers which counted. Here, the power
and consequence of the grade superseded the power of
history.

Jack's students continued to question and resist his
authority as a teacher, but in ways other than what was
desired. Throughout the quiz, for example, students
attempted to negotiate for clues and answers and deny pre-
vious knowledge of the quiz date. Ironically, the students
were informally acting out the concept of natural rebels
although the formalized concept remained lodged between the
lines of the history text. But his struggle with mastering
the material and classroom procedures obscured analysis of
student behavior and strategies for working with rather than
against student resistance.

Jack's classroom voice remained extremely soft. It was
difficult to hear him above the general classroom din. But
as Jack had not yet decided whether this competing noise
was helpful or harmful, he set no limits. His soft voice
may have signified his lack of confidence during these early
weeks. Certainly his posture was stiff. Jack rarely left
the vicinity of the teacher's desk. His discomfort may have

made the classroom seem even warmer than it was, as if he were on the hot seat.

Early on, Jack began experiencing the tensions between educational theory learned in teacher training and the practical dictates of Greenville High's social studies department. Jack entered student teaching with specific goals but with few teaching strategies. He found himself reproducing a teaching style which was in direct opposition to his intent. Although Jack expected to pick up teaching techniques on the job, he had not reckoned that the techniques offered would be so contrary to his philosophy and goals.

Jack's immediate present seemed out of his control. Even the curriculum seemed to take over. He was beginning to feel trapped by the curriculum demands, student resistance, and the social studies department's unreasonable goals. This powerlessness led Jack to continually imagine his future as a real teacher where he hoped for more control as well as a balance between relevance and rigor. At his early stage, however, Roy seemed to keep Jack on his toes and the students seemed to be stepping on Jack's toes.

How Do You Sway People?

By the end of his third week with his level two history classes, Jack began to feel more comfortable. Part of this comfort was encouraged by his relationship to the curriculum.

During the past few weeks he had been teaching the same concepts concerning the American Revolution. The more Jack read about the American Revolution and spoke about it in class, the less overwhelming the curriculum became.

Jack also had his first observation session with his university supervisor, Alberta Peach. Alberta's warm and easy manner, along with her positive feedback and suggestions, encouraged Jack to feel better. She gave Jack specific suggestions and focused Jack's rudimentary understanding of classroom methods. For example, because Alberta's prior teaching experience had been as a reading specialist, she had a great deal to say about how Jack used oral reading in his class.

> The only thing [Alberta] didn't like was when I did the reading. I just passed it out and then just picked on somebody, mostly the kids who I knew their names, and looked at the [name] sheet and just grabbed people at random to read a paragraph at a time. And I hadn't given any thought to doing that. That was something being done in Roy's class. He suggested that but I didn't put any thought into how to disseminate the reading.
>
> Alberta thought it wasn't a very good idea to grab people and force them to read. I said I wouldn't force anyone to read. And she said it's powerful coercion, even if they hated it they'd still do it and be hating it.
>
> I thought about that for a little while and it makes sense to me. I asked for any volunteers first. Nobody volunteered so I began reading it myself [10/20 Post interview].

Jack's solution to the problem of disseminating informa-
tion was to teach the students how to take notes and outline
their reading. Making outlines in a traditional study-skill
technique. Because Jack frequently used outlining as a means
of understanding and remembering material, and referred to
these notes during his classroom presentation, he employed
this same technique with his students.

Jack also began designing a series of detailed study
guides which students were to complete as homework or as in-
class seat work while reading their text. Although study
guide work was not mandatory, completed work counted as a
quiz grade. Jack reasoned that the more students read the
text, the more familiar the material would become and the
better they would do on tests and quizzes. Once again, Jack
drew on and projected his own learning style on to his
students and then structured his teaching techniques
accordingly.

However, Jack experienced two new problems because of
his stress on notetaking and outlining. First, he learned
both techniques were a time consuming process. For example,
Jack attempted to orally read and outline a four page article
during the class time. Four class days later, students
still had not completed outlining and reading the article.
Although the article was designed as supplementary, it had
become the text. The more Jack struggled to explain this

article, the more the class tired of the routine of reading a paragraph, answering surface comprehension questions, and then outlining its main ideas. Even though the article had been introduced to Jack at the university, he did not consider the article difficult for the students. Although Jack tried to plow through, after spending four days on three pages, the article's meaning evaporated. Further, Jack's history section now "fell behind" Roy's other history classes.

The second problem Jack encountered was that notetaking tended to heighten details while obscuring deeper meaning. Students understood the purpose of notetaking as a means of improving quiz and test grades rather than as a means for understanding history. This understanding reinforced by the structure of the tests which awarded recall of details rather than requiring interpretive analysis. History appeared as flat, predictable, and routine as the strategies themselves.

While Jack was concerned that students extract meaning from history, he was also interested in challenging students to exercise their critical faculties. So beyond notetaking and outlining, Jack's other strategy was the classroom discussion. During discussion, Jack tried to get the students to take the perspective of the historical participants studied. He also wanted students to critically evaluate

these historical actor's motives and actions. Jack's tacit
goal was to deromanticize the early colonial rebels. That
is, he wanted students to crack their patriotic and senti-
mental casing and see their human frailties. Although Jack
depicted early colonists as oppressed by British taxation,
he also stressed their origins as criminals freed from
British prisons before their exile to North America. To get
the students' attention, Jack depicted these colonists as
"terrorists".

Jack's October 20 class illustrates these points. His
goal was to introduce the idea of propaganda and Roy Hobbs'
concept of "the politics of confrontation". Jack's major
point was that the use of propaganda swayed people to
support an independence movement they had previously ridiculed.

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    1:38
        (An Education major from State University is sitting
    in on Jack's class.  Roy Hobbs is in the front of the
    room talking to Jack.  The students are seated and
    talking loudly amongst themselves.  Before Roy leaves,
    he points to me and the Education major in the back of
    the classroom.)
    Roy (to class):  These are the Hurston sisters.  Our
        visitors today are from the University.
        (Roy exits)
    Male:  Why are they here?
    Female:  Cause he's a student teacher.
    (Jack is silently taking attendance)
    Female (very loudly):  The majority of us are here
        physically anyway.
    Jack (addressing the class):  Has anyone started the
        outline I gave?
    Male:  What outline?
    Jack:  The outline I gave.
    Male:  When's the time line due?
    Jack:  The time line is not even going to be collected.
        It's for your own good.
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Female: You mean we've been doing this for nothing?
Female: Can we hand it in for extra credit?
Jack: No. It's not to be handed in.
(Students groan loudly)

1:43
Jack: Does anyone know how many people wanted an
      American Revolution?
(Students call out numbers and percentages)
Female: We've already went over this.
Jack: Let's have a vote.
Female: We don't want a vote. Just tell us.
Male: What's he talking about?
Male: It's one percent. That question was on the quiz.
Jack: In 1776, how many people wanted a revolution?
Male: Thirty-three percent.
Jack: Did we go over this before?
Male: Yes.

1:45
Jack (explaining the American Revolution): There was
      a group of radicals.
(Students are loudly talking amongst themselves)
Jack: Who were the Sons of Liberty? What was their
      leader's name?
Male: How come they didn't have the Daughters of
      Liberty?
Male: Sam Adams.
(Students ask each other if Sam Adams and John Adams
      were related)
Jack: Does anybody know about Sam Adams? Because if
      you do, you should teach the class.
(No response)

1:50
Jack: How might you sway people from their ideas to
      get them on your side?
Male: Propaganda.
Female: Prizes.
Jack: Does anyone know what propaganda is?
Female: Jerry does.
Jack: Does anyone know beside Jerry?
Female: Jerry knows everything.

1:54
Jack: How about the Boston Massacre. Does anybody
      know what that was?
(Jack is at the chalk board. Students are calling out
      descriptions of the Boston Massacre)

Jack: I can't hear everybody at once. So why don't
      you just raise your hands or something?
(Students continue talking amongst themselves and no
      one raises their hand)

1:55
Jack: Where did the Boston Massacre occur?
(All students shout): BOSTON!
Jack: It obviously happened in Boston, but where?
      What kind of building.
Female: A big one.

1:57
Jack: Alright, let's have it quieter.
Female: It's quiet.
(Jack points to her and she moves to another seat)
Jack: What do you think you might do if you were a
      soldier and people were throwing things at you?
Many students shout: SHOOT THEM!

2:00
Jack: What do you think the soldiers do if they see
      a mob?
Female: Shoot them.
Jack: And then what happened?
Female: A shot was heard around the world.
Male: No. Not that one.
Jack: So was it a massacre?
All students shout: NO!
Jack: What's a massacre?
Female: More than five.
Jack: Were they just innocent people?
Class: No.
Jack: They were asking for it, right? Why do you
      think (massacre) that word was used.
Male: Propaganda.
Jack: It was blown, what?
Female: Out of proportion.

2:10
      (Jack describes how the Sons of Liberty burned in
effigy a Tory supporter)
Jack: Sounds like nice people? What do you call them?
Female: Terrorists.
Jack: Can anyone think of terrorists we have today?
Students call out: Iran, PLO.
Jack: Do we like terrorists?
Class: NO.

Jack: The founders of America were terrorists. So
       you think it was right?
Male: End justifies the means.
(Jack doesn't respond)
Jack: What happened to the woman in Goldfinger? You
       don't have to know that for the test. [10/20
       Fieldnotes]

After that class, Jack reflected on student participa-

tion. He was concerned with the high level of noise, but

eager for students to call out ideas.   Occasionally, Jack

did remind students to raise their hands to answer. But

these infrequent reminders, usually sparked by increased

student talk, were ambivalent. Jack's first request that

students "raise your hands, or something," signified more of

a choice than a command or classroom rule.

> Today was a little bit chaotic. Roy sat in yesterday.
> He's sat in a few times now. And he was saying that
> the class was too big to run as a seminar. I think
> what he meant by a seminar was not giving any structure
> like raising hands and that sort of thing. I really
> don't want to do that at all. I wanted it to be free,
> have it less regimented. I'd rather have people calling
> things out. But its tough. I'm also having a problem
> just getting everybody to talk.
>
> So Roy suggested I have them raise their hands. I'm
> trying that a little bit today. A couple people did but
> a second later, they reverted back to yelling names.
>
> I'm wondering if it isn't worth a little chaos to keep
> that openness. It might be too much. I don't mind the
> noise, but I don't want to neglect the kids in the
> back. I tried to raise their hands, but not really.
> I don't want to push the issue.
>
> The first thing I'm going to do, both Alberta and Roy
> suggested, I need to get around the room more. I've
> been using the board quite a bit but when I'm trying to
> get them to discuss things, I want to get out around to
> the back to those kids. So maybe I can partially

remedy that situation, just by getting over there so I can hear them. So I'm going to try that before I resort to having them all sitting quietly with their hands raised. I hated that when I was in school and I really don't see what the need is for.

Jack's student experience partially informed him of what not to do as a teacher. He felt that forcing students to raise their hands symbolized repressive regimentation. His decision not to structure classroom discourse was a conscious trade off; he believed students would be more open if they could be spontaneous. However, student spontaneity in this class meant something different to students; it signified resistance to both Jack and the material. The types of ideas they tended to shout out were those which challenged Jack's attempts at establishing his authority.

Comments. Jack's temporary comfort with the material afforded him a more relaxed classroom manner. He seemed more at ease, spoke louder, and began to circulate around the classroom while he spoke. Jack's comfort, however, does not necessarily translate into coherent pedagogy. Because Jack rarely addressed students directly, and frequently raised questions to no one in particular, students may not have felt accountable for comments they spontaneously called out.

As a result of Jack's "seminar" style, there seemed to be at least three simultaneous activities in this class. First, was Jack's agenda of covering material. He did not

want his class to fall behind. Second, students who parti-
cipated felt free to take Jack seriously or respond with
humorous answers that reflected their experience, such as
the comments about changing people's ideas by giving them
prizes. These students participated in order to demonstrate
their bantering skills. Finally, during most classes, one
to two-thirds of the students either waited the period out,
did homework from other classes, talked amongst themselves,
slept, wrote letters, drew, or just sat quietly. Jack's
main strategy for reaching these students was to circulate
around the room so that he could hear their answers over
the general classroom din.

Student responses to Jack's questions often structured
his classroom presentation. That is, the shorter the
answer, the more specific were his questions. By the middle
of his lesson, the majority of Jack's questions could be
answered in phrases, one-word answers, or slogans such as
"A shot was heard around the world", or "The ends justifies
the means". Students rarely spoke in complete sentences
but rather, ended Jack's unfinished sentences in a fill-in-
the-blank style. Consequently, a mechanistic discourse
pattern became routinized.

Moreover, student answers were rarely expanded. In-
stead, he continued covering the material, occasionally
referring to students' feelings, or asking them to assume

another's perspective. Most of Jack's questions, however, were recall-type questions, requiring little thought from students and subtly reinforcing the notion that history is filled with right and wrong answers.

Jack still struggled with the problem of making history relevant to students' lives. His main strategy was to detail situations by, for example, telling sensational stories about tar and feathering, and then asking students what they thought about the tactic. It seems Jack thought that the "blood and gore" approach to history would capture student attention. Sensationalizing history, however, can only lead to further mystification.

Jack's focus on the Sons of Liberty as terrorists, while originally meant to depatriotize these men, did something different. First, this concept seemed to contradict the earlier theme of natural rebel. What Jack seemed to be saying was that it was natural for people to want to overthrow oppressive conditions, but unnatural or bad to use terrorist tactics. For instance, when Jack asked students to take on the perspective of British soldier at the scene of the Boston Massacre, students agreed that if they were soldiers at a demonstration and were hit by rocks from demonstrators, they, too, would shoot the demonstrators. No discussion ensued concerning alternative strategies, nor did Jack challenge the students' conclusions. In many ways, this

brief interaction reinforced a reactionary political ideology rather than raise critical questions. By focusing on the concept of the Sons of Liberty as mere terrorists, and by "reasoning" with students that terrorists are not nice people, Jack reinforced a highly simplistic notion, supported by popular media, that terrorists are terrible human beings. Here, history is reduced to mere sentiment.

So although question and response were the primary discourse pattern of this particular class, neither the questions nor the responses enhanced historical meaning. Instead, history became sloganized. In fact, by the end of the lesson, Jack, too, was reduced to slogan-type responses, reproducing a recipe-approach to history which was further reinforced by his other strategies of notetaking and outlining.

At this early stage, Jack's professional support network (i.e., his cooperating teacher and university supervisor) focused on techniques of classroom management. The suggestions which he agreed with, or had no prior experience with, such as letting students volunteer to read, or walk around the room, were easily integrated into his style. The techniques he philosophically disagreed with, such as raising hands, were half-heartedly tried in an effort to comply. His professional support network, however, had not broached the problem of the hidden curriculum. Although Jack seemed

to be aware of the overt operations of the hidden curriculum, he was unaware of his own participation and contributions to its ideological structure.

Having a Personal Reaction

With the first snow flurries of late October, Jack acquired his second United States history class, originated by Edith Daring. Until then, he had been sitting in the back of her room, observing Edith's style and classroom structure. Now that he was responsible for two classes, Jack suddenly began to experience the pressures of teaching.

Prior to his recent take over, Jack had used the majority of the school day to observe a few classes and prepare for one class. Because Jack tended bar at a local tavern at night, he rarely took school work home. Now he was even more pressed to use his school time wisely. He would have to prepare two different courses, as his new class covered the years from 1860 to the present. Further, the rotating schedule of Greenville High guaranteed that these classes would be taught back-to-back. Jack would have to rapidly transform his frame of reference at the sound of a bell. When a class concluded, he immediately walked into the next one.

Even at this early stage of teaching a two-class schedule, Jack could not help making comparisons between

classes. Foremost in his mind was the difference in student maturity. Unlike the first class, Jack was not forced to assume the role of disciplinarian. In fact, now that he had classes to compare, he became more troubled over the direction his first class seemed to be taking. There, Jack found himself becoming more authoritarian. He felt compelled to add to and act on his repertoire of behavioral strategies. Both Roy Hobbs and Alberta Peach encouraged this decisive action.

There, Jack's most recent behavioral strategy began at the start of each class. With a monologue, he set forth the behavior expected of students. Afterwards, he attempted to elicit students' in-put by asking such questions as, "What should we do during class?" Their answers varied from "listen" to "take notes". Although Jack preferred not to set limits or structure their behavior, an incident during the showing of a video tape made clear that such a response was warranted.

Jack had scheduled a video showing in the media room weeks earlier. Procedure mandated advance reservations, as the media room was heavily used by teachers from many departments. He figured that by the time the class viewed the tape, the material would serve as a good review. But curriculum pace lagged behind his initial planning. Still, because he had scheduled the showing, it seemed easier to

just show the tape. The video tape, then, became more a
preview than a review. From the students' perspective, the
tape appeared more like a time "filler" than a related
activity.

As the students took seats in the media center, their
behavior became rambunctious. Once the lights went out and
the video went on, students joked amongst themselves, made
fun of the video and hardly attended to the screen. Much
of this behavior went unnoticed, for Jack sat in the back
of the media room trying to catch up on grading papers.
Alberta Peach happened to be supervising that class, and
later told Jack about the students' behavior.

> Alberta and I were wondering why they acted the way
> they did. One of the things she said (after) she led
> me around until I made that conclusion myself, is maybe
> nobody ever said, "This is important, pay attention to
> it, you need to act this way."

> And later I spoke to Roy. He said that very often the
> media center doesn't have the greatest selection in the
> world. So sometimes things aren't all that great and
> teachers let that be known. Sometimes the materials
> are used as fillers. Sometimes the materials aren't
> real related. They haven't been taught to consider
> them as important.

> So that's why I decided to mention it in class. They
> got real quiet. I'm sure everyone heard what I said.
> That's the first step. I'd like to try to appeal to
> them. Look, I'd like to treat you--I'd like to give
> you some responsibility. I'd like you to have respect
> for other people and do well with the responsibility I
> give you. I don't see any big plus for making kids
> sit around with their hands folded. I'd like to have
> it as a relaxed atmosphere but there has to be a line
> drawn someplace. [10/26 Post Interview]

Drawing the line meant surprising the students with a "pop" quiz. The quiz was given the day after the video showing. There were seven true and false questions, one of which was a trick question. (True or False, "The American War for Independence was lost at Valley Forge.") After the quiz, Jack talked to the students about their behavior. During that discussion, Jack reminded the students that they are always "liable" for quizzes. Further, there may or may not be advance notice, so they should study and take notes as notebooks could be referred to during any quiz.

After his experience with this, Jack was relieved to be receiving a second class, for, in many ways, it represented a fresh start. Edith Daring, Jack's new cooperating teacher, was quite different in tone and style from Roy Hobbs. Her classroom environment was a marked change. The room itself was warm and stimulating. It reflected Edith Daring's love of art and her appreciation of students' efforts.

But beyond the room, there were the students themselves. These students were older than those of Jack's first class and although these students were also in the middle track, their basic skills were more developed. They were also accustomed to discussion and the use of games as learning devices. For the last two months, Edith had encouraged a community type atmosphere where students interacted with

their learning. She made history seem alive, created by the
very people studied. Edith shaped the material to the
interests of the students. She taught history through
research and an inquiry methods approach.

Jack now had to learn a different era of history, that
of the post-Civil War. Somehow, this period seemed more
interesting and relevant. He began the start of a new unit
on United States imperialism. Here, Jack saw a sanctioned
opportunity to investigate United States foreign policy from
a social issues perspective. Edith Daring seemed open to
Jack's experiments; as far as she was concerned, Jack was
now the teacher.

In contrast to Roy Hobbs, Edith Daring rarely left the
classroom. Like Roy, she left Jack alone for the first day.
After that, however, she usually sat at her desk in the back
of the room and did paper work. Her presence seemed benign
and non-judgmental. She rarely spoke to her students before,
during, or after Jack's class. Yet, because she was con-
stantly in the room, Jack expected her feedback. He figured
that since she was in the room, she was observing him and
could offer suggestions. In fact, Jack was looking forward
to on-going interaction and feedback from Edith.

On his first official day, Edith Daring formally
introduced Jack to his new class. It was a brief introduc-
tion and then she immediately left the room.

10:40
Edith (to class): People, Mr. August will collect the
     abstracts from you. People, Mr. August is going
     to be your intern and I will be in and out. But
     it's going to be his face that you see everyday.
Female: Are you going to have another class?
Edith: No. I'm going to be in the library to do our
     files.

10:43
     (Edith leaves the class and students begin loudly
taking amongst themselves. One student loudly whispers
"SHHHHH!" to get the class quiet.)
Jack: Let's come to order. My name is August and I'm
     a student teacher from State University. You
     probably noticed me in the back. This is my
     second class.
Female: He's a permanent fixture.
Jack: I'd like to take a few minutes for you to tell
     me about you.
Male: Can we just say our names?
Jack: How about one thing about yourself.
Male: My name is John.
Class: HI JOHN!
Female: SHHHH . . . We have to be quiet.
     (All students say their names, but nothing about
themselves; others make jokes about other students.
The noise level is rapidly rising.)
Jack: Can I have it a little quieter. I can't hear.
     (Jack repeats this twice.)
Female: SHHHHHHHH!

10:53
     (Jack is standing behind the podium)
Jack: How much time do we have left in this period?
Female: About 25 minutes.
     (Jack hands out to each student large cardboard
flashcards, each bearing a phrase.)
Female: Fun and games.
Male: Don't we get ropes to hang around our necks?
Jack (erasing the board): Does everyone have this
     down? I'll probably get into trouble erasing it.
Female: You can erase it.
     (Each card has a phrase which defines the concept
"imperialism". By the end of the game, students have to
agree to a particular definition.)

11:07
        Jack writes the following definition on the board:
"A government policy, deals with control of an empire,
extends a nation's rule, deals with territory outside
its boundaries, involves rule of other people and races
and involves commerce and trade."

11:10
Jack: So what happened in Grenada?
Female: There was a communist government.
Jack: Who was building the airstrip.
Class: CUBA!
Jack: Who's Cuba friends with?
Class: RUSSIA!
Jack: So maybe there's some connection. It's run by
        Castro and he's a communist. What was controver-
        sial about the airstrip. Does anyone know?
Male: It's two miles long.
Jack;   How long does it have to be for a commercial
        jet? Maybe a mile long? So what's it used for?
Class: JETS!
Jack: So then what happened?
Male: The U.S. found out about it.
Female: They had a coup.
Jack: What's a coup?
Female: Coup d'etat.

11:15
        (Class is loudly talking amongst themselves.)
Jack: Let's have it a little quieter in here while
        we're talking about. . .

11:16
Jack: So what did we do? We took it upon ourselves
        to do what?
Student: Troops.
Jack: What did people say when a big country like the
        U.S. brings in troops to a little country. What
        are they acting like?
Class: IMPERIALISTS!
Jack: Are we imperialistic? I'm not saying we are.
Male: We're capitalistic pigs!
Jack: According to the definition, what are we going
        to do?
Male: Expand our territory.

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11:17
Jack:   Alright.  Some people are saying we're
        imperialists.  What's the big excuse we're there
        for?
Female:  We're the peace keepers.
Jack:   Do they sound like valid excuses?
Male:   They're valid.
Jack:   Are those justifiable reasons?  I'm not going
        to make a decision either way.  It's a controversy.

11:23
Female:  Are you going to be our teacher everyday?
Male:  You've got to keep this class quiet.  [10/26
Fieldnotes]
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Jack's first impressions of his new class were positive.
He liked the students and believed they were mature enough
to handle a seminar-like class structure. Whereas Jack's
first class seemed more a testing ground for classroom
techniques, he perceived this class as a proving ground.
In fact, Jack felt he had improved some of his classroom
methods with this class. For instance, Jack had students
introduce themselves, something he wished he had done in
his first class. By his second month of student teaching,
Jack realized the value of knowing students' names. He also
began this new class with a loud voice and easily circulated
around the room as he talked. His initial goal for this new
class was to establish rapport with students.

> I had a lot of teachers who didn't care who you were
> or anything about you. I'd like them to know I'm
> interested in them as people, too.

> This class is going to be fun. It's like a college
> class, I guess. Closer to a college class. I used the
> concept game. It's Thorn Parker's favorite thing. He
> gave it to us in one of the [Education] classes we had.

He calls it the concept attainment model. Some of the
supervisors really don't care for it, but they want
us to do it in our classrooms.

I think it went better in this class than it did in the
other one. In the other one, [the concept game] just
got a little bit out of hand. It got really noisy and
became kind of. . . well, it was a game. What I
didn't do in the other class was, well we put the
concepts together, but I didn't write it out. [In
this class I wrote it out.] I thought that was a better
strategy.

Part of the concept game's appeal was that it was a way

for students to "shout out" ideas, although the ideas

students shouted out were those provided by the flashcards.

But for Jack, the game was more interesting than mere ex-

planations. The theory behind the game also appealed to

Jack. It made sense to break concepts into discrete

component parts and then construct a formula-like response.

Here, the concept game represented certain "attainment",

making concrete that which initially seemed elusive. The

concept game's objective was to provide applicable defini-

tions. Here, concepts were presented more as measures than

as perceptions. In many ways, the concept game simplified

reality, making it uniform. This approach may have also

appealed to Jack because its process was familiar. The

concept game seemed congruent with behaviorism. But in

other ways, the concept game was more a technique than an

end in itself.

What seemed to be the most significant feature of this

class was the relative ease with which current events could

be incorporated. Jack perceived the class as providing a
genuine arena for discussing United States foreign policy.
And indeed, between United States involvement with troops
in Lebanon and the late October invasion of Grenada, there
was much to discuss.[2]

In Jack's mind, the recent United States foreign policy
seemed to occur "at the right time." That is, these recent
events would "fit" right into his unit on imperialism.

> I'll use the definition of imperialism throughout this
> semester. It's the dictionary's definition. The text-
> book talks about imperialism but it doesn't give a
> definition of it per se. But [this definition] seems
> like a reasonable one to me. It talks about expanding
> territories and taking over cultures that are unlike
> your own. It's unfortunate, but the recent develop-
> ments [i.e., Grenada invasion and U.S. presence in
> Lebanon] make for good. . . the way Thorn put it, "good
> grist for the mill", as far as discussion 'cause the
> word [imperialism] has been brought up recently. They
> seem to be aware of it.

Ironically, Jack's borrowed metaphor describing historical
events as "good grist for the mill" reflected his classroom
handling of the Grenada invasion. It was almost as if the
invasion afforded an opportunity to grind history down into
consumable parts, chew them up, then spit them out. Jack
believed his defintion of imperialism provided enough
flexibility to include aspects of current foreign policy.
Yet his post interview summary of the definition presented
in class was different. Previously, he did not speak of
cultures, but of the dictionary term, empires, a term rarely
used by students.

Jack did not perceive his acquired definition of imperialism as problematic or ideologically charged. That the definition appeared unbiased seemed to obscure its neutralization of aggression and its fragmentation of governmental policy from its human consequences. That the definition dismissed oppression and human exploitation was not his concern. What mattered to him was his ability to "reason" with students by raising questions which would get them to consider whether the Grenada invasion, for example, fitted the formula for imperialism. Jack's intention was to lead students to "specfically" apply his definition to an actual situation and then construct their own proof.

However, Jack's implicit anti-communist stance subverted his intentions of critical inquiry. One student's comment, for instance, which referred to the United States as "capitalistic pigs," seemed to play into Jack's anti-communism. Again, student answers were reduced to slogans, phrases, and one word replies, thereby reinforcing an ideological reality rather than critically challenging that reality. Jack seemed to further mystify the Grenada invasion by chalking it up as a controversy, refusing to take any stand, and thereby dissipating the entire question and answer episode.

Still, Jack believed his approach lent itself to critical inquiry although he was unsure of the discussion's

real effects.   The uncertainty over what the students were

really taking from his classes was a question he raised

often during his student teaching.

> I don't have any way of knowing if I made any headway
> toward the points I was trying to get at, especially
> since my closing statements were made after the
> "leaving the period uproar" had begun.   I've got to
> learn to get my major points in well before the period
> ends.
>
> I went all through history courses in high school with-
> out even questioning anything.   It didn't dawn on me.
> Obviously, the questions were never raised.   I'm not
> sure when it was, probably when I got out of high
> school.   I can remember a rude awakening.   At some
> point, I realized that books don't have all the answers.
> It probably sounds ridiculous now.   I think it could
> have been shown to me earlier.   I think it would have
> been better if I had been trained to be a little more
> critical.
>
> That's sort of the roots of it.   Just because teachers
> say that these are important points to look at in
> history, or even that the points are accurate, is
> always questionable.   They should not accept history
> from any one place.   I'd like to develop it through the
> course that they shouldn't just believe anything they
> read.
>
> Like last week [referring to U.S.H.I., II].   The Sons
> of Liberty started riots and mobs.   That's questioning
> also, questioning whether or not the Founding Fathers
> deserved their hallowed place, the various pedestals.
> When I was in grade school and junior high school, the
> picture you got is they're deities, not people.   Again,
> it relates to the idea of the perspective you take.
>
> I don't know how they relate to this.   It's an idea
> I'd like to develop, to continue on every section, in
> some way.   I'd like to try to get them to have a person-
> al reaction on some things.   Ask them what their opinions
> are rather than having them tell me the dates and facts.

Although Jack resorted to traditional means of establishing classroom control such as giving quizzes, lecturing students on their behavior, and directing discussion with leading questions, he still believed critical awareness was paramount in understanding history. That these techniques may have powerfully subverted his ideal intentions was not evident.

Despite being totally consumed by teaching, Jack continued to feel the isolation of student teaching. Although the School of Education mandated student teachers to attend a weekly seminar, Jack was reluctant to attend. By the end of each day Jack was exhausted; the thought of driving to State University to sit for three hours was unappealing. Jack rationalized that the seminar did not meet his needs. He did not, however, attempt to make his needs known. After missing two consecutive meetings, Alberta Peach warned him not to miss anymore.

> I missed two of them. I guess I've been rebelling a little bit. The first time I cut the class was because my day was real frustrating and it hadn't gone well. I felt pretty crappy that day. I think I had a headache that day. I was tired.

> We're here all day long and at the end of the day, I don't know but I'm sure the other student teachers are tired also. At the end of the day, when I'm tired. . . Sometimes I have headaches which I never get except for this semester. I've been getting them lately. [But] there aren't any alternatives I have to go. Well, I don't want to miss anymore.

There's no specific time during the seminar to talk
with other student teachers. There's a student teacher
here. I talk to my girlfriend about student teaching.
She's not totally detached because she's an aide at
Hurston Junior High and is also starting the certifica-
tion program. She has experiences to share too.
There really isn't anyone I can talk to on a regular
basis besides her.

I don't really know all the student teachers all that
well. None of them are really friends of mine. It
would be neat to get together with them. We're kind of
isolated out here, we're here everyday. I'm away from
State University. I'm not in close proximity to many
other student teachers.

Comments. Regardless of which class he taught, by the

end of October Jack had established a pattern of pedagogical

procedures contained in his questioning technique. In each

class, Jack asked a series of leading questions intended to

elicit a specific response pattern from the students. These

leading questions structured student responses, and limited

discourse to a series of conclusive statements in the form

of slogans, one word answers, or sentence completion. Al-

though students appeared to be "giving" the correct response,

Jack had no idea what students really thought.

Part of the problem was that students rarely articulated

full ideas. Rather, they spoke in code. In many ways,

Jack's classes resembled more a quiz show format than a

critical discussion. The concept game illustrates this

point. There, the class either agreed or disagreed with a

series of prefabricated statements until a definition,

already supplied, was constructed. Yet, the meaning of
the definition or concept was never fully discussed, rather,
it became a taken for granted reality, another slogan,
abstracted from its human roots and consequences.

It is no wonder that Jack had little idea of his
effects on students. Neither discussions nor quizzes
elicited personal reactions but instead reinforced the trad-
itional view of history as a textbook filled with answers.
Further, Jack's quizzes and classroom discussions never
centered on the supplementary readings which challenged the
history text. On the contrary, the quizzes and discussions
reinforced the text, serving more as a controlling device,
a threat to students that not paying attention could
detrimentally affect their grades. Because Jack's quizzes
and discussions never challenged the prevailing uncritical
consensus, his students consistently operated on the level
of personal reaction which in turn reinforced what they
brought into the classroom.

The source of Jack's personal ideological confusion may
have represented the residue of his early socialization.
While he lamented his own uncritical development and his
disillusionment with his education, Jack was still a history
neophyte. He lacked the detail necessary to reconstruct his
historical perspective. His limited preparatory efforts led
him to depend on popular rather than critical sources. So

although, for instance, he may have had a vague feeling that weekly news magazines were somehow distorted and biased in their accounts, these sources were the most accessible and hence informed Jack about the world. Consequently, Jack was prone toward the unconscious internalization of the common sense so prevalent in his classroom although he also felt pulled toward a more critical perspective.

Like his students, Jack also operated from personal reaction. His own subjective history, for example, continually framed his classroom manner. However, as has been noted earlier, these experiences mainly informed him of what not to do. This negative experience was a source of frustration; Jack had few strategies from which to draw. The student experience he valued, on the other hand, was context dependent. That is, the university classroom procedures were inappropriate to his student teaching context because Jack was unfamiliar with the strategies necessary to implement this approach.

Waiting and Seeing

The first week of November, as temperatures suddenly plummeted, a flu epidemic spread through Greenville High, drastically reducing daily attendance. The material had to be covered, regardless of outside circumstance. Jack, however, found continuity difficult to maintain. Groups

of students fell behind. For Jack the entertainment slogan, "The show must go on", held new meaning.

His first class had just completed its unit on events leading up to and through the "American Revolution". Completion was signaled by the end of the textbook chapter. Jack administered a unit test designed by Roy Hobbs.

> I used a standard test that my cooperating teacher uses. But I had the test over the week-end and I looked at it. It was pretty much in line with what I had talked about in class. There was only one thing. Roy tends to use the phrase, "politics and confrontation", and I really didn't emphasize this. So I made up for that. That was the only thing I noticed on the test that they might not have been real familiar with. So I went over it before the test.
>
> I didn't see the test at the beginning of the unit. I didn't structure the unit around the test. Maybe I should take a look at the next test. But I mean I just don't want to teach to the test. In a way, I'm wondering if I ought to get myself that constrained. I tend to rather teach it without knowing about the test, and then adjust the test rather than adjust my teaching to fit the test. [11/3 Post Interview]

Jack's utilization of Roy's standard test must have seemed somewhat out of place to the students. There was no trace of Jack's supplementary readings, students' outlining efforts, or of Jack's quizzes. Rather, the test reflected Roy Hobb's style and the textbook's narration of events. Roy, then, had a strong presence, whether he entered this classroom or not. Jack's only autonomous action, in this circumstance, was a decision not to personally review the test until it was time to administer it. In this way, Jack

could feel he had a semblance of power; he would not teach
to fit the test.

Despite the fact that Jack wondered how the material
affected his students, the larger pedagogical issue of
evaluation remained obscured. Classroom discussion provided
clues of students' political perspectives and belief sys-
tems. Yet, these clues revealed more about students'
personal lives than about classroom learning. For example,
in his second history class, Jack felt that students agreed
with the United States invasion of Grenada. Still, he was
uncertain as to what to do with this impression.

> The impression I got was that students tended to think
> it was OK that we went in [Grenada]. I'm not there to
> lead them in any direction, but I was trying to get
> them to question, at least whether or not we should be
> there. We spent a couple of days on developing the
> definition of imperalism and on material about the
> Grenada incident, and then we talked about whether it
> fit the definition of imperialism, whether we were
> being imperialistic about it. We really came up to the
> conclusion that we have to wait and see. If we get
> out, then it doesn't really fit the definition.

Whether Jack concurred with or promoted his students'
"wait and see" attitude is debatable. On the one hand, Jack
made it clear he would take neither side of the issue raised.
This "positionless" position reflected Jack's perception of
the teacher's role. That is, Jack believed teachers should
be neutral in order to allow students to make up their own
minds. His job was only to encourage students to raise
questions. On the other hand, Jack provided a definition

of imperialism which appeared netural but was not. This definition may have reinforced the opinions students held prior to Jack's class. That is, the United States has the right to invade any country it pleases, so long as its invasion is as swift as its withdrawal. Rather than encourage questions, Jack's approach tended to reinforce prior conclusions.

Although Jack gave frequent quizzes, he rarely utilized these results to evaluate his own classroom effectiveness. Rather, as indicated earlier, quizzes functioned as a means of both social control and social coercion to complete assignments. In order to make these readings count, Jack integrated them into the grading system; he allowed students to use their notes during a quiz. So when students did poorly on quizzes, their performance reflected more about their own lack of effort than about Jack's teaching approach or the readings itself. By allowing the use of notes during a quiz, Jack provided himself with an escape hatch; he did not feel responsible for any quiz results.

During the first days of November, Jack gave two "pop" quizzes in his new history class. As with his other quizzes, students were allowed to refer back to their notes. Jack also believed that if students used their notes during quizzes, there would be no reason to cheat, for students would literally have the answers before their eyes. However,

few took notes and even fewer knew notetaking strategies.
Further, an "open book" quiz seemed to mean to students that
they could pass "by any means necessary". So students
"shared" answers with others by writing answers on desk tops,
circulating answered quizzes, and holding up the quiz paper
for other students to read. This behavior eluded Jack.

Taking "good" notes meant different things to Jack and
his students. As long as students had no power to determine
quiz questions, they had no idea which ideas were "important".
After the second quiz, Jack realized that students were
having notetaking difficulties. So, as in the first class,
Jack demonstrated notetaking procedures. Throughout this
demonstration, Jack ended up answering the questions he
himself raised. It was Jack who outlined the article while
students copied it from the board. After he had completed
the outline, Jack concluded to the class:

> Alright. So you get the idea? Read [the article]
> through. Get the idea of what you're talking about.
> You don't have to follow this. Can quizzes help your
> grade? Do you think they're worthwhile to take? Yes.

Jack's frequent use of quizzes as a means of social
control was supported by the cooperating teachers. Although
he understood the quizzes as an artificial attempt to exert
control, he believed quizzes were one way of drawing the
line.

Quizzes kind of guarantee that you're going to have some control when you give a quiz. I'm not going to have a quiz everyday, just to have that artificial hand, fist of power over them. I did it just to encourage them. I got the impression that they really aren't doing very much. I'm sort of biased in that. Edith warned me that I'm going to have to exert myself a little bit with them. So at this time I'm trying to come down hard on them and than I'll ease up afterward. About one half of them passed each quiz.

Quizzes also guaranteed momentary classroom silence. During any quiz, the classroom would become so quiet that student pencil writing could be heard throughout the room. But the concentrated silence was as brief as the quiz itself. Before and after each quiz, the noise level would raise. This was especially true in Jack's first class.

> They're a little bit loud. In fact, both Roy and Alberta think I tolerate too much, that they should be quieter. Although they'll both say it's up to me how much I want to tolerate. I would prefer that they be a little bit quieter. What I mean is, I don't have the ability to, just [snaps his fingers] stop them from talking and have them pay immediate attention. I don't know that I'll ever really have that here.

> If I were a regular teacher, like Roy was saying, after you've been teaching a number of years, you have a reputation that the kids come in with before they've ever had you. Your reputation precedes you and they probably take you a little more seriously when they know that you're not just a student yourself.

Jack was aware that at this point his students were not shouting out ideas so much as producing noise. He did not, however, analyze the meaning of their noise, except to point out that its cause might reside in the fact that he was not a "regular" teacher, but merely a student like themselves. That is, he believed his condition as a student teacher

provoked student noise. For Jack, a regular teacher's snap
of the fingers could magically transform noise into silence,
providing that the teacher had a reputation for being
"tough". How this reputation was cultivated remained a
mystery. Somehow, reputation seemed to go with the
territory.

When Jack reflected on his present condition, he easily
fantasized about his future as a "real" teacher. His ideas
about classroom management, however, were future oriented;
they were not applicable to his present condition because
he did not have the power to implement them nor the time to
see them through. He wanted to be the real teacher for an
entire school year. Then he could have his own rules and
be consistent. These future ideas had two competing
sources: his disenchantment with the constraints of student
teaching and his past experience as a student.

> The problems are that I'm following, that I'm having to
> adjust and stay within the rules that were specified by
> the teacher that started the class. One of the ideas
> I have for structuring a class when I have one of my
> own, I'd like to use the contract [system].   I'd like
> to specify the specific criteria they need to fulfill
> to get an A, B, C, etc. Pass that out, along with the
> summary of the rules and my expectations. I'd like to
> make my expectations, my rules, my ways of grading, my
> ways of running the class, clear. And then, so they
> know what to expect and keep that consistent throughout
> the class.

Jack's frustration with his current condition are evident
in his language: his future images of teaching are frequently

described in the active voice compared to his use of the
passive voice to describe his present condition.

It is difficult to determine whether any of Jack's
professional support network recognized his frustrations, or
even if Jack shared these. Most of the advice they offered
focused on particular classroom teaching techniques rather
than on the more complex issues raised by the activity of
student teaching. The second formal certification mandated
meeting with his supervisor, which Jack did not attend,
gave him little food for thought. Alberta and Roy were,
therefore, forced to meet separately to discuss Jack's
progress; later, Alberta reported back to Jack.

> The major thing was, they thought I don't speak loudly
> enough in class. I just don't have the perception of
> how I project my voice in class and so I've been trying
> to adjust for that. There really wasn't anything real
> negative. It was mostly pretty positive feedback. We
> didn't have time to go over it point by point.

Despite the imposed organizational structure from the
mandated curriculum to the departmental grading procedures,
Jack really felt on his own. Part of what promoted this
isolation was that as he confronted the material, Jack knew
that he alone must learn it. No one could be of assistance.
He was forced to learn history while teaching it. Yet once
a concept became familiar, it was time to move on to some-
thing new.

> I've been having a little bit of difficulty. I don't
> have much background in this, well, not too great a
> background in anything I've been teaching this semester.
> It's kind of dry. I think it's rather uninteresting
> for the students as well as for me and I've been having
> kind of a hard time trying to find ways to make that,
> well the idea of imperalism interesting. Luckily, well,
> obviously it's not luck that Grenada developed. But
> we had this situation of Grenada which provided a con-
> venient introduction to the ideas of imperalism. But
> I've been having a little bit of difficulty trying to
> find ways of making it interesting. I mean, it's
> interesting to me but I don't think it's interesting
> to them.

Although Jack was learning more history than he ever had

known, he was hard pressed to find ways of making it in-

teresting to students. As Jack pointed out, United States

invasions do not occur daily. But more significantly, Jack

was experiencing aimlessness.

Comments. By the middle of his student teaching ex-

perience, Jack clearly felt powerless, directionless, and

isolated. Despite school's familiar environment, he felt

displaced. Not yet a "real" teacher, or treated like one,

much of his student teaching appeared to be following

another's routine. Jack's directionlessness was expressed

in his perception of his role. As a result, he readily

adopted a "wait and see" attitude, as if the passing of

time rather than his own efforts would provide the desired

results. Jack seemed more certain of his own past and

future than of his present circumstances. Jack's present

powerlessness as a student teacher made it more comforting to romanticize about his future than critically deal with his present.

Clearly Jack felt he had a strong sense of his educational philosophy. However, philosophy becomes problematic if unapplicable. Jack's educational philosophy was, at the time, inoperable. It did not frame his interpretation of his present condition, nor did it guide his present actions. Jack lacked both an analytical framework from which to view his reality and a philosophy to inform his actions on larger issues of evaluation. As long as Jack continued to use evaluation as a means of social control, evaluation would continue to appear arbitrary and vindictive rather than as a means toward clarity and insight.

Because he believed his present powerlessness came with the student teacher's territory, Jack passively accepted it. In this way, Jack at times, became fatalistic, believing there was really not much else he could do but "wait and see". Occasionally, he perceived fate as intervening in his behalf. Like the invasion of Grenada, fate, he found, could provide an "exciting historical event". Fate, however, could be a constraining force, such as suddenly being confronted with Roy Hobbs' unit test. Outside forces, then, appeared haphazardly out of Jack's control. The posture of "waiting and seeing" thus proved a source of comfort; it offered

direction at a time Jack felt devoid of both direction and aims.

How am I Supposed to Judge Class Participation?

Greenville High's first grading period ended in early November. Throughout the school, teachers calculated their students' final quarterly grades. Students expected to receive their first report cards before Thanksgiving vacation. For the majority of students, this was the school's first formal contact with their parents. Anticipation characterized the atmosphere of Greenville High.

A few weeks before Jack began averaging his U.S.H.I.,II fall quarter grades, he spoke to his class about their participation. Jack felt that if students were reminded that their participation counted as part of their total grade, students might be motivated to become more active participants. Earlier, Roy Hobbs had briefly mentioned to both Jack and the class that students could earn up to ten points for classroom participation. Everyone understood this would affect one's grade. So when Jack spoke to his class, he had these points in mind.

> So I talked a little bit about participation. I said, "How am I supposed to judge class participation?" And then I had them come up with a definition for it. Like taking notes in class, having read the material. We came up with four or five things. And then we talked about how I might judge them and give out the points. [11/14 Post Interview]

The class seemed to progress more smoothly after
students understood how their points would be determined.
Jack felt pleased with this strategy for it was congruent
with his philosophy of student involvement. Further, students
seemed to be participating more. When Jack worked on the
quarterly grades, he had their recent participation efforts
in mind. He gave the results to Roy.

> First I figured out their averages and I told the
> averages in class. I figured in class participation.
> Then Roy came in and he asked me for the grades. So I
> gave him what I figured out. He said, "no", he wanted
> the tests grades and everything. He wanted to figure
> them out himself. So he refigured the averages and
> gave students much less in class participation than I
> did.
>
> So we all talked about that in class. The kids said,
> "Why did we spend all this time talking about the de-
> finition of class participation?" And Roy said he's
> never given out more than six points to anybody in the
> seventeen years of teaching. Nobody ever gets ten
> points. The kids said to Roy, "Well, you haven't been
> a teacher in this class. How do you know?" And he
> said, "Well, I know. I've seen enough."
>
> It was just a breakdown in communication between him
> and I. The kids ended up just getting lower grades
> than what I had thought. It was just kind of a lousy
> situation. I have given something like eight points.
> But Roy turned around and gave, I think the most he
> gave was two points to anybody. Because that's the way
> he does it.
>
> It was kind of a case where I guess I overstepped what
> I should have done and he stepped on my toes, basically.
> It didn't really bother me. It would have been nice if
> he spent a little more time and explained that to me.
> Then again, I took it upon myself to figure out the
> averages and probably was just getting a little bit
> ahead of myself. Obviously he's going to have the class
> back. He'll have it through the end. So it should be

consistently done his way 'cause he's going to have them for the majority of the time.

What made this situation "lousy" was that Roy's request for the quarter grades occurred while Jack's class was in session. The students watched as Roy publicly admonished Jack. Although Roy rarely observed this class, he let both Jack and the class know that he had seen enough to determine participation points. In many ways, Roy's point determination seemed more punitive than evaluative, especially compared with Jack's original estimation. Any power Jack had fragilely constructed crumbled beneath his very feet; his previous negotiations with students now appeared a waste of time. Roy dramatically announced and demonstrated that he, alone, was the "real" teacher.

Jack coped with this incident by maintaining that it did not really "bother" him. Despite his public reprimand, which symbolized his powerlessness, Jack focused on the issue of consistency. He believed consistency necessarily limited his territorial boundaries. Here, consistency meant compliance with Roy's approach to classroom management. In Roy's class, students did not help determine the criteria for class participation. Roy was the sole authority. It may well be that Roy perceived Jack's grading procedures as a challenge to his authority.

Jack's focus on consistency may, however, have signified something other than compliance. In many ways, Jack desired a self consistency, a congruency between his personal theory and his practice. For Jack, forced adherence to Roy's dictates often ignited internal self conflict, frustration, and an awareness of inconsistency. Although Jack utilized Roy's approach to classroom management, he did so out of necessity of his role, not because he agreed with the peda- gogical method. If given a choice, Jack would have done things differently. Here was another instance of learning negative experience, that is, learning what not to do. Jack's focus on consistency may have reflected more a desire to act in internally consistent ways than to act in com- pliance with Roy's dictates.

Still, Jack was upset with this unexpected interaction; it had a chilling effect. First, Jack's strategy of stressing the promise or threat which grades symbolized abruptly ended. Now the students knew that Jack's power was an artificial and arbitrary as the grade itself, although Jack maintained that since the incident there was do differ- ence in student behavior. But Jack felt different. This incident clearly demonstrated to all involved that Jack was not the "real" teacher, but, merely a student.

That painful interaction made Jack turn to the history curriculum with renewed vigor. At the very least, his

classes afforded him the opportunity to bring different
perspectives into the history curriculum as long as he
covered the "expected" material. In this way, selecting
supplementary reading allowed Jack some semblance of auto-
nomy and power. So Jack introduced a series of supplementary
readings which he had previously read at State University.
These readings concerned the Reconstruction period.

> I took a chapter on the birth of Jim Crow. It's really
> a very powerful reading. Edith seemed to think that
> reading was too much, spending two full periods reading
> is kind of long. I think it was worth spending the time
> on it but it just didn't work out that well. She thought
> there should have been more variety in class. I was
> losing them cause they were pretty bored from the read-
> ing. We still didn't finish it.
>
> I've been trying to bring in as much as I can from out-
> side sources. I don't want to stick to the book, just
> teach the book cause there's other things than that
> lousy textbook that they use. I would hope that it's
> somewhat more interesting for them. I don't know if it
> is or not.
>
> One class we had a little discussion on what would make
> history more interesting for them. And one of the
> things was to study different people, not just about
> political figures. It seems as though we're going in a
> direction that they at least indicated would be more
> interesting. I don't know how to assess that. Edith
> usually sits in the back of the room. She said there's
> always a couple of kids who are writing things for
> another class, talking in a way that I don't really
> notice. I ended up doing a lot of the reading myself.
> But that's two or three kids out of sixteen. I'm getting
> most of them, at least.

Jack had not considered whether his method of orally
reading supplementary material was effective. Nor did he
consider whether the material's reading level was appropriate
for his class. Instead, he believed he was "saving" both

students and himself from "that lousy textbook", while, at
the same time enlightening students by exposing them to a
side of history rarely viewed in predominantly white class-
rooms. His underlying objective was to challenge students'
racist notions of United States history.

Jack's overriding concern for relevant content obscured
the issue of teaching methods. In this sense, however, the
separation of content from process did not deviate from the
traditional teacher training methods Jack experienced.
There, content superseded process. This may have encouraged
Jack's ambivalent reflection on Edith's suggestions for
pacing and presenting a variety of classroom activities.
Jack did not perceive her feedback as helpful. It was al-
most as if Jack believed that the material was more signifi-
cant than the students, for Jack felt the material was worth
the time even if it meant losing students. However, he also
understood that what was personally interesting and enlight-
ening did not necessarily mean students would share his
reaction. In fact, Jack had no clue as to how this material
affected students. He was experiencing the distance between
merely exposing students to ideas versus students' inter-
action with these ideas.

But Jack rarely dealt with students as individuals.
Usually, individuals were treated as part of the larger class.
Thus "losing" a few students may not have seemed so terrible

a price as long as the majority of the class was still with him. However, one student in Jack's second class complained to Edith Daring about Jack. Both Jack and Edith attributed the student's complaints to his personality. The student was doing poorly in Jack's class and consequently was not permitted to participate in after-school sports. Although Jack and Edith arranged with this student to have an after-school conference to discuss his concerns, he never showed up for the appointment.

> He came to Edith in the beginning of class, before the grading period, and told her he wasn't learning anything with me. He didn't like the class, didn't want to participate. Edith seemed to think that he had a hard time with anything different. I'm a different person, teaching somewhat differently than she does, bringing in other materials and stuff. Edith thought it was too much for him.

> He's kind of disruptive in the class and I've moved him to a different seat. That happened before he came to her and that's one of the factors. He probably didn't care too much for that. But it still seemed like he was coming around. He started responding more in class. Plus I asked more from him. I called on him quite a bit.

> And he's Black, so, at least partially Black. He's not real dark. He doesn't have real dark hair. I thought he might be interested in this reading [on Reconstruction]. He actually slept through the first day of the reading.

> Maybe he's Puerto Rican or something. I wasn't sure if he was Black at first. There was a substitute teacher in the other day who was talking about how it was probably alright when the kids were going to play with a Black. Black and white kids play together. But she wondered if the situation had changed now that they were dating age. And she asked him that. Hispanic people sometimes have dark skin and curly hair. I don't know. The substitute said he was Black.

But when he went to talk to Edith, at first I wondered
if I was not doing a good job and that kind of thing.
I think it's just a case where I'll have to keep on
him a little more. I don't think it's a lost battle
or anything.

Although it seemed obvious this particular student was
not white, Jack had no real clue as to his ethnic or racial
identity. Other professionals in the school could not lend
insight into this student's cultural background. The sub-
stitute, for instance, burdened him with her personal racism.
Jack did not consider the student's behavior as a response
to feeling invisible in a predominantly white classroom and
school. As Jack had little contact with multiracial and
multicultural settings and situations; his prior experience
obscured and denied cultural differences. Jack was still
reacting to his own ignorance of multicultural history. He
had not considered how traditional history classes affected
people whose history had been devalued by either omission
or racist presentation. Neither did Jack attempt to learn
more about this student's identity. Rather, Jack's exper-
ience told him to treat this student as he would any other
disruptive student; that is, change his seat and call on
him in class. Jack had internalized the melting pot ideology
that everyone is the same beneath the skin. Culture remained
an unrecognized factor.

Comments. Although Jack wondered how the material
affected his students, his only evaluative strategy was to
question his students about how he could "judge" their par-
ticipation. The students responded with appropriately
expected suggestions; they should demonstrate the behavior
Jack asked. In using students' suggestions as the primary
source of evaluative criteria, Jack understood little about
the complex problems of evaluation. These suggestions
merely reinforced Jack's expectations.

Jack viewed evaluation more as a final judgment rather
than as a means to guage student understanding and reflect
on his own teaching behavior. Perhaps the stress and
pressure of grading delayed Jack's understanding and use of
evaluative procedures to inform his classroom practice.
Certainly Roy Hobbs offered no insight. Instead, just the
opposite occurred; Roy's decision to give Jack's students
their quarterly grades reinforced grading as a means of
judgment.

The grading incident did create an obvious power
struggle between Jack and his cooperating teacher. It may
have also affected Jack's relationship to Edith. For al-
though Edith sat in the back of the class, Jack considered
her suggestions as harsh criticism rather than as support.
Consequently, Jack perceived Edith's suggestions as mere
opinion.

The end of the first quarter supposedly signals both
closure and new beginnings. It promises feedback on the
first few months of school and provides students with a
rudimentary understanding of how the rest of their school
year might progress. In the case of teachers, the first
marking period signals something different. It may either
guide re-evaluation of their own performances or place the
burden of grades on the students themselves. But for Jack,
the first marking period barely affected either his student
side or teaching side; his participation was marginal.

Jack had little idea as to how to judge his own parti-
cipation or that of his students. His strategy of oral
reading replicated his student past. There, oral reading
was the rule. Jack had enough experience with giving
supplementary reading as homework to know that students
would not read it. So, faced with the dilemma of wasting a
reading on homework or losing students to get through the
material in class, Jack chose the latter. At least, he
rationalized, students would be exposed to different per-
spectives.

But exposure to different perspectives does not insure
learning and transformation. Jack's question--"How am I
supposed to judge class participation?"--reflected his
frustration with uncertainty in both knowing and acting.
By bringing this question to students, rather than to his

professional network, Jack continued to misread situations of evaluation. Ironically, Roy Hobbs' action made formal evaluation a moot issue. Intimidated by his primary cooperating teacher, Jack rarely sought support or advice from his professional network. He felt more alone than ever. As Jack had no formal power to evaluate, he returned to an internal monologue, and depended on his prior student experience to determine pedagogical decisions.

Finally, Jack's overreliance on his prior social experience offered no insight into the issues confronting students as individuals. His handling of the only minority student in his second history class, for example, reflected the limitations of his own experience. What makes personal experience powerful is not so much its generalizing power, but rather its power to move beyond immediacy to analyze both its limits and potentials. That Jack could not move beyond generalizating and projecting on to others his own socialized experience, reflected a lack of critical awareness as well as a problem in identifying the source of perspectives which differed from his own. Therefore, his question on judging participation was two-fold. It encompassed questions of pedagogy and methodology, and, raised questions of how to understand individual development within its relation to the social situation and setting. Jack's real concern was knowing how to reach his students.

The Day After "The Day After"

Whether carried by airwaves or word-of-mouth, television's images refract from the livingroom to the classroom. It is not unusual for television's programs to be incorporated into the school curriculum. Informally, students attempt to bring the world of television into the world of the classroom often by diversionary tactics; getting teachers off the track can be accomplished by merely mentioning the previous night's programs. Teachers also informally evoke television's images in order to capture student attention. On a formal level, video copies of programs, at times, are replayed and discussed in classrooms. These programs are distinguished by their supposed educational value. On rare occasions, such as first space launchings, or presidential assassinations, live television becomes the curriculum. Television, then, is no stranger to classrooms. Yet, its daily effect on curriculum is taken for granted. For when the world of television enters the world of the classroom, its meaning has already gone through a series of interpretations. The familiarity of television becomes somehow displaced and distorted upon its entrance into the classroom.

Occasionally, there appears a made-for-television movie which assumes the proportions of a media event. A program may be so highly promoted for its controversial

content that it becomes news, and hence, the "talk of the town". Such was the case with the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC) made-for-television movie, "The Day After", a two hour extravaganze chronicling the horrible days following a nuclear attack on an unsuspecting midwestern farming community.[3] By focusing on "normal people" the film intended to raise strong viewer identification with both its characters and their plight, to dispell the popular senti-ment of, "it can't happen here".

It was almost impossible not to know about "The Day After". Media promotion began with the film's inception and continued throughout the year. Weeks before its tele-vision premiere, nightly announcements portended its appearance. Parental-viewing guidelines were issued by both the network and the schools. Some schools made their first venture into the world of television censorship, advising parents to prevent their children's viewing. Other school systems sent home detailed viewing instructions and pre-pared for their own day after. Community-based psychologists joined with peace activists to organize viewing and dis-cussion groups.

The real issue, then, was not whether it would be viewed, for curiosity ran high, but rather who would view it with whom and how would these viewers be affected. This concern stemmed from ABC's sensational promotion strategies,

carefully orchestrated to insure a remarkable Nielsen
rating during the most commercially important rating week of
the year, the week before Thanksgiving. Because the film
promised graphic depiction of the consequences of nuclear
war, viewer expectations for witnessing the horrible ran
high.

The day after "The Day After", Jack's usual morning
routine of early morning coffee in the social studies depart-
ment was interrupted. That morning, Burt Rerun, chairperson
of the department, informed Jack that the history curriculum
would be suspended for the day. In its place, Jack was to
discuss, "The Day After". No guidelines were suggested as
to how to proceed. Although the film had been broadcast at
the bar where Jack had been working the previous evening,
Jack had been busy mixing drinks and missed the showing.
Luckily, Greenville High's media department had video-taped
the program. Jack's first class did not begin until mid-
morning-at that time he would have to teach two consecutive
periods. So Jack hurried to the media center, for the next
two hours, to view "The Day After".

By the time Jack entered his first class, U.S.H.I.,II,
he appeared visibly shaken. He barely had enough time to
compose himself, let alone to reflect on the film. But
because he had been told to do so, for the next two periods,
Jack attempted to discuss the film. Two unusual

circumstances characterized these classes. First, Jack had never discussed the same topic in both classes. Their distinct chronology mandated separate lesson plans. In this sense, Jack was forced to give a repeat performance. Second, Jack had not prepared or rehearsed. This would be his first experience with "thinking on his feet". Jack later characterized this day as an exercise in "how to punt".

At 10:43 A.M., U.S.H.I,II began. Roy Hobbs sat in the back of the room. The room was filled with loud talking among the students. Except for general reference to the film, the class seemed like any other day.

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10:44
Jack addresses the class:  Alright.  Let's get started.
     We have a couple of options today.  We can talk
     about the study guide, we can talk about the
     movie.
Class:   TALK ABOUT THE MOVIE.
Jack:  Did everybody get a chance to watch it?
Class breaks out in loud talk.
Jack (repeating this twice):  Let's hear from one
     person at a time.
Kim:  The reason nobody was scared was everyone thinks
     it will be worse.
Celeste:  The movie wasn't as severe as what would
     happen.  Only cockroaches will live.
Jack:  OK, Celeste was saying that the movie wasn't
     as severe as what would happen.  If you saw foot-
     age like that, could it really be like they said?
     No.  The footage was only indicative of a small
     disaster.  What do you think the purpose of . . .
Bonnie (interrupting Jack):  To make them aware.
Jack:  Is survival a reasonable strategy?
Female:  It's not worth it.  We're all brought up hav--
     ing things here.  If everything is blown up, we
     won't know how to build it.
Male:  They won't bomb Greenville.
Jack:  Let's have one person at a time.
Nobel:  They'd be going after military posts.
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Jack: Nobel's question was, where would they strike
       first?

10:51
       (From the back of the room, Roy Hobbs begins talk-
ing. Students do not turn to face him. After his
first sentences, Roy perches himself on the desk top)
Roy: The area they struck was dotted by minuteman
      missles. It was theoretically an offensive
      nuclear attack. . . The whole idea behind the
      nuclear arms race is their idea of launching a
      pre-emptive military attack, the reality being
      NATO does not have large scale troops. . .

10:54
       (Roy is still talking. All students are quiet
although few students appear to be listening. No
student turns around to face Roy)
Roy: There was no attempt to absorb that attack with-
      out retaliation. I don't know where that leads
      us.
Jack (picking up Roy's cue): Anyone else have some
      comments about the film?

10:55
       (Roy begins talking again, restating Carl Sagan's
theory of nuclear winter).
Female (to Roy): Wouldn't they all die of radiation?
Roy: Nuclear war kills in four ways. The three other
      lethalities, if that's the word is. . .

10:58
Roy: But then you have the problem of fallout. But it
      doesn't kill immediately. The lethalness of one
      explosion is difficult to predict. That's just
      a point. Bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and
      Nagasaki were playthings compared to what we
      have today.
Jack: There was a film made about the aftermath of
      Hiroshima. . . possibly we might be able to see
      it. It's not a pleasant film.

11:02
Jack: Any other comments about seeing the movie?
Class is silent.

11:10
(Roy Hobbs began talking again on the technical
aspects of nuclear weaponry. He leaves his desk at
the back of the room and walks to the front of the
classroom to pull down a world map).
Roy: Look at this map which is about ten years old.
      It is obsolete like all of the material. (He
      points to the countries which have the bomb). . .
      And what happens when the Ayatollah has the bomb?
      It isn't just the Russians. . .

11:12
Roy: We're getting a window of vulnerability to a
      wide range of places. Does everyone understand
      what I said?
Class does not respond.
      (Roy returns to the back of the room and sits
down.)
Jack: Well, it doesn't really paint a bright picture,
      does it?

11:15
Jack: Do we want to have the situation? How about the
      normal people in Russia? Who makes up most of
      the people in the world? Is it the leaders?
      People like who? People like you and I. So who
      should have a say?
Female: People.
Jack: How can we do that? Did somebody vote in the
      idea of nuclear war? Did we have a say?
Class: NO.
Jack: But where did they come from?
Male: World War II.
Jack: Right. It was kind of dumped in our laps.

11:18
      (Jack is in the front of the class, asking a
series of questions every three or five seconds. The
excitment of talking about the film has fizzled. Stu-
dents have a glazed look in their eyes.)

11:19
Jack: What's the communist doctrine? There's a
      fundamental difference. You could probably devote
      a whole major in college about the capitalists and
      communists. I'm really not prepared to talk about
      it. But when people are speaking fundamentally
      different standpoints, is it possible to come to
      an agreement?

Male: No.

11:24
      (For the remaining minutes of the class, Roy Hobbs
again addressed the class on technical aspects of dis-
armament. The bell interrupts his speech and students
quickly leave the room. Roy walks to the front of the
room and continues talking about the technical issues,
addressing his comments to Jack. He tells Jack that
students don't have the historical background to discuss
the film.) [11/21 Fieldnotes]

Immediately after class ended, Jack quickly walked into

Edith Daring's room to begin his next history class, U.S.H.

I,II. Before class began, Jack seemed to reiterate Roy's

ending comment:

      I don't really know about the kids. It's interesting
      to walk into a class not knowing how they're going to
      discuss it. They seem to want to discuss it but don't
      know how. [11/21 Post Interview]

Jack's perception that student interest did not necessarily

insure discussion "know how" delayed insight into the par-

ticular problems of discussing a vulnerable issue. Jack

had neither the time nor the energy to explore his personal

responses; the immediacy of the situation prevented adequate

preparation and reflection. Still, Jack's awareness of the

discussions uneven and disappointing tenor led him to wonder

why students had such difficulty. Like the discussion it-

self, Jack externalized the problem of discussion to

student inexperience. This externalization was supported

by Roy.

      Part of the problem was that the subject of nuclear war

warranted a different strategy, one which would carefully

elicit student investigation of their own feelings and fears. Although Jack personally recognized students by name, and paraphrased aspects of their responses, his paraphrasing strategy was conclusive, closing off, rather than encouraging student dialogue. His questioning strategies created further difficulties; permitting students to shout out responses without being personally accountable for their comments. Further, Jack's questions continued to be phrased in a fill-in-the-blank formula, thus structuring and limiting student discourse to slogan type or superficial responses. The uncomfortable nature of the topic combined with Jack's routinized pattern of classroom discourse exacerbated avoidance type behavior on everyone's behalf. Neither the film's meaning nor the students' responses were explored.[4]

Roy Hobbs' unexpected participation subverted Jack's intentions for student discussion. After the first eight minutes of class, students barely participated or listened. Roy Hobbs' monologue effectively stifled both their and Jack's responses. It is clear Roy believed important points needed to be made. However, whether Roy felt Jack was faltering, or, whether he had became impatient with the discussion's progress, is difficult to know. Roy's powerful body cues signified to all involved that he was teacher and when he spoke he had the floor. Although students did not acknowledge Roy visually, they remained respectful. He

spoke rapidly and authoritatively, leaving no room for questions or comments. By the third time he had taken over the discussion, Roy had moved to the front of the classroom while continuing to make highly technical points without explanation. He focused on the physical and environmental effects of nuclear war, and on the unstable personalities of those who possess nuclear materials. This approach sealed the discussion's fate. Nuclear war was presented as a technical fact; the "lesson" became one of mechanics.

Each time Roy took the floor, his monologue ended as abruptly as it began, forcing Jack to create sudden transitions to his own delayed discussion. It became Jack's task to coalesce Roy's monologue. Despite this uncomfortable position, Jack did pick up on student despair. For the remaining minutes, he attempted to lead students to the idea of the power of a critical mass; students, as part of a larger humanity, could monitor their government's military and social policies. Yet Jack's questions and statements were incongruent with his goal of dissipating despair. Cancelling his original intent were his statements on "the normal people of Russia", (inferring that Communists were not normal), the irreconcilable differences between capitalists and communists, and that nuclear weapons were, "kind of dumped in our laps". Hopelessness and powerlessness were reinforced.

The main difference between Jack's first and second history class was with the cooperating teacher's role. Edith Daring sat behind her desk throughout the period and never said a word. She had discussed the film in her previous classes. She had her own discussion style, known by her students as "a typical Miss Daring" style. During any discussion, Edith focused, first and foremost, on student feelings. Her chalk board was filled with experiential type questions and student responses.

Before class, Edith invited Jack to use either her approach or to create his own. Regardless of approach, Edith confidently told Jack before his class was to begin: "You don't have to do anything. They discuss it themselves." Yet at the start of the class, it quickly became evident that the students were having difficulty discussing the film. One student loudly exclaimed: "Do we have to talk about that movie?". Jack asked for a student vote. The majority voted to discuss the film.

After establishing the movie's sequence, Jack launched into a technical monologue, mirrored after Roy's, on the ways nuclear war kills. He then tried to build an argument for the futility of nuclear build-up, as there were already enough weapons to destroy the world ten times over. From there, Jack began to discuss the cultural tensions between

the Soviet Union and the United States, and how these ten-
sions might contribute to nuclear war.

11:51
Jack: Does anyone know the fundamental ideas of
        communists?
(No one answers.)
Jack: We're talking about fundamental differences.
        There's enough material to make a whole college
        major about it. So we'll talk about it today.

11:54
Jack: Is there a world map here?
(Student tells him maps' location)
Jack (pointing to the world map): Alright. Take a
        look where Russia is. Is Russia different from
        the Soviet Union?
Female: Russis is part of Europe and the Soviet Union
        is something else.
Jack: The Soviet Union has territories that were
        forced to join under duress. The land mass that
        we call Russia is surrounded by what? Is it
        surrounded by oceans?
Female: Land.
Jack: Russia is land locked. What do we have to the
        east of the U.S.?
Female: Water.

11:58
Jack: Is Russia a new country? How old is Russia?
Female: Old.
Jack: It's a pretty ancient country. I don't know
        too much about Russia but what was Russia's
        government like?
Female: Dictatorships.
Jack: They were ruled by the Czar. Has it ever been
        democratic?
Female: No.
Jack: So they're fundamentally different than the U.S.
        right? They're landlocked, they have a hostile
        history. . .

12:00
Jack: What kind of people is Russia likely to have?
        The history of Russia tends to produce a suspicious
        people in the sources I have read. We, on the
        other hand have produced a relatively stable
        system from its inception in the last 200 years.
        Is that true of Russia?

```
Class:  NO.
Jack:   I don't know the dates but there's been some
        bloodly revolutions.  It's always been a system of
        government different than our own.  So when Russia
        and U.S. leaders meet, are they coming from the
        same place?
Class:  No.
Jack:   Is it likely they'll come to an understanding
        based on mutual principles.
Class:  NO.
Jack:   So this discussion isn't really leading any-
        place because we keep coming against walls,
        right?  This discussion isn't leading in any posi-
        tive points.  Let's go back to the movie. . .
```

By the end of this class, Jack had boxed himself into his own argument. In depicting the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union as irreconcilable tensions, Jack had reached a cul-de-sac in a number of unintentional ways. First, Jack had depicted a good-guy versus bad-guy scenario. The Soviet Union was filled with suspicious people, held hostage by a hostile history. Regardless of its actual geographical location, the Soviet Union's authority has been expanded through force. This cold-war depiction populated by comic book communists, reproduced student acceptance of the popular conclusion that negotiation with the Soviet Union is impossible. The United States, on the other hand, was depicted as stable, with little internal bloodshed. Its citizens, characterized as experienced in democratic processes, have the reasoning capacity to negotiate. Most significantly, cultural differences depicted were presented as harmful. Jack's handling of this particular discussion, then,

unintentionally reinforced both a cold-war mentality as well as a xenophobic perception of world history. In these ways Jack concurred with the underlying message of the film, that nuclear war is beyond people's control.

Again, students rarely spoke about their feelings or opinions. Jack's questioning patterns continued to solicit monosyllabic answers, leaving no room for authentic response. In contrast to Edith Daring's initial prediction of the ease of the discussion, Jack found the opposite to be the case. There was nothing easy or automatic about this discussion. Its course was anticlimatic. By the end of the second hour, Jack was depressed. He felt as if he had been talking to himself.

> I really don't know what the point of these discussions were. We seem to be arguing. They just became very negative. We discussed what would happen and that it's impossible to change the situation. Not a very positive outlook. But as far as the alternatives, I have no more idea than I think they do.
>
> My knowledge of the situation isn't that great either. I had something else planned. I really wasn't pre- pared, it was a lesson in how to punt.
>
> Today was the day when I really didn't know what to expect. I certainly didn't have a lesson plan. It seems as a teacher you're going to be able to do that, have to react then and there.

Comments. Just as despair led students to regard sur- vival after nuclear war as futile, so did Jack conclude that discussions on this topic were pointless. Discussion seemed

as devastating as nuclear war itself. Jack projected his floundering to the students' inability to discuss the topic itself rather than to his own limitations. Jack's distancing behavior was in line with the tone of both class discussions.

It may well be that consequences of stereotypical sex role socialization inhibited Roy and Jack's attempts to deal with the subject. Rather than explore the depression, fears, and vulnerability the possibility of nuclear war raises, Roy and Jack distanced their emotions, instead focussing on technological facts. With the mechanical focus, both students and teachers comfortably switched into the third-person voice. This behavior was congruent with Roy and Jack's sex role socialization: males are socialized to repress both fear and powerlessness; these emotions are stigmatized for men. In contrast, Edith Daring concerned herself with students' emotional lives. Females are socialized to accept a wide range of emotional responses. Women may express fear; they are socially expected to accept powerlessness. Whereas Roy and Jack seemed to overcompensate for the powerlessness felt in the face of nuclear war by stressing the destructive power of nuclear weapons, Edith Daring approached the problem as a complex human dilemma.

Sex role socialization may have also contributed to another feature of Jack's discussion tone: his authoritativeness about a subject of which he had little knowledge. During the discussions, Jack admitted a series of times that he was unprepared to discuss Soviet history. Yet, he continued to do so. On the other hand, Jack's role as student teacher, may have also pressured him to appear assured in an uncertain situation.

In any event, this particular discussion seemed to reinforce Jack's rudimentary expectations of ideal teacher behavior. Real teachers are expected to authoritatively deal with the unexpected. This belief is commonly described as "thinking on one's feet", a belief which assumes concrete answers and directions can be automatically called upon to order a seemingly choatic situation. That Jack was not the "real" teacher, however, seemed to rationalize his hesitations and directionlessness. Rather than consider how the subject itself contributed to emotional paralysis or cathartic reaction, Jack turned to his ideal role expectations. A "real" teacher would know what to do. In this sense, Jack could maintain a sense of control, if not in his immediate present, than at least in his impending future.

Jack never mentioned Roy Hobbs' unexpected class participation. Whether he viewed it as intrusive, or

supportive, is difficult to determine. Aspects of Roy's
statements were incorporated into Jack's second class, lead-
ing one to conclude that perhaps Jack perceived Roy's
statements as "fuel for the fire". Certainly, reiterating
these statements took up discussion time. But more
significantly, it prevented student participation. Jack
did not understand the basis of student negativism as being
rooted in his discussion approach and the topic itself.
Instead, the discussion appeared pointless, characterized
by meaningful arguments.

Jack was unaware of his own contributions to student
cynicism. For example, his use of historical comparisons
was a strong purveyor of student cynicism. Comparing his-
torical events such as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and
the current nuclear bomb potential only served to diminish
history. It is a fallacy of reasoning to assume that the
greater the tragedy, the greater our responses. What tends
to ensue from comparing devastations is a numbing of con-
sciousness.

Jack's tendency to distance himself from his teaching
strategies was clearly evident in this lesson. What seemed
most apparent by the middle of his student teacher semester
was that he had no analytical framework from which to view
his experience. His experience appeared trapped in
immediacy, subject to the pull of uncontrollable outside

influences over which he had little control. Although
Jack's accepted theory demanded critical thinking, he was
unable to apply this idea to his practical situation.
Support was generally lacking. Jack was literally on his
own.

Becoming Indoctrinated

Frustration was the first descriptor that came to
Jack's mind when asked to characterize his first ten weeks
of student teaching. Jack was well aware of his limitations
but not so sure of his own abilities.

> Student teaching can be sometimes frustrating because
> you're not really a teacher. You're taking over some-
> one else's rules, you're taking over where someone
> else has already begun, someone else who's established
> their rules and conduct and expectations and their
> method of teaching and ways of setting up their class
> and everything else. Those things aren't always the
> ways that I would have done them and they're not
> always set up in the manner I would. I don't always
> agree with the ways they're set up and sometimes I'm
> not always exactly sure of how they should be set up.
> [11/30/83]

What Jack seemed most certain about throughout student
teaching was that he was more a follower than an initiator.
His experience seemed somehow prefabricated, artificial,
and contrived. Student teaching appeared more a ritual than
a reality.

Yet the function of ritual is to expose its partici-
pants to the ideal values of a specific culture, to
initiate people into its sanctioned ways of being. In

Jack's case student teaching as a ritual contained more of the culture's tensions that its ideals. Jack was glimpsing aspects of the school culture which were unattractive but available to the insider. One day, for example, Roy Hobbs had to teach one of Jack's history sections, returning Jack to the back of the classroom. What precipitated this change was the principal's sudden decision to observe Roy Hobbs after a fourteen year lapse because parents complained about a comment Roy made concerning a Greenville neighborhood. Watching Roy being observed by the principal, as well as being privy to Roy's angry feelings about the affair, compelled Jack to draw some conclusions about supervision and the administration's relation to teachers.

As this observation was triggered from a mini-crisis, Jack may have perceived teacher supervision more as a function of administrative control than as a supportive endeavor. Other teachers seemed to support Jack's belief that after an initial period, teachers are largely on their own. From Jack's account of Roy Hobbs' first observation after fourteen years, it was clear that both the principal and community were viewed as divisive forces which must be kept at bay.

Jack's own in-school supervision experience, although different from Roy's, also seemed intrusive and somehow out of sync. Jack was most upset with Edith Daring's brand

of supervision. Possibly Jack's disappointment with Edith
began with his entrance into her class. Except for the
first day, Edith remained in her classroom regardless of
her change in teaching responsibilities. Edith's presence
aroused Jack's expectations and fears.

> I don't get much of anything from Edith. I haven't
> gotten any feedback unless I solicited it myself. It's
> all on one level, nothing real positive or nothing real
> negative. Well, she hasn't ever made a point to say,
> "Gee, that was pretty good, or that did work well."
> She tends to say, "You know where you went wrong,
> right?", or "You know where you lost them, right?"
>
> And she's almost always in the room. She just kind of
> sits in the back and does other work and stuff. And
> I'm never quite sure whether she's paying attention or
> not. She gives the impression that she isn't. She
> didn't really give me that period of grace that Roy
> gave me when I stepped into his classes. I kind of
> appreciated that. Well, Roy said to the class, "This
> is Mr. August. He's going to have your class for a
> while." And then he didn't go back to the classroom
> for a week, which at first I wondered about, but it
> worked because I didn't have to worry about whether or
> not I'm making the same interpretation as he is or she
> is.
>
> But Edith was in the back of the class the next day and
> she's been there ever since. It doesn't bother me at
> this point, but at the beginning, I was just kind of
> wondering what she thought. You know, that feeling of
> having somebody back there judging you before you have
> your feet on the floor.

Jack's understanding of supervision may have affected
his interpretation of Edith's seemingly meager feedback.
He felt her silence as judgmental. Edith, however, may have
believed Jack knew his successes as well as the areas in
which he needed to improve. As such, her comments were

minimal; it was left to Jack to expand and ask for more.
But Jack was put off by Edith's lack of positive feedback.
He wanted to be stroked. Rather than explore her feedback,
Jack saw her comments and presence as an intrusion on the
privacy of his classroom.

Jack's primary professional relationships continued to
be with the men of the social studies department. He
rarely contacted the school's administration, experiencing
administrators second hand, from other teachers recollec-
tions. But what he observed about the teachers he did come
into contact with was unsettling. Except for Edith Daring,
Jack observed a tired staff. He attributed their fatigue
to a combination of routine and administrative fiat.

> I tend to think there's going to be some guidelines
> that I won't be able to go outside of when I'm a
> teacher and can structure my classroom in a certain
> way. There are probably mandatory departmental re-
> quirements and who knows where they came from. They
> exist but nobody really questions or cares about them.
> Everybody seems to have their method of teaching down.
> They start at 1865 and they accept that. Well, that's
> the way it is. After a few years, they have the
> routine down and they have their particular points
> they always make in class. So they haven't changed
> anything in the past ten years.
>
> Like Roy has been teaching history before the Civil
> war to ninth and tenth graders for seventeen years this
> whole time. And he has that one class, six times a
> day with six different groups of phases. Other than
> that, it's pretty much the same. He never teaches
> anything but that class. I get the impression he only
> teaches that time period. One of the things he men-
> tioned one time was when someone was talking in the
> back of the room. He says, "Please. You don't see a
> telepromter in the back. You don't see me having any

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notes. I'm doing this all from my head. So don't
interrupt me." My impression to that was, "Well, why
the hell don't you have some notes?" I think you have
to take notes. Otherwise you get off the track which
he sometimes does. But I suppose he's been repeating
himself everyday for seventeen years.

Jack witnessed veteran teachers caught in the treadmill of

routine. Here experience did not insure creativity or

freedom as much as isolation, repetition, and numbness.

Teachers appeared to be trapped within their own taken for

granted world.

Jack also perceived teacher routinization as a response

to the overwhelming classroom conditions and the diversity

of student needs. Although Jack originally entered student

teaching with the idea of individualizing curriculum, the

actual conditions of Greenville classes and the uniformly

mandated curriculum pace made individualization highly

unlikely. Routinization seemed like a proper strategy for

dealing with one's own limitations; but not without

emotional consequences. Here, Jack began to become aware

of what teaching does to teachers.

Roy's philosophy was that he resented the fact that he
had special education students because he said he's
not a social worker. He has a degree in American
studies. And he thought he ought to be teaching
history. And I guess my aspirations for reaching
everybody has changed a little bit cause there are
some kids that don't want to be and I don't know what
you can do about it.

I only hope I don't become the kind of person that
will turn that inward like I see some teachers doing.
Roy has ulcers and he's a real nervous kind of person.

Lights a cigarette and the match in his hand shakes and
stuff. I hope that I don't end up being kind of self-
destructive in that way.

Jack understood his teaching limitations differently.

First, he believed the condition of student teaching and

being a history novice created limitations experience would

resolve. Such conditions seemed within Jack's control.

Student behavior and motivation, however, appeared beyond

control. Students, then, also limited Jack's teaching poten-

tial. In this way, Jack began to extend the problem of

teaching to the problem of students.

> I guess I've had the thought a couple times that high
> school students are much too young to be in high
> school. Not real seriously, but wondering what other
> alternative to this whole system might be. You could
> teach them all vocational things 'till they're twenty
> and then try and teach them. That's ridiculous, but
> at the same time, there are so many other things going
> on in their lives that school is a minor point. I get
> the impression with a lot of kids that school is a
> minor inconvenience, that it doesn't make a real im-
> pression on them and it's something that they have to
> put up with for now. They're not really trying to
> get much out of it.

The idea of teaching history rather than students had begun

to appeal to Jack. Like Roy, rather than question the

complexity of the material and adjust the material to stu-

dent need, student need became the problem. In this way

Jack reflected his secondary teacher training biases as

much as Roy, since in teacher training, content took pre-

cedent over pedagogy.

By the last half of his student teaching Jack felt
himself moving closer to Roy's approach to teaching. No
longer did he contrast how own education philosophy with
Roy's; rather he felt more congruence between the two.

> I'm wondering if I'm becoming indoctrinated into Roy's
> ways. I haven't found that many things to disagree
> about. I wonder if I should be?

Jack was beginning to feel the influence of his primary
cooperating teacher whom he believed had a stronger effect
on his development than had his teacher education. The more
time Jack spent at Greenville High, the further teacher
training receded into memory; after ten weeks of student
teaching, teacher education faded to a vague impression.
Jack termed his university-based teacher training as "a
rolling tour through classes". Beyond its stress on criti-
cal thinking, Jack could not describe specific ways teacher
training had shaped his current experience. Besides, Jack
observed curriculum content rather than pedagogical theory
as the primary determinant of classroom structure in other
Greenville classes. No one's teacher training seemed in
evidence.

However, Jack still felt a tension between himself and
his cooperating teachers.

> There's a big temptation to kind of teach the book and
> if it's not interesting, what can you do? That's the
> material. There's a temptation to become just like
> all the other teachers. But I guess you want to try
> and fit in with them to some extent. Not to the point

where you repeat everything they say. I guess there
is always that tendency that you'll try to emulate
them. . . I hope that I can emulate the qualities I
like about them but not just copy their methods.

When I first came on I had criticism. I could see
things and I would say I would not do them that way.
I think I'm still going to do things my own way to some
extent although my conception of my own way has changed
a bit.

I've accepted that you can't reach everybody within
these classes and the ways they were set up. But if
they were my classes, it wouldn't be set up that way.
You're not always going to be able to teach every kid,
you're not going to be able to individualize all the
classes, you're not always going to be able to turn
over the material all the time. If you have six classes,
a study period, a lunch break of twenty minutes, and
forty-five minutes off a day and you have a family and
wife, like Roy does, so he has a life outside the
school and I would hope that I have a life outside the
school. . . that's an awful lot of time constraints.

In Jack's mind, his largest concession was in recognizing and
accepting, to a certain extent, how a teacher's realities
impinge on teaching ideals. He felt the pull of conformity
and the lure of innovation. At Greenville, conformity seemed
to offer peer comraderie. Innovation seemed to offer
ostracism, as in the case of Edith Daring. In this sense,
Jack's major teaching models offered few acceptable cues as
to teaching possibilities. He felt the tension between his
present and his uncertain future. For the first time, Jack
used the first person and emphatic verb tense, almost as if
he felt the need to talk himself into accepting limitations
which appeared beyond his control.

Comments. Jack may not have been indoctrinated by Roy
as much as initiated into the numbing reality school rou-
tinization presented. It was not only evident that most
teachers were tired, but that the unreasonable demands
placed on teachers in some ways warranted that response. On
the other hand, Roy's nervous affliction seemed the result
of internalizing these work conditions. Although Jack had
no concrete strategies to avoid becoming like Roy, the
latter served as a warning for the profession's hazards.
By the end of November, Jack's romanticization of the work
of teachers receded. Jack was confronting the school's
cultural tensions.

Confronting the scarcity of time and resources allowed
Jack to consider his ideals from a practical stance. In-
dividualized curriculum, for example, took on new meaning.
Jack was beginning to consider teacher needs as well as
student needs. He was beginning to question life outside of
school. How would he manage a full time teaching load as
well as an outside life? Short cuts, then, were becoming
both acceptable and necessary. At the same time, student
needs began to appear as overwhelming.

Jack also began to view teaching as a private act. As
a private act performed behind closed classroom doors,
teaching could only be intrusively supervised. The meaning
supervision held to the tenured staff certainly supported

this view. Supervision seemed to occur only in times of crisis and seemed both unexpected and resented. This view in some ways contradicted Jack's initial supervision experience, for with his university supervisor he received positive feedback, more like a pat on the back than a slap on the face. But Alberta Peach's feedback contained confidence building suggestions and these were marginal in influencing Jack's day-to-day teaching. Roy occasionally observed Jack. His feedback was practical for he knew the type of material his students would take. Edith Daring's feedback, however, seemed negative, and contrary to Jack's image of how one should supervise. Because Jack came to see supervision as something which happened to teachers, rather than as a collaborative process, he remained passive in the wake of Edith's comments. She eventually became more like a classroom fixture, something which came with the territory rather than as a cooperating teacher.

What seemed most significant to Jack was his recognition and ambivalent acceptance of his limitations. Whether they be of time, self, other people, or situations and circumstances, Jack felt constrained in both his present and future roles. Teaching took on the appearance of a series of adaptations. Accepting limitations seemed to be a strategy of gaining control in an environment where Jack observed little control.

How Badly Can A Quiz Go?

A few weeks before his student teaching was to end,
Jack stepped up his use of Roy Hobbs' method of student
study guides, a detailed worksheet type assignment which
corresponded to specific readings. Every study guide was
nine pages long and each page was filled with a series of
basic comprehension-type questions. Jack believed study
guides were an effective way to teach outlining skills to
students. Originally required assignments, Jack later used
study guides as a way to earn extra credit. Each study
guide, if handed in on the due date, was now worth four
extra points. Each succeeding day students lost one point
if guides were handed in late. A quiz was then administered.

Jack frequently reminded students: "Since the reading
assignment is due, you're eligible for a quiz anytime,
right?" Students usually joked about Jack's use of the
term eligible, to them, eligibility had more to do with
winning prizes than with taking quizzes.

Although Jack believed the study guided encourages stu-
dents to become more focused on their readings, he also
wondered whether the activity was too tedious. This may
have affected his uncertainty as to whether to devote class
time to student completion of the study guides.

I gave out the second study guide. If there's time
ater the quiz, I'll just give them time to work on
it. Roy does. When he gives out study guides, he

gives them a couple periods to pretty much work on
their own. I haven't really been doing that. I guess
I kind of feel I ought to be teaching or something. I
shouldn't just be giving away time.

Maybe they should have access, maybe just one period.
I haven't been able to quite get it together, or
something in the classes. I spend a couple of periods
talking about the things in their readings. But that,
between me talking about them and their reading it and
doing the study guide, I think it's overkill or some-
thing on the material. [12/8 Post Interview]

The study guide's stress on literal comprehension and
the required mechanical effort caused Jack to question
whether study guides had anything to do with "real" teaching.
This was because Jack could find no correlation between
study guide completion and grades. Despite the notes and
guides used during quizzes and tests, students did poorly.
Completion of study guides, quizzes, or tests were no indica-
tion of student comprehension of material. Jack still had
little idea as to how students were affected by the material.

The social studies departmental grading policy seemed
to further obscure issues of evaluation. All tests, for
example, were scaled to meet a seventy percent average score.
So although the original mean for Jack's students on a recent
unit test was forty-five percent, traditionally a failing
score, scaling allowed for twenty points to be added to each
student's score, dramatically reducing the apparent failures.
It seemed that scaling satisfied just about everyone involved,
for it made both teachers and students look good. That it

offered no real evaluative data was not an articulated concern.

The facade of scaling test scores, however, did not assuage Jack's feelings of frustration. His classes were out of control and Jack was tired of having to quiet them every few minutes just to get through the material. He knew students resented the material and did not really blame them for the material was "dry". He was sympathetic to student resistance but, on the other hand, knew that Roy, for example, did get through the material regardless of student interest. Students were quiet in Roy's class. When comparing himself with Roy, Jack perceived student resistance personally, as an indicator to his marginal role which in itself did not require respect.

> I don't think they take me seriously. The evidence I have for them not doing that is because I tell them to shut up eight times and they won't. It's like I don't know how I can keep them quiet. I spend the whole period saying, "Missy, be quiet", "Barry, be quiet". So if you tell everyone in the class, by one class period you could tell everybody to shut up about 18 times.

> They don't care. It's very uninteresting and irrelevant in their eyes. What we've been doing is not interesting. It's very difficult. I can't think of anyway to make it interesting. It doesn't fit into a 15 or 16 year old person's frame of reference. Besides being uninteresting, a lot of those kids are only in school because they have to be. So they don't care.

> I guess I feel as though I have to become more negative. I have to make an example of someone or something. I have to do things I really don't want to do. I guess I have to be more forceful or something. I really don't want to yell at people but I guess I'm doing it.

But even if I were to be negative, I don't have any-
thing. I can't do anything to those kids that means
anything to them. They don't care if they get lousy
grades. Most of them don't care about the class or the
grades. So I don't have that. I can't say, well you
don't get a good grade in class participation or some-
thing. So I could penalize them in that way, but that's
meaningless. I could threaten them with detention but
big deal. They can go to the witch's office. They
don't care.

They don't take me seriously. They don't have any
respect for me. They realize I'm just a transient fig-
ure that happens to be there. So they don't care.

I guess I can envision a situation where students might
want to do well. I don't know if it's true. I don't
know if it will every happen or not, but I would think
that there might be situations where students respected
you enough to try to learn something.

Jack's frustration with his students' behavior bordered

on hopelessness toward his present as well as his future.

During particularly frustrating classes, for example, Jack

began to doubt whether any student was capable of motivation

and learning. The problem of student motivation became in-

surmountable, especially when Jack considered the tradition-

ally authoritative means teachers employed to control

classroom noise and disruptive behavior. His own ambivalence

toward these means was projected onto his students. Now it

was the students, rather than Jack, who rejected these

strategies. Further, Jack rationalized it was because of

the students that he had to evoke these methods. If Jack

had to use a method he disagreed with, he could in some

ways absolve himself of responsibility for his actions. He

could say he was forced into it.

Jack's frustration seemed deepened by his very role. Often he referred to himself as a transient. Indeed, toward the end of his student teaching, he felt like an accident of history. He would have liked to believe that all student teachers suffered from lack of respect. That way, he would not have to take it personally. After all, he reasoned, permanency not transiency warranted respect. But Jack simply did not know how other student teachers were faring.

With only a week of student teaching left, any bad class, let alone two consecutive bad classes, seemed to symbolize a semester's failings. Although Jack had tried hard, the constricting circumstances of student teaching seemed too great a barrier to overcome.

> I have five more classes left. Do I see me making any impressions on them? Not really, because what good is it? It will all be changed again in six days. So. I haven't been thinking in those terms, that why bother 'cause I'm only going to be here for a couple more days. But in the same way, I do realize that I tried to keep most of the rules the same between Roy and I because Roy is really their teacher and he's going to be their teacher for most of the year. He was their teacher at the beginning and he's going to be their teacher for more than half of the rest of the year. So. . . I'm at a loss for words, I guess.

Comments. By early December, Jack felt as though he was merely going through the mandated motions of student teaching. He had to have grades for his students, so he gave assignments, quizzes, and tests. He had to cover material, so he talked throughout class, answering the

questions he himself raised. These motions necessitated a cooperative and quiet group of students, something which Jack did not have and could not figure out how to attain. Even Jack's attempts to go through the motions were not working.

Jack perceived two insurmountable problems, both of which seemed beyond his control. First, there was the problem of student motivation. He had few strategies to meet this challenge. Further, the material was amazingly boring. Although Jack often brought outside readings to class, these readings were not successful. At times, appearing to be a captive audience, these students daily acted out resistance to their immediate circumstance. Second, the nature of student teaching seemed to subvert Jack's every intention. He felt pressure to continue some-one else's routines. It was almost as if student teaching was like stepping outside one's skin to assume the appear-ance of another. At times, Jack felt downright invisible. During other times, he felt like a shadow at dusk, certain in the knowledge that his eventual disappearance was in-evitable. In spite of a struggle not to succumb to his temporary and seemingly unimportant role, Jack wondered about his purpose.

Jack's feelings of invisibility altered his under-standing of respect. As his position afforded no self

respect, Jack looked to his students for respect. Yet, here, respect had more to do with compliance than with viewpoint. Jack resented his own compliance, for it signified a loss of ideals. Counting the remaining days then appeared his only means of control.

Finding Gimmicks

Although Jack couldn't articulate specific differences between his last week as a student teacher and his early weeks, he seemed to have changed. He appeared more relaxed as if the thought of leaving was somehow comforting. He seemed to let go of his frustration and allow himself the space to identify areas of shortcomings.

In both classes, completing material took up Jack's major energies. By this time, students were used to doing study guides and seemed relieved at the specificity of the task. They frequently asked for specific answers to Jack's questions and wanted class time to complete the guides. Whenever they asked for class time, they phrased their request in terms of working in groups. They knew Jack preferred small discussion groups and that he was flattered when they made this request. However, student discussion groups meant something different to students: unsupervised time to socialize and have fun. As the end of his time drew near, Jack gave more class time over to students. The study guides seemed to take over.

I guess the kids expect that I'm just going to stand in front of the class and transmit the precise answers to their papers. In fact they've said to me a few times, "Why don't you just tell us what it is? Why do you have to explain everything? Mr. Hobbs' doesn't explain everything". I know he does. They're just giving me a hard time in that respect. All they really want to do, they want me to quickly give them the answers and then give them the rest of the class time to have fun. They call it working in groups. But it turns into just talking about things other than history.

I think they figure I'm an easy mark to let them work in groups or something. Roy usually gives them a period or two to do that. But with me, they want me to say that they can have the period to work in groups so they can fool around. I think they figure with me they can get away with not doing very much work during that un-scheduled group work time. That's what they're trying to do. [12/14 Post Interview]

Throughout the semester, students repeatedly attempted to negotiate with Jack over the amount of class work. This occurred because he often presented students with a choice of work. The students may have also felt that because they worked on study guides, they deserved free time. In this sense, the study guides were like a trade. But whereas Jack believed choice and informality allowed for spontaneity, students perceived choice and informality as a sign that they could take control.

Jack's perception of the problem of student motivation began to shift during the last week. Now, he saw the problem as motivating students, assuming responsibility rather than absolving himself from it. As his defenses be-gan to fade, Jack believed that motivating students could

be accomplished if he would prepare more for each class. He

admitted that his class preparation, especially of late, had

been hurried and minimal.

> I find I'm running a bit more and don't have much time
> to be prepared. And having been looking for a job the
> last couple of days, I've kind of been neglecting this
> a little bit.
>
> The thought crossed my mind that being a new teacher,
> a first year teacher, I'll probably get a bunch of
> classes like the ones I have. I'll probably get lower
> phase classes, classes that other teachers don't want.
> And God, how am I going to be able to handle that?
>
> But then I was thinking, all it really calls for is a
> little bit more ingenuity, a little bit more creativity.
> I'll just have to find ways of making it interesting
> for them.
>
> The fault isn't in the class, it's in me. That I
> haven't really come up with something. I haven't spent
> the time to think of some unique way of . . . some
> gimmick I guess.
>
> I guess I need to have a gimmick with them. Before
> student teaching, I assumed I had to have something like
> that.

Jack believed two factors made for successful teaching.

First was a bag of tricks, gimmicks which in some way would

capture students' attention and encourage motivation. Like

a magician's magic hat, Jack assumed he could pull these

ideas out from somewhere. They existed but presently eluded

him. Time was the second factor; it would somehow provide

him with gimmicks.

   Comments. Jack was well aware that his classes were

"not great". What "great" meant was more a vague ideal than

an observable result. Still, Jack knew things could have
gone better, and began to identify the source of fault. Lack
of gimmicks and not having control over classroom organiza-
tion were part of the problem. But, regardless of the
problem's context, Jack accepted the onus of responsibility.

Very often, fault signifies situating blame. Jack now
saw himself as totally responsible for the way things went.
Yet he could not specifically identify the internal factors
which led to this present judgment. Beyond the factor of
time, which was beyond his control, Jack began to think that
if he had only put more effort into his classes, things
might have gone somewhat smoother.

Thus, by the last week, Jack's reasoning had come full
circle. First, he felt his role as student teacher con-
structed his creativity and signaled to students that he
was an easy mark. Along with role limitations was the
material itself; it was boring. Then Jack blamed the
students. They were apathetic and uncaring. Finally Jack
returned to himself. He was the major problem. This belief
was congruent with Jack's initial understanding of teachers
as self made beings. As such, teachers must shoulder all
responsibility for the way things are. The problems with
this view was that it denied the complexity of human
interaction and situational demands. It assumed a false
sense of control. In this way assuming total responsibility

obscured the social fact that control of people and situa-
tions is more a function of perception than an actuality.

I Was Kind of Sad When I Cleaned Out My Desk

A week after Jack completed his student teaching, we
met for a final interview. For two hours Jack reflected on
his recent experience, primarily viewing it as positive.
As in other discussions, Jack looked forward to the time
when he would be a "real" teacher.

> I had a very good, positive experience at Greenville
> High. I'm glad I chose that. Things went exception-
> ally well, I thought. So I was kind of sad when I
> cleaned out my desk.
>
> There is a sense of relief that it's over with. I've
> been getting kind of impatient, wanting things to be
> done, wanting to get everything over with. I still
> have another semester.
>
> Eventually, I want to teach overseas, someplace like
> in an American school. One of the programs I've looked
> into, you need a year's experience, some, you need two
> years. So I'm just getting impatient. I wish I could
> get all my course work out of the way and my experience
> out of the way so that I can do the things I really
> want to do. [12/30/83]

Jack's impatience had much to do with his sense that
student teaching was somehow an unreal experience. He be-
lieved "real" teaching would also present constraints but
at least he would be allowed to determine his relations to
those constraints.

> Teaching is going to be hard when I have five or six
> classes. It's going to be a heck of a lot harder
> than it was. I tend to agree with Roy who said that
> student teaching is like a honeymoon or something.

When I have a job, I'm not sure I'm going to have
someone that I could run to and ask questions all the
time. I won't have somebody to fill that position of
cooperating teacher.

Now that all that pressure is off, I'm looking back at
all the positive things, or the things I remember more
readily. I'm sure it's going to be a grind sometimes,
but I don't want to. . . It would certainly be a grind
if I did what Roy does.

The tensions between creativity and rountinization con-
cerned Jack. He realized that Roy's plight was as much a
reflection of Roy's attitude as it was of his situation. In
some ways, the psychological acceptance of routine dulls
creativity as much as the institutional pressures to conform.
In Jack's mind, Roy's acceptance also led to his bitterness.
Jack understood why this attitude developed within teachers.
He believed this attitude was contagious; like a disease,
it must be fought.

> The attitude that teachers have in general, something
> I hope I don't get, is the attitude, well, they have
> their jungle classes, their lower level classes.
> That's the phrase Roy likes to use, with kids who are
> mainlined, mainstreamed from special education. And
> Roy takes the standpoint that, "I'm not qualified to
> do that and I shouldn't have to do that", and he
> internalizes that. It's a problem with the adminis-
> tration, he puts blame on everyplace but he doesn't
> try to deal with the problem.
>
> I would rather try to work. I mean, whatever situation
> you find yourself in, you can either work or try to
> make it a better situation, or you can deal with it
> the way he does. And it doesn't seem very productive.
> He doesn't feel good about it. So I hope I would
> bring in more variety and bring in a lot of new things.
> I think it's as boring as you make it.

Despite Jack's total immersion into school life, his student teacher role prevented him from critically considering the total context of school. He concluded that the teacher, as individual, determines the quality of education. In this sense, the teacher is idealized as a rugged individual, who, regardless of constraints, raises to meet the challenge. In this endeavor, failure as well as success is individually situated. Most significantly, Jack's view of teaching remained fixed in a student's perspective. Like students, teachers must also contend with the conditions which frame their activity. In this view, both parties are passive recipients of the learning circumstance.

The actual conditions of "real" teaching, however, still remained a mystery. Jack caught glimpses of what teaching does to teachers, but still had few ideas as to what to expect or how to work within institutional constraints. Surprisingly enough, Jack found himself turning to the School of Education for direction.

> As a teacher, I'm going to have some constraints. But inside those constraints I'm going to have to develop my own curriculum or my own ideas of what to teach from whatever. That's one of the questions I asked someone. How do you devise, design a meaningful class out of everything that's available today? Everything that's available to you, books, magazines? Everything you can think of? It seems like an overwhelming responsibility to have to do this.

I guess one thought that strikes me that I didn't think I'd hear myself say was that maybe I didn't have enough education courses. . Because I think education courses, to some extent, for instance, the ones about critical thinking. OK, that's a very valuable thing. You need to be critical and you need to question all that, whether you're a student and certainly when you're a teacher.

And you know, the classes were boring and I thought I had enough of them but maybe in a sense there are some other topics, some other things that would be real nice to know that we didn't get, or maybe there could be more education courses designed. Certainly they should be designed on that level and not on the level of role playing student and teacher interactions or what should you do if a student draws a knife or whatever they might do.

In a sense I would guess, I would have to say some of the education courses I had I think were pretty valuable. I didn't have a good grasp of what they were trying to say. But getting us to realize that there's such a thing as ideology, that there's a dominant ideology in this country and it pervades everything. And we as educators can either, you know, do our share of rowing or something, do our share of promoting that or we can work around it. It struck me as strange to hear myself say that maybe I could use some other education courses.

That something seemed missing in his own teacher training was more evident to Jack than what that something might be. Jack appreciated critical thinking but had no idea, beyond lecturing students about its value, as to how to teach these skills. At the same time, he wondered if there was such a thing as the "nuts and bolts" of teaching. He still believed teachers were self made rather than university trained. He also maintained teaching was more an art than a science. There seemed nothing concrete to

learn. It was not at all like learning the chronology of United States history.

> I didn't have much of a background in history and felt just a few pages ahead of the students. So in a sense, it was kind of strange to be put into a position, where I'm supposed to know something to teach people and I don't know it myself and I have to hurry up and learn it so I could teach them. As far as what's it like to be put on a job when nobody has said, this is how you react to this situation and that situation when nobody . . . I don't know what teaching is treated as. It's not treated as a skill like plumbing and welding where you go and learn certain things. It's not treated like that because they don't teach you specific things to do.

> I guess it's maybe more like an art or something. I'm not sure what I would classify the approach to teaching somebody to be a teacher is. But I guess you don't teach someone to teach either. There aren't nuts and bolts classes where they say this is a situation and you respond in this way. You don't know. There are so many variables too numerous to mention. There can never be a correct answer for every situation anyway. But I guess you learn not to say, "I don't know."

Jack's common sense approach to teaching in some ways affected his meaning of teaching. Like most common sense knowledge, assumptions override explanations. He could easily identify what teaching was not, but he was still unclear as to how one becomes a teacher, or what makes one a teacher. Teaching was as elusive as his recent experience.

Emerging Themes and Patterns

Jack August always remembered wanting to be a teacher although he did not become involved in the formal training process until the Master's degree level. Despite his

delayed entrance, Jack's early education served as a founda-
tion on which he built his images of the teacher; it was
there that teachers had a powerful daily presence and seemed
to receive respect. Beyond this image, which had more to
do with the teacher as a product than the process of teach-
ing, his compulsory and undergraduate education did not
consciously shape his understanding of the work of teachers.
Rather, the actual work of teachers was largely taken for
granted.

Jack's undergraduate education allowed him a comparative
frame of reference from which to judge his compulsory educa-
tion. The choice, freedom and academic ideas he received
stood in stark contract to his early years. Individual
teachers became significant, along with the organizational
structure they appeared to provide. Thus the seminar for-
mat, with its aura of informality and intellectual challenge,
deeply affected Jack's idealized understanding of classroom
structure as well as the teacher's role. In this sense,
his image of the teacher's role shifted; it was the
teacher who presented critical ideas. This image, however,
further obscured the actual work of teachers. Viewing
teachers as knowledge bearers, Jack tended to observe the
consequences of the teacher's classroom preparation rather
than to gain insight into the actual planning process.
Moreover, as Jack was highly motivated to become a teacher,

he was largely unaware of any educational tensions between teaching and learning, or between teachers and students. Consequently, he concluded that his own learning style could be generalized and replicated. All that was needed was informality and challenging ideas which the seminar structure would automatically accomplish.

But like the disjuncture experienced between compulsory and undergraduate education, his first entrance into the world of work served to provide a more realistic view of his undergraduate training. As a direct care worker, Jack began to realize the problematic relation between theory and practice. The appeal behaviorism lent in his university classroom life, with its emphasis on a universal technique, dissolved with the painful realization of its practice. His consequential disillusionment led Jack to devalue textbook theories. It also heightened the importance of practice, gained during on the job training, which Jack perceived as the real test of theory. In this sense, on the job training was more a proving ground than a refinement of training.

The severe disillusionment experienced as a direct care worker led Jack to reconsider teaching as a career. It was a practical choice; his undergraduate credits could be utilized, the degree was economically affordable, and teaching seemed a familar reality. However, because Jack

was more goal than process oriented, teacher training was
viewed more as a necessary procedure, something to get
through as quickly as possible, than as a meaningful dev-
elopment. Jack's distrust of theory and his view of the
university based training procedure as artifically con-
trived, compared to the real thing, influenced his level
of participation. Moreover, Jack entered his training with
the belief that teachers are self made. As such, univer-
sity training had nothing to offer but mere suggestions.
It would be Jack, rather than his training, which would
make him a teacher.

Throughout his year long university training, Jack
was left to integrate his academic history course work with
his education course work. In history classes, he learned
academic content, while education courses focused on
pedagogical theory. But the content of his history courses
was rudimentary, mainly serving his student side. Jack
had already developed his learning style and could easily
interact with the content. That the seminar structure of
these courses best served the motivated and independent
university student was not his concern; Jack's comfort
level there obscured critical consideration of the
pedagogical process.

In addition, his history course work dramatically challenged his early educational socialization. Jack suddenly became aware of how ethnicity, race and power framed his perspective, as well as those of the history texts. His educational course work confirmed this new awareness; Jack became cognizant of the role of social ideology in framing one's place in the world. His teacher training, then, set in motion a burgeoning critical awareness. Jack began to look at his world somewhat differently. However, at no time did he receive guidance in how to transform his self awareness into social awareness. That is, although his course work allowed him to consider all that traditional texts lack, he had no techniques, or appropriate material for the consciousness raising he desired to bring into his student teaching classroom. Jack's university training was most successful in raising his individual awareness. However, uninitiated in communicating these new thoughts, they remained embedded in an internal monologue.

Most significantly, Jack's newly emerging consciousness was not framed in an analysis of his personal oppression. His critical awareness was largely intellectual rather than experiential. It affected his ideas, not behavior. For example, Jack was largely unaware of how language reflected racism and sexism, or how male socialization affected his own world view and stance. Moreover, he had minimal contact

with other cultures. In this sense, Greenville High was a comfortable place to teach; surrounded by people with similar ethnic and class backgrounds, Jack never experienced personal confrontation due to cross cultural contact. Indeed, he chose Greenville as a student teaching site because he believed this experience would be the most typical and hence generalizable to any teaching experience. This mistaken notion reflected Jack's parochial view of the country. He was unaware of cultural diversity.

Ironically, Jack's student teaching status at Greenville was his most acknowledged experience in powerlessness. For there, he felt forced to fit into a predetermined mold. The fit was psychologically discomforting but viewed as a necessary evil. From the beginning, Jack rationalized his rapid role assimilation and concurrent compliance. It was the circumstance, rather than his intentions, which shaped his activities. But this compliance was rationalized; he decided that although forced to adapt to the demands of others, this was merely a temporary movement.

Like the university training itself, student teaching was also viewed as an artifical experience. At best, Jack viewed it as a pseudo experience, not quite reflective of "real" teaching. He tended to agree with Roy's understanding that student teaching was like a honeymoon, where ideals, desires and experimentation intermingle, although

his own reality was otherwise. But most significantly, Jack
did not take this time seriously. Indeed, he wished he
could get over this initiation so he could begin to do what
he really wanted. This was Jack's most powerful rationaliza-
tion.

But behind his rationalizations was his acknowledged
lack of pedagogical experience. The material and role were
unfamiliar. Having nothing to fall back on mandated his
acceptance of his cooperating teacher's style. Lacking com-
parative experience, Jack slowly began a process of
internalized acceptance of his newly acquired role. But his
acceptance was characterized by fatalism: he believed he
had no other choices. In addition, Jack had a major problem:
he somehow had to spend his teaching time. The use of such
traditional methods as study guides, film strips, and
quizzes, then, spent his instructional time; they also pro-
vided the appearance of direction. However, Jack remained
aimless. He had future goals but these were presently
impossible to attain. In his powerless experience, Jack,
like his students, merely passed his time, waiting for
better days.

Jack's major goal of building critical thinking skills
was never realized; in fact, just the opposite occurred.
The seminar structure he desired to implement although
conducive to his own awareness, was inappropriate in a

controlled environment characterized by unequal power
dynamics and social control. He lacked strategies, support
and appropriate material. More significantly, a consequence
of the strategies he did employ only served a reify students'
understanding of history. Jack was unconscious toward his
participation in the reification of history. He presented
history as an accomplished fate, removed from the humanity
which shaped it. History became a circumstance, something
which happened to people and was now happening to his stu-
dents. In Jack's class, students received dates and events,
a recipe of occurrences which was served in the form of
lectures and quizzes.

Students, however, resisted Jack's strategies and style,
which in turn led Jack to become more authoritarian and
traditional in his classroom manner. Classroom control
rather that student learning became his major agenda. To
establish a semblance of order, Jack adapted traditional
teaching strategies which in turn, contributed to histori-
cal reification. Thus even classroom discourse became
reified; incomplete phrases, fragmented answers and slogan
type responses were routinized. History became a quiz show.

Throughout his student teaching, Jack vicariously
observed as well as experienced the cultural contradictions
in the teaching profession. These contradictions included:
the simultaneous pressures of conformity to bureaucratic

norms and valuing individualism; the appearance of autonomy and the reality of dependence; the tensions between rigor and relevance; and the desire for spontaneity versus the deadening pattern of routinization. Jack observed the fatiguing effects of these contradictions on the lives of teachers; a significant number of the teaching staff appeared to be experiencing the phenonomen of teacher burn-out.

The pressure to conform to school bureaucratic norms while at the same time be a creative teacher concerned Jack. Externally, he felt trapped in someone else's structure. Internally, Jack desired to be innovative, but lacked innovations. However, the institutional press for conformity overpowered his internal sense; conformity was sanctioned while creativity appeared ostracized. The tension was observed in his cooperating teachers. It was also experienced in his own classroom, for there, conformity in teaching techniques seemed to place Jack in control. Creative techniques, on the other hand, provoked student confusion and noise.

From Jack's student perspective, teachers appeared as autonomous beings, determining the course of teaching events and controlling student activity. However, once privy to the teacher's world, Jack soon realized that teachers were also dependent beings, subject to administrative whim, curricula decisions beyond their control,

intrusive supervision, and finally student response.
Everything did not depend on the teacher; they, too, were
subject to outside forces beyond their control. Jack also
realized the extent of his own dependence. But he par-
ticularized this dependence as a function of his status.
In this sense, although Jack realized teachers may not be
as autonomous as they may appear to students, their partial
autonomy far exceeds that of a student teachers. But Jack
remained hopeful that "real" teaching would offer a freedom
hardly experienced as a student teacher.

The curricula tension between rigor and relevance in
classroom life was real for Jack. As Jack observed Roy
Hobbs' classroom, he realized Roy's curriculum was irrele-
vant to student concerns, although Roy presented his
material in a rigorous manner. Still, rigor did not insure
learning. Behind this tension, Jack understood the prob-
lematic nature of both the material and the presentation.
In his own classes, Jack attempted to relate the material
to his students' lives, but was hardpressed to shape this
material in an interesting fashion, for, regardless of the
student interest, the material was mandated. Moreover, it
appeared that regardless of approach, students rarely
took Jack seriously. Relevancy seemed to take too much
time; it caused his classes to fall behind. Consequently,
maintaining a rigorous schedule meant foregoing relevancy.

In this sense, the bureaucratic organization of school life made relevancy appear an impossible goal.

Related to the tension between relevancy and rigor was the additional tension between spontaneity and routinization. Jack's initial goal of organizing his class as a seminar was highly dependent on student motivation and spontaneity. However, the formal curriculum demanded Jack's adherence to a rigid schedule, best accomplished through routine. Jack's routinization of curriculum prevented spontaneous learning, for the material was preordained and set. The only spontaneity which occurred was student resistance to Jack's routine.

These cultural contradictions, then, framed much of Jack's struggles. However, they also prevented critical reflection. Instead, Jack tended to perceive these contradictions as part of the school territory. This caused Jack to maintain a highly individualistic understanding of teaching which prevented him from analyzing the social basis on which these contradictions rested. Moreover, these common sense, yet problematic, assumptions supported this belief. First, Jack felt "real" teachers are self made. This belief obscured the social basis of teaching as well as an understanding of how social influences and ideology framed personal development. It also prevented Jack from looking to outside sources for information. That teachers are self made meant that answers must come only from within.

Second, Jack maintained that everything depended on the teacher. It was almost as if teachers singly-handedly created learning. The problem with this assumption was that students were viewed as passive recipients of the teacher's directives. The classroom became teacher-centered. Learning was unidirectional, flowing down from the teacher to the students. Outside forces, from history to circumstances, remained beyond the classroom door. This created a false sense of teacher control. Third, Jack believed teaching was an art, dependent more on individual creativity than empirical understanding. Thus teacher training had little to offer except to develop the affective domain of teachers. This belief just began to emerge at the end of Jack's experience.

Significantly, these common sense assumptions went largely unchallenged. Indeed, one of the limiting ironies of Jack's experience was his inability to critically locate his own ideological biases, or those of the profession. Throughout student teaching, Jack was aware of the limitations of traditional approaches to history and attempted to correct its many omissions by bringing in outside sources. However, Jack had neither the experience nor support to critically examine how this ideology framed his own social-- ization and beliefs. In Jack's mind, ideology resided more in textbooks than in people. Perhaps his own inability

to self examine delayed his understanding of how to teach
critical thinking skills, or indeed, apply these skills to
his own situation. On the other hand, Jack's rationaliza-
tion of his adherence to traditionalism in teaching technique
also served to distance himself from his immediate reality.
In addition, to Jack, there was the situation of student
teaching, a circumstance so immediate in its demands that
it also served to delay deeper reflection of the experience.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Dates of observations and interviews appear with the first blocked quotations of each section. The reader is reminded that unless a new date is noted, each beginning date includes the succeeding data of that subsection.

[2]A few days before Jack assumed responsibility for his second history class, United States armed forces, under executive order from the Reagan administration, invaded the Socialist country of Grenada. The popular mass media, although banned from observation of this military invasion, presented it as a necessary step in saving the lives of a small population of United States citizens attending a Grenadian medical school. These students were depicted as being threatened by an apparent Cuban military build-up. In addition, a Cuban built airport was initially described as a military landing base.

A week before the October 25, 1983 invasion of Grenada, United States troops were dealt a stunning reverse when their Beruit, Lebanon base was infiltrated and bombed. Almost 300 United States soldiers were killed. Later investigations revealed United States security negligence, but as the Grenadian invasion occurred a week later, the media's presentation aided the Reagan government in revitalizing the United States military image.

Later, investigation into the Grenadian invasion revealed another story. The airport's structure, begun by the Cubans but completed by the United States, was not for military purposes. Although Grenada was indeed preparing for a United States invasion, their preparation was obviously warranted. However, the United States Government continued to stand behind its "official" story and, currently, one year later, celebrated "The liberation of Grenada" day, inviting the rescued medical students to a cermonious Rose Garden event.

At the time of this writing, U.S. tropps are firmly established in Grenada. The airport was completed and is currently being used for United States military and commercial purposes. The United States, by its invasion, destroyed the Grenadian socialist society. In its place, it installed a profit-oriented society which would serve corporate and other private interests.

[3]Todd Gitlin (1983) termed made-for-television movies like "The Day After", network executives' attempts to turn toward relevance. Indeed, since the proliferation of nuclear arms throughout the world, the international anti-nuclear or peace movement had become a popular theme for television to exploit. It was inevitable, then that a major network would attempt to encapsulate the consequences of nuclear war in its own special way.

As a competitive industry, networks have more than the public interest in mind. Network executives' primary concern are their ratings and the profit high rating generate. In 1982, for example, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) telecast a two-night mini-series titled, "World War III". Building on hourly suspense, this four-hour movie chronicled the tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. By the third hour, the KGB had tricked a future United States president into launching the first nuclear strike. The subject of thermonuclear war had become game for the little screen. NBC's ratings soared, for its film had touched on such popular sentiments as the cold war, romance in dangerous times, and a probable United States military victory, should diplomacy fail.

Not to be outdone, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) began producing a made-for-television film about the consequences of nuclear war. What was particularly striking about this film was its focus on specific families in middle America. After establishing viewer sympathy for its characters by revealing their hopes for the future, a camera shot took the viewers to a corn field surrounded by silos. There, children watched open-mouthed as Soviet missles sailed overhead. By the next commercial, Kansas City was wiped off the map. For the next eighty minutes, the film focused on the aftermath of nuclear war.

In the original script, there were no survivors. However, ABC's politically conservative executive order transformed the final version. This version, sanctioned by the Reagan administration reiterated Reagan's position that a limited nuclear war is possible. The aired version was complete this survivors. Once again, popular media played out its role as a supporter of the status quo. More significantly, for the ABC network, however, were the ratings. ABC swept the Neilsen ratings for the month. That in itself became a media event. Gitlin, Todd, Inside Prime Time (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1983), p. 157-204.

[4]Student response was characterized by cynicism and despair. These feelings may not have been so much a by product of the film, as the experience of coming of age in a nuclear age. For everyone involved, the popular media rendition of the nuclear age leaned more toward the sensational than the educational. Consequently, nuclear technology remained a mystified enterprise. It is not surprising then, that students had little idea as to how to approach the issues they so keenly felt. They were given no support. All that students could articulate was their media shaped expectations. Because they had expected the worst, what the film offered was discounted. Students rejected this cosmetically manipulated preview. Students wanted to be scared to death. Instead, they want to be scared to death. Their disappointment easily dissolved into cynicism and despair. Moreover, the possibility of survival appeared meaningless. For others, a nuclear attack on Greenville was too incredulous to consider. But another factor which may have reinforced these feelings of powerlessness was the actual discussion.

CHAPTER VI

THE SIGNIFICANT OTHERS: HOW DO THEY UNDERSTAND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE?

To understand the world of student teaching, it is also necessary to consider the professional people who surround them. Student teacher socialization does not merely signify the individual's initiation into the teacher's world, but also encompasses those people who somehow influence the circumstances of student teachers. This chapter introduces those significant others who are a part of the student teacher's world. While their views on and experience with student teachers are described, the nature of the interviewing process, upon which this chapter is built, encouraged them to reflect on their own circumstances. Consequently, these people revealed as much about their personal development and educational journey as they did about student teaching.

This chapter serves two purposes. First, it is a response to this study's second chapter, which presented the research on significant others. The second purpose for presenting the views of significant others is to expand this study's scope. The micro-world of student teaching is now enlarged since student teachers, although the central

actors in this drama, do   not stand alone. Rather, they engage in constant negotiation with people inside and out-side their classroom. Because the student teacher's webs of dependency frame her/his experience as much as her/his own perceptions of classroom life, the ideas and theories significant others hold about student teaching require ex-ploration.

This section is composed from audio-taped open-ended interviews with selected professional significant others who, in some way, have on-going contact with or awareness of student teachers. Each participant was interviewed for approximately one hour. The purpose of these interviews was to elicit the general beliefs, experiences, and perceptions significant others have about student teaching. Consequent-ly, individual student teachers were not discussed. Rather, these participants expressed their general views. While each person and their position is real, the names of people and places have been changed to preserve their privacy and ensure anonymity.

The Great Debate

Significant others populate and shape the literature on student teacher socialization.[1] This in itself is not un-usual: any theory of adult professionalization seeks to identify its primary socializing agents (Edgar and Warren,

1969). Despite their well documented presence, their significance is subject to debate. Two of the most frequent research questions from this debate: how significant are the significant others in the formation of the student teacher's burgeoning teacher identity?; and, who is the most significant in this process?

Identifying the underlying assumptions which shape these questions is useful; they reflect the current tensions in teacher socialization theory. These assumptions include: 1) individuals model and mirror their behavior and beliefs from those who possess evaluative power (Andrews, 1964; Edgar and Warren, 1969; Zevin, 1974); 2) role identity is as much a function of social and situational constraints as individual desire (Cambell and Williamson, 1973; Friebus, 1977); 3) role identity is negotiated with others (Davis and Davis, 1980); and 4) the process of becoming is a complex combination of individual biography, ideal images embedded within the desired role, and the structural and social con- straints (Lortie, 1975; Pruitt and Jackson, 1978; Zeichner, 1980). Accordingly, student teachers may be influenced by their present as well as their past; that is, by their cooperating teacher, classroom students, university super- visor, school administrators and university professors, as well as previous teaching role models and their own

educational biography. Research findings are often depen-
dent on which view researchers accept.

However, a distinguishing feature of the student
teacher's professional social relationships is their coercive
tendencies. Researchers' pull toward quantification has
organized a ranking order of significant others. Two most
cited variables determine this hierarchy: frequency of
contact and extent of authority. If daily contact, a common
sense variable, is believed to be the greatest influence over
student teacher activity, cooperating teachers and classroom
students become the most significant. This argument con-
cludes that routine contact affects the process of role
negotiation. On the other hand, if the extent of authority
one has over the student teacher, or power relationships
takes precedence in identity formation and activities, the
cooperating teacher, university supervisor, students and
administrators become most significant. This popular argu-
ment assumes that mere survival in student teaching mandates
compliance to authority. Here the student teacher is per-
ceived as powerless and continually subject to the demands
of others. However, within this hierarchy, the role of the
student teacher in her/his own socialization is rarely
mentioned, since the process of socialization depicted here
is viewed as more a reflection of others than as an inter-
action between others and the self.

Despite the role significant others play in the student teaching socialization process, they rarely have a voice in student teacher socialization research. Spoken about rather than speaking for themselves, significant others primarily appear as a coercive category, molding identities as if they were clay, or manipulating student teachers as if they were puppets. Consequently, significant others have also lost their human identity in this literature.

A further assumption concerning significant others is that their views on student teaching and the quality of their relationship with the student teacher are synonymous. Few studies have researched the congruency between what significant others say and believe and how they act act what they actually do in their role as student teacher socializer. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate these points, a number of significant others were interviewed about their experiences and beliefs concerning the student teaching semester. Significantly, each person's perceptions reveals more about her or his own circumstance than that of the student teacher. Yet an understanding of how significant others perceive the student teaching experience is necessary, for their ideas and practices do affect student teacher socialization in unanticipated ways.

The Cooperating Teacher: Cooperation or Coercion?

The most frequently mentioned significant other in the literature on student teacher socialization is the cooperating teacher. Whether through their daily contact, or by stepping aside from their previously determined classroom structure, or in allowing someone else to temporarily assume their classroom role, cooperating teachers are seen as having the most immediate power to affect the quality of the student teacher's life. In addition, the cooperating teacher has the best knowledge of the student teacher's progress. During her/his temporary absence, the cooperating teacher knows the amount of material being covered, classroom students' progress, and the quality of classroom life. Although they may leave their classroom, they remain in the school building and eventually resume their class.

Despite their alleged importance, selection of cooperating teachers varies and is largely determined by individual teacher training programs. For example, university programs which elevate the cooperating teacher's importance in the training effort carefully select, train, and maintain close contact with their cooperating teachers. Cooperating teachers, then, can be perceived as the property of particular programs. These programs intentionally match each student teacher with a cooperating teacher by using

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criteria of compatibility in personality, philosophy, and classroom environment. In this case, the university program perceives itself to be the best judge. Other programs take a shopping market approach. Prospective student teachers individually observe a number of classroom teachers and then select a cooperating teacher. Their criteria is personal and rarely articulated. The philosophy behind this approach assumes the student teacher to be the best judge. All training programs, however, are constrained by two factors: the willingness of the school and cooperating teacher to work with a student teacher, and the cooperating teacher's training experience. The state in which this study occurred, for example, requires a cooperating teacher to have three consecutive years teaching in the same classroom, or tenure with a public school system.

Rewards for being a cooperating teacher vary. Many universities offer cooperating teachers course tuition waivers or small stipends. Often, education professors write letters of recommendation for their placement files. At times, cooperating teachers may be invited to the university and receive offical recognition. Most often, though, university contact with cooperating is minimal. Frequently, the only university personnel who enters the cooperating teacher's classroom is the university supervisor.

In the case of State University, three meetings throughout the semester constitute the core of formal contact.

Reasons for becoming a cooperating teacher also vary from the altruistic to the practical. Often, a cooperating teacher's own student teaching experience, whether positive or negative, influences her/his commitment; she/he desires to help the student teacher have an encouraging experience. Some believe it is their professional duty to help replenish the stock of teachers. Others view the student teacher as a connection with new trends in the educational field: fresh from the university, student teachers' idealism and current methods are often a revitalizing source. For others, having a student teacher is a welcome relief from the drudgery of classroom routine. By the middle of a student teaching semester, cooperating teachers may be relieved from as many as four of their classes, opening a substantial amount of time in their daily schedules. Football coaches with teaching duties, for example, frequently contact universities each Fall to solicit student teachers. The extra time student teachers afford them can be redirected to their football team.

There are no formal regulations mandating the amount of time a cooperating teacher must observe a student teacher's classroom; rather, the cooperating teacher determines the extent of contact. All concerned assume the

cooperating teacher will leave the classroom for a certain amount of time. This is known as the period of "getting one's feet wet", a metaphor which subtly suggests student teaching to be a "sink or swim" proposition, albeit a gradual one. Student teachers can request additional supervision, but many do not. Rather, they look forward to being on their own, for unless a close personal relationship develops, student teachers rarely understand their cooperating teacher's criteria for supervision and evaluation. Mainly it is a guessing game; student teachers assume supervision to be closer to judgment and test-like evaluation than a helping relationship (Edgar and Warren, 1969; Sorenson, 1967). They, too, perceive student teaching as a proving ground, and, as such, believe they alone are responsible for what happens.

Historically, the power of the cooperating teacher has operated on an informal level. Until recently, her/his main source of long term power was with the letter of recommendation. It was the formal responsibility of the university supervisor to determine whether one passed student teaching. Here, it was thought that the university, rather than the practitioner, knew best. Undoubtedly, university supervisors informally elicited cooperating teachers' perspectives to aid in their final determination. Officially, state-mandated regulations supported the university's authority.

In the decade of the Eighties, however, teacher certi-
fication procedures have changed in many states. The state
in which this study occurred, for instance, now endows the
cooperating teacher, in conjunction with the university
supervisor, with evaluative power. Both parties must agree
to the candidate's certification. In some ways this change
has restored the authority of the practitioner. Certainly
it has helped ease some of the tensions between the univer-
sity and the cooperating teacher. It also reflects the
current state sanctioned philosophy that teacher training
should be a cooperating endeavor between the schools and
the university.

Roy Hobbs: Cooperating Teacher

Historical circumstances rather than personal desire
determined Roy Hobbs' decision to become a teacher. He
came of age during the Vietnam War and, like other white
males of his generation, avoided the draft by enrolling in
college and then graduate school and subsequently earned a
deferment for the choice of teaching as a career. Roy's
experience became a statistic in a recent Census Bureau
Government study, "Educational Attainment in the United
States".[2] The study found that white men who came of age
during the Vietnam War accumulated more college education
than those men maturing either before or since.

> I was in that Vietnam generation. If you had the
> money, if you had the brains, you'd stay in school,
> stay out of the army. That was me. And I stayed in
> school a good long time and had a very cooperative
> draft board.
>
> I never wanted to become a teacher, all right. I also
> never wanted to become a statistic in Vietnam. So I
> went to school, had real good grades, went to graduate
> school, had real good grades, got to graduate school
> and stayed. Then I got this job [at Greenville High]
> because my draft board, even at the midst of the height
> of the war, was not bothering graduate students or
> teachers. [12/14/83]

Roy Hobbs was bitter about his teacher training in the

late Sixties. He held his university program responsible

and believed if his program had done its work correctly, he

should have been steered away from the teaching profession.

Roy likened his student teaching experience to being in a

war, finding the high school where he interned to be a

political arena, reflecting the social and racial tensions

of the country. And like the country itself, Roy was poor-

ly prepared to confront what he found. In addition, he

perceived his professional support network as poorly

prepared.

> My cooperating teacher was awful. He had no insight
> into the process, into the kids he was teaching, no
> insight into the environment in which he was teaching.
> He never mentioned Vietnam. . . I mean the country was
> falling apart all around him and there was no mention
> of it. It was as though what he was doing was real
> and all this other stuff was unreal.
>
> In addition to that, my internship wasn't an intern-
> ship. It was like a eight week experience, two of
> which I spent observing him, six of which I spent
> teaching, first one and then two of his classes. And

that was it. Hippity, hop, and you're a teacher. Once
I walked in, he walked out. I never saw him. He wrote
me a wonderful recommendation on the basis of no frame
of reference.

And my university supervisor from the college was Dr.
Connie Beeko, who, for thirty-five years had been an
elementary teacher in a suburb. And over the years had
taken graduate courses and eventually got her Ph.D. in
education. Never taught in a secondary school, certain-
ly never taught in the atmosphere that existed in the
late Sixties in a secondary school. And she was my
supervisor, telling me how to go about handling classes,
this classroom where these two rows were white, these
two rows were Black and the middle row was empty. I
didn't make that seating plan. That's how they sat.
I felt like a referee in a hockey game. The tension
was so incredible you could feel it and you could feel
how it eroded the effectiveness of whatever I did. And
whatever I did was totally ineffective. Not just be-
cause of that, but because I knew so little of what I
was getting into.

My internship was not even a taste of honey. I had no
idea at all of what the job was like, and whether or
not I really wanted to do it. And ultimately what I
found out was, given the person that I am, I really
didn't want to do it. And I spent all that time pre-
paring. And I spent another ten years trying to become
a better teacher.

But after that ten year period was up, and I'd become
what I thought I wanted to become, that isn't what I
wanted at all. And I hold the colleges and universi-
ties that I went to in part responsible for that.

Roy's own training experience led him to view any

teacher training program with suspicion. In his mind, learn-

ing to become a teacher was solely achieved through years of

actual teaching. It was practice which led to competence,

although competence was no guarantee of enjoyment. What

Roy tended to learn from his own experience was that

teaching is an exhausting activity. So just as Roy waited

out the Vietnam War, he seemingly waited out his time as a teacher.

Working with student teachers was the only aspect of teaching which Roy enjoyed.

> I don't like what I do, other than dealing with interns. I love that. It's the best part of the job. 'Cause you can see, almost on a daily basis, some sort of tangible result of your having been alive. And I don't think that's necessarily true in teaching.

Throughout his teaching years, student teachers seemed to be the only validation of Roy's teaching efforts. There he could observe his influence and efforts and had no discipline conflicts with which to contend. Unlike high school students, student teachers were willing recipients of Roy's advice. Further, he could be more like himself instead of like an actor putting on a performance. The personal relationship he held with student teachers made him feel worthwhile; student teachers broke the deadening routine of teaching. By relieving him of his classroom duties, student teachers allowed Roy more privacy and time during the school day.

However, with or without student teachers, the quality of Roy's teaching life was depressing. His last seventeen years within the profession have been troublesome. Roy concluded that teachers are overworked, underpaid, ill prepared and sent out to perform impossible tasks. While external forces have eroded the quality of both teaching

and his daily school life, Roy also attributed his own per-

sonality limitations as a strong factor contributing to his

bitter experience.

> School life is a horror. In this school system, there's
> no such thing as a sabbatical. In this system, the
> average age of the average teacher, as of last year, was
> forty-eight. You know what that means? No sabbaticals,
> no leaves of absence, average age forty-eight? What
> are these teachers teaching? What they're teaching is
> obsolete. If you have a physics teacher who was trained
> in 1939, and he's still teaching, what's he teaching?
>
> But this school is an atypical school because most of
> the problems in public schools don't exist here. There
> aren't any racial problems, cause there aren't any
> Blacks in Greenville. There are not the terrible
> economic problems that exist in most school systems
> because Greenville is mostly a lower middle class
> community. So teaching here is a picnic for most
> teachers. But it isn't for me because I'm not the kind
> of person who should be a teacher. An extrovert should.
> Somebody who enjoys being on stage five or six times a
> day. That's what social studies teachers do, put on a
> show. I can do it, I can do it well, but I don't enjoy
> doing it. And it eats my guts up.
>
> I'm not the kind of teacher who deals well with static.
> Primarily because I'm that introvert and I have to
> expend an incredible amount of energy concentrating on
> what I'm supposed to do. I don't work with notes, I
> don't work with a video prompter, I teach what I know
> because I've taught the same thing for seventeen years
> and it's about time I knew it. I just teach, all
> right? And because of the amount of energy I have to
> expend to concentrating . . . forcing myself to do what
> I don't want to be doing, at the end of the day, I'm
> gone. I go home. And my wife complains, "You never
> talk to me." I'm all done in. I don't have anything
> left.

Roy's view of teaching as drudgery was made from complex

experience. Having no administratively sanctioned means of

revitalization, such as sabbaticals or leaves, neither Roy

nor his peers sought opportunities to investigate new trends in the field. On the other hand, the effect of routinization over his last seventeen years brought Roy to the conclusion that nothing is new. Roy believed using lecture notes during the teaching act was a sign of weakness and ignorance. The context of history, then, became largely procedural. Only in fields of obvious technical advance, such as physics, did he admit of new approaches. Routinization had emotional as well as professional consequences; Roy felt emotionally drained at the end of each school day.

Roy's teaching experience was a testimony to the negative side of teaching, a world where teachers have little control over their working conditions. He believed that only extroverts could survive such impossible demands. Despite his perception of the world of teaching as a deadening routine, Roy would like to rescue student teachers from this experience. He did not want his own student teaching to be repeated and was adamant about cooperating teachers assuming responsibility for the student teacher's experience. Roy described what cooperating teachers should do for the student teacher. However, at no time during the interview did he discuss the particular strategies he employed. Rather, like student teaching itself, he romanticized the cooperating teacher's role.

The student teacher doesn't see teaching as a grind.
Only vicariously do they see it. I think they see it
in us. . . but they really don't understand until they
get into it. I think student teaching is just like a
taste of honey.

The people who handle the experience, who supervise and
govern the experience for these interns should be very,
very carefully selected. They should know their sub-
ject matter. In my case, they should be people who are
relatively sensitive to individuals, people who know
their stuff, in every sense, the master teacher. And
they should be people who are required to stick with
that kid. To be in the back of the classroom. To be
there to direct and guide. . . to help hold that person
together because most of the interns are kids. They
should never have to go through anything quite as
painful as an internship can be if you're doing it by
yourself. It happens all the time.

And you have all kinds of situations and forces in your
classroom over which you have absolutely no control.
And you're frequently set up to fail by the system. And
the interns don't know that. You got to stick with
them. You got to be there. And that doesn't happen a
lot, because the. . . damned teacher who becomes the
supervisor, because of the negligence of the university,
uses an intern as a free period.

In Roy's mind, student teaching was first and foremost
a time of self discovery. The actual details of teaching,
however, were not learned until one became a real teacher.
Still, by the end of the experience Roy thought student
teachers did know more about the amount of work and prepara-
tion classroom teaching necessitated although they did not
gain insight into the daily pressures teachers confront.
In this sense, student teachers continued to be sheltered
from the real world of teaching.

I think they learn a great deal about what they don't
know. They learn that they don't know a great deal
about the subject matter they thought they did know
. . . They learn about the great variety of very serious
and complicated social problems that schools are un-
fairly asked to deal with, because schools are in-
competent to deal with most of these problems. I think
that kids learn about themselves. You're under the
gun. And when you're under the gun, you learn a lot
about yourself, a lot about your subject matter. The
most important thing is they learn a lot about them-
selves.

Roy's view of student teaching contained contradictions.
It was simultaneously a taste of honey as well as an exper-
ience of being under the gun. This contradiction may have
led him to conclude that student teachers need support,
guidance, and direction. They need someone who knew the
ropes and could tell them when they were being set up to
fail. Roy's ideal cooperating teacher was a protector, for
he perceived the school as a hostile environment, made so
from the social problems it unfairly had to contend with.
He deeply resented mainstreaming, overcrowded classrooms,
and administrative intrusions, which student teachers also
had to contend with, but for a shorter amount of time.
Compared with the actual grind of teaching, student teachers
had it easier. Moreover, they still had their ideals and
were naive enough to believe they could change the situations
they confronted.

Roy Hobbs' understanding of teaching was largely
shaped by his own experience. Because he performed daily

in a role he disliked, Roy likened teaching to acting. Like
an actor, he struggled for command of his audience. He
viewed students as passive vessels to be filled with informa-
tion he dispensed. It was the teacher who directed the class.
Perhaps because of his perception that teachers were actors,
Roy could conclude that teaching was a talent, rooted in
one's personality. His experience told him it was possible
to be a teacher regardless of personality, but not without
cost. Roy had paid the price of being in a profession he
never enjoyed.

That Roy considered working with a student teacher to
be the most enjoyable aspect of his job was not surprising;
the student teacher was willing to listen and was motivated
to succeed. This relationship, unlike classroom teaching,
was not a forced performance. Rather, it seemed simple and
unfettered by the social problems which plagued the class-
room. Finally, unlike classroom teaching, Roy could see
the results of his labor. The student teacher did learn
more about the activity of teaching and this was a testimony
to Roy's efforts and guidance. Roy felt validated by this
relationship. He felt in control. It was also his only
means of revitalization in a situation where routine deadened
his senses.

Edith Daring: Cooperating Teacher

Edith Daring entered the teaching professional through the back door. Her college degree was in fine arts. In the course of her thirty years in education she had operated a girl's boarding school in Europe, done agency social work, and, for the last fifteen years, taught in various departments, including social studies, at Greenville High. Originally hired as a Greenville High fine arts teacher, Edith's previous work experience waived all educational course requirements and she was granted teacher certification under the "grandfather" clause.[3] Actual educational work experience largely formed Edith's philosophy of teaching.

> I came under the grandfather clause. I never student taught. I think you learn to be a teacher from doing. I guess it comes down to teachers don't teach anything, they help students learn.
>
> I don't think you gain the eyes of a teacher for the first five years. I find that anytime I do a new course, the first year is a learning experience for the teacher as well as the kids. I don't care how much you've prepared. Because I'm preparing a new course for next year. And that's a lot of heavy slugging. . . So it takes three years to get a course where you want to go, in the direction that you think are good and meaningful and the kids are interested in. And I think it takes five years to perfect it. And then, if you keep it up, it gets dull. So you don't make a teacher in one year or three years. I think it takes longer than that. That doesn't mean they can't have empathy with kids or they don't know the subject matter. But to make a good creative happy person who is teaching, takes more than three years of course work and teaching a course. [12/16/83]

Creativity was Edith's mainstay to and criterion for successful teaching. Changing her course content and approaches with new ideas were her source of revitalization. Edith's interest and training in fine arts affected her understanding of the creative process; Edith believed creativity was an internal development which must be nurtured.

> I didn't get creative ideas from teacher training. I never had an internship. I went right into the schools. In a sense, that forced my creativity. And I also went into a school that was more creative.

Just as creativity was the measure from which she judged herself and others, it was also the primary reason Edith worked as a cooperating teacher. Edith hoped that student teachers would bring new methods and ideas into her classroom. What disturbed her most was when a student teacher lacked creativity.

> I like taking student teachers, although there are times when I'm not that happy with it because I always hope that I can learn something. I think student teachers can bring a variety of things to the cooperating tea- cher. I think it's a two way street.

> But the one thing that bothers me about student teachers is they don't seem to be very creative people. Maybe that's unfair. Maybe you acquire creativity as you get older. But I just get that feeling that they're not. Most of them have a reasonable subject matter background with poor ways of, I guess, getting it across. It may not be just the intern, it may be the lack of experience. It may be that you need more in order to become more creative in your techniques. I certainly find the kinds of homework they give very boring and very uncreative.

But the interns I've worked with coming from State
University are seldom impressive. You get occasional
good ones. . . I had a teacher as an intern who showed
all kinds of creativity. . . and was hired a couple
years later at this school, and lost most of that. He
always had a good rapport with his kids and kept it.
But the creativity he had when be became a part of the
system, he lost. And that disturbs me.

And I just get the feeling, if you're going to do tea-
cher training, that you should be offering it in the
particular field. You don't teach English the way you
teach social studies. And what are the greatest variety
of manner that kids could do work, do the things and
enjoy learning to some extent. And I don't see them
coming in with those kinds of things. And I have to
assume, unfortunately, that what we perpetuate is
replicas of what we learned from. And I'm not sure
I see the school of education breaking that pattern.
That's a tread mill that people don't seem to get off
from. I don't know why.

Edith perceived two competing sources which encouraged

student teachers' replication of past teaching models. First,

she believed student teachers often unconsciounly drew on

past teacher models they once experienced as students.

Second, there was the institutionalized power of the co-

operating teacher.

Unfortunately I think student teachers feel, 'I want
to pass this course so therefore I'm going to do what
the cooperating teachers tends to do.' For example,
one of the kids of mine student taught and left with
a very bad and very bitter feeling. She got an "A".
She did exactly as she was told and when she was told
to do it. And she didn't like it. Enough so she's
not teaching. She's an accountant. And I think that's
bad news.

With the intern we have now, he's working with two en-
tirely different kinds of teachers which is a real
advantage, not necessarily now, but then he can pick
and choose the things which suit him. But what I'm
also hoping is that he'll pick and choose some things
from inside himself.

But I'm not sure that the cooperating teachers are well
chosen. I think it's whoever is willing. And that
doesn't always make the best experience. Consequently,
if you get somebody who only lectures and gives tests,
because you want to pass the course and want good
references, that's what you do. Because that's how
the game is played. It's not played on growth.

In some ways, Edith believed student teaching was more

like a ritual with survival dependent on how one plays the

game. For Edith, the educational game did not stop at

student teaching, but continued to impinge upon the creativ-

ity of teachers. But Edith refused to play at this game.

She developed her own survival mechanisms in order to remain

creative. Above all, Edith was a rugged individual, de-

pending more on her own resources than on those of her peers.

She believed her peers had nothing to offer, and so, she

kept to herself.

I never take my work home with me. I stay until it's
done. I try very hard never to talk about school with
friends, because they usually don't understand. I
don't talk with teachers because I don't want to hear
their sob stories. And I feel I am responsible for my
own behavior. Therefore I am responsible for what goes
on in my class. And if things continually are bad,
then I need to look at what I am doing.

What you're asking is why am I not burned out. I'm too
busy doing other things, I guess, to have time to be
burned out. I put a lot of time in. I seldom leave

school before 4:00 P.M. and usually, not till 4:45 P.M.
But when I get home, my house is mine, my garden is
mine. I can do and forget.

And you know, I'm not sure I learned that right away.
'Cause I worked as a therapist in a mental health
center and I learned that when you walk out, you can't
take people's problems with you or get too burned out.
You have to be able to pull the curtain down. And I
just have developed that very neatly.

You know, I'm fifty years old. I expect that when I
retire I may still be in the department. I own a house
and have an elderly parent to support, so I am no
longer free to roam like I used to. I think if I were
totally single, I would consider selling the house and
roaming and doing some other things. But it doesn't
prey on me at all. I like teaching. Occasionally I
wish for a snow day, but not very often.

Above all, Edith took responsibility for shaping the
circumstances she confronted. Well aware of the problems of
school life, Edith refused to surccumb to fatigue. She
viewed herself as a self made teacher, refusing to compromise
and rejecting the system's lure of conformity. She termed
these pressures, "the educational game". Edith is critical
of this game and, instead plays by her own rules. Conse-
quently, she has the reputation of being a loner.

That Edith looks to student teachers rather than her
colleagues for revitalization reveals more about the quality
of life in Greenville High than about teacher training.
She expects her student teachers to possess creativity prior
to the internship, but also believes experience gives rise
to creative teaching. Given these contradictory beliefs,

student teaching did not appear to be a significant factor in learning to teach. Rather, its significance was as an initiation into the educational game.

Edith's own student teachers were not subject to such conformity, but unless student teachers actively sought Edith's advice, she left them on their own. He own independent learning style led Edith to expect that of others. She expected student teachers to pick up cues, choose the techniques which were appealing, and actively shape their own teaching circumstance. In this sense, student teaching was more an individual than collective endeavor, as well as a sink or swim proposition.

The Cooperating Teacher Revisited

When discussing their views on student teaching, both cooperating teachers inevitably began talking about themselves. Perhaps it was because these teachers believed student teaching, at best, only offered mere glimpses into the real world of teaching. Their own recollections may have served as a reminder that theirs was the reality, since both believed the experience of student teaching rarely validated their own experience of learning to teach. Instead, student teaching appeared to simplify their struggles.

What these interviews revealed, and what the research literature on the effects of cooperating teachers on student teachers has yet to explore, is the hidden reciprocity involved in this relationship. Both teachers looked to student teachers as important sources of revitalization in teaching methodology. Here, teaching methodology is a two edged sword. For Edith Daring, teaching methodology meant mastering new teaching methods she could then apply to her own classroom. Student teachers represented an important link to the university, a learning environment which is ideally on the cutting edge of new ideas. For Roy Hobbs, teaching methodology referred to his own skills as a teacher and what he could teach student teachers. Having a student teacher made him feel vital and alive. Unlike his own high school students, Roy could see the tangible results of his teaching labor. Their seeming malleability made him feel productive. Yet both teachers were also critical of this malleability. Ideally, both would like a more colleagial relationship with their student teachers.

Yet, despite the promise student teachers offered, both teachers were highly suspicious of university training. This belief was partly rooted in their shared experience that teachers were self made rather than university produced. Moreover, both teachers view a particular kind of personality as decisive. They may protect, shape, control,

or guide the student teacher through the internship experience, but the final shape their efforts take ultimately depend more on the student teacher's personality than the cooperating teacher's intent.

Ironically, although both cooperating teachers were critical toward the university training procedures, they did not perceive themselves as change agents in the teacher training process. Indeed, their major contribution appeared to be their invisible presence, allowing the student teacher a chance to assume responsibility for their classroom. Moreover, neither teacher specifically articulated their responsibilities during the student teacher semester. Instead, responsibility for learning to become a teacher rested with the student teacher.

The mechanistic role of the cooperating teacher depicted in the literature of student teacher socialization does not reflect the complex reality of the cooperating teacher's actual school experience. Nor does it take into account teacher development or the survival strategies teachers must employ. Roy Hobbs, for example, took comfort in the consistency and predictability of the material he covered because nothing else seemed certain in his world. Edith Daring carefully constructed a curtain to separate school life from her personal life. These factors are not observable variables which can be controlled and quantified.

Nor does the literature reflect that for both teachers, student teachers symbolized personal hope and revitalization. These circumstances must be considered, for they affect as much the student teacher's emerging understanding of the life of a teacher as they do the acquisition of classroom methods.

It is the informal or hidden relation between the cooperating teacher and the student teacher which is rarely described in this literature. And this relationship moves beyond the embedded power dynamics and concurrent compliance to the cooperating teacher's authority. In many ways, then, this relationship is not so much a two way street as it is a two way mirror. For the cooperating teacher, a student teacher may very well reflect their youth and lost ideals. For the student teacher, the cooperating teacher's school situation may reflect what they fear will happen to them. Either way, ideas about the teaching profession and the quality of life in schools for all involved develop, but are rarely acknowledged in the scholarly literature.

Administrators: A Significant Absence[4]

A common assumption about student teaching is that the majority of the student teacher's time should be devoted to practicing teaching methods and learning about classroom life. Moreover, the student teacher has so much to learn

that additional teaching duties, such as homeroom, hall duty, cafeteria duty, faculty meetings, and the myriad of tasks teachers daily perform, are better left for the future. Consequently, student teachers rarely gain insight into the practical workings and political realities of school life. This overprotectiveness toward student teachers becomes even more evident when considering the student teacher's relationship to the world of school administration. On a practical level, student teachers' contact with school administration is minimal and perfunctory. They shake the administrator's hand twice--as an introductory contact and as a concluding ritual.

Administrator's presence in the literature of student teaching socialization roughly approximates the nature of their contact with the student teacher. That is, they have an invisible presence. Although some studies have been critical of the student teacher's insular role, specifically their unfamiliarity with the larger workings of the school (Lacy, 1977; Sarason, 1962; Tabachnick et al., 1979-1980), recent educational texts (Heck and Williams, 1984; Spring, 1982) do present chapters on school politics and the role of administration. However, scholars rarely solicit administrators' views, nor are the ideas student teachers have about the world of school administration represented.

Minimal direct contact between administrators and student
teachers denies both groups accurate impressions and mutual
understanding.

The closest that administrators come to being named in
this literature is within the general category of the
bureaucratization of student teachers (Helsel and Krchniak,
1972; Hoy and Rees, 1977). There, student teachers tend to
uncritically internalize bureaucratic norms; that student
teachers may also observe teacher dissatisfaction of
bureaucratic demands is unexplored. Often, bureaucratization
appears to be internalized but may also operate more on the
level of external compliance or appearance (Lacy, 1977). The
issue raised is one of survival. How do student teachers
and teachers navigate through the school bureaucracy? and,
what does this do to them? In this literature, administra-
tors appear as coercive and mechanical ideologues rather
than as real people. They represent school values, since
research on school administrators support the notion that
administrators set school tone and tenor (Scott, 1980;
Wilcott, 1973).

Yet, for all intents and purposes, school administrators
continue to remain a mysteriously powerful population. It
is commonly accepted that behind every cooperating teacher
lurks an administrator, and, in the scheme of everyday
school power dynamics, administrators hold immediate

authority, as well as frame the quality of school life. The
relation between administrators and student teachers, however,
is peripheral and largely behind the scenes. Universities
first contact administrators for student teacher placement
procedures. Their sanction allows school access and entry
to university based teacher training programs. So their
ideas on the nature and meaning of the student teaching
experience, although largely unexplored, hold significance.
Their administrative power reverberates throughout school
corridors and somehow finds its way through the classroom
door.

Erma Tough: Chairperson of the Social Studies Department, Smithville High

Throughout her twenty-six years in education, Erma
Tough has watched student teachers come and go. Her concerns
about teacher training have changed with the times and the
dictates of the Smithville community. Five years ago, she
became the first woman chair of the social studies depart-
ment of Smithville High and now Erma must act on these
concerns: she must answer to the school principal for both
student teachers' and cooperating teachers' activities.

Currently, Erma's social studies administrative duties
largely shape her concerns about student teachers. As an
administrator, she walks a thin line between community

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pressures, pedagogical policies and school climate. The use

of controversy in social studies classes is one of the larger

issues she confronts. In her mind, student teachers are

poorly trained to understand the complex issues surrounding

controversial topics. Lack of training and insufficient

sensitivity to the Smithville community's expectations have

allowed student teachers to draw unrealistic conclusions

about the political stance cooperating teachers are mandated

to take.

> Universities should prepare student teachers for how
> one might deal with controversial issues in the class-
> room. Find out what school policy is. I talk about
> that very casually, I probably haven't done as an
> effective enough job discussing it.

> People who are at the university level, even those
> teaching at the university, probably don't fully
> appreciate the fact that you can't deal with contro-
> versial issues as openly or offer an opinion, although
> you would like to, because, first of all, they fail to
> realize you're dealing with adolescents. That al-
> though you're teaching social studies. . . you're also
> dealing with kids in very formative years and you have
> to probably deal more with decision making, with a
> process, and teach kids process rather than inflict
> particular opinions and views [on them]. You also have
> the problems, if you're in psychology and you're talking
> about sexual issues and you're in public school, you
> can't be totally open, or allow kids to be totally
> open in a discussion because of the fact that you're
> responsible to a community. Kids aren't paying to go
> here. It's not the freedom of a university, if you
> don't like what's going on here, you don't have to go
> here.

> This school has to reflect the community in a sense. I
> mean if they don't want that type of thing discussed,
> you better know that.

You have to tread on water, you have to walk on egg
shells. . . You have to make common sense decisions.
Probably in that respect, secondary teachers appear to
be a lot more conservative. But it's out of necessity.
It doesn't mean their views are conservative. Probably
social studies teachers are the most liberal in high
schools of any department.

But you do have to curb that impulse to run out and say
to kids, "You damn fool! Why are you saying that!"
And you're dealing with kids who are very opinionated
and the best you could do is teach them to stand back
and realize there are other points of view. [12/16/83]

In many ways, current news events shape the nature of

controversy in the social studies classroom. In mid-November

1983, for example, the Smithville school superintendent

decided that the television movie, "The Day After" had to

be handled with kid gloves. The superintendnet was concerned

about community response to the school's handling of the

film, since Smithville was deeply divided over the issue of

nuclear disarmament. He settled the issue by circulating,

through word-of-mouth, the policy that teachers could

answer any student initiated question on the film, but

classroom discussions should be avoided. Erma was caught in

the middle and had to implement a policy contrary to her

personal political stance.

Recently, I would say the issue I'm dealing with right
now is the issue of nuclear disarmament and the nuclear
freeze. For example, during that film, "The Day After",
we got a little blurb from the administration about
making sure that we just answer questions, not give a
one-sided view, not inflict our views. In the meantime,
I am apt to have people visiting me, like the Social
Workers for Nuclear Responsibility, saying, "Here's
a great curriculum material, why don't you use them,

this is what they show." And I look at them and I have
this impulse to say, "Jeeze, that's great and I'd love
to use that." And I have to stand back and go through
that and say, "Yeah, I could use that, but I'd better
not use this", and really analyze the material much
more carefully when it surrounds an issue like that.
That might be my view, for example, but that might not
be my principal's view. He might not feel I should be
in the classroom talking about nuclear disarmament or
showing materials prepared by groups who obviously are
for that. And I have to sit there and say, "Which of
these would be acceptable to most people?"

So you have to find that middle statement, of, nobody
could be against this, or this wouldn't be controver-
sial. Other than that, probably if kids were interested
in that issue, you'd tell them to form a discussion
group outside of the classroom so that all students
wouldn't be a captive audience to exchanging views of
that type.

I just get back to my first contention that in the
social studies department, a social studies teacher
has to display a lot of common sense where those types
of issues are concerned. And you hope someone coming
off a college campus, where they have been very free to
discuss these issues and to make their views known, will
realize that they can't necessarily walk into a public
school system and do the same thing. I think there's
always a tendency for younger teachers, and I'm sure I
was the same way, to charge in, both barrels, and
begin to save America.

However, Erma rarely discussed either her process of

social studies curriculum decisions or the political forces

which shaped her administrative policies. These decisions,

although public in their consequences, were privately de-

termined. As a result, neither teachers, university

personnel or student teachers were aware of the nature of

her role or the sources of her policies. So although Erma

has watched university educational innovations as flexible

modular scheduling, team teaching, special topic courses, and the New Social Studies Movement come and go, it is only Erma who appreciates the difficulties of implementing educational change. She characterized the recent tone of the social studies curriculum as conservative; university influence was non-existent.

> Back in the Sixties, we were working very close with the university. And I think that's a circle that has left us. I think generally in education, the approach is much more conservative. A band wagon everyone's dropped off of and now back to looking at education and the basics.

> Most social studies teachers feel that the whole movement of the so-called New Social Studies of the Sixties failed. But we began to realize that when kids took the S.A.T.'s they're all content oriented. The test never reflected the new social studies. And then of course, when you start publishing scores, you get pressured to revert back to the basic skills approach to content. Now we're into a period where everyone's going back to the old chronological content type of thing. So I think student teachers coming in from the Sixties had a very different experience. They were different kids too. Politics are more conservative, even on the college campus today.

As an administrator, Erma's contact with student teachers is minimal. It is her responsibility to oversee what cooperating teachers did with their student teachers. She met every social studies student teacher, but unless problems arose, Erma rarely maintained personal contact. In her mind, cooperating teachers had the major training responsibilities.

> It's my responsibility to make sure if we have interns, that they're carrying their responsibilities, functions

and duties. Although that's the function of the
master teacher, ultimately, it is my responsibility
that the master teacher is doing their role and monitor-
ing. . . particularly when you're in social studies,
you can get into a lot of controversial type of dis-
cussions.

You have to kind of monitor the kids of things that
might come off the top of a student teacher's head.
You do run into problems, because what occurs sometimes
is, obviously, you have to learn an intern with the
class, you have to leave them alone to get the feel of
a classroom and total responsibility. And you never
really know what's going on at that point.

And occasionally you do get feedback from students.
That's what happened last year. . . What I didn't
realize was what was going on behind closed doors.
The student teacher was getting very informal with
the students and in order to discipline, he was using
swear words, words just not acceptable in the classroom.
But in the meantime, of course, parents had heard about
this. And here we are in this situation, responsible
for what's going on the the classroom and we didn't
know. You have to monitor more carefully, I just made
some assumptions that nobody would walk into a classroom
and swear.

Critical incidents, then, largely determined Erma's contact

with student teachers. Although this particular situation

was more an exception than the rule, Erma still believed

the exception revealed larger problems in teacher training;

namely, that student teachers enter the schools without an

understanding of either appropriate behavior or the social

forces influencing the work of teachers.

Erma entered teaching from the back door, during the

late Fifties, when school systems recruited secondary

teachers directly from university academic departments

because of a severe teacher shortage. She was granted
emergency teacher certification with her first teaching job.

> Back then, I didn't have to do an internship. My
> first day of teaching was when I walked into the class-
> room. I don't think you can teach someone to teach.
> I think it's all instinct. Someone makes a noise
> somewhere, and at that moment you decide how to handle
> it. I know I sound cynical and believe you can't teach
> somebody to teach. Teaching is just common sense.

In the case of her twenty-six years of teaching, Erma
had taken advanced degree work in the field of education.
However, her cynicism toward education courses and teaching
training was directly related to participating in these
courses as well as her own experience in learning to teach
on her own. Erma perceived herself as successful without
student teaching. Moreover, her advanced course work seemed
irrelevant compared to the real world of school.

> I've sat through a lot of education courses in three
> different universities and I'm not sure it's been a
> whole lot of use. I don't think the professors at the
> university know a whole lot about what's going on in
> the high school. They just look at theory and don't
> spend much time on how to apply it. They really don't
> know about the daily life of the teacher.

Of all the components of teacher training, Erma does
feel that student teaching is a very valuable experience
because it grounded student teachers in the school reality
the university overlooked. Public schools rather than
universities constituted the real educational world
according to Erma. In this sense, Erma's view of the
university as an ivory tower represented that of many

practitioners in the field. The university rarely as-
certains the complex social forces shaping school life.
Their alleged over-emphasis on theory was interpreted by
practitioners as a disdain for practice, and, hence, prac-
titioners.

> I think student teachers probably walk away realizing
> that teaching is a lot bigger job than they might
> have surmised. They usually end up responsible for
> one or two classes, maybe three at the most. And
> they often comment, "How do you have five classes
> and do all that work and get all that preparation
> done, and in the meantime, walk in all excited about
> what you propose to do and have the kids say, "Ugh!"

> But it's like, suddenly you find out what the real
> world is about when you walk into it. And you know,
> we all walk into things with ideals and lofty ideas
> about what we'd like to accomplish. I think student
> teachers learn how much work teaching really is.

In the hierarchy of school administration, Erma stands
as a buffer to mediate between community demands, adminis-
trator's policies, and her teaching staffs' activities.
She must intercept any problems which arise. Moreover,
what makes matters more difficult is the subject matter
she represents. Social studies is pregnant with contro-
versy and in a school environment which prides itself on
reflecting the status quo, social studies presents a
hazardous challenge which must be contained.

So Erma's critical posture toward the university
based teacher training is rooted in her professional man-
date to depoliticize social studies education. She

believes universities fail to appreciate her constraints, partially because these constraints appear inoperative at the university level. Student teachers, then, often appear as the university personified, and like the university, seem to judge teachers' cautious handling of subject matter as a consequence of personal conservativism. That teachers must appear conservative regardless of their personal politics, as in Erma's case, is not considered. This bothers Erma, for although she carries out conservative policy decisions, she identifies herself as a liberal.

Erma's relationship to student teachers depends on whether public problems arise. At Smithville, there is no orchestrated effort to supervise cooperating teachers, elicit student teachers' views of their school supervision, or discuss particular issues facing social studies teachers. Rather, Erma has an invisible presence, appearing during critical problems to mandate their solutions and then moving on to her next responsibility. Hence, unlike cooperating teachers, Erma does not see student teaching as a two-way street. Instead, she must somehow undo the university's mistakes while, at the same time, insure the status quo.

Dr. Thomas Maxwellhouse: Principal of Smithville High

Dr. Thomas Maxwellhouse is in the business of education. As principal of Smithville High, he perceives his main

responsibility as that of a manager. He sees to it that Smithville runs efficiently. One of his proudest accomplishments is the computerization of Smithville High's record system. With the flick of a switch and the correct code, Dr. Maxwellhouse has any needed school information at his fingertips.

Dr. Maxwellhouse's office, with its thick red carpeting, dark panelled walls, and oak office furniture, appears regal in comparison with the institutional-looking main office. His secretary greets and screens all visitors and announces their presence by phone. From his well appointed office he receives guests, speaks to staff and students, and administers the school. His authority is reflected in all that surrounds him.

This principal has a great deal to say about what student teaching should be about. In fact, Thomas let it be known that he had written a chapter in a book which concerned the administrator's role in student teaching. He believed every professional involved must take student teaching seriously, for all student teachers were eventual "future fellows in the profession". As principal, his relation to student teachers varied over the years. But unless there was trouble, at the very least, Thomas made it his business to greet each student teacher at the start of their internship.

I have lots of comments about the role of the principal
in the student teacher's world because I think the ex-
perience of student teaching ought to be as real as
such a thing can be. Now, one of the pluses in making
a student teacher's experience more realistic is the
fact that they can stay in school for eight to sixteen
weeks, where, in the past, in my day, I was two weeks
here, two weeks there. And if they stay longer, then
I see a lot that the principal can do for the student
teacher.

First of all, I like to meet the student teacher before
they come into the building and whenever possible, have
some kind of interview process that makes them realize
that if it looks like they're really qualified, they
get the job. And if not, they don't. . . Frequently,
of course, that administrative component sometimes has
to be the department chairman, depending on the time of
year and the number of students. But if the chairman
has a reservation, it will always end up on the prin-
cipal's desk. I think that's a significant part of the
beginning of student teaching.

Then I see the administrator as kind of a drawing
together person. In another school system, I had the
opportunity to bring student teachers together a little
more easily. For example, I would always have a meeting
early on in their internship with me. I would sit around
the table and I would give them a few pointers, of
course, and some ideas that would help them in the
school, from a principal's viewpoint, which they have
to hear. They should hear an administrator's view
point, after all. And I'd say, "There's going to be
those times where it's going to cross your mind, Oh,
stupid question, I don't want to ask anyone". But you
might go to another student teacher who's asking him-
self the same question.

So there's little things and there's big things, the
curriculum things and the instruction things, the pre-
paration things, that we have to monitor very closely.

Although his own student teaching experience told him

otherwise, Thomas had high hopes about the experience with

which student teachers leave. Like other professional

support people, he believed student teaching was a time of

self discovery. Unlike others, however, he thought this
discovery concerned whether one would continue in the teach-
ing profession.

> After sixteen weeks, I would hope that they have a
> pretty good insight into the whole picture, from the
> administrative things that they should learn to do,
> from taking a homeroom and study hall, to the extra
> curricular. And my feeling is, and I didn't experience
> this, so I'm guessing, that after sixteen weeks, if you
> don't go out of here with a fairly good idea of what
> you are about, you haven't done anything yourself. If
> you go into school for a day as a substitute, you could
> walk out and never want to return ever. And there's
> not a man walking on earth who wouldn't blame you. If
> you go into a school, as a sixteen week intern, and
> you don't come out knowing where you think you'll fit
> into the profession, you just haven't done your thing.

Of all teacher training components, actual teaching
seemed to him the most valuable. He believed two factors
influenced a student teacher's performance, neither of which
he could control; the use of trial and error as a primary
learning strategy, and "native talent" which a student
teacher brings to the teaching situation. Theoretical con-
siderations were secondary and only made sense after years
of practice. The best that teacher training could provide,
according to Thomas, was "tricks of the trade", or a
familiarity with teaching techniques. The rest was really
up to the individual as teachers are self made rather than
university produced.

> If it was one word [that informs student teachers
> during their experience] it would have to be experience.
> Trial and error, is something that I don't really think
> is pure. Yes, much of the coursework at times in our
> lives seems much too theoretical than practical.

I do believe there is a native talent to a school
teacher. I have to tell you that. Some people are
brilliant actors and have the right voices just to sing
the perfect note. And there are Pablo Picassos and
all sorts of people who have the genius and just seem
to fall into line and they're talented and it just
blossoms. . . And many school teachers have this. I
really firmly believe people have this native talent
. . . they have a way.

I don't negate the college work because there are
tricks of the trade, there are tools, there are the
broadening of the mind type of things that tell you,
you teach it this way. . . There are ways of teaching
people to evaluate what's going on in their rooms while
they're doing their thing to assess themselves, be-
cause you have to learn how to do that, because if
you're not checking on what you think you're doing,
you might not be doing it.

I also felt that the practical experience of the class-
room topped me more than the preparation did. I put
the two together, but I learned far more on the job
. . . It only makes sense that you learn on your feet
. . . I would not have wanted to set foot in the
classroom without some kind of preparation though.
What your student teachers should be told is that stu-
dent teaching never ends.

For Thomas Maxwellhouse, the separation of educational

theory from its practice is best bridged with the activity

of teaching, something which only the schools provide. In

his mind, the root of this separation is in the distance

between schools and universities. Their limited contact

has led Thomas to conclude that each institution has very

separate training functions. Public schools held their end

of the bargain, but the university seemed to fall short.

When asked about the problems of student teaching, Thomas

immediately replied, "From whose point of view, ours or

theirs?" He continued this thought implying that these two
points of view are often diametrically opposed, producing
their own set of problems.

> If you do your work and I do my work and the teachers
> do their work, a lot of things. . . can be avoided.
> Problems usually arise from both sides after you think
> you've done your best with all the preliminary pro-
> gramming and placement.
>
> I don't think that the teaching profession is attractive
> right now in our area. Eight thousand teachers [in
> the state] have been fired within three years, which
> isn't good P.R. There's not good money like there's
> been in industry. . . And pay's important.
>
> I think there's a lot of things that make me very
> nervous about the kinds of people you are going to be
> producing. I hope it doesn't mean that the standards
> will just, you know, go way down to keep the school of
> education open. And then we'll get these dregs of
> people who couldn't do anything else on campus getting
> into education and then coming here. That would be a
> terrible time.
>
> Other problems that I haven't had recently but that I
> have encountered with certain areas and was very upset
> about where the university didn't come and observe.
> And I was saying to my teachers, "You do your thing."
> And I was keeping my ear to the rail. . . And nobody
> would show up from the university and I'd get very,
> very angry.
>
> And I usually say to people the first time I meet
> them, "I expect if we're doing our part, you'll do
> your part." It's very important. Because you people
> are going to be signing a piece of paper [the certifi-
> cation form]. If the bottom line in education doesn't
> make that a meaningful document, they what are we
> doing?

What seems most distressing to Maxwellhouse is his
lack of control over the university selection and training
process. That the university based training took a back

seat to actual practice was not so much the issue. Indeed,
all that the university should provide are techniques which
the school setting refines. However, if Maxwellhouse had
his way, it would be the schools, rather than the universi-
ty which controlled teacher training.

Administrators Revisited

Administrators view student teaching from a distinctive
viewpoint. For them, student teacher training is a small
fraction of the work they oversee, and, like any school
function, they desire smooth sailing. If student teachers
rock the boat, the administrator intervenes. Any student
teacher problems are usually attributed to university based
training. To the administrator, two separate worlds con-
stitute teacher training, with each world responsible for
particular things. Although the student teacher must
straddle these worlds, she/he is expected to defer to
school values when in the school setting, university values
are best left in the ivory tower.

Although these administrators have advanced education
degrees, it was their practice, above all else, which
framed their understanding of the educational process.
What gives experience this value is not so much its prox-
imity to pedagogical theory as its relation to the demands
of the real world. The practical activity of teaching is
reduced to common sense. Tricks of the trade may come and

go, but intuition, native talent, and the personality traits one brings to the profession are the groundwork upon which everything rests. The administrator's premise that teachers are self made, then, promoted a suspicious view of university training.

In this study, teacher training appeared to be comprised of two distinct worlds; the real world of the school and the ideal world of the university. Of the two, administrators believed schools are more apt to do their fair share of teacher training because more is at stake. Yet, they also found the school to be at the mercy of the university since the university supplies their stock of student teachers. It is here that the administrators felt powerless. Although they pointed to the social forces which also affected who decides to enter the career of teaching, they believed the university had more interest in its own continuity than in teacher training. The public school administrators were victimized by university training negligence.

In the case of student teaching, both administrators perceived their primary role as that of a "trouble-shooter". In theory, they desired to carefully monitor student teachers. Ideally, the student teacher should leave with an understanding of the total school and an apprecia-tion for the perspective of administrators. Practice, however, differed. School liability prevented the student

teacher from assuming direct responsibility for such routine
teacher work as hall duty, homeroom, and grading procedures.
This type of work is more vicarious than actual in the
student teacher's case. Contact between administrators and
student teachers, then, is more likely to be confined to an
introductory handshake or reprimand for inappropriate be-
havior, which might further contribute to the student
teacher's ignorance of the work of administrators.

So, although a two-way street connects the schools to
the university, it is barely traveled by administrators or
university faculty. Rather, the student teacher, and, to
a lesser extent, the university supervisor are its main
travelers. These two groups must bear the tension between
both worlds. But it is the administrators who articulated
these tensions, since, in their role, they must answer to
the larger social world, that of the community, which often
establishes their boundaries.

The University Supervisor: Caught Between Two Worlds

Formerly, university supervisors had a great deal of
power over the student teacher.[5] They determined whether a
student teacher received university credit for student
teaching and whether the student teacher would be granted
teacher certification. While each state mandated specific
educational course work for the education major, criteria

for student teacher success resided within the minds of individual supervisors. The subjective nature of these criteria served to inflate their power. A process developed between the student teacher and the university supervisor which the literature on student teacher supervision terms, "the grading game" (Morris and Morris, 1980; Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981). The rules of the game were simple. During supervisory sessions, which were often infrequent, student teachers appeared to take all their supervisor's suggestions and advice. Although supervisors' grading power and seemingly arbitrary stance made them dreaded actors, their influence was as fleeting as their classroom appearance. It was an influence which the student teacher accepted at their entrance but disposed of at their exit. Consequently, the research literature concluded that the significance of the supervisor was limited to face to face encounters (Corcoran, 1981; deVoss, 1979; Zevin, 1974).

Besides their determination of student teacher success, supervisors used to determine the number of classroom visits. If the student teacher appeared to be having problems, she/he received additional supervision. Otherwise, frequency of supervision depended on the teacher training program's resources and the number of student teachers in the field. If a student teacher selected a distant school site such as in another state or country, the

university had the power to transfer supervision duties to on-site school personnel.

So, too, the model of supervision employed and the student teacher's awareness of that model were determined by specific teacher training programs and the activity and training of the supervisor. It was not unusual for student teachers and cooperating teachers to view supervisors with suspicion; frequently, neither party understood the supervisor's intent (Morris and Morris, 1980; Sinclar and Nicoil, 1981). At times, cooperating teachers felt compelled to protect the student teacher from university supervision, since university supervision was perceived as acontextual and theoretical rather than grounded in real school circumstance. Further, if cooperating teachers had ever felt personally misunderstood by their own school supervision efforts, their experience further reinforced this suspicion. The image of the dreaded supervisor has indeed many sources.

University supervisors are appreciated if the cooperating teacher perceives their agreement to school values. That is, when the university supervisors encourage the student teacher's adaptation to the cooperating teacher's values and norms, they are a welcome visitor. So, too, with their coaching role. If the university supervisor coaches the student teacher in teaching techniques similar to that of the cooperating teacher, the supervisor is not seen as a

change agent but as a reinforcer of school values. Un-critical supervisors often assume this role which the literature identifies as a conservative force in the shaping of student teachers' practices (Hooper and Johnson, 1973; Tabachnick et al., 1979-1980; Zeichner and Liston, 1984).

Over the last five years (1980-1984), however, the recent national trend for educational accountability has slowly changed the direction of teacher training and has specifically shaped aspects of student teacher supervision. At State University, for example, the nature of supervision has been transformed in four ways. First, the state issued five broad standards to be used in the evaluation of pro-spective teacher certification candidates.[6] Although these standards are subject to programatic interpretation, super-visors are expected to utilize them during supervision. These standards are public information, and, more often than not, student teachers are aware of them. Despite these standards, models of supervision are not mandated.[7]

Second, the university supervisor is no longer the sole determiner of student teacher success. Success is now determined by two parties, the cooperating teacher and the university supervisor. The joint decision making process is due to the recognition that the cooperating teacher has the most consistent contact with the student teacher and is also in the position to judge progress.

The third transformation involves specific procedures for supervision. University supervisors must now initiate supervisory sessions and three meetings with both the cooperating teacher and the student teacher. During these meetings, all parties review certification standards and discuss the student teacher's goals and progress. These meetings are documented on a practicum report form.

Fourth, all supervisors must now hold a supervision certificate. Certification eligibility requires a teaching certificate and teaching experience, and a course in supervision. However, these requirements are currently undergoing revision because the certification bureau is also scrutinizing the process of administration certification.

At State University, supervision is the work of graduate students. The Teacher Policy Board set an official ratio of eight student teachers to every full-time supervisor.[8] Supervisors are usually employed as teaching assistants serving particular training programs. In addition, their supervisory load and pay vary.[9] For example, due to lack of graduate student support, supervisors may supervise ten student teachers. They may visit eight to ten different school settings no fewer than twenty-four times during a semester. Although hired for only twenty hours of work, their supervisory load often demands additional hours. At State University, supervisors often feel like exploited

labor. Although they also believe they are gaining valuable professional experience, the poor pay and demanding work are often demoralizing. The stress of the job emerges, too, from the graduate student supervisors role as a buffer between the university and school setting, the cooperating teacher and the student teacher, and between the university program and the student teacher. Tensions in these relationships are inevitable, and it is the work of the supervisor to mediate each particular and often conflicting interest.

The literature concerning the life of the university supervisor has yet to be written. Blumberg (1980) suggested the cultural tensions of supervision in his study, aptly titled <u>Teachers and Supervisors: A Private Cold War</u>. Although analogies can be drawn between the supervision of teachers and student teachers, a separate study of the particular relations between university supervisors and student teachers is warranted. Other studies (Zeichner and Liston, 1984; Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1982) suggested that all is not well with student teaching supervision. Their research focus, however, was on the process of supervision and the belief systems of the supervisor.

What seems most obvious is that supervisors are not only misunderstood and capable of misunderstanding, but that university supervisors rarely have a voice in supervision research. Their perspectives, activities, work

conditions, pressures, and quality of life need exploration. Clearly these circumstances shape not only the form supervision takes, but the ideas student teachers construct about the meaning and process of supervision.

Alberta Peach: University Supervisor

Alberta Peach was simultaneously immersed in the worlds of graduate school and student teacher supervision when she entered State University in the Fall 1983 as a doctoral student in education. Her warmth and experienced perspective on teacher education stand out as first impressions. She took a no nonsense approach to both her job and her position as a graduate student. Alberta Peach, an experienced teacher in rural and urban settings, is a fluent and articulate reader of social situations.

With the start of her first graduate semester, Alberta applied for the position of supervisor of secondary student teachers.

> I applied for a supervisory assistantship in secondary education. They were interested in my teaching experience and how I could handle certain situations about discipline. I had taught in a hard core inner-city school, so I had plenty of experience with that. They were questioning me about what I would do in certain situations which I'm sure would lead to how do you advise a student teacher who might have that problem. [12/13/83]

Alberta stepped into her newly acquired supervisor's role knowing little about the secondary teacher certification

program. She was simply given the required supervision
forms, a part-time caseload of four social studies student
teachers in four different high schools, and sent out into
the field. No program orientation for university super-
visors was held; she was forced to learn about the program's
expectations informally.

> I think the university specializes in keeping you in
> darkness, or they assume you know everything. It's
> the end of my supervision semester, and I now have a
> handle on what I'm expected to do and none of that was
> made clear to me in the beginning.

Hard work characterized Alberta's first semester at
State University. In addition to taking a full time grad-
uate course load, Alberta maintained two part time
assistantships; student teacher supervision and work with
the reading department. Her days were split between course
work, supervision duties, reading department duties, and
attending to her family. She noted that supervision re-
sponsibilities far exceeded her ten hour wage. Indeed, in
the beginning of supervision, Alberta spent between three
and four hours with each student teacher.

> I've been supervising four student teachers since
> September. I have seen each one of them six times
> this semester. Three are required, the secondary
> program requires you see them five times. . . Two of
> the high schools are twenty-five miles away from my
> house. The extra times [I supervised] were with two
> student teachers because I felt they needed it.

The problems Alberta initially faced were nowhere to be found in literature of student teacher supervision. Her first problems had to do with the role perceptions student teachers had about supervisors, and the expectations student teachers had about their internship. During her first meeting with student teachers, Alberta asked each of them to think back to when they were in school and their teacher introduced the student teacher to the class. Their response was laughter; all agreed that classroom students do attempt to manipulate their student teachers. Alberta gently reminded them that they should not take their student teaching role so personally. That is, an image of student teachers precedes them. They, too, had some image breaking to do.

Student teachers' images of the supervisor, however, could not be laughed away. One of the initial problems Alberta confronted was the student teachers' fear of her as the university supervisor. The student teachers possessed a stereotyped view of both the supervisor and supervision. Alberta found that student teachers perceived the supervisor more like a judge than an advocate. They expected to be chastised for any error and expected supervision to reinforce their powerlessness. Alberta struggled to change these negative images. Her philosophy of supervision and her own past experience as a student teacher told her that

supervision should be a helping relationship. She readily
conceded, however, that this was not the rule.

In the beginning, supervising bothered me 'cause so
many of them had the impression that, you know, here
was this supervisor with a black book, coming to give
me check mark type of things. I was trying to figure
out where this comes from. Does it come the semester
before? The student teaching experience, I think,
becomes a very fearful situation. They feel they have
a lot of pressure on them. This is a one shot, and
they have to be really successful. I think in the
beginning it's really difficult to be real successful.
The first thing they have to strive for is just to be
comfortable in front of the class.

I sat down with them the first time I met them and
told them I was going to be there to help. . . that I
didn't want them to look at me as terrible. . . And in
the end, I thought all of them, maybe with the ex-
ception of one who no matter what I did would have
thought of me as a real supervisor, as a real super-
visor. And the other three really thought of me as
someone they could talk to, someone who they could
look to for advice, guidance, and just rehash what
was going on in their classrooms.

And I was going back to my own student teaching. The
guy who I had was great. He was someone I could talk
to, I didn't have to put on a show for him. I didn't
have to worry when he was coming. But a lot of my
colleagues did not have that situation. It was like
they were ready to have a mental breakdown when they
know their supervisor was coming.

It's funny because one of them had said to me the
first time I met him, "You know, the first day I saw
[the supervisors] I was kind of summing up which one
of them am I getting. . . which one was going to be
the nicest one?" It's funny because he is a male. I
find him a little bit sexist. When we sat down and
talked, he was really looking for a woman rather than
a man because he felt the woman would be more con-
siderate and more sensitive to his needs.

Along with reconstructing the supervisor's image,
Alberta also had to contend with student teachers' expec-
tations of their supervision sessions. Because student
teaching is so immediate in its demands, there is little
time for self reflection. Student teachers wanted a par-
ticular type of immediate feedback from the supervisor.
They did not want to discuss the complex issues raised by
the activity of teaching. Instead, they asked the super-
visor to identify what they were doing "right" and "wrong",
and give them specific instructional techniques.

> The first time I went out supervising, I realized that
> they wanted real concrete things. I had watched the
> class and just taken notes down. But I had seen
> they were looking for real specifics. . . And I really
> didn't know what I was going to do 'cause I didn't
> know what I could give them.

> So I talked to two other supervisors and they came up
> with this type of notetaking method where I basically
> did an ethnographic study of what they were doing
> during the forty-five minutes I saw them. So I put
> down the time, what the students were doing, what the
> teacher was saying, got down as much as I could. And
> this was a whole guideline of behaviors, completely
> go through everything that happened in their class and
> talk about the positive things and the not so positive
> things. . . They enjoyed it and looked forward to
> seeing the notes.

> But they wanted me to show them. "Show me." "Tell
> me." "Show me." And they wanted visual things they
> could look at and say, "Oh." Maybe it's because the
> kids are really hung up on getting grades and maybe
> this type of stimulation is what they need. It's
> almost like a grade because they're getting written
> feedback from me.

Alberta bridged the conflicting expectations of the university supervisor with encouragement and positive feedback. She believed many student teachers' concerns were unrealistic, given that student teaching is more like an initiation into the teaching profession than a guarantee of becoming a successful teacher. Two concerns her students continually voiced were in the areas of classroom management and comfort level with knowing the material. Because she believed these concerns would be clarified in future teaching rather than in student teaching, Alberta tried to ease their concerns by placing them in a developmental context and by stressing the experimental freedom student teaching afforded.

> A lot of them were concerned with their lack of knowledge in their [subject] area. And what I tried to explain to them is their cooperating teachers have been teaching for years, have probably been using the text for at least four years, and are totally familiar with it, have gone through it from cover to cover. And these student teachers are seeing it for the first time. So they couldn't be expected to know every single minute detail and how to go through every single book and get all the information that they absolutely needed to present a group lecture.

> Another thing they were concerned about, two of them referred to it as ability to think on their feet. What they found was happening to them was that they'd stand in front of a classroom and they could not think of the correct word, no matter how hard they tried. They just couldn't pull it out of their heads. I had witnessed one student teacher do this and I originally thought it was because of my presence that was making him this way. You could tell he was just struggling for words. But he wasn't comfortable with the material because it was very theoretical.

I think they believe from the beginning that a
teacher is supposed to know everything there is to
know on the subject. And I sit back and say, "Look
it. You're teaching high school kids. You're not
lecturing a college class." I think it comes from
the cooperating teachers. Often times [cooperating
teachers] think when they get a student teacher that
they are really superior minded. I think cooperating
teachers forget that they at one time were beginning
teachers. And they forget what student teaching is
like.

I tell them this is the only experience you're ever
going to have where you can blow it and no one's going
to be on your back. If you have a regular teaching
job and you do a miserable job, and the superintendent
and principal come in and evalutes you, they're not
going to sit down and say, "It didn't go well today.
You can try this. . ." They're going to write on
their little papers and say, "Do not recommend for
tenure or reappointment." . . . I think it's the
university's philosophy to get them to go out into
the field and try all different types of teaching
methods to find out which ones they're comfortable
with and to be as creative as possible.

Although Alberta stressed that student teaching should

be a creative time, she also saw problems with this phil-

osophy, because the university based course work offered

little in the ways of specific methods and teaching

techniques. Alberta knew that their university training

ignored the nitty-gritty activities of teaching, such as

how to identify sources of appropriate materials, teaching

ideas and methods, and evaluative approaches. She was

critical of the training's assumption that students would

receive these practical methods "on the job". Alberta

observed the on the job teaching methods to which student

teachers were exposed. These methods were conservative and

she worried that student teachers would have nothing with
which to compare. She also believed their training was too
abstract to be applied. In this sense, teacher training
also reproduced the image of the teacher as knowing every-
thing; professors authoritatively discussed their theories
as automatically as their cooperating teachers recited
historical events. Consequently, Alberta believed teacher
training contributed to unrealistic expectations of both
teaching and specifically student teaching.

> I don't think that there has been very much in their
> university training that has prepared them for
> student teaching. Much of it has been all theoretical.
> And I think when they get into that classroom for the
> first couple of weeks, they die.

> I had one kid who the first week he was there, has
> started watching a study hall. And a kid drank the
> ink out of his pen. And he was like, "What am I
> supposed to do? My university notebook never told me
> to what to do in a case like this." And he handled
> it very well, strictly on intuition.

> I think they've only written one unit prior to going
> out into the classroom. I don't think they have any
> conception of how to apply a unit, they have no idea,
> it comes from experience. But they can't even judge
> how long how much material you can cover in one class
> . . . I think they need to have long term goals. They
> just can't plan day to day.

> Their courses are all theory. I think they really
> need concrete "how to" type things. And I don't
> think they're getting that. I don't think the course
> outlines at the university have it in their curriculums
> at all. I think these professors have been in their
> ivory towers too G-ddamned long.

Alberta saw her role as a buffer of realism between the student teacher's expectations and classroom reality. This understanding largely structured most of her supervisory meetings. Alberta also offered specific teaching strategies, materials, and ways of looking at situations even though she felt the student teachers should have acquired these techniques prior to student teaching. As a result, the supervisory seminar, which Alberta co-led with other supervisors, was largely devoted to filling the gaps left in teacher training. Never broached were the larger issues student teachers daily confronted, such as the quality of life in schools, the reasons behind the curriculum, and the social forces framing curriculum. Rather than serving as a means toward critical reflection, both mechanisms--the supervisory conference and the student teaching seminar--assumed the character and function of remediation.

Other aspects of her supervisor's role also concerned acting as a buffer. This was especially true on entrance to the schools. Alberta was placed in the middle of the historic tensions and competitions of the university and public schools. Caught within a rarely articulated power struggle, Alberta was put into the uncomfortable position of calming the school administrator's fears as well as those of her student teachers.

I see a lot of tensions between the schools and the university. It's almost like the schools are a little fearful of the university. Sometimes I think it's because this state's push for excellence and mastery and the universities are pushing for this in college acceptance, and they push it onto the high schools who push it down into the elementary schools. I was trying to diagnose why this tension occurred and I was wondering if that was the reason, or are they afraid you're there to supervise their school, or their teachers? I've seen that in the beginning. I think some cooperating teachers are real protective of their student teachers and anything bad you say about the student teacher is a reflection on themselves.

Despite Alberta's tenuous role of mediating institutionalized fears as well as attempting to help student teachers re-evaluate their previous conceptions of supervision and student teaching, Alberta liked her job. She reflected none of the potential cynicism her role encouraged. Yet she also wondered about the extent of her influence, since as a supervisor she received little feedback. Moreover, regardless of her assurances that supervision was a helping relationship, student teachers were well aware that she had the upper hand in this relationship.

The University Supervisor Revisited

As in the case with student teachers, university supervisors are largely on their own. Much of the advice, procedures, and feedback Alberta came up with were a combination of intuition, a belief that student teaching should be a time of experimentation, and her own past

experiences with university supervision during student teaching. Although Alberta sought support from other supervisors, there was no such formal mechanism. Supervisors were themselves not supervised.

The problems Alberta confronted were not unique to her alone. Rather, they reflected the structurally embedded power dynamic reproduced by that supervisory relationship. Those being supervised rarely perceive their own power. Rather, they are subject to the subjective and often inarticulated criteria of the supervisor. Supervision, then, is often perceived as an arbitrary intrusion where the practitioner has little choice but to accept the judgment of another in an administrative role. Alberta reminded student teachers of this situation during one of their meetings. But, for the student teacher, supervisors also assume heightened authority; they represent the university. Because teacher certification is also dependent on the supervisor's consent, supervisors are perceived as judges.

In addition, university supervisors are forced to mediate a series of hierarchical relations of which they are a part. These relationships are those between the cooperating teacher and the student teacher, the public school and the university, the student teacher and the university, and the student teacher and themselves. In the

case of the two educational institutions, the university
supervisor often symbolizes university interests. Because
of the tensions between these institutions, the university
supervisor is often placed in the position of defending
university training practices which the school deems in-
appropriate. This is an awkward position, for usually the
university supervisor has no power in determining training
practices. In the case of mediating between the cooperat-
ing teacher and the student teacher, the university
supervisor is often perceived as a common enemy. There,
the cooperating teacher attempts to protect the student
teacher from an intrusive outsider. Each of these rela-
tions symbolize an unequal power dynamic which only serves
to contribute to the student teacher's powerlessness and
dependence as well as mystification of the supervisory
process. Moreover, each relation possesses a notion of
supervision antithetical to student teacher empowerment.
These uncritical images of supervision serve to reinforce
dependency and institutional authority. Although individ-
ual supervisors may attempt to alter these conceptions, the
hierarchical structure in which these concepts arise,
often subvert individual intentions.

A major problem confronting supervisors, then, is the
reification of their role. This reification is partially
rooted in institutionalized supervision practices which

alienate practitioners from participating in their own evaluation. Evaluation becomes an external circumstance and teaching is reduced to a set of isolated gestures to be amended rather than understood. Reification is also perpetuated in training practices. Having no opportunity to investigate supervision, student teachers enter their internships without an understanding of the supervision process or their role in it. Moreover, supervision is viewed as a danger. Self and collective reflection can rarely be achieved given supervision's present state.

The reification of supervision delays serious reflection within the student teaching process. Because of their evaluative power, supervisors rarely approach the more complex issues confronting teachers. The focus on technique over critique largely reduces teaching to mere performance. Supervisors may participate in this simplification because of their acquired role of remediation. Remedial skills which are stressed, however, have more to do with adaptation to bureaucratic norms than the development of a teaching perspective. Moreover, the territorial hostility supervisors confront serves to limit their activities to non-threatening suggestions which neutralize rather than criticize the teaching circumstance.

Although research on student teaching supervision depicts the supervisor as largely a perfunctory and even

disfunctional actor, the underlying power dynamics which create her/his circumstance have not yet been addressed. Much of the problem resides in the absence of a theory of how power and authority operate and become legitimized in educational settings. Nyberg (1981) pointed to this serious omission, illustrating that power dynamics are an inherent aspect of social life. Silk's (1978) review of the educational literature on the concept of authority also identified the apolitical and often vague definitions which serve to reify power. Researchers in teacher education also note this absence. In the case of student teacher supervision practices, Tabachnick, Popkewitz and Zeichner (1979-1980) documented how student teacher powerlessness contributes to their understanding of and expectations toward supervision. In this study, supervision failed to reveal the taken for granted world of the school while encouraging acquiescence and conformity to existing school routine. Like many others, these researchers recommend a radical restructing of supervision to focus on the "whys" rather than the "hows" of teaching. However, the power dynamics supervisors confront, which often frame their activities, must also be considered.

Professors of Education: The Null Hypothesis

Education professors hold a disputed and marginal
place in the research literature of student teacher social-
ization. Whether they appear as a temporary liberalizing
force (Hoy, 1967; Hoy and Rees, 1977), or a conservative
force (Bartholomew, 1976; Giroux, 1980; Tabachnick, 1980),
or no force at all (Maddox, 1968), the irony is that they
authored a significant amount of this research. Their
relation to his research, then, is two-fold: as partici-
pants and as participant/observers. This relationship
may have contributed to the researchers' problematic
stance; many professor/researchers have a vested interest
in confirming their training strategies rather than
critically describing them. The dominance of quantitative
methodology may be a consequence of this research approach,
since quantitative techniques are primarily used to
illustrate the consequences of treatment.

Although the extent of their influence on student
teacher practice is subject to argument, much research
supports the belief that the teaching methods education
professors employ have a greater influence on student
teacher socialization than do their intended goals or the
specific subject matter taught (Bartholomew, 1976;
Sarason, 1963). For example, the lecture format, high
utilized in university settings, is believed by some, to

to be a politically conservative force (Bartholomew, 1976; Giroux, 1980). The social relations which shape this method often encourage student passivity as well as re- produce the view that knowledge is something external to the learner.

In secondary teacher training, the dominance of lecture-oriented instruction has an additional effect. University professors model teaching behavior as well as dispense information. That is, students are simultaneously exposed to pedagogical content and its process, even if process remains unacknowledged. Students leave these courses with little to compare: alternative ways of organizing and presenting curriculum are not considered or experienced. What tends to occur is the replication of the lecture/recitation technique without critical consideration of its consequences. Moreover, a great deal of the university curriculum is inappropriate to the high school setting. Although it may serve as background preparation, its purpose is for individual edification rather than social pedagogy. It remains the student teacher's private dilemma to translate her/his university curriculum into high school education.

A further problem students confront in their univer- sity course work is the separation of educational theory from its practice. Often, theories are dispensed in

lecture/recitation format which allows little insight into the relation theory holds to practice. The consequence of an abstract approach to theory is that theory appears disfunctional and academic. Students must then grapple with issues of critical application, or "praxis", on their own.[10] Unfortunately, student teacher practice frequently resembles "atheoretical doing" where activity is alienated from purpose (Sorenson, 1967; Tabachnick et al., 1979-1980). Moreover, atheoretical doing prevents student teachers from considering how racism, sexism and other social ideologies influence their teaching methods, materials, educational aims, classroom procedures, and world views.

University professors, then, are more likely to reinforce commonsensical notions of teaching rather than to challenge them. Such notions include: teachers know everything, or should; content is more significant than process; knowledge is certain, universial and objective; and, knowing is largely "information" oriented. The lecture format only serves to reinforce these notions, and, in so doing, gives credence to the hidden university curriculum rather than the formalized one.

The hidden curriculum refers to the tacit assumptions, norms, values and beliefs rooted in and legitimized by the social relationships in educational settings (Giroux, 1983). In the university setting, for example, the lecture format

is most conducive to orchestrating the education of large
amounts of students at the same time. Although social
in setting, the lecture hall is rarely a social learning
site. Instead, students must individually and privately
interact with the professor's talk. Interpretation,
contestation, and argument are rarely pursued. The pro-
fessor interacts with the material rather than the students.
The values and norms which develop because of this
approach are rarely articulated, but instead become taken
for granted. That the lecture format may well serve the
needs of the university rather than those of the student
is also unarticulated. Instead, the dominance of this
technique becomes viewed as natural rather than as
problematic.

Specific teaching methods taught and legitimized in
schools of education tend to reinforce this hidden
curriculum. In curriculum development, for example, it is
not unusual for professors to present the dominant paradigm
of curriculum as if it were the only one. The institution-
alization of the Tyler Rationale, for example, an approach
to curriculum planning grounded in scientific management
techniques, which reduces curriculum planning to a
mechanistic set of hierarchically ordered questions,
contributes to the prevailing outlook previously outlined.[11]
Tyler's approach serves to simplify reality; it lends a

false aura of certainty to a complex interpretive social process.

Professors, significantly, rarely allow student insight into their course planning and organization in such a way that students gain practice in educational planning. Their courses take on the appearance of private property, where ideas are doled out to passive students. At the same time, professors may also criticize their students for not being inquisitive enough. Students, however, already schooled in their cultural role, may expect the professor to provide all the answers. This clash of role expectations subtly reinforces the mistaken notion that people come to consciousness on their own. Consequently, social awareness tends to resemble a hidden academic ideal rather than a pedagogical process.

Despite their university promoted appearance, professors are not independent actors. They, too, are subject to the constraints and contradictions of teacher education. State mandated teacher certification laws, for example, frequently shape course offerings. The recent "bad press" plaguing educational institutions across the country is often attributed to faculty while the attack on lower student achievement in compulsory education has recently shifted from the students to their teachers and on to

teacher training personnel.[12] While undergraduate education is also being scrutinized, schools of education are also under attack. Recent movement toward "accountability" and competency-based teacher education also affects notions of both academic freedom as well as the professors' course syllabi.

The low esteem schools of education hold in comparison to other university divisions are another problem education professors confront; the low status education majors hold reverberates back to their professors. Similarily, professors of the physical sciences and social sciences often look down on their education colleagues and perceive education as "contentless" and soft. Compared with other university professors' starting salaries, such as in engineering, math, or business, education professors are at the low end of the pay scale. Outside the university, professors must also contend with the elementary and secondary school administrators' and teachers' images of their life and role. Although many professors do in fact attempt to actively struggle with the relationship between theory and practice and attempt to break their image of ivory tower residents, institutionalized life often subverts their attempts.

Like the schools themselves, professors are now besieged by the social forces they once could ignore. Declining enrollments have led to school of education closings. Job security is no longer taken for granted. Technology's entrance into the public schools has forced professors to retrain and shift interests in order to keep their jobs. Teacher burnout has spread to university faculties. School systems are now training their future personnel, thereby creating a competitive market in teacher training. These pressures have changed the quality of life in educational institutions. Professors, as well as their students, are ill prepared to cope with these historic forces. Nonetheless, students expect to be taught how to deal with urgent practical concerns.

Studies in these areas are yet to be written. Indeed, few qualitative studies exist which describe the world of the university professor. There is research on who is the professor. Steinberg (1974), for example, documents the dominance of male Anglo Saxon protestant faculty in schools of education as well as in most university departments. In schools of education, this group comprise seventy-four percent of the faculty. This research suggests that this group is politically conservative but does not explore the effects this population has on their students' beliefs, and understanding the issues of race,

gender, class and ethnicity. Schon (1983) took a different research perspective, documenting the crisis of professional knowledge and its overreliance on technical rationality. This study focused on the types of learning stressed in university settings and concluded that university educated professionals tend to approach complex problems in simplistic and ineffective ways. Both studies, however, offer mere glimpses into a problematic world. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the social forces which affect the quality of life for education professors, and how these forces in turn affect students in teacher training, studies in this area are warranted.

Harry Probe: Professor of Social Studies Education

For the last fifty-odd years, Harry Probe has been involved in education. Most of his experience is rooted in the university, for it was there where ideas, so important to his own development, freely flourished. Harry feels close to the past. He adamantly spoke of the historical events which shaped his thinking and philosophic orientation. These events affected his life course and informed him of the necessity of critically interacting with everyday life. Still, he was saddened by his awareness that his personal life experiences generationally separated him from his education students.

Unlike many people, I think people do get wiser with experience, if they are capable of growing. But, at the same time, things that highly excite me, my biography, isn't necessarily a part of the life history and concerns of people today.

I'm out of the Nazi regime. I'm out of totalitarianism and communism and so forth, the fascism and hostility to that, and McCarthyism. There were the big bugaboos, the things that oriented the liberal mind. And I've been liberal right up through John Kennedy. His death is a mortal blow to me.

More recently, I think, this thing has lost its vitality and significance. The premise of liberalism has not been realized. . . for myself, I see more promise in terms of critical analysis, the willingness to re-examine the fundamental of the society and its orientation. [12/20/83]

Harry's attraction to the area of social studies education was as much a consequence of his own biography as it was his belief in participating with the moral imperatives confronting teachers. In the early Forties, after teaching two years at a private boys' school, Harry received a Masters of Arts in teaching from a prestigious eastern university. There, his focus was in history and education. But upon completion of the degree, Harry entered the army, serving four years during World War II. After the war, he re-entered the university to pursue a doctorate degree in educational sociology. His education was again interrupted when he re-entered the army during the Korean War. Two years later, he re-enrolled and completed his doctorate degree.

I came out in 1955. There was nobody hiring. And I
took a job, out of necessity, at a small college. I
was dean down there for a couple of years. Then some-
thing opened [at State University]. . . and I've been
here ever since. Never thought I'd be any place that
long. But sooner or later, jobwise, you have to
settle into the bureaucracy.

Harry's role in social studies education has primarily

consisted of teaching required education courses. Although

his course titles have differed, each course's underlying

theme has been the same: that social studies teachers have

a moral imperative to help students critically consider

their role in society. So Harry attempted to effect this

goal by challenging education majors to develop critical

thinking skills. He also recognized that the methodology

of instilling critical thinking was difficult to teach and

to transfer into specific techniques one could take into

student teaching.

This is something that's puzzled me for a long time.
At one time, I even believed it was a matter of learn-
ing certain techniques, a series of steps or logical
skills. And I think this is probably a necessary in-
gredient, but it isn't the complete thing. The longer
I've been at it, the less I've been enamored at logic
and types of critical thinking skills. [But] getting
students aware and getting under their skin. . . making
them aware of the inconsistencies in life, the unfair-
ness of life, the discontinuities in society. Because
I think you have to be debugged on things yourself, be
concerned before you can start the process of critical
thinking.

My frustration with the kids is that they've been in a
cocoon here for four years. Many of their courses
haven't been taught from a problematic point of view
and they haven't had enough time or experience to

distance themselves from their work and see how it
relates to life. I know if I were a student now, I
probably wouldn't understand myself.

But I still think that what I've been doing this year,
adding more and more, is to emphasize the sad state
of knowledge in the field of social studies, the
questionable nature of all knowledge claims, in history
or psychology, that the jury is out on everything.

In quieter times, as the Fifties, say, when things
were getting better and more people were involved in
sharing the wealth, you probably had better excuses
saying everything was good. . . But it's a different
ballgame now.

It was not only a different ballgame, but the players

are also different. Education students of today are as

problematic to Harry as the concept of critical thinking.

He supposed their insulated life experiences often en-

couraged resistance to critical thought. He believed the

process of becoming critical was first of all a personal

one. This led him to focus more on the student's respon-

sibility for assuming a critical stance than on his own

underlying pedagogy.

Unless social studies teachers, one of the few agents
of society, lead students to distance themselves from
the social reality out there, and become critical of
it. . . that's their function.

The only thing I can come up with is critical thinking,
or more recently, emancipatory thinking, transcending
the realities of everyday life. But I know this, from
my own experience, from my own biography, and I'm
committed to it. Transmitting it to young people is
quite another thing.

I still think, even though they don't internally understand it, you have to put a bee in their bonnet, you have to start someplace. You have to make them a little bit aware that the fit between theirselves and their jobs shouldn't be too easy, they shouldn't settle in too soon. And they should be struggling against the realities and habitual practices and all around them. They should be adversarial toward things.

And the trouble with these kids is that they're so much a part of American society, they're so much a part of their recent experience, that everything's looking up for them. And it's hard for them to see this. That's why so few of them are experientially and mature wise really equipped to teach social studies.

It is the individual, then, who decides the import of social and educational values. This decision reflects the ability to view experience from a distance. The Professor inferred that the inability to become critical is related to one's proximity to priviledge; there is no reason to become critical if one benefits from the existing social relations. Age is another factor, for it ideally, at least, provides hindsight, something youth lacks.

These conclusions have affected Harry's ideal images of teacher training. His ideal, rooted in the classical educational model, contends that teacher training should begin at the master degree level, after the student has acquired a strong understanding of an academic discipline and greater maturity. However, Harry spoke about his ideal teacher training by contrasting it to his present circumstance.

We had a department of education when I first came here and then it became a school. And like all bureaucracies, it knows no bounds in terms of expansion and development. . . We've taken our part of the pious

methods of techniques, which is very unfortunate.
There's nothing in methods courses, there's nothing.
It all goes back to the way people's intellectual
processes operate.

We leave subject matter and mastery [to another depart-
ment] and then we train kids who have a certain
orientation and then try to humanize their knowledge
and make them aware. . . of the differences between
adolescents as a captive audience and college students
with their maturity and motivation. We try to ease
the transition into the real world here, but most of
the action is in the substantive fields. And I don't
think you get in the history department someone who's
vitally interested in the values of education. They're
telling their story in a very specialized way.

I think that if the School of Eduation is willing to
address this problem, it would really have to do it
other than in strictly methodological ways. I think
we've exaggerated techniques and method far beyond what
it's capable of doing. Somewhere along the line,
values and morality have to be brought back into the
educational process. . . Subject matter will not do it
by itself.

The School of Education should be. . . a force that
reinserts values. It would probably be a graduate
level enterprise where you'd have college scholars from
the various disciplines who were fundamentally teachers
and concerned with the meaning and use of knowledge.

It's astonishing, in the size of the school we have,
so few people are critical of the organization and
organization of schools of education, are remotely
aware of the technological, quantitative biases that
prevails in the educational world. We're all going
down the accustomed routine, repeating our own social-
ization and passing this uncritically on to future
practitioners.

Ironically, Harry's ideal image of teacher training largely
mirrored his own education. There, scholars of academic
disciplines entered schools of education. However, the
problem of how one learns to become a teacher is largely

ignored in his supposed model, for people would enter as
teachers ready to do battle with epistomilogical and
ontological concerns. In this sense, Harry's concerns over
teacher education are largely philosophical. In his mind,
the task of education should be the reconstruction of ideas
rather than practice.

Problems arising from the separation of educational
theory from academic content within teacher training, which
Harry referred to, take another form when considering the
next stage of separation felt by education students, i.e.,
the relation between educational theory and the practical
context of schools. Harry believed the historic tensions
between these worlds have the potential to serve rather
than delay critical consciousness. So he gently encouraged
students to take an adversarial role toward school practice,
a role he believed he also assumed.

> I don't think the school of education becomes servants
> of the public schools. I don't think they're in the
> job to ease the adjustment, the transition. Because
> then you merely perpetuate the idiosyncracies of the
> traditional practice.
>
> I've always felt more of an adversarial role toward
> the school, but do it in a gentle way, not attacking
> personalities, or individual schools, but try to in-
> still an impatience, I suppose, or an adversarial
> attitude toward existing arrangements. But I also said
> I would never teach in the public schools right now.
> I couldn't teach. I'd have a heart attack the second
> day, I think. The tasks were unrealistic.

I'm not interested in training technicians or skilled transmitters, or masters of the latest technology in education. They'll adapt to that naturally, I'm trying to woo them away from that, indoctrinating them in the other direction, so to say. The best you can do is give them, put a bee in their bonnet, as it were, to create a certain amount of tension between their expectations and the job realities, so they won't adapt too easily in the long term.

But I don't know whether it's right or wrong to turn someone's horizon upside down before student teaching. But if all I did was make people feel good about themselves, and they go out and perpetuate the inane, then I wouldn't be doing my job. Teachers must be moral people. . . and be able to become outraged against society.

For the professor, the primary question confronting those engaged in teacher training is: how does one instill critical awareness in future teachers? It is a problem Harry had yet to solve, for the social forces which inhibited or delayed critical thinking are both institutionalized and internalized during the teacher socialization process. Although age and experience may encourage a critical outlook, Harry also realized his students have acquired neither. In this sense, Harry is confronted with the educational system's "raw material". They have their bonnets. It is his work to supply the bees.

Perhaps because Harry believed that teacher training's overreliance on technique over critique was part of the problem, he did not look to technique as both a problematic as well as a clue to the dilemma of critical thought. However, his technique, rooted in his own educational

biography, was largely taken for granted. Harry's techni-
que mainly depended on the socratic method of dialogue
where he raised the questions which reinforced his course
material. These materials were articles which confronted
and explicated the social construction of reality. Stu-
dents were then expected to read and discuss these articles
on a theoretical level. Herein may lie the primary
contradiction of his courses. For although Harry attempted
to provide an intellectual framework for his students, he
did not provide an experiential base from which to inter-
act with these articles' meanings. Students were not
guided to make personal connections in their own biography.
The distance between academic knowledge and social exper-
ience was thus reinforced. So although Harry fluently
articulated the problems of education in his classes, he
has yet to develop the strategies necessary for the
students' realization of these problems or how to transfer
this new awareness to inform their pedagogical decisions.

Harry's students may very well leave his course with
a vague feeling that all is not well in the schools. These
students, however, are now confronted with yet another
level of problems, unaddressed in Harry's method courses:
what do they do with this information? How should it guide
their classroom activity? The philosophical problems Harry
raises are problems of individual consciousness rather than

those of pedagogical action. Once confronted with the realities of school life, students have a nagging notion that critical awareness is essential, but have no clue as to its integration into classroom life, except for discussing it in the manner of their professor. In this way, the import of Harry's classes quickly fades as the more immediate problems of school life take hold.

The World of the Professors Revisited

It may well be that the work of education professors constitute many of the dilemmas of teacher education. The arenas of social struggle in which professors are a part include: identifying the distance between and resistance to pedagogical theory and practice; defining the training relationship between the university and the schools; experiencing the generation gap between themselves and their students and, hence, confronting the boundaries of socialization; problematizing technique and critique; defining and organizing a relevant training process; and modeling teaching behavior. These arenas, however, are not isolated variables; rather, they are constitutive relations, or dialectical movements within teacher education.

Student resistance to the professors' educational theories has many sources. If a theory is of not immediate

use, it is likely to be rejected. What then is the prac-
tical context of theory? The answer depends on one's
educational context. The practical activity of public
schools and their dependence on common sense, or recipe
knowledge, often renders theory irrelevant. Universities
are different; their practical activities take another form.
There, theoretical assumptions and operations constitute
communicative competence. Students are expected to become
familiar with aspects of pedagogical theory. Problems
arise when students perceive that this learned theory has
no practical context except to participate in university
classroom discourse. Education professors must contend
with the varying degrees of animosity toward "doing
theory".

Moreover, students' unfamiliarity with educational
theory encourages their perception that any abstract con-
cept is educational theory. Part of this confusion rests
with the professor's closer relationship to the ideational
rather than the practical world of public education. The
work of professors is largely in the realm of ideas and
research. Their discussions often reflect summarized
bodies of knowledge of which the student is unaware. Both
abstract ideas and theory appear as accomplished conclu-
sions rather than as stipulations, subject to debate and
in need of further research. In short, theoretical

considerations as well as abstract ideas appear separate
from and more significant than the practice they attempt
to describe. This is frustrating for students: they
expect their training to be practical and concrete. Con-
sequently, theory is tolerated but rarely investigated or
applied.

Another consequence of the separation of theory and
practice is found in the distance between the social be-
havior appropriate to university and school settings. The
roles actors assume in each context affect the practical
consequences of theory. The problems embedded in each
educational setting qualitatively differ and begin with the
student's participation in each site. Students are mandated
by law to attend schools while the university student's
participation is both voluntary and costly. This circum-
stance significantly shapes the social relations of each
setting. Characterized by different forms of social be-
havior and social control, each setting is not so much an
instructional site as it is a cultural site (Giroux, 1983).
This point is relevant when considering the relationship
of theory to practice, for the student's tolerance level
toward theory is slightly higher in university settings
than in school settings. It is the university student,
however, who experiences the disjunction between theory and
practice most severely when she/he leaves the university

for student teaching. Unless students have had practice with applying theory, theory becomes cultural baggage to be packed away. In these circumstances, a professor's influence is again severed.

The generation gap between the professor and student is a significant factor shaping communication. Unless it can be bridged, common ground shatters, as if it were made from egg shells. Professors may intimately connect theory to practice because it has been their life work but be unable to explicate and demonstrate its relation to students. This connection may be so much a part of their biography that it becomes assumed. For the student who has yet to acquire the age and experience of her/his professor, the connection theory holds to practice must be limited to vicarious experience and may not be internalized. Unless this generation gap is made explicit, communication becomes a distorted series of misinterpretations. In this sense, confronting the generation gap is also confronting the boundaries and circumstance of socialization. It is an existential problem of both history and perspective.

A further problem professors face is methodology. This concerns the definition and organization of course content and process, modeling teaching behavior and, balancing technique with critique. It is a social problematic which the professor confronts, largely dependent on

the consciousness of the professor, that is, what the professor selects as a focal point of awareness. If critique over technique becomes the focus, students are likely to experience moments of elation and despair. Hence sentiment, rather than action, becomes primary. If technique over critique dominates, activity devoid of intentions characterize the teaching act. Establishing the dialectical movement between critique and technique, then, is a problem of praxis. Professors are faced with the problem of organizing purposeful pedagogical perspectives and activities as well as including their students in their pedagogical decisions.

There remains an existential dimension to the role of professors in teacher education that is largely unexplored in the research literature. That is, professors have the task of self confrontation as well as that associated with their role as social agent in teacher socialization. The problem is one of modeling the behavior demanded of students as well as creating participatory structures which encourage students to interact with their education. Like student teacher socialization, the relation between these two competing movements must be critically researched. These are the relations social structure and biography hold in the work of education professors.

Significant Problems

In order to understand how the significant others perceive their significance to the development of the student teacher, it is necessary to analyze their respective roles and educational context. What seems most apparent, from these interviews is that the contexts of the school and the university are in constant contradiction over the purposes and goals of student teaching. Although each group of professionals agrees that teaching practice is an integral part of learning to teach, the nature of this practice remains in dispute. Consequently, it becomes the student teacher's task to construct meaning from each settings' demands and expectations.

When the perspectives and life experiences of significant others are sought, they suddenly become human actors involved in the drama of education. Their individual circumstances are both unique and shared, although each feels misunderstood, isolated, and largely acting in a vaccum. Their individual significance, however, is in direct relation to the role they bear; as agents of socialization, they lend credence to and legitimize particular views of professional life, and, as such, provide structure and coach the student teacher's role. But it is the student teacher who must receive and negotiate her/his

emerging identity, for significant others also agree that teaching is an activity highly dependent on the teacher.

Nonetheless, student teachers are dependent on significant others to provide the social cues for appropriate and sanctioned behavior. But the social cues significant others provide contradict one another. For example, cooperating teachers offer student teachers the most consistent cues during student teaching. Student teachers are expected to maintain continuity during the cooperating teacher's temporary leave. Moreover, student teachers are expected to act as their cooperating teacher does. If the cooperating teacher is creative, the student teacher is expected to be creative. If the cooperating teacher lectures and tests, the student teacher must act accordingly. Either way, the student teacher is largely perceived as a replacement. Like their cooperating teachers, student teachers feel the bureaucratic pressures to cover the material, maintain a quiet classroom, and, appear in control. These bureaucratic pressures reinforce a teaching practice which, regardless of personal intent, maintains the status quo.

The university personnel, however, offers the student teacher another set of social cues which are disfunctional in the school setting. Professors may encourage student teachers to take an adversarial role toward school norms

but give no support or strategies for this supposed be-
havior. So although the student teacher may be aware of
the problematic features of school life, they have no social
guidelines to act accordingly. Student teachers may be
encouraged by their university training to view their
internship as an experiment. They are also confronted with
a predetermined classroom structure which may allow little
space for experimentation. Moreover, their training may
have ignored the teaching methods necessary to carry out
experimentation. Having nothing in the way of methods to
fall back on, the student teacher usually settles into the
predetermined structure.

School administrators' social cues are received only
if the student teacher has overstepped her/his boundaries.
Administrators expect student teachers to arrive in their
schools culturally literate. Cultural literacy is the
ability to assume appropriate school behavior which means
adhering to school values and norms when in the school
setting. Administrators expect student teachers to read
social situations and act accordingly. What administrators
do not take into account, however, is that the process of
becoming socially literate is a social, not an individual,
process. It is social practice, characterized by public
trial and error, which is the main means of acquiring this
skill. However, if student teachers do not act accordingly

to school values, administrators are apt to blame university training rather than the student teacher. In this sense, student teachers are not seen as responsible for their intentions and activities.

Although each significant other has a role in the teacher training process, all are critical of teacher training, but for different and contradictory reasons. No two actors can agree on common problems. Again, each criticism is a reflection of a different role in the training process. Administrators argue that university based teacher training does not prepare student teachers to adequately interact with the school culture. Whether student teachers are criticized for poor academic training or for insensitivity to students' developmental needs, the university, rather than the student teacher, is seen at fault. For administrators, the fundamental problem of university based training is that the university setting promotes a false sense of freedom not operable in compulsory settings. The university supervisor and the cooperating teacher are more concerned with the actual teaching techniques the student teacher can demonstrate. They believe the student teacher should enter the internship with these skills rather than learn them on the job. Both groups believe teacher training largely ignores concrete methods. In fact, all practitioners whose work takes them beyond the university

criticize the training's emphasis on theory. University professors, however, take a different stance. They may desire student teachers to be change agents. Their belief that methods are best learned on the job, however, contradicts this desired role; the available methods are conservative and this is what the student teacher may tend to utilize.

Another common criticism is that student teaching teaches replication of past teaching models rather than creation of progressive teaching approaches. Everyone involved, at least on a philosophical level, desires the student teacher to be different than previous models. Although this concern is continually articulated, no one offers specific strategies which might challenge replication. However, as has been previously shown, structural constraints encourage replication and delay change.

The distance significant others have from their own student or beginning teacher experience makes walking backward to find their student teacher shoes difficult. They expect of the student teacher what was rarely expected from them. In this sense, significant others experience a generation gap which is rarely articulated, except to say, "the trouble with these kids. . ." kind of statements. Although significant others expect student teachers to learn their perspective; this shift of perspectives is rarely

reciprocated. On a formal level, the student teacher is expected to assume the stance of a student when involved with the significant other. Although student teachers are expected to act professionally, they are rarely treated as professionals. Instead, they are expected to be dependent on the directives of those who wield the power. Consequently, this dependency relationship, more assumed that explicit, is characterized by an unequal power dynamic which frames the student teacher's powerlessness.

The dependency student teacher socialization implies, occurs because significant others possess information, or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979) which the student teacher has yet to acquire, but needs in order to survive in the social situation. As noted earlier, cultural capital refers to the stock of common knowledge which guides and sanctions social behavior. Practitioners call it common sense or intuition. Yet, this knowledge which serves as an orienting frame is not neutral but supports ideological interests. Herein lies its relationship to dependency. As provider of cultural capital, the significant other's power is that of ownership of definition (Bowers, 1984). They can define the nature of social relations, frame meanings, and, concurrently limit consciousness of altern-natives. They inadvertently legitimize images of

professionalism which appear not so much as historically rooted, but as naturalized and neutral social practices.

However, social relationships characterized by dependency are not one way streets. The distinction between provider and dependent is often blurred by mutual need (Memmi, 1984). Although significant others may attempt to control the student teacher's experience, they, too, may be dependent on the student teacher as a source of validation, identity investment, revitalization, or job security. The student teacher's success or failure is also a social circumstance. Her/his performance is a reflection of all involved. Significant others, then, have a vested interest in student teaching and this interest often incurs mutual dependency.

The significance of the significat others, however, is greater than the cultural capital they possess and distribute. For cultural capital and the ideology it presents is not so much an orchestrated concert as a cacaphony of noise (Therborn, 1980). Like socialization itself, it has a dialectical character, capable of exposing as well as rendering invisible the contradictions it seeks to normalize. Significant others present not only their theory of the world (cultural capital), but also their actual experience (cultural practice). At times, the contradiction between their ideal cultural capital, that is, what they

would like to have happen, versus their cultural practice, what actually happens, allows the student teacher insight into possibilities and areas of tension which might otherwise remain obscured. Student teachers are then provided instances of contrast and contradictions. Awareness of these contradictions is usually expressed by the student teacher as, "learning what not to become". The practical activity and quality of life significant others negotiate and experience have the potential to raise the student teacher's awareness.

By exposing the contradictions between cultural capital and cultural practice, it is now possible to reformulate the primary questions these cases raise. The traditional question, rooted in quantitative research, asked: Who is most significant in the student teacher's socialization process? This question simplified a complex social reality. The relevant questions which the next chapter will raise are: What social forces mediate the student teacher's socialization process? How do these social forces appear? How are they understood by the actors? How might student teacher socialization be considered in light of these questions?

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Chapter Two.

[2]"College Linked to Vietnam War," New York Times, 2 September 1984, p. 24.

[3]The "Grandfather Clause" is an alternative means for acquiring teacher certification. Although no longer in operation, it was actively invoked during teacher shortages during 1950-1982. This clause recognized work experience as a substitute for additional course work and student teaching. In addition, it allowed states to award additional teacher and administrative certifications with minimal educational course work in order to meet the personnel demands of school systems. However, in the state this study was carried out, the grandfather clause expired in 1982.

[4]The administrators interviewed in this section worked in Smithville High, a site used for State University's student teachers. During fieldwork for this study, Smithville High was also visited weekly to observe a third social studies student teacher whose final case was not included in this study. However, because of the general nature of these interviews, it is appropriate to include these Smithville Administrators as student teachers were always present there.

[5]Until 1980, when State Certification Boards across the United States began scrutiny and reorganization of teacher certification procedures, university supervisors determined their individual supervision procedures. The state in which this study occurred, for example, recently mandated supervisory procedures as well as the standards on which certification eligibility is to be judged.

[6]See Appendix for the listing of Teacher Certification Standards. It is also significant to note the flexibility of these state standards. Rather than mandate rigid criterion and mandatory teacher board examinations, the state issued broad guidelines.

[7]For an overview of supervisory models, the reader is directed to C. Darier, "Supervision in Historic Perspective" in Supervision: Human Perspectives, Second Edition, eds. by T. Sergiovanni and R. Starrat. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 2-15. For a more critical discussion of the actual practice of clinical supervision, see K. Zeichner and D. Liston. "Varieties of Discourse in Supervisory Conferences." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, 1984.

[8]The Teacher Policy Board consists of School of Education faculty who oversee and evaluate undergraduate teacher education programs.

[9]The current pay scale for education teaching assistantships range from $1100 to $2200 each semester. Assistantships provide tuition waivers but not university fees. Any teaching assistant is required to take a full time graduate course load. It must also be noted that education teaching assistants are the most poorly paid graduate students across the country. Assistants in the "hard" sciences, for example, receive $4400 to $6600 each semester.

Although many graduate students recognize the value of professional training which the assistants provide, working conditions are often exploitative. Organized attempts for pay raises and unionization are frequent but unsuccessful.

[10]This concept of application is closer to the term, praxis. The term praxis signifies purposeful human activity and implies the simultaneous concern for reconstructing both theory and practice, or theoretical doing. In this sense, praxis is a critical activity, involving, ". . . problem posing and problem solving (and) transcending or surpassing of the existing social situation." (Greene, 1974:78)

[11]The Tyler Rationale is the dominant approach to curriculum development in the United States. It is a means-end production-oriented process where the educators set goals, select subject matter and teaching methods, and then evaluate the student's progress toward mastery of these goals. The four ordered questions which Ralph Tyler devised are: 1) What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?; 2) What educational experiences

can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?;
3) How can these educational experiences be effectively
organized?; 4) How can we determine whether these purposes
are being attained?

[12]The best known and disputed government report which
evaluated public education is A Nation At Risk: The
Imperative for Educational Reform. This commission surveyed
the nation's schools, colleges and universities. Although
its methodology was not made explicit in the issued report,
the commission found United States education "mediocre".
They cite declining achievement test scores and college
board scores, functional illiteracy statistics and the
complaints of business and the military. In terms of
teacher education, the report criticizes the "over-
abundance" of education methods courses and recommends
education majors take more content courses. These authors
also lament teacher's alleged academic skill deficits and
recommend that practitioners have more involvement in
teacher education.

C H A P T E R   VII

TENSIONS, MYTHS AND BAGGAGE: THE CULTURE OF
STUDENT/TEACHER

The ethnographer has two responsibilities: to present
the participants as they present themselves, and to
contextualize the participants' experience by identifying
patterns and themes which in some way reflect the larger
culture of which they are a part. This chapter concerns
the latter task; it addresses the movement between biography
and social structure in teacher education. While biography
frames each actor's perceptions of experience, social
structure provides the cultural rules and roles within
which the actor navigates. Taken together, biography and
social structure allow for the production and reproduction
of school culture and the cultural images of the teaching
profession.

A common theme identified in this study was the
actor's taken for granted acceptance of the distance
between their intentions and activities. Each possessed
an ideal practice which tended to be more significant
than its realization. In some ways, the concept of "should
do" dominated over actual activity. This distancing
strategy often normalized the cultural tensions embedded
in the social structure of schools. Although each

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participants' experience was in some way framed by the cultural tensions of school life, each tended to value her/his intentions (cultural capital) over her/his activities (cultural practice). A shared consequence of this valuing process is that the social circumstance of school life was reduced to private concerns. The participants' values of individuality and autonomy, promoted by the social structure, significantly neutralized the institutional tensions which shaped their work. So while these participants' experiences demonstrate the many ways school culture is characterized by webs of recriprocal social dependency, shared images of the teacher's work and world significantly sustain a cult of individuality and a veneer of autonomy, ultimately endowing the teacher's intentions with a desire for social control.

Cultural Tensions in School Culture

To understand the actual world of the student teacher, the context of the school must be considered. Although each high school is in some ways different from the next, shared institutionalized characteristics promote cultural continuity between schools and shape the work of teachers. Four shared characteristics are explored: 1) Social control is a significant feature of school life; 2) Experience is compartmentalized; 3) Subject areas define classroom

structure and the work of teachers; and 4) Schools are hierarchically structured (Berlack and Berlack, 1981; Descombe, 1980;1982; Freeman, Jackson and Boles, 1983; Waller, 1961).

These structural characteristics, which frame the social relationships within schools, have given rise to the particular cultural tensions in school life. Cultural tensions encompass the contradictory movement between school ideals and its practice. Whereas ideals concern the school's goals and intentions, practice concerns the actual activities and quality of daily school life. However, the pervasive belief that abstract ideas should somehow guide social experience (Bowers, 1984) tends to obscure the contradictions represented by these tensions. Consequently, cultural tensions often appear natural and became taken for granted. Before describing these cultural tensions, a brief overview of their structural roots is required.

Within the United States society, public education is a compulsory experience for students. This fact is remarkably ignored by the bulk of research literature on student teaching. While compulsory education, in and of itself, is not disputed, the power struggles arising from this condition are significant and largely missing in the research literature. The context of compulsory education,

in conjunction with the process of how students are organized there, may account for much of the antagonisms between teachers and students. These social antagonisms, commonly acted out as power struggles, require the teacher to spend a significant amount of time orchestrating the practice of social control. Teachers must control large groups of students in order to get through classroom routine. This emphasis on social control occurs because compulsory schools are a mass institution. Serving large numbers of students by segregating them by age or grade, and then dividing them into "managable" groups of twenty to thirty students each, requires a set of shared ground rules for social behavior. Waller (1961) has termed the traditional class a crowd with an audience-like role. That is, the student crowd primarily listens and receives the teacher's instruction. When crowds act, however, they become a mob. In this sense, issues of social control become heightened; avoiding mob-like responses consumes much of the work of teachers.

Although compulsory education may insure exposure to education, it quietly informs students that choice is an adult experience. Moreover, student captivity leads to resentment. The most immediate and concrete object of this resentment and hostility is often the teacher, whose classroom appearance represents the most accessible

authority figure. Consequently, another part of the teacher's work is to disperse these antagonistic sentiments. How this is done, however, varies. But power struggles between teachers and students are a significant feature of classroom life and dramatically shape the work of teachers.

The second characteristic of the school is that its organizational structure compartmentalizes social experience so that it appears separate and individual. In high school, students are in continuous movement, attending classes, sitting in study halls, and eating. Movement signifies closure as well as fragmentation. However, since both movement and activities occur in crowds, the student's world is fundamentally social. Everhart (1983) contends that students spend an inordinate amount of time waiting, getting ready to move, and moving. These non-instructional activities consume over forty-five percent of the student's and teacher's day. Although the remaining instructional time is also spent in a social group, the student's supposed relationship to content becomes individual. It is the student who makes sense from the material. Moreover, because these instructional blocks of time are discrete units, the total experience of school and the bodies of knowledge it values and promotes are perceived as separate and unrelated. Experience becomes compartmentalized.

The compartmentalization of experience is best appreciated when understood in relation to the third characteristic of schools: subject areas define classroom structure and the work of teachers. Each subject area establishes a particular classroom ethos. The social relationships in language arts classes, with its emphasis on discussion and communicative competence (reading, writing, listening and speaking) significantly differs from the history class with its particular emphasis on historical events. Whereas the history class appears to have a concrete subject content, usually chronologically ordered and governed by specific events presented by the text and mediated by the teacher, the language arts class appears much more dependent on subjectivity. In language arts, expression comes from within. In history, the content appears external to the student. Consequently, opinions and creative expression are much more tolerated and solicited in language arts classes than in history classes. Yet, regardless of these differences, the socially contrived reduction of bodies of knowledge into discrete and isolated components functions to alienate knowledge from its complex historical and human roots. Knowledge assumes the appearance of a product rather than a social process, and, in this sense, is reified. In the case of both the language arts and history teacher, getting through the curriculum in

a limited amount of time becomes internalized as the
teacher's goal, despite the fact of its institutional
origin. The press for time, then, is as much a determiner
of the subject areas perimeters and ethos as is the material
itself.

The fourth characteristic of schools is that they are
hierarchically ordered. Although students may rarely locate
teachers within this hierarchy due to the teacher's seemingly
autonomous classroom presence, the teacher's actual power
to determine instructional objectives, course content, and
classroom rules is limited by the larger school and
community setting. But, the classroom environment appears
as a private world between the teacher and the students.
While students are well aware of their individual power-
lessness and lack of choice in schools, their segregation
from the teacher's world, encourages them to reduce school
hierarchy to the classroom experience.

These structural characteristics have given rise to
particular cultural tensions which shape the work and world
of teachers. These tensions include: while schools are
characterized by social control, learning depends on self
motivation; schools have the task of developing the whole
student while structuring knowledge and experience
compartmentally; schools have the task of preparing students
for adulthood while providing no practice in responsibility;

schools value questions and discussion but structure quantifiable evaluation; schools prepare students for democracy in an authoritarian style; schools are a social experience where individuals appear isolated; and schools are hierarchical while appearing to be determined by individual teacher personality. While these tensions shape the work of teachers, they also frame the student's understanding of the teacher's world.

Student teachers are confronted with this predetermined but familiar school structure. In this arena, they struggle to carve out their own teaching territory, while at the same time are confronted with institutionalized preconceptions and definitions of their territorial role. Although as students they internalize these cultural tensions, when they become student teachers, these tensions assume a different meaning. The isolation inherent in the activity of teaching is qualitatively different from the isolation of the student's experience. Without a crowd, the teacher's isolation simultaneously suggests individual autonomy and an overwhelming burden of responsibility. As such, the isolation inherent in the activity of teaching often encourages student teachers to perceive these tensions not so much as institutionalized features but as personal shortcomings. Student teachers, approaching their circumstance as a sink or swim experience, believe they

must make it on their own. Consequently, asking for help,
despite their student status, is understood as a weakness.
This isolated stance is substantiated by the cultural
myths embedded in the teaching circumstance.

Cultural Myths About the Work of Teachers

Cultural myths arise from the experience of teachers
and students within the context of social control.
Throughout this study, three cultural myths were consistently
articulated by all of the participants, and therefore
constitute a cultural pattern. These myths are: 1) Every-
thing depends on the teacher; 2) The teacher is the expert
bearer and distributer of cultural information; and 3)
Teachers are self made. These shared views, while affecting
each participant in different ways, were evoked to somehow
illustrate their experiences and intentions.

While the function of cultural myths is not to explain
the underlying conditions and development of the teachers
existence, but instead to rationalize and legitimize her/his
condition, these myths do provide a semblance of order,
control and certainty to the teacher's world. With the con-
text of social control, order and certainty are significant
psychological and institutional needs. Cultural myths
provide a set of ideal images, definitions and cultural
rules for behavior. Most significantly, these myths

contribute to the profession's taken for granted views of authority, power and autonomy.

The cultural myths embedded within the teaching profession are highly individualistic and in this sense place both undue power and undue blame on teachers (Anyon, 1979). They explain individual culpability, and justify the image of the "super-teacher". By focusing on the individual, these cultural myths obscure, by rendering inconsequential, the constraints and sanctions which circumscribe the teacher's world. Supporting the appearance that the teacher is a world unto herself/himself, these myths transform the teacher's isolation into a valued autonomy. This sense of autonomy allows the teacher to feel a semblance of control over the cultural tensions embedded in school life.

Although each myth concerns a social process--control, curriculum and the self--they function as a way to cloak the social world of school. Each of these myths, cultivated by the student experience, and legitimized and valued in teacher training and by school personnel, tends to deny the webs of mutual dependency which shape the social relationships in schools. Taken together, these myths reduce the complexity of school life and the work of teachers and students to that of giving and receiving instruction. Although schools have substantial instructional

responsibilities, they must also be considered as cultural sites. While, these cultural myths promote a false sense of teacher autonomy and control, in the case of the student teacher, they tend to delay a critical understanding of how power and social dependency shape school life and the work of teachers.

Everything Depends on the Teacher

The teacher's isolated classroom experience is a significant condition which cultivates this myth. Within these classroom walls, the teacher's immediate authority and responsibility to orchestrate classroom ethos and student learning create a pressure for the teacher to appear and strive to single-handedly control everything that occurs within the classroom. This institutional pressure, internalized by students and teachers alike, underscores the shared expectation for teachers to individually control their class. To all involved, outside aid in this endeavor is perceived as a sign of professional incompetency (Descombe, 1980; 1982). The popular axiom that unless the teacher establishes control there will be no learning, and its corollary, that if the teacher does not control the students, the students will control the teacher, are significant features of this myth.

Classroom planning is approached as a significant ingredient for social control and student learning. The underlying assumption that planning insures success, cultivated in both the larger social world and in the particular world of teaching, creates an expectation of control. Like teaching itself, planning is also a solitary activity. It is the teacher's instructional role to initiate, motivate and structure the course of student learning, all of which arises from the lesson plan. The commonly accepted approach to evaluating the teacher's instructional activities, the objective test, substantiates the view of student learning as a product of the teacher's efforts. Learning is approached as something which can be measured, contained, quantified, hence controlled. As such, it is the teacher's responsibility to present the curriculum in such a way that the students can both "know" and demonstrate mastery.

As teachers are the center of this classroom universe, they are attributed and often self-attribute success or failure. In this scenario, everything (student learning, the curriculum, and classroom control) is within their control. The students are cast as a passive and captive audience. Both teachers and students are socialized to expect these conditions. So when things do not go according to plan, self blame is a significant outcome, especially

for student teachers. Moreover, all of the professional
significant others interviewed in this study had observed
and tried to assauge student teacher self blame.

Throughout their student teaching, both Jamie Owl and
Jack August consistently blamed themselves for "bad"
classes. With each poorly orchestrated class, their chance
to prove themselves diminished. Bad classes symbolized
lost opportunities. It reminded both of their inability to
"think on their feet", an attribute both considered to be
a measure of effective teaching. Other shared reasons for
bad classes concerned lacking "tricks of the trade". A
bag of tricks, however, reflected more than the student
teacher's desire to apply an interestingly stimulating
formula which, in some way, would motivate students. This
wish also symbolized the vaguely nagging notion that there
must be a formula "out there" and it was up to the
individual to find it. They needed to believe that teachers
could control student learning with the right trick. For
both Jamie and Jack, these tricks proved elusive.

Although the cultural myth that everything depends on
the teacher functions to locate individual culpability as
well as success, in some ways this myth also acts as an
escape hatch to the very culpability it seeks to locate.
The veteran teacher, Roy Hobbs, is an example of this.
Roy perceived his students as a hostile audience. He

believed that he did everything within his power to teach his students history. Student resistance to his efforts, then, were beyond his control. What he could do was appear to be in control and preserve a classroom ethos which sustained his image of being in control. Because Roy believed his performance depended on classroom order rather than on student learning, Roy could in fact sustain this myth. Student teachers could also bypass self blame while sustaining this myth. If the class did not proceed smoothly, both Jack and to a lesser extent Jamie, could blame it on their "pseudo" status. They could maintain that everything depended on real teachers, not student teachers, who no one seemed to take seriously, and were really only students with a status lower than substitute teachers.

One of the most problematic features of this myth is that it denies the webs of mutual dependency and power relationships which characterize and give shape to classroom life. Throughout this study, classroom students were constantly negotiating for shared classroom power. The student teacher was continually struggling over the social issue of who and what would control the curriculum, attempting to exert autonomy in her/his individual teaching style, and attempting to achieve a social congruency of shared perceptions over commonly experienced classroom events. These student teachers attempted to establish their

own classroom routine, yet at the same time, desired to be free of routine in order to experiment. They were constantly surprised at the distance between their perceptions of classroom life and the curriculum versus those of their students, and, to a lesser extent, cooperating teachers. Often powerless to shape the interpretations of students, both student teachers were continually incredulous over student response, and attempted to control that response. Students, on the other hand, actively sought to control their classroom life and the activities of the student teacher. Part of this control resided in the student's collective ability to provide alternative interpretations of shared classroom life which in some way challenged the student teacher's authority. Achieving a common frame of reference, then, became a significant yet unexpected activity of the student teachers. Regardless of the actual negotiation occurring with students on a daily level, each student teacher continued to struggle with control issues. This push for control was partly encouraged by the cultural myth that everything depends on the teacher and is concurrent ideal that control is within the teacher's realm.

The Teacher as Expert Bearer and Distributer of Cultural Information

The problem with the social expectation that teachers "know" everything about their subject matter is that the underlying assumptions supporting this expectation are rarely examined. Two problematic questions arise: what constitutes knowing?, and, how does knowing relate to teaching and learning? These questions, although privately considered, are rarely publicly analyzed in either teacher training, school settings, or in the research literature on teacher education. In each educational setting, knowledge, or more accurately, cultural information is presented as an accomplished fact in the form of an objective conclusion. As an objective conclusion, knowledge appears separated from its social, historical, and cultural roots and, hence, is presented as value free. Consequently, cultural information is reduced to a set of discrete and isolated units which the student somehow absorbs. Knowledge is presented as external to the knower.

As one-time students, teachers have internalized a view of knowing shaped by classroom life. The combined effects of compulsory education and university training encourage the perception that correct and incorrect answers govern the world of knowing. Both student teachers in this study were concerned with possessing concrete knowledge.

Although they struggled against the idea that since
teachers have the questions, they obviously must have the
answers, each student teacher felt guilty when confronted
with their lack of knowledge. This form of knowing con-
tributed to the objectification of knowledge, the teacher
and the student. Moreover, the objectification of knowledge
subtly supported the myth of teachers as experts.

The structure of the school and university cultivate
the cultural myth of teachers as experts. In school
settings, the departmental structure, reflective of the
university specialization model, contributes to the
fragmentation and uneven status of knowledge. Different
departments hold unequal levels of prestige. Both the
students and teachers of academic or honor courses hold a
higher status than teach and take remedial and vocational
courses. Jamie Owl, for instance, felt that because she
taught an honors English class, she should appear as "smart"
as the reputation of her students. Teaching an honors class
tended to accentuate her pressure to know. Jack August,
who taught the middle tracked courses, often blamed
students for their position.

This hierarchical separation of curriculum affects the
quality of students' and teachers' lives. In Jack August's
high school, there were two teacher's lounges; one where
the vocational teachers congregated and the other which was

primarily used by teachers in academic departments. Unless mandated to attend faculty meetings, these two groups of teachers rarely mixed socially. They constituted different and separate worlds.

In university settings, different departments carry different levels of prestige. At State University, education majors are often stigmitized. Within Schools of Education, another hierarchy exists, elementary education majors are perceived as simplistic because their training is general and child-centered, whereas secondary education majors because they attempt to become experts in one field of knowledge, are seen as more intellectually sophisticated.

Socialized by this academic structure, both student teachers in this study described the pressure of having to know the answer to any student question. They concluded that a successful teacher, by quickly thinking on her/his feet, should be able to automatically answer any question. Regardless of whether they knew or not, each felt compelled to answer and appear certain. Questions which they did not know but felt they should have known because these questions represented what they categorized as common knowledge, continually reminded each of all that they did not know. However, the pressure to know, experienced by these student teachers prevented any attempt at cooperative inquiry. Not knowing became a private concern. It also allowed them to

individually consider the deeper question of what constitutes knowing, although this concern also remained private.

In both cases, the student teachers did question their respective curriculum's relevancy. These questions were triggered by personal discomfort with the material as well as their awareness of student resistance to the curriculum. In the case of Jack August, he vaguely felt his students should "know" United States history, but had difficulty articulating this assumption and in justifying his mandated approach. While wanting his students to question the knowledge residing in their text, Jack also felt the institutional pressure to cover the material and prepare his students for the surface comprehension tests. Although he attempted to present alternative historical perspectives which in some way challenged the text, these articles often assumed, from the student's perspective, text-like qualities. This was because regardless of the material, there was no difference in Jack's presentation style. Jack, however, believed it was not so much the articles or his presentation as the student's school socialization which prevented critical learning. Both Jack and Jamie saw the school structure as a significant impediment to progressive learning and teaching.

Although Jamie Owl was also concerned with questions of relevancy, her deeper concern was with the nature of knowing. Jamie preferred to raise grand questions to every question and circumstance encountered. In her mind, reality could be experienced but rarely known. That is, because the social world appeared so richly complex, she experienced the existential dilemma of never grasping that world. Instead, investigation and questions, rather than mastery and judgment, characterized Jamie's approach to the problem of knowing. Her students consistently rejected that style; Jamie interpreted this resistance as pressure to assume traditional teaching strategies which emphasized social control.

Both student teachers believed that problems of knowing could be bridged by teaching experience. This assumption supported a product orientation to possessing knowledge. They felt teaching experience would somehow provide them with a deeper background and insight into their subject matter and how to present it. In their minds, the veteran teacher "knew" the material backward and forward. Again, they both imagined the successful teacher as being able to think on her/his feet. Instantaneous response characterized the knowing teacher. Experience, like planning, was seen to be the key to success and control.

The view of the teacher as expert knower and distributor of cultural information tends to reinforce the image of teacher individuality and autonomy. As expert, they have learned everything and, consequently, have nothing to learn, since this image assumes knowledge to be limited and unchanging. This view of knowledge obscures its social basis. Moreover, knowledge is reduced to a possession thereby inferring territorial rights; the process of coming to know dissolves into acquiring specific external things. In this sense, the emotional and social changes that accompany learning, and the element of reflection which allows learning to become a part of the learner, is never considered. That is, how one comes to know and how this new understanding affects the quality of one's life remains obscured. Knowledge then, is presented and received as if it were an object to be consumed.

The cultural myth of teachers as expert bearers and distributors of cultural information contributes to the reification of both knowledge and the knower. This obscures the deeper issues of knowing as a problematic process, subject to the interaction of personal experience, social reality and mediated by interpretation. Because they are rarely provided the opportunity to critically interact and build upon their prior experience, students and teachers become reduced to passive spectators. This

myth also takes its toll on the teacher's emotional life.
In the case of student teachers, the condition of
uncertainty, a profound feature of contemporary social
and classroom life, and hence, a significant feature of the
student teaching circumstance, becomes viewed as a threat
to their wish for autonomy and authority. Consequently,
social uncertainty becomes privatized. Neither Jamie Owl
nor Jack August had or sought sanctioned opportunities to
explore the emotional toll of uncertainty in teaching,
learning, or knowing.

Teachers Are Self Made

The cultural myth that teachers are self made serves
different and contradictory functions. First, this myth
provides a simple explanation to the problem: How are
teachers made? It is a highly individualistic explanation
which reinforces the image of the natural teacher as one
who is "born" into the profession. This natural teacher
somehow contains talent, creativity, intuition and common
sense, all of which combine to heighten the power of the
subjective self. At the same time, however, these
qualities deny the social forces and institutional context
affecting the teacher's development.

More than any other cultural myth, the prevailing
belief that teachers "make" themselves function to devalue

teacher training and educational theory. Implicit in this myth is a suspicion towards the university and the knowledge it sustains. Consequently, this myth supports an ethos of anti-intellectualism. That teachers tend to devalue their training is well documented by the research establishment (Fuller and Brown, 1975; Lacy, 1977; Lortie, 1975; Maddox, 1968) although there is no agreement as to why this devaluation is so pervasive. Two factors are commonly attributed to the disfunction of teacher training: the discontinuity between university-based educational theory and the practical demands of classroom life (Hoy, 1967; Hoy and Rees, 1977; Polansky and Nelson, 1980; Sinclair and Nicoil, 1981; Sorenson, 1967; Zevin, 1974), and the inability of university training to critically challenge students' prior socialized conceptions of the teacher's work (Bartholomew, 1976; Descombe, 1980; Giroux, 1983; Hooper and Johnson, 1973; Lacy, 1977; Mardle and Walter, 1980; Tabachnick et al., 1979-1980). However, this myth neutralizes all arguments on the effectiveness of teacher training, for if teachers are self made, there is nothing to learn. Inherent here is the notion that everything which makes a teacher comes from within. Consequently, it is a myth which supports the use of common sense.

Additionally, encouraged by the actual work conditions of teachers, this myth elevates the individual while abstracting her/him from the social whole. Within the

private world of the classroom, teachers might appear autonomous and self made to both their students and themselves. Moreover, because teachers are largely on their own in classroom life, and may see requesting support from their colleagues as a sign of professional incompetency (Descombe, 1982), they tend to perceive themselves as responsible for their behavior. This belief was clearly articulated by Edith Daring. Her colleagues were perceived of as weak and uncreative and Edith avoided them like the plague. She alone felt responsible for all that occurred in her classroom, and no one could help her but herself. From a different vantage point, although Roy Hobbs had taught for seventeen years, he explained his teaching discomfort by stressing he did not have what it took to be a teacher. In Roy's mind, as well as with chairperson Erma Tough, and principal Thomas Maxwellhouse, teaching was a personality feature one either possessed or did not possess.

One's personality, perceived of as a product of the self, was often attributed to teaching success in the minds of these professionals. Teaching style was viewed as an extension of the personality, and, as such, solely determined by the self. Indeed, teaching styles distinguished one teacher from the next and, while an outcome of individuality, were also considered an important

source of autonomy. Significantly, all the people in this study believed teaching style could never be taught. Rather, they perceived it as self constructed, and as a function of both experience and personality, mediated only by personal choice. That is, a teaching style, though self derived, represented a choice of values. Supposedly, what the individual most valued was represented in her/his teaching style.

The student teachers in this study also believed it was up to each to construct their own individual teaching style and that their teacher training could not aid them in this endeavor. While Jack August thought he could develop his own style by combining the best of what he observed, he also maintained that his teaching style must come from within but did not expect it to emerge until he experienced the real conditions of teaching. Jamie Owl's experience was different. Because she continually struggled over the meaning of teaching, the problem of teaching style was a problem of pedagogy. However, for these student teachers, their training could not aid in this personal development. Indeed, because their teacher training had been eclectic, stressing pedagogical choice, both struggled to be seen in their own right.

This professional emphasis on teaching style, however, tended to obscure both the social basis of teaching and the institutional pressure for teachers to control students. In reality, the activity of teaching is most influenced by the mutual social relationships between teachers and students. Waller's observation of fifty years holds true today:

> It is around [the teaching] relationship that the teacher's personality tends to be organized, and it is in adaptation to the needs of this relationship and the qualities of character which mark the teacher are produced (Waller, 1961:383).

Within this compulsory relationship, both conflict and social dependency are inevitable features; it is here that the teaching style develops. Although one's teaching style does draw on the individual personality features, it is not so much an individually determined product as it is a complex movement between the teacher, the students, and the school culture. Although one's teaching style can become routinized, as in the case of Roy Hobbs, it is also subject to change, as with Edith Daring, and, to a lesser extent, the student teachers.

The myth that teachers are self made continues to place both undue power and undue blame on teachers; while at the same time it cloaks the antagonistic social relationships and teacher isolation by valuing personal autonomy.

Like the other myths, this myth also provides the final brush strokes on the portrait of the teacher as rugged individual. If one cannot "make the grade", one is not meant to be a teacher. Above all, fate appears to determine whether or not a teacher is made, for the stuff of teachers concerns internal qualities that are attributed to birth.

> Natural teachers apparently include those whose
> enthusiasm enables them to muddle through in
> spite of mistakes, and those who, by virtue of
> ballast and inhibitions, make no mistakes
> (Waller, 1961:410).

Consequently, theory has no role because answers come from within and are tempered and mediated by experience, common sense, and natural talent. In this sense, the outcome of this myth is mystification of the process of socialization.

Yet the other side of this myth supports the belief in the power of the individual to be a self-teacher. Again, the social world may contribute to one's understanding, but it is up to the individual to make sense of the social world on her/his own. That is, people come to consciousness individually. This assumption is congruent with the student teacher's training experience. Both student teachers believed they had taught themselves everything they needed to know. Being self made, however, heightens the values of control and autonomy, and devalues

the roles which dependency and the social world play in contributing to personal development.

What tends to give each of these myths power is the role school structure plays in framing personal experience. Bowers (1984) noted the irony of people perceiving their decisions and selves as autonomous when in fact they are part of the social whole and under the sway of cultural authority. However, this false sense of autonomy and control embedded within these cultural myths are not merely ironic: they are outcomes of the structural features of school and an attempt, in some way, to neutralize the cultural tensions arising from this very structure. The fact that teachers are socialized as students and return as adults to this same setting to assume the teacher's role may account for the power these myths hold within both the school and the larger social world. These myths, then, are a significant part of the cultural baggage the student teacher takes into student teaching.

The Student Teacher's Cultural Baggage

The student teacher's cultural baggage is filled with a student's understanding of the work of teachers. Consequently, it is largely filled with tacit understandings of classroom life, tempered by the experience of each individual biography. This cultural baggage is both

individual (private) and social (public). However, because
the stuff of this baggage pertains to being in the
student's world, its utility to the student teacher's
circumstance is problematic. It contributes to a profound
role conflict as the student teacher struggles to carve
out her/his teaching territory while also attempting to
individually construct a teaching style.

Although the student teacher is surrounded by teachers
and a university supervisor, the student teachers in this
study perceived the problem of becoming a teacher as an
individual dilemma. The cultural tensions and myths,
previously discussed, as well as their previous student
experience appeared to be strong factors in sustaining
their accepted isolation. Consequently, these student
teachers rarely approached their professional network or
other student teachers with their real concerns, since
these concerns fundamentally challenged the routinized
work of teachers. That is, both Jack August and Jamie
Owl had difficulty reconciling the contradictory role of
being teacher and authority figure. Both believed
students would personally benefit from education if
education was noncoercive, participatory, and relevant.
These ideals represented the promise of education. Their
realization, however, was problematic on a number of levels.

Structurally, the institutional push for social control, course requirements, and the condition of class size appeared to make coercion a significant activity in the work of teachers. Both Jack and Jamie tended to rigidly define the complex issue of social control. They assumed teachers were either the police officer, or the liberator. In dichotomizing the teacher's role, they defined how they would not choose to act. This was referred to by both student teachers as "learning what not to become". This in itself became coercive, although, because neither approved of this type of learning it was devalued. More significantly, their negative experience lent few clues as to translate their desires into action.

Both desired to create a classroom ethos which valued student participation. However, the immediacy of classroom life, which valued quick thinking, made reflection on the problem of student participation impossible. Participatory learning was within their control, but neither student teacher had the research or evaluative skills to identify the appropriate methods and materials which would aid them in structuring participatory learning. While both wanted their students to take responsibility and call out ideas, neither recognized the leadership role this process requires; nor did either understand how her/his behavior contributed to subverting this shared goal.

The problem of curriculum relevancy appeared to be a
way to realize participatory learning. However, both
student teachers received a predetermined curriculum.
Whereas Jack August's circumstance was more controlled,
both student teachers were concerned with their classes
"falling behind". Because it was their responsibility to
cover this mandated material, falling behind somehow
reflected on their competency. Their shared dilemma, then
was to find a way to make the seemingly irrelevant,
relevant. Both student teachers were, at different times,
ambivalent toward their teaching material; both had
difficulty in making the curriculum appear relevant.

Creating a participatory and relevant classroom were
significant goals each student teacher desired to work
toward. These goals were rooted in their own student
experience, when they formulated what they wished had
happened to them as students. Whereas, at times Jack
August blamed his student teaching circumstance (ritual)
for preventing his real teacher side from appearing, Jamie
Owl often blamed the school structure and herself (reality)
for impeding her goals and emergence of her teacher side.
Significantly, both student teachers believed experience
would in some way teach them how to be teachers. How this
experience would transform their "mere" activity into a

powerful pedagogy, however, was a question neither con-
sidered because both perceived experience as a product
rather than as a critically developmental social process.

Approaching experience as an individual product rather
than as a problematic process is a significant consequence
of each student teacher's educational biography, and is
related to the product orientation of the school structure
sustained by its cultural myths. In each myth, possessions
or products are necessary to maintain the teaching
territory and the autonomy so highly valued. The view of
experience as process, however, becomes delayed because of
the profound fragmentation of experience and knowledge
in their respective biographies. Although each student
teacher did experience the webs of social dependency as
so much a part of both the student and the teacher's
circumstance, neither possessed the understanding and
language to explore their experience. Consequently, their
student-oriented cultural baggage, while insuring
familiarity and providing a foundation of cultural rules,
could not critically inform their practice or provide the
lens to render the taken for granted school setting as
problematic.

Conclusion

This study has described the world of two student teachers. It specifically described the movement between the student teacher's biography and the social structure of the school. It has also examined how this movement contributed to both the student teacher's quality of life and her/his developing images of the work of teachers. Although this study's focus was the ethnographic present, research was supported which posits socialization as a developmental, dialectical and interactive process (Apple, 1982; Anyon, 1979; Becker, 1964; Bowers, 1984; Lacy, 1977; Lortie, 1975; Tabachnick, 1981; Tabachnick et al., 1979-1980; Zeichner and Grant, 1981).

What distinguished this study's findings from the majority of research on student teacher socialization is its ethnographic focus and the critical assumption that teacher socialization is not so much a problem of technique as it is of critique. Here, critique encompasses the movement between methodology and theory. In this approach, the purpose of critique is to simultaneously consider the whys and hows of teaching by contextualizing the work of teachers. In short, critique requires the dual activities of action and reflection by exposing contradictions and taken for granted assumptions. Critique involves intentionality.

The problem of teacher socialization is not an individual problem, although it is individually experienced. Rather, teacher socialization is a social problematic characterized by contradictions and cultural tensions embedded in the school structure. By taking an ethnographic approach, this study sought to restore individual experience and the social context in which the individual moves, elements significantly absent from the research literature. Ethnographic research requires the researcher to enter the participant's world and become familiar with the participant's perspectives and culture. In reconstructing such a world, this study was shaped by the cultural patterns and themes which have emerged from and compose each participant's experience.

Findings supported the work of those researchers who located the problem of becoming a teacher within the familiar structure of compulsory schooling and university training (Berlack and Berlack, 1981; Descombe, 1980; Klein and Pereria, 1970; Lacy, 1977; Maddox, 1968; Petty and Hogben, 1980; Waller, 1961; Zeichner and Grant, 1981). These researchers argued that it was not the discontinuity between teacher training and the classroom which made student teaching problematic, but rather the continuity between these institutions and the specific roles teachers and students assume within these worlds. The continuity

in experience may account for each student teacher's
overreliance on her/his previous educational biography
to inform her/his classroom practice.

For the student teacher, both the student and teacher
role were quite familiar and firmly rooted in her/his
biography. But while the student's role was experienced
first hand, until student teaching, the teacher's role
was vicariously known from the student's perspective. As
was previously described, this student bound understanding
of the teacher's role was highly simplistic; it reduced the
work of teachers to instructional and presentational tasks.
Because the student teacher's role was primarily classroom
bound and their participation in the teacher's world was
still marginal, these previous images of teachers were, at
times, reinforced during student teaching. However, the
familiarity of school culture also encouraged a belief that
teachers could be change agents. Consequently, these
student teachers re-entered the school with desires, goals
and beliefs that they could make a difference. In this
sense, the student teacher's image of the teacher concerned
measures of "good" and "bad" ways of being in the class-
room. Continuity in educational experience was a
significant feature shaping these images.

Contrary to research findings which argue that student
teachers leave student teaching more dogmatic and

authoritarian (Campbell and Williamson, 1973; Copeland, 1979; Doyle, 1975; Hoy, 1966; Hoy and Rees, 1977; Morris and Morris, 1980; Yee, 1968; Zevin, 1974), this study observed student teachers attempting to struggle against internalizing the institutional push for social control. That is, although their activities tended to support social control, their philosophy of education remained liberal.   A significant problem which is in need of research then, is the problem of individuals valuing intentions or goals over activities. While each student teacher struggled to be seen in her/his own right, each was strongly influenced by institutionalized demands for social control.

Professional significant others influenced each student teacher, but in complex ways. Their significance was not in modeling teaching behavior because as student teacher responsibility increased, observation of teachers decreased. Moreover, each student teacher's biography was filled with previous teaching models. Rather, their significance was that in some ways, professionals were seen to mirror the teacher's world. As had been noted before, this mirror was two ways; student teachers were confronted with what they did not want to become while teachers were confronted with their own teaching pasts. However, this study did not find cooperating teachers as

solely representing coercive forces molding student
teachers in their own image. Rather, they were people with
whom the student teachers had to both contend with and
negotiate over the teaching territory they both shared.
The relationship between student teachers and their
cooperating teacher was characterized by a hidden
reciprocity and social dependency. This reciprocity, while
rarely encouraging critical dialogue, challenged each
student teacher to consider not only her/his immediate
present, but also future images of the teacher's quality of
school and personal life. For cooperating teachers, the
student teacher promised revitalization, although the
form of this revitalization differed.

Although few studies have researched the relationship
between students and student teachers, this study found
that students profoundly influenced the student teacher's
immediate classroom style, curriculum approach, and self
image. Students challenged the student teacher's per-
ceptions and values concerning the use of power and
authority, and were often viewed by the student teachers as
a source of their authoritative behavior. The student
teacher's activities were usually shaped by their class-
room students' collective negotiational strategies.
Although student teachers did look to their students as
measures of success (Friebus, 1977), criteria for teaching

success were rarely considered or articulated by the student teacher or significant others. Instead, success was viewed as idiosyncratic and, hence, difficult to control.

Much of the research literature on student teacher socialization reflects the student teacher's concern with the question of authenticity in student teaching (Friebus, 1977; Iacconne, 1963; Maddox, 1968; Nelson and Amhed, 1972; Ralston, 1980; Wright and Tuska, 1968). How authentic is the experience? Like the student teachers in other studies, these student teachers believed student teaching was an artificially contrived experience. "I'm not a real teacher", or "When I'm the real teacher" were common sentiments used to describe their perceived limitations. Significant others were also in agreement; they perceived and received student teachers as primarily learners who learned by trial and error and were in need of protection. Significant others also maintained that student teaching does not make a teacher. Neither the student teachers nor their significant others authenticated the student teaching experience. The student teachers in this study believed their powerlessness was more a function of their status than a consequence of school structure.

Each student teacher felt she/he had little power to effect the changes each desired. However, unlike the

studies which question the authenticity of student teaching, this study found authenticity was not so much the problem as was the student teacher's understanding of power, control, and autonomy. The cultural meaning of power in teaching, affected by the internalization of these cultural myths, tended to sustain a false sense of power, control, and autonomy. These features of the teacher's work were not understood within the context of compulsory education, but, instead, the student teachers approached the problems of power and autonomy as questions of individual values. By reducing the problem of social control to a question of individual values, these student teachers' experiences became privatized. However, when their activity conflicted with their personal values, this conflict was attributed to their status and perceived of in the individual sense of learning what not to become, rather than investigating the social forces which tended to distort and subvert their goals.

Although at times, student teaching was viewed as more ritualistic (something to get through) than real (authentic experience) the circumstance of being in the classroom "on their own" did provide the student teachers with a semblance of the teaching experience their training dramatically lacked. But with the experience's emphasis on the world of the classroom, student teachers gained

little practical insight into school as social structure and the teacher's place within that world. Any insight gained was primarily second hand and vicarious. In the case of Jamie Owl, where "work to rule" dramatically challenged the teacher's routinization of work, Jamie began to consider the economic world of teachers, an aspect student teachers are rarely in the position to directly experience. Jack August also gained some insight into the problems of teacher's work through his personal relationships with other teachers. Yet these emerging understandings of the teacher's world were personal; neither the experience of student teaching nor their contact with other teachers challenged the student teachers to critically articulate what it was they experienced and how this experience shaped their understanding of and activities in teaching. Consequently, a significant observation of this study is that the experience of student teaching is visceral, reacted to rather than reflected upon.

Problems in the Education of Teachers

Despite its constraints, the experience of student teaching does provide glimpses into the problems of teaching in the public school classroom. While it provides an arena of visceral experience, it significantly lacks an

arena of critical reflection and guided self-scrutiny on
the nature and meaning of teaching in a compulsory setting.
That is, no sanctioned or legitimate opportunities exist
for the student teacher to explore the social, emotional,
and cultural dynamics of their work and the process of
becoming a teacher. Moreover, teacher training does not
provide a critical language in which the student teacher
can begin to name the nature of experience.

In exploring the relationship between the student
teacher's biography and the social structure of the school,
three significant and related problems confronting teacher
education have emerged. They are: 1) the problem of
teaching as a social relationship while it appears to be
an individual act; 2) the problem of knowing as an
existential, social and political problematic while it
appears reified; and 3) the problem of uncritical
internalization of school culture and the work of teachers.
Each of these problems encompass the movement between the
school structure, the social self and the curriculum.
While each of these problems is individually experienced,
together they represent a social process which becomes
devalued and obscured. The cult of individuality,
buttressed by tacit assumptions of social control in a
compulsory setting, contributes to the privatization of

shared experience. Consequently, each of these problems concern issues of mutual dependency and power in teacher socialization.

Teacher education has the critical responsibility of rendering biography and experience as problematic so that prospective teachers can begin to socially investigate their process of social and self development within the larger culture. While it is beyond the scope of this study to recommend specific strategies toward this end, two aspects of social investigation and one recommendation for teacher training are suggested.

First, it is recommended that prospective teachers participate in long-term radical therapeutic relationships where life experience is articulated and analyzed in relation to how individuals affect and are affected by the social setting, people, and personal experience. This recommendation concerns an investigation into biography and socialization. While both individual and group therapy are suggested, this researcher strongly recommends a radical therapeutic perspective which takes into account the political reality of which we are all a part. In this way, problems of internalization, socialization, and the role of dominant ideologies in personal development can be addressed.

Second, it is recommended that prospective teachers engage in a four year critical course of study which investigates how race, sex, class, age, ethnicity, and proximity to power and privilege in this culture shape social identity, world view and academic disciplines. While multicultural education is a significant element in this recommendation, a study of how social reality is constructed and systematically maintained is also crucial. This course of study should stress research and evaluation skills, writing and speaking, and critical analysis skills.

Finally, an additional recommendation concerns the training process itself. It is recommended that each year of training contain a significant fieldwork component. It is suggested that the prospective education major, prior to student teaching, be assigned year-long responsibility for a high school classroom throughout the four years of training. Each student should work with the same group of students during the four years of high school. In this way, education majors can investigate and experience the cumulative affect of classroom life on both teachers and students. It is recommended that this course have a team-teaching structure for the first two years, and individual responsibility for the last two years. Moreover, this course should be outside the traditional high school curriculum and concern a study of adolescents in societies.

It must be stressed that this recommendation does not concern observation in schools. Instead, it stresses the need for education majors to engage in long-term classroom teaching prior to the student teaching semester. By the time student teaching occurs, life in the classroom should continue to be a significant aspect of this experience, but practical experience in the operation of school, beyond the classroom walls, should also be a substantial part of the full time student teaching semester. Consequently, the student teacher should have structured opportunities to work with teacher unions, parent groups, neighborhood associations, and the myriad of other social agencies which affect school culture. In this way, the student teacher can begin to experience a more complete under-standing of the complexity of school culture and the work of teachers.

A significant problem identified in this study was that student teachers lacked the critical understanding and language to analyze their circumstance. While these recommendations are not complete, they hold the potential for self scrutiny and social consciousness, significant skills delayed by public schools, teacher training and particularly student teaching. These recommendations underscore the need to investigate how the problems of

social dependency, power, autonomy, and control,

significantly frame of the work of teachers.

POSTSCRIPT

The Role of the Fieldworker

While reading the case study <u>Teacher Thinking: A
Study of Practical Knowledge</u> by Freda Elbaz, I was struck
by the personal voice of the researcher. In her last
chapter, the author described her relationship with her
participant in terms of mutual needs; although in different
ways, each needed the other. This mutuality, which
characterizes all research endeavors, led me to consider
the relationship between myself and the student teachers in
this study.

Although I made my position known, that of the
inquiring researcher, all of the participants in this study
also of my background as a high school teacher and a
doctoral student in education. They respected my knowledge
and experiences and hoped that I could help them. When it
became evident that the type of feedback I gave was in the
form of questions which sought to elicit detailed ex-
perience and clarification, the student teachers eventually
looked forward to my questions and consistent presence.
Occasionally, my questions would illuminate issues, spark
problem solving, or clarify situations. They could talk
out their problems. In many ways, I became a sounding

board as well as mirror to their self-knowledge. I also
became someone with whom they could discuss their real
issues without fear of adverse consequences. Finally, my
presence and interest seemed to validate their struggles,
while their presence and interest validated mine.

The participants were also important to me. Most
obvious, without their voluntary participation and patience
with my questions, this study would not have been possible.
Their self observations were the basis for this study.
Achieving an interview atmosphere characterized by open and
honest communication was necessary to the quality of this
study. In order to establish trust, I had to "prove"
myself to each individual as they had to prove themselves
to their classroom students.

The comparisons between the student teaching ex-
perience and writing a dissertation were also striking.
Both of us were engaged in an important ritual or rite
of passage which concerned aspects of reality and ritual.
For the student teachers, their internship symbolized the
culmination of their training, a time to discover, experi-
ment, and demonstrate within specific confines what they
had learned as well as what they had yet to learn. My
situation was similar. I needed to prove to myself, my
peers, and the larger academic community by capabilities
and potentials. Through demonstration, experimentation

and discovery, I completed this research project. Both the
student teachers and I participated in a mandated pro-
fessional rite of passage. We accpeted the constraints,
struggled with the limitations, negotiated with our
significant others, and engaged in a social journey of self
knowledge.

Both the student teachers and I were in a vulnerable
position. We both had critical audiences, the first and
foremost being our individual selves. Failings, successes,
backfires, and attempts were personally felt and publicly
experienced. Our vulnerability often encouraged us to cloak
insecurities and privatize doubts for our respective status
often required the appearance of certainty. As for our
peers engaged in the same process, peer solidarity was
difficult to achieve. Institutional values of individuality
and autonomy often prevented authentic relationships. It
did seem easier to talk with those already initiated; people
who had completed teacher training and dissertations were
not as frightened by doubts. More often than not, however,
creating a facade of ease rather than publicly dealing
with vulnerability, was the cultural rule we followed.

For the student teachers, their classroom students
were the most vocal and immediate critics of their
practice. These classroom students easily communicated
their frustrations and confusion to the student teachers.

Negotiation and social dependency characterized this
relationship although the student teacher had insitution-
alized authority where the students did not. Although
my dissertation committee had a significantly different
role than those of classroom students, it, too, made their
demands and confusion known with each succeeding draft.
At times, while I felt the pressure to appear certain in
my stance, negotiation and mutual dependency also
characterized my relationship to my committee.

   All of us were, at times, trapped within our respective
academic perspectives and socialization. We all experienced
problems of knowing, acting and being in a setting which
presumes objective knowledge, specific methods, and
applicable theories. The cultural myths described in this
study are as prevalent in higher education as they are in
compulsory education. In my case, naming and analyzing
these myths encouraged a more critical understanding of and
transformation in my emotional life. But just as the
student teachers suspected there might be an easier way,
a method only known to the experienced and only mastered
through some mysterious ritual, so, too, did I search for
the definitive work on how to write a dissertation. The
easy way eluded us both.

   While the comparisons between writing a dissertation
and student teaching are important, the isolation of the

dissertation process, particularly in its final stage of writing, separates me from my participants. This isolation held both positive and negative consequences. Without hermetically sealing myself in my room, this study could not have been written. Most significantly, my dissertation is as much a self-journey as it is a social product. The doubt, frustration, and self-scrutiny accompaning this work, then, are a significant part of my journey. Because I described a process in which I, too, participated, this study required that I continually return to my past, as a student, a student teacher, a teacher, a cooperating teacher, a teacher educator, and a researcher. In this sense, the people described are both familiar and known. The negative effects of this isolation concern self-doubt and loneliness and the nagging fear that my social life somehow passed me by. It was difficult not to feel deprived during the two years this study consumed.

Finally, I return to the method of ethnography. Although I had read the literature on ethnographic research prior to and during this study, there was no way to prepare myself, beyond actually experiencing the demands of time, thought, self-scrutiny and struggle this methods entails. However, with the modest hindsight I have now acquired, I reaffirm my respect for this research method

and continue to believe that ethnographic research is an important road which can lead to educational understanding.

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APPENDIX   A

APPENDIX   A

Teacher Certification State Standards

Standard I   The applicant is knowledgeable in the field
                    of certification.

Standard II   The applicant communicates clearly,
                    understandably, and appropriately.

Standard III   The applicant designs instruction to
                    facilitate and encourage learning con-
                    sistent with the needs and interests of
                    the learners and maintains a sense of
                    order and purpose in the classroom.

Standard IV   The applicant uses the results of various
                    evaluative procedures to assess the
                    effectiveness of instruction.

Standard V   The applicant is equitable, sensitive, and
                    responsive to the needs of learners.

APPENDIX   B

APPENDIX   B

The Road to Becoming a Teacher

At State University, three separate and required
components lead to secondary education teacher certification.
They are: 1) nine courses in an academic subject area,
which constitute an academic major; 2) seven education
courses, which   constitute an academic minor; and 3)
student teaching. Each component has its own setting;
academic courses are taught in university departments,
education courses reside in the school of education, and
student teaching occurs in a high school. Consequently,
it is the education student who brings continuity to these
separate components, while the student teaching semester
theoretically provides the context where academic subject
matter is integrated with education theory and methods.

In many ways, the State Certification Bureau sets
the tone for certification eligibility by mandating
particular "standards" or guidelines for each educational
component. Although this Bureau has not mandated specific
academic course titles, these standards may be viewed as
an operational framework in which educational course work
must fit. For example, all secondary education students
must have a certifiable academic major. The history major
must take one course in United States history, ancient

history, world history, and one other country's history. They must also have a course in historical research and a course which demonstrates the relationship history holds to other fields of knowledge. The English major must take courses in United States, English, and world literature. They are also expected to take a course in drama, writing, language acquisition, and a course which demonstrates the relation English holds to other fields of knowledge. These examples constitute what the State has titled knowledgability in the field of certification.

These academic courses, owned by their respective departments, are not geared to the education major. Rather, they are general liberal arts university classes. As such, their goals, like other liberal arts courses are to introduce the student to the academic field and "broaden one's horizons". Consequently, no attempt is made by the university professor to model her/his teaching behavior, involve the student in pedagogical decisions, or, relate the course content to the high school classroom. Indeed, the particular concerns education majors bring to these courses remain private concerns.

Although particular education course requirements are mandated by the training program, these courses have been developed to meet State certification standards. Regardless

of one's academic major, all education students take one
course in the work of teachers, educational psychology,
instructional planning and assessment, language
acquisition, the high school classroom, and cultural
sensitivity. In addition, each academic major takes a
corresponding methods course. It is this course which
theoretically relates one's academic content to its high
school application. Of these seven courses, three courses
have an observational component mandated by the State.
Students are sent into schools to observe classroom life.
However, because of the classroom structure of high schools,
it is rare for education students to become involved in
classroom life at this stage. So, although education
students may practice teaching skills in their university
settings, it is not until student teaching that education
students first experience, on a prolonged level, classroom
teaching.

Student teaching is the final component of the
certification process. Although there is no required
sequence for academic and education course work, all these
courses are usually completed before student teaching.
However, at State University, although there are no pre-
requisites for entering teacher training, to qualify for
student teaching the student must have an overall grade

point average of 2.5. Student teaching is a full time experience, lasting approximately twelve to sixteen weeks. The State requires 300 classroom clock hours and these hours are divided between the activities of observing, assisting, and taking on full responsibility for the classroom. Students, however, are required to spend the majority of their time assisting and taking on full responsibility. Usually, student teachers begin observing for the first two weeks, taking full responsibility for their first class by the third week, assuming their second class by the seventh week, and, finally, taking their last class for their last three weeks. In addition to student teaching, student teachers are also required to attend a university seminar. Part information, part support, this seminar is the only connection student teachers have to the university while practice teaching.

By the time of this study, each participant had completed their academic major and educational course work. By the first interview, each student teacher expressed her/ his excitement and concerns of being "on her/his own", finally having the opportunity to really teach. Throughout their experience, each student teacher continually measured their prior course work to their current situation. Their criterion for their previous course work were shared: applicability determined course work relevance. Although

each student teacher supposed her/his course work was
relevant to their personal student development, all student
teachers in this study had difficulty applying their
previous course work to their present situation.