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A NATURALISTIC STUDY OF STUDENTSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF PRESERVICE TEACHER TRAINING FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATORS

A Dissertation Presented

by

KIM C. GRABER

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1988

School of Education

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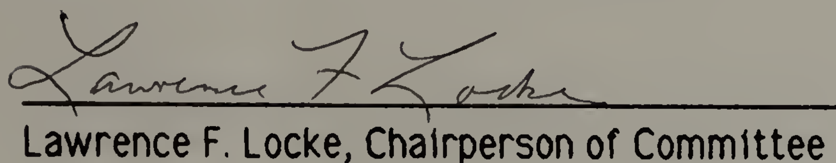

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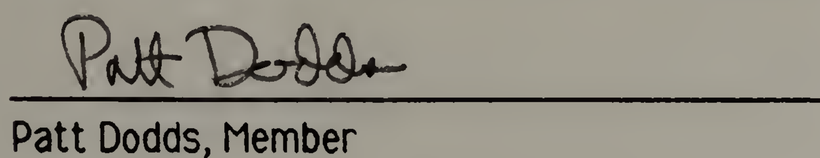

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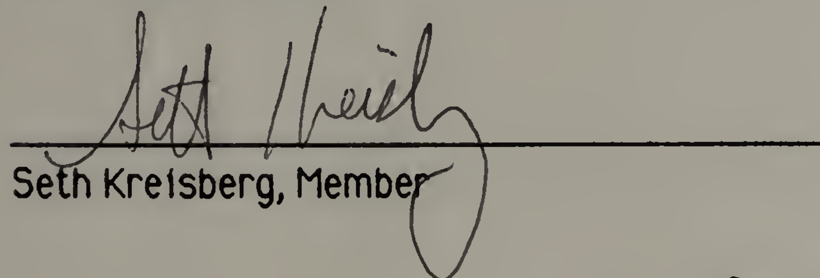

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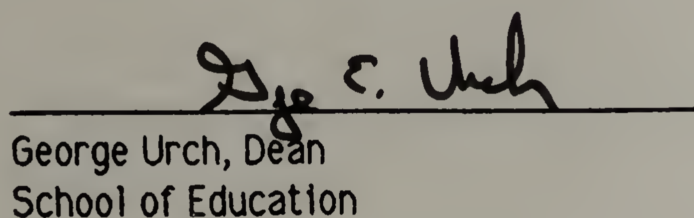

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Numerous individuals have contributed not only substance to this dissertation, but also have provided continuous encouragement throughout the arduous process of proposal writing, data collection, data analysis, and finally the writing of this document. The final product is not only the work of one individual, but the efforts of many. First, I must thank the students, administrators, and three observed teachers at Carrington College who allowed my presence in the research setting and provided me with the necessary data to complete this study. Their willingness to trust me with many very personal events was remarkable and the kindness they exhibited will always be appreciated. Without these individuals, this study most certainly would not have been possible.

Second, I would like to thank my committee members who provided me with encouragement, support, and continuous feedback. Larry Locke's guidance, copious suggestions, critical feedback, accessibility, and expert editorial skills have substantially contributed to this document. He has served both as a dear personal friend and as a valued mentor in every sense of the word. His influence on my work will most certainly remain with me throughout my career. Patt Dodds provided the impetus necessary to conduct this study, and was particularly helpful whenever I became discouraged and needed to "debrief." Her friendship, encouragement, and sense of humor contributed to all aspects of my graduate training and made the process of dissertation writing an enjoyable one. Seth Kreisberg provided many helpful suggestions, insightful ideas, and was particularly

valuable in the development of a strong proposal for guiding this study. His presence on the committee provided an essential balance which would otherwise have been absent.

Third, I would like to thank several special friends I feel so fortunate to know. Each has contributed in their own way to the development and completion of this study. I thank my friends at the University of Massachusetts; Kim Drake, Andrew Ziner, Jackie Williams, Shirley Shute, Gay Douglas, and especially Kay Williamson who generously served as my peer debriefer. I am particularly indebted to Paul Schempp at the University of Oregon for his friendship, encouragement, and advise, and to Sandy Schempp for her friendship. I also feel so grateful to have the unequivocal support of Jane Sinnett-McMullen, my dearest friend for the past 25 years.

Finally, I am indebted to my family for their love and concern. I am fortunate to have had their encouragement in all of my endeavors, and their continual support throughout all aspects of my life. Their pride in my work has been a continual source of inspiration.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to a very special person in my life,

my grandmother,

HELENE WENDT

This dissertation is further dedicated to the memory of those

who cannot be here to share this with me,

my father,

BENJAMIN PETER GRABER, JR.

and my grandparents,

BENJAMIN PETER GRABER, SR.

MAUDE C. GRABER

HENRY WENDT

ABSTRACT

A NATURALISTIC STUDY OF STUDENTSHIP
IN THE CONTEXT OF PRESERVICE TEACHER TRAINING
FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATORS

MAY 1988

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Studentship is the process by which preservice teacher trainees react to the demands of their training environment. It consists of a perspective on the process of professional training which allows students to determine which skills and dispositions they intend to acquire and which they will choose to ignore. Studentship also consists of an array of behaviors which students may employ in order to progress through a training program with greater ease, more success, and less effort. Because these behaviors include such things as taking short cuts, cheating, psyching-out the instructor, and faking public expressions of belief, some trainees may in the process be prostituting themselves, never developing genuine commitment to implementing what was learned during training.

The purpose of this study was to examine in a naturalistic setting, the types of studentship behaviors teacher trainees employ, the context within which such behaviors were displayed, and to examine the total for regularities which might allow for the development of theories which are

grounded in the data. The researcher assumed the role of a non-participant observer throughout the duration of both a curriculum class and an organization and administration class in a preservice teacher training program. Data collection also consisted of formal and informal interviews, document analysis, and daily recording in three separate research logs.

The results indicate that the primary studentship behaviors which existed can best be classified under the four major headings of short cutting, cheating, colluding and psyching-out, and image projection. Contextual factors such as opportunity to engage in studentship and availability of previous exams or assignments were factors which had to be present before students could employ some types of studentship. Studentship also was influenced by perceived exerted pressure to meet instructor expectations, students' perceptions regarding the worth of assignments, and finally, how students perceived their treatment by instructors.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Each year a cohort of students enter teacher training programs at colleges and universities across the nation. These recruits expect to become certified professionals capable of assuming a teacher's role upon graduation. Teacher educators expect undergraduate trainees to become professionally socialized during that period of time, internalizing the dispositions of the profession and becoming committed to maintaining a professional orientation as teachers. It is astonishing, therefore, to discover that little is known about what happens to students as they progress through training programs. This study is directed toward one aspect of that neglected area of inquiry--the world of the physical education major and the experience of undergoing preservice teacher preparation.

Educators are now aware that any examination of undergraduate teacher preparation must be framed in wider context. Professional socialization during preservice is influenced by the experiences recruits have prior to entering formal training and those they continue to have after leaving the influence of training. These experiences can be placed along a "learning to teach" continuum (see Figure 1). The five stages diagrammed on the continuum illustrate the most significant periods of time in learning to teach, representing the experiences recruits have prior to, during, and after formal training. Each of these significant periods can influence and have a lasting impact on how the teacher is molded. While

the focus of this dissertation is on the preservice stage, that period of formal training which takes place at a college or university and precedes student teaching, it must be understood that learning to teach begins long before formal training and continues long after the recruit leaves the influence of preservice education.

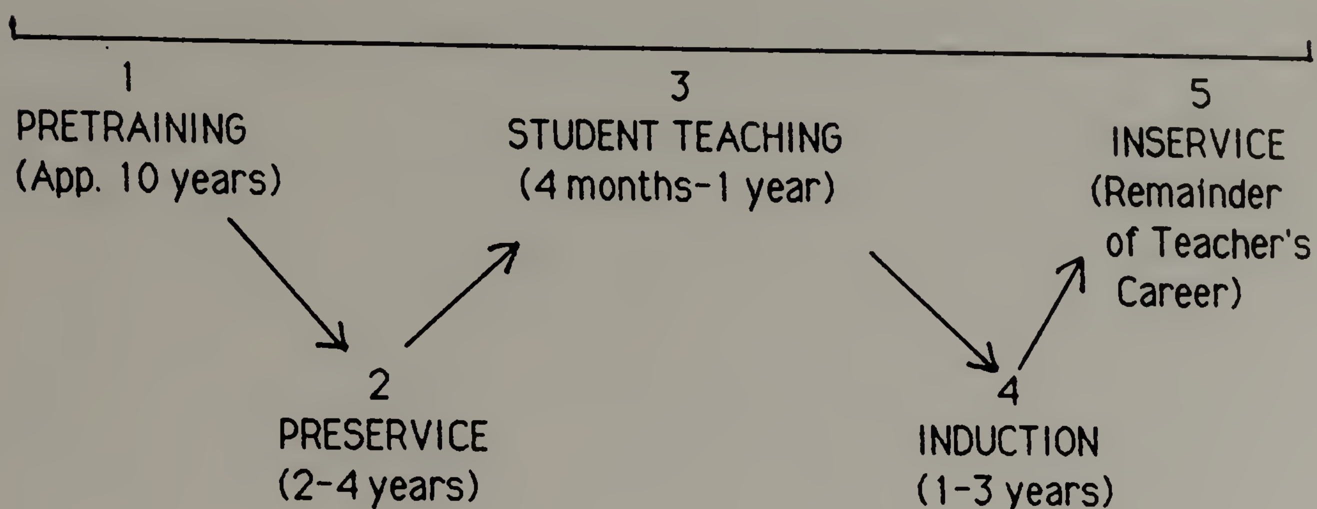

Figure 1. Learning to Teach Continuum.

Educators are aware that students enter professional teacher training programs with beliefs about teaching that are not easily lost during preservice. Students in the pretraining stages have spent an average of 13,000 hours of direct contact with teachers in their classrooms (Lortie, 1975), observing what teachers do and say, how they appear to feel about their subject matter, and how they treat children. These recruits believe they already know what occurs in schools and have little more to learn (Lanier and Little, 1986).

Educators also are now more familiar with the student teaching, induction, and inservice stages of learning to teach. Here the recruit encounters new individuals and new pressures. Student teachers are encouraged to adjust to the setting in which they have been placed, with pressure exerted by teacher educators to avoid conflict and not make waves (Bain, 1984), and further pressure exerted by cooperating teachers and pupils to conform to the local norms of the school (Freibus, 1977). New teachers, inductees, do not have the time, energy, or support to implement much of what was learned during preservice (Ryan 1970, 1980), and they further lack close colleagues with whom to share the ordeal, depriving them of any support from professional solidarity (Lortie, 1968).

As the inductee progresses along the continuum and becomes an experienced teacher, most socialization will have been completed and teaching behaviors thus far developed are unlikely to change. Further, although inservice programs may be offered or even required, there is little evidence that these programs produce any significant or lasting impact upon the teacher.

Each of the stages illustrated on the learning to teach continuum has implications for what the recruit learns and retains as a result of training. Unfortunately, however, it has been too easy to simply close the doors to our own preservice classrooms, blaming students and the other stages of the continuum for having a negative influence on what happens to recruits once they leave the influence of the training program, not allowing for the possibility that what is happening during preservice is a

contributing factor in producing teachers who eventually fail to achieve their full professional potential.

On the one hand, teacher educators are all too familiar with the omnipresent handful of recruits who enter teaching because it is an easy major (Geer, 1968), because they desire lengthy vacations and short work days (Lortie, 1975), or because they can't fulfill requirements necessary for entry into other fields (Templin, Woodford, and Mulling, 1982), all resulting in a dysfunctional fit between recruits' reasons for entering teaching and the intentions of the training program. On the other hand, educators are only now beginning to learn that students may expect to receive prescriptions for doing the work of teaching (Lanier and Little, 1986), not wanting to receive training in foundational knowledge (Feiman-Nemser, 1983). These dysfunctional fits between recruits' intentions and those of the training program may cause students to react to preservice training in ways which will impede much of what teacher educators intend.

Studentship, an unexplored area of inquiry and the focus of this dissertation, is the process by which students react to the training program environment, enabling them to acquire skills they believe are important while ignoring those which they believe to be irrelevant or dysfunctional. It allows recruits the choice, regardless of their reasons for entering teaching or what they expect to receive from training, to decide how they will be molded.

In short, studentship is a word used to describe a set of behaviors students may employ to progress through a training program with greater

ease, more success, and less effort. As Olesen and Whittaker (1968) discovered in their study of student nurses, studentship emerged when students decided when to study, what to study, how to look interested in the classroom, and how to make other students look more favorable to the faculty. It occurs when students manage their image, take short-cuts, cheat, or when they employ other strategies for progressing through the program with greater ease.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine in a naturalistic setting, the types of studentship behaviors teacher trainees employ, the context within which such behaviors were displayed, and to examine the total for regularities which might allow for the development of theories which are grounded in the data. Given that some form of studentship exists in any undergraduate teacher training program, the two basic questions which guided this study are as follows:

1. What are the studentship behaviors employed by students?
2. What contextual conditions exist which might encourage the use of studentship, and what factors exist in the program which might reduce the tendency for students to employ studentship?

With regard to the latter, I propose no attempt to arrive at statements of causality such as X causes Y. Instead, I will describe studentship against a background of contextual circumstances as a means of identifying apparent patterns in the data, regularities in the

association of student behaviors with elements in the classroom or program.

The attached appendices, developed prior to data collection, serve as clarification for both of the questions above. Appendix 1 defines studentship behaviors which may exist in a teacher training program and how those behaviors could make themselves apparent to the researcher during data collection. Appendix 2 provides illustration of the many possible contextual conditions which might be connected to the use of studentship.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for three reasons. First, although it is clear that studentship exists to some degree in undergraduate teacher training programs (Graber, 1986; Lapin, 1985; Sears, 1984a, 1984b; Steen, 1985, 1986), and in other professional areas of training (Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961; Olesen and Whittaker, 1968), it is unclear how context in the sense of physical environment, social structure, and institutional norms is related to the use of studentship behaviors. More particularly, it remains unclear as to which conditions serve to encourage or discourage the tendency to employ studentship. This study, therefore, will add to the small body of literature, providing a framework for better understanding studentship and the process of professional socialization.

Second, this study is significant because studentship by its very nature acts as a shield to blind from view, and thus possible repercussion, what students are learning during training. Because studentship is not meant to be discovered by teachers, little is known about its operation.

As a result of studentship behaviors, teacher educators are disadvantaged by not knowing how students really feel about subject matter, what they believe about educational issues, or how they actually intend to behave as teachers.

This study, by defining the various studentship strategies employed by preservice students and by explaining under what conditions they exist, will illuminate aspects of trainee behavior which have not been apparent to many teacher educators. It will provide knowledge about student response to program context which often is hidden from view.

Third, this study is significant because the act of studentship, while allowing students to progress through the program with greater ease and more success, also enables students to leave the influence of the training program with beliefs about teaching which may be dysfunctional to the goals of training. Although not all studentship behaviors have negative implications for preservice training, because they are benign and perfectly normal responses given the context in which they occur, other studentship behaviors may produce significant negative consequences. If, for example, recruits display particular teaching skills purely in order to be perceived more favorably, they may as a result of such distancing and externalizing become less likely to implement those skills once they leave the influence of the program. Because recruits master the teaching behaviors deemed appropriate by the faculty does not necessarily mean they are committed to using those behaviors.

A study which explores studentship will provide knowledge not only to those concerned about the impact of training, but also to those who

have an investment in certifying recruits who are committed to maintaining a professional orientation throughout their careers. It will enable educators to begin to determine how studentship affects dispositions about the teacher role.

To summarize, unless teacher educators become familiar with the full extent of studentship, and understand through what contextual conditions it is mediated, it will be impossible to develop strategies for combatting those studentship behaviors which are deemed hostile to the best interests of the student and the training program. Studentship is a force which influences what future teachers learn and how dispositions about teaching are developed. Without insight into that process, we will continue certifying recruits to the teaching force about whom very little is known.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

As students progress through professional training programs, it is intended that they will acquire not only skills and knowledge, but also dispositions--in essence, the orientation of the training program. Further, it is hoped that orientation will become a permanent force for guiding recruits once they have been inducted into the teaching role. Relatively little is known, however, about socialization, and more particularly, about studentship behaviors during preservice teacher training. Studies, therefore, in the fields of medicine (Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961; Light, 1979; Merton, Reader, and Kendall, 1957), nursing (Davis, 1968; Olesen and Whittaker, 1968; Simpson, 1979), and law (Lortie, 1959), must be used to construct a preliminary understanding of what happens in undergraduate programs.

Recent investigations (Graber, 1986; Lapin, 1985; Sears, 1984a, 1984b; Steen, 1985, 1986) of teacher training programs have, however, shown evidence that studentship does exist in many of the same ways it exists in medicine, nursing, and law. By drawing upon the small amount of literature with regard to the former, and combining that knowledge with the latter, it is possible to speculate about what may be happening to recruits in teacher training.

This review of literature will document some of what currently is known about students enrolled in professional training programs by describing professional socialization as a dialectical process, discussing

the power of both the student sub-culture and the hidden curriculum, and describing how "playing at the role" may later reinforce desired teaching behaviors. When reading this chapter it is necessary to understand that while some studentship behaviors have clear negative implications for preservice teacher development, many of them must be regarded as benign, or at least as perfectly normal responses given the context in which they occur. In the final analysis, studentship behaviors are coping behaviors. Their appearance may tell us more about aberrations in program than flaws in character.

For example, some degree of fronting is part of the daily commerce of all social interaction. Work reduction negotiation often protects students against destructive anomalies in class or program requirements, and behaviors which may appear designed to curry favor with instructors may in fact function as essential "trying on for size" activities related to internalization of new values. Even cheating, which appears to undermine program goals, must be understood in terms of its etiology rather than simply be "blamed" on students or faculty.

Socialization as a Dialectical Process

Students have conventionally been regarded as passive entities who simply adapt and conform to the forces of socialization. Most research has assumed this functionalist version of socialization in which young teachers are shaped by the social structure of professional culture. Zeichner, however, found this inadequate to accomodate the increasing number of research studies indicating that students do not always adapt or conform to school culture. He concluded that, "the dominant view of

teacher socialization as a process where the neophyte is a passive entity totally subject to institutional press is rejected. Instead, teacher socialization is portrayed as a dialectical process involving a continual interplay between individuals and the institutions into which they are socialized" (1979, p. 1).

During an extended study, Zeichner and Tabachnick (1983, 1984) employed the construct of alternative social strategies originally devised by Lacey (1977). When interview data and qualitative field accounts were examined from this perspective, it became apparent that although many potent forces bear in upon the student teacher, they often push back, sometimes vigorously and occasionally with success. Three of the strategies developed by Lacey, strategic compliance, internalized adjustment, and strategic redefinition, were clearly represented in the behavior of student teachers.

Strategic compliance was a social strategy employed by individuals who complied with authority, yet retained private reservations about doing so. These individuals were likely to use studentship behaviors to front and manage their image. Internalized adjustment was represented among individuals who complied with socialization forces and believed the objectives of those pressures were for the best. Strategic redefinition describes individuals who attempted to change a situation without the formal power to do so.

When socialization is perceived as a dialectical process in which students push back against the forces that bear in upon them, studentship is not surprising. Students realize they must meet the demands of the

training faculty in order to graduate and become certified. They may, of course, elect to comply with faculty demands because they are perceived to be for the best. They may, however, attempt to change the demands, or comply with the demands while retaining reservations about doing so. In selecting the latter course, recruits are likely to exhibit studentship behaviors. Based on this dialectical model of socialization, selected studentship strategies will now be discussed in relation to how they have been observed to occur in professional training programs ranging from medicine to teaching.

Psyching-out

One measure of success in any program is the grades one receives. In their efforts to obtain good grades, students attempt to meet programmatic demands. Students, however, may be uncertain about what it is the training faculty wants. Under these conditions, programs rarely provide adequate time to study all that may be required (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968). As a result, students may attempt to psych-out the instructor in their efforts to narrow the field of demand and obtain good grades.

Psyching-out a professor is the attempt to discern what it is that might be asked on an exam, what should be included in a paper, or how to act during an internship. It is not the attempt to simply learn more, but an active attempt to determine the exact nature of faculty demands--so that less must be studied or attempted. Some professors may assist students in their quest to discover what they must do. Others will interpret this behavior as laziness or deviousness. These professors find psyching-out

behaviors annoying and often respond by saying that they are not willing to "spoon-feed" their students (Becker, Geer, and Hughes, 1968; Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961; Hughes, Becker, and Geer, 1962; Merton et al., 1957).

Whether or not instructors are willing to assist students by letting them know what is expected, students may respond by only studying what they believe the faculty wants them to know, not what the students believe it is important to know. This was particularly true of the University of Kansas medical students (Becker et al., 1961; Hughes et al., 1962). These individuals ceased studying what they perceived was important to know as a doctor and began to study what their professors might want. Further, the medical students regarded instructors who didn't give clues as being highly unfair. They construed these faculty as not "playing the game".

Psyching-out, however, is not just peculiar to the medical profession. Lacey (1977) studied honors students in one education department and discovered individuals which he then grouped into one of three categores. The first, "cue-deaf", were students who believed working hard was all they needed and impressing the faculty was perceived as being helpful. The second, "cue-conscious", attempted to pick up hints for exams and hints for what faculty favored. The third, "cue-seekers", went even further. These individuals button-holed staff over exam questions, questioned them over coffee, and attempted to discover what faculty interests were. Lacey discovered many individuals engaging in behaviors which have been defined here as studentship.

Fronting and Image Projection

Fronting and image projection are studentship behaviors exhibited by students who attempt to portray a favorable image of themselves to those with power. Some students will be better at these behaviors than others because they have proven to be good at controlling the interactions in which they are involved (Strauss, 1959). It is these individuals who will tend to be better at fronting, perhaps because they possess what Snyder (1980) calls high self-monitoring skills--the ability to mold one's behaviors to a social situation and be sensitive to the way one expresses oneself socially.

Students who are good at exhibiting these studentship behaviors are likely to gain information which is helpful not only to them, but also to those who are not adept at fronting. For example, Davis (1968) discovered that some student nurses were particularly skilled at fronting. They were able to put on straight faces while asking didactic questions concerning teacher expectations and ways in which their performance fell short of meeting those expectations. Although other students never exhibited conscious awareness of such skilled fronting, they often benefited from what they learned through the adept fronters.

These behaviors occur in many settings and are likely to be displayed any number of ways. In Graber's (1986) pilot study examining studentship in two different teacher training programs, she discovered students who consciously fronted and projected their image in subtle and imaginative ways, as indicating interest in note-taking, volunteering, and paying attention in class. These behaviors also may be present when

students display an interest in children and teaching, when they adopt a professional vocabulary, or when they adopt specific teaching behaviors because they are reflective of program values.

It may be assumed that successful use of studentship behaviors is contingent upon satisfying some set of prerequisite conditions. Graber's earlier work suggests a sequence like that displayed in Figure 2. The first prerequisite is the recruit's ability to accurately perceive an expectation projected by the faculty, one which the recruit can attempt to meet by displaying the needed behaviors. Second, the recruit must decide whether they can act on that perception without selling their soul or being perceived by peers as "brown-nosers". If the recruit believes it possible to display equitable teaching behaviors without the loss of great personal integrity, the next step is to identify some kind of appropriate display. Finally, the third requirement is that the decision to act must be followed by some overt action, intent to act is not enough. Recruits who have decided to display equitable behaviors may do so by discussing the importance of equity during class, exhibiting equitable teaching behaviors when observed during an internship, or merely by walking through the hallway with books pertaining to equity. Here success or failure is contingent upon how these studentship behaviors are accepted or rejected by faculty.

Cheating and Short Cuts

Students who front and manage their image are attempting to be perceived by faculty in some predetermined manner. These same students may, however, exhibit behaviors which they don't want faculty to notice.

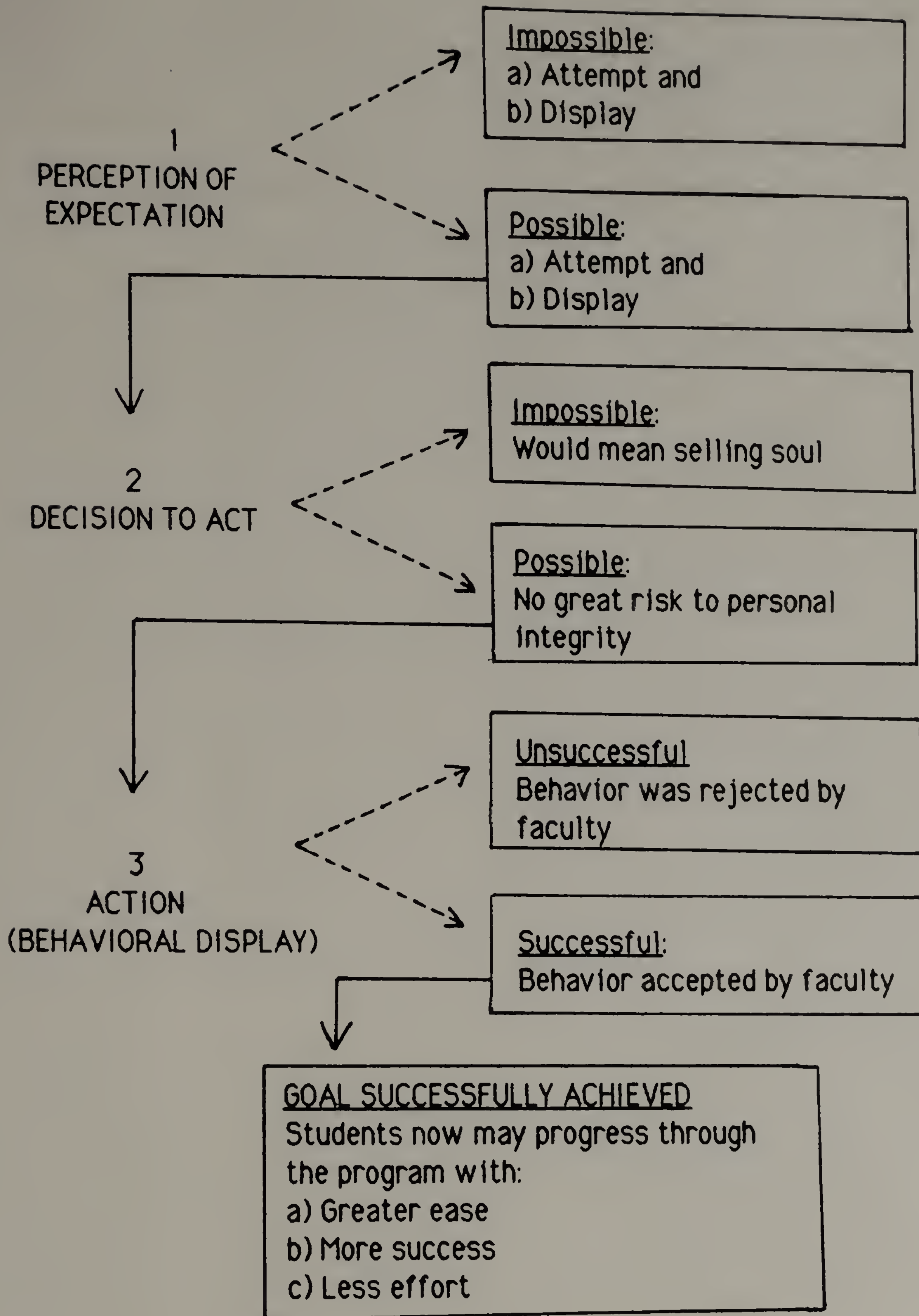

Figure 2. Prerequisite Conditions to Fronting and Image Projection.

Cheating is one example of a behavior students carefully attempt to hide. If students are caught cheating they are not likely to be perceived favorably by faculty, their previous efforts at image management are seriously undercut, and they are likely to face disciplinary consequences.

Cheating occurs in varying degrees, in various settings, and may be perceived differently by different individuals. Although both faculty and student definitions of cheating may be similar if someone is caught blatantly cheating on an exam, there may be other instances where what constitutes cheating is not black or white and agreement is unlikely. One gray area which emerges is what students label "taking short cuts".

Studentship enables students to reach a goal with greater ease, less effort, and increased chance of success. Becker and his colleagues (1961) observed medical students who did things which the faculty might construe as cheating, but which students considered sensible short cuts. Students were observed copying each other's experiments which were to have been done separately, and they were observed attempting to discover what might be asked on an exam. Further, some students who were interviewed actually admitted that they condoned and participated in cheating.

During Steen's (1985, 1986) study of professional socialization in a teacher training program, he observed students cheating and devising strategies to improve their scores on a volleyball skills test. Whereas the instructor might have construed the behavior as blatant cheating, the students might have perceived their behaviors as necessary short cuts in attempting to achieve their goal--passing the course.

Some cheating and taking of short cuts may not pose serious threats to socialization, while others will undermine critical intentions of the training program. When these behaviors result in certifying recruits who, as a result of studentship, haven't learned how to teach, the purpose of teacher training will have been thwarted. Unfortunately, eliminating these behaviors is difficult because they are not meant to be discovered, much less eliminated.

To summarize, taking short cuts and cheating, along with psyching-out, fronting, image projection, and many other studentship behaviors must be regarded as an outgrowth of the dialectical process. It is a means by which students are empowered to push back against programmatic demands that bear in upon them. Studentship enables those who employ it to take some responsibility for their own socialization.

Sub-cultures

The word sub-culture designates a smaller unit of the culture and can be used to describe many different groups of individuals. The member individuals share a common interpretation of experience and generate social behaviors based upon a common fund of acquired knowledge (Spradley, 1979). Sub-cultures may develop where common problems are faced and, as was discovered in the study of medical students at the University of Kansas (Hughes et al., 1962), they can be very strong. Aspects of a training program sub-culture, such as solutions to problems, may be rediscovered or reinforced as they are passed down from one generation of students to the next (Hughes, 1971). Indeed, the most

important elements of the sub-culture may prevail even when an individual leaves the common situation of the group (Lacey, 1977).

Sub-cultures thus can be very powerful, providing a medium which encourages studentship. For example, Lapin (1985) observed teacher training recruits who engaged in "confronting" strategies with the faculty when they attempted to negotiate both exam dates and grades. Had the sub-culture not been intact, Lapin probably would not have observed confronting behaviors. Recruits would have been unlikely to jeopardize their relationships with faculty members unless they had peer support as a back-up.

Recruits experience many things as a sub-culture, they share the same instructors, proceed through many classes together, and have common goals. As a result, students may also develop shared perspectives.

<u>Perspectives</u>

According to Becker and his colleagues, perspectives are coordinated views and plans of action that students follow in problematic situations. Perspectives "contain actions as well as ideas and dispositions to act" (1961, p. 37). Students may develop perspectives when confronted with unpleasant instructors, unreasonable assignments, or difficult exams. For example, in the case of medical students, Hughes (1961) indicates that students did not always see a connection between what they were required to do in the training program and their conceptions of the skills they would be required to know once they were

doctors. As a result, they developed perspectives for guiding their views and actions while attempting to survive as a student.

The power of sub-cultures and perspectives, however, is not necessarily unique to professional training programs. Students have tasted and enjoyed the potential power they can generate long before ever entering college. For example, Allen (1986) observed teenagers in a public school system who always had their own class agenda, and methods of achieving that agenda. Even in working with students at this early age, the supposition is that educators must recognize the complex nature and powers of the student sub-culture if they are to act intelligently.

When students enter teacher training programs expecting to receive prescriptions for doing the work of teaching (Lanier and Little, 1986), but instead discover that most of their training is in foundational knowledge, they are likely to develop many of the same perspectives acquired by medical students. Based on these perspectives, recruits either will develop individual strategies, or collaborative strategies will emerge within the sub-culture for the purpose of reacting to unanticipated demands. Studentship, therefore, may be the actions that come out of a shared student perspective on the nature of the training process. As in Olesen and Whittaker's study of nursing students (1968), studentship enables trainees to collectively exercise some control over their lives in the program.

The Hidden Curriculum

Generally, it can be said that at the functional level, a curriculum consists of all the things that happen to students from which they learn.

Students learn much in a training program, some of which is intended and some not. An intended curriculum is explicit, it represents a "level of knowing" which is available to both teachers and students, and it is communicated either verbally or in written form. The intended curriculum is present in curriculum guides and lesson plans, it can be overheard in teachers' talks in the faculty room or at departmental meetings. Most importantly, it represents what teachers intend, what they want students to learn. The unintended curriculum is implicit in the events of a training program. It is inaccessible to both teachers and students, is unconscious, and is not readily available for analysis. It controls a portion of what students learn, but that which is unintended. Because it is unavailable and unconscious, it can be called the hidden curriculum.

The hidden curriculum can be very useful if it reinforces the intended curriculum. If, however, it does not reinforce the intended curriculum, students may receive important and unintended messages which are dysfunctional to socialization, having the potential for undermining the explicit lessons of the training program. Further, unintended signals may even encourage the development of studentship behaviors which are harmful to a recruit's development.

Wisniewski emphasizes the enormous power of the hidden curriculum by stating, "The hidden curriculum is perhaps a more powerful transmitter of values than the formal curriculum. There is no guarantee that what is taught in courses is what students really learn or believe" (1984, p. 2). Students may learn more important lessons about teaching

from the hidden curriculum than they do from the formal curriculum (Dodds, 1983).

For example, when students witness disagreements among faculty members about basic issues in pedagogy, they receive mixed messages (Lawson, 1983). From this, students may learn that a shared technical culture does not exist for teachers. Further, they may learn that they will have to change their behaviors depending upon which faculty membber they are addressing. Students, therefore, may use studentship behaviors to front a variety of dispositions among a variety of teachers. They may then leave the influence of the training program with beliefs about teaching which are confused or antithetical to good teaching. Yet, none of this may have been made apparent during training.

Playing at the Role

While it is true that many studentship behaviors will forcefully conflict with the intentions of the training program, producing teachers who have dispositions about teaching unlike those promulgated during training, sometimes studentship behaviors may actually reinforce programmatic goals. Fronting is one example of a studentship behavior that, under the appropriate circumstances, may encourage internalization of the dispositions intended by the training program faculty.

In a study of student nurses, Davis (1968) discovered a six step process by which individuals came to discard their lay imagery about nursing. After students discovered nursing school was not what they expected, the nursing students began to engage in psyching-out and fronting behaviors. These studentship behaviors, however, eventually led

to a step which Davis labeled role simulation. The more successful the students became at playing at the role, the less they felt they were merely simulating it, and the more they gained conviction about being an authentic performer. "Moreover, having lived through the beguiling process of 'becoming nurse' through 'playing at it,' the cognitive groundwork was laid for a less stressful, more wholehearted internalization of the 'institutionally approved' version of nursing practice which the school sought to inculcate" (p. 248).

Templin (1984) discusses the importance of role-playing with teaching recruits. He indicates that role-playing brings about mastery of skills and knowledge required of a role, providing growth for the individual and eventually validating training. Fronting, therefore, cannot always be regarded as a dysfunctional behavior. If some playing at the role eventually leads to the internalization of training program dispositions, it will have had a positive impact upon the recruit.

Summary

Relatively little is known about socialization during teacher training. On the basis of existing research it is difficult to estimate the degree to which studentship occurs, the contextual circumstances which encourage or reduce the tendency to employ studentship, and the degree to which the sub-culture influences studentship. Sub-cultures in teacher training programs, for example, may not be sufficiently homogeneous to sustain powerful program perspectives. In consequence, the strength of the preservice sub-culture may be somewhat less than that found in other professional areas. The literature does suggest, however, that given

certain contextual circumstances, colluding groups of trainees may be sufficiently strong to spawn and sustain a number of dysfunctional forms of studentship. In any case, individual studentship remains largely unexplored, and a matter of practical concern as well as theoretical interest.

Teacher educators attempt to socialize recruits to the orientation of the training program. It cannot be assumed, however, that students will acquire and maintain that orientation. Students are not passive entities--they react to the forces of socialization and in some measure control what they learn. The small body of literature on this dialectical process assures us that students have developed various perspectives on the training process, employ studentship behaviors, and are members of a sub-culture which can give them considerable power. Whatever else may be true, students of teaching are not subordinates who are willing to allow faculty total control over their destiny.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Introduction

The objective of this study was to provide an ethnographic account of the events which occurred in the natural setting of a teacher training program. Ethnographies, analytic descriptions of intact groups (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972), allow a reader to envision what the researcher observed by recreating the "...shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behaviors of some group of people" (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). In this case, the researcher utilized non-participant observation, formal depth interviewing, informal interviewing, and document analysis for providing descriptions of the types of studentship behaviors teacher trainees employed and the context within which such behaviors were displayed.

Unlike experimental investigators, in a naturalistic study researchers do not attempt to influence or manipulate the research setting (Patton, 1980). Instead, they collect data in order to create as complete a picture as possible of events as they naturally occur. By using rich and detailed descriptions of events, quotations from participants, and excerpts of documents, the report makes it possible for the reader to envision life as it occurs in a particular setting in much the same way that it was encountered by the researcher.

While it would be inappropriate to generalize the results of such a naturalistic study to other professional training programs which might be quite different, it is possible to make connections between events as they

are reported by the researcher and similar events which may have been experienced by the reader. A rich description of one teacher training program can only improve our understanding of the many roles students undertake in their attempt to pass through an enormously complex social system, a system designed to mold the recruit in a very deliberate manner.

This chapter serves to provide information concerning how the researcher gathered data, why specific research methods were employed, and how data were analyzed. Specifically, this chapter will describe how the researcher entered the setting; why observations, formal and informal interviews, and document analysis were selected as the main data sources; and how data were eventually reduced and analyzed to produce themes describing studentship behaviors and the context within which such behaviors were displayed.

Data Collection

The following section of this document will describe how entry into the research setting was made. Further, descriptions about each data source and how data was gathered will provide a framework for describing how this study was conducted.

Entry Into Setting

Initial contact requesting permission to study at this particular teacher training program was made by telephone at the level of Chairperson in the school of physical education at Carrington College. Once the Chair indicated willingness to discuss the possibility of allowing the investigator access to the program, a meeting was scheduled for the purpose of clarifying the intentions of the study, describing the process of

data collection, explaining why this particular setting was being considered by the researcher, and discussing the role the researcher could be expected to assume. At this meeting the Chair was presented with an opportunity to question the investigator at length, thus allaying some fears about possible repercussion, and decreasing the possibility that limitations might be imposed which would force selection of a different setting.

Having obtained general approval to conduct the study, and after submitting a formal letter describing the study to the Chair, permission was then sought to recruit selected teacher educators as participants. Specifically, the researcher asked permission to observe two professional classes being taught by three teacher educators.

The instructors approached concerning possible participation were told that the investigator was interested in learning more about the behaviors students exhibit in their attempts to meet the demands of the program. They were informed that the researcher's interests were specifically in learning about how students study, take notes, interact with others, and generally how they progress through a particular class. Further, they were informed that the student behaviors to be observed would likely range from completing assignments carefully and showing commitment to the teaching profession, to behaviors which might include faking interest and taking short cuts. The researcher emphasized that although there was _no_ intention to evaluate the program, the instructor, the students, or the teaching which was observed in that class, she would be observing the contextual circumstances which exist in class and be

seeking to understand how those circumstances relate to student behaviors. Finally, the researcher explained that she intended to assume a neutral role in the setting, trying not to disturb the natural events as they might otherwise occur in that environment or the teaching behaviors that might be displayed had the researcher not been present.

This particular procedure for gaining entry, one of relatively open disclosure about intentions, was chosen because a trusting relationship is essential in a qualitative study of this nature (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Presentation of self in an honest, open, and carefully worded manner was essential in establishing that relationship. Although initially "...informants will typically craft their responses in such a way as to be amenable to the researcher and to protect their self interest" (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 233), the position taken here was that in the final analysis, informing participants of the researcher's intentions would create no more reactivity than would being ambiguous about the reasons for research, leaving the subjects perhaps to change their behaviors for fear of being spied on.

Once the three teacher educators granted access to their class, they were asked to sign an informed consent contract (see Appendix C). This contract established in writing the roles the researcher and instructor would assume, what each could expect from the other, how the rights of all participants would be protected, and the extent of access the participating teacher would have to field notes, logs, analytic materials, and reports.

The last step in the process of entry included briefly speaking with the students in the classes to be observed. Prior to data collection, arrangements were made with the instructor for a brief amount of time in which to explain to the students the reasons for conducting the study and why the study was significant. The explanation was much like the one given to the instructor, but was not as detailed. All students were then asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix D), insuring them of their rights and explaining the role the researcher intended to assume. They were informed that some students also might be selected for interviews, but signing the contract did not obligate them to be interviewed, only to be observed. The one student who chose not to participate was assured that the researcher would take all steps necessary not to include him in any field notes. Those who agreed to be observed and possibly interviewed were told that every possible effort would be made to protect their anonymity.

Observations

As the process of learning to teach was placed on a continuum, so too can be the role of a participant observer. The roles may range from being a complete observer, describing those researchers who do not become involved in the setting to any degree, to complete involvement, characterized by total immersion into the setting (Gold, 1958). Although amount of participation may be expected to vary during the course of a study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) for the purpose of this study the investigator chose to define her role as that of non-participant observer.

Assumption of the non-participant role allowed interviews to be conducted away from the classrooms, documents to be examined, and the development of informal relationships outside of the observed classroom. It did, however, limit participation within the primary setting. This prevented the investigator from becoming distracted by demands and interactions in the setting, thus allowing complete attention to the context and the subjects.

The non-participant role also limited association with the instructor of the course because a close relationship would be dysfunctional if it caused students to perceive the observer as a snitch. In a study of this nature, the researcher had to be trusted not to betray students' confidence or it would become impossible to obtain reliable information about their perspective on classroom events and the tasks required to meet program demands.

Selection of Classes to be Observed. Two classes were selected for the purpose of examining studentship and the context which surrounded those behaviors. Curriculum Development and Organization and Administration were selected through use of the following six criteria. First, each class had to be a professional preparation experience designed to prepare undergraduates for the work of teaching. This included most offerings under the broad rubric of curriculum and instruction. Second, each instructor had to be amenable to signing an informed consent contract and be willing to be interviewed and to allow the presence of the investigator in the classroom. Third, the majority of students in each class had to be willing to be observed and interviewed. Fourth, the class

schedule had to be reasonably convenient to the researcher who continued to have employment obligations. Fifth, the majority of students in each class had to be candidates for teacher certification in the area of physical education. Sixth, to the degree that such choice was possible, classes were selected which appeared to be dissimilar enough in contextual elements to provide the researcher with some opportunity to study how students behave under different classroom circumstances.

While initially it was planned to observe one class comprised mainly of lower division students, those near the program entry point, and a second class which would consist mainly of upper level students, those closer to graduation, ultimately the two observed classes were comprised of the same students. This, however, produced an unforeseen advantage. Had two classes been observed which were comprised of different students, it would have been much more difficult to determine whether context was affecting students behavior or whether individual differences in students were what accounted for differences in level of studentship behaviors between each of the observed classes. As a result, when students acted differently in each class, concluding that specific contextual factors were responsible for that behavior difference was a much more tenable assumption.

Duration of Observations. Each of the two target classes were observed for their duration, commencing with the first week of class and concluding with the last class meeting. While initially it was planned to observe two full semester length classes, it was later decided to observe two more concentrated classes lasting less than a full semester. This

decision proved to be valuable because they were the last two required classes prior to student teaching, because the same students were enrolled for both courses, and because the intensity that resulted in completing two courses within a shorter time span provided an environment that was particularly conducive to this type of research. Both classes were scheduled to meet Monday through Friday, Organization and Administration for two hours in the morning, and Curriculum Development for ninety minutes in the afternoon. Students would receive three credits for Organization and Administration and two for Curriculum Development.

Each class was observed throughout every class meeting with the exception of three absences due to researcher employment obligations. On these occasions, classes were either tape recorded or students were interviewed about specific events which had occurred. Prior to data collection, it was determined that an absolute standard of researcher attendance at two-thirds of all classes should be sufficient for purposes of establishing rapport with students, completing observations, conducting interviews, and analyzing pertinent documents. Instead, it was possible to be present for over three-fourths of all class meetings.

Focus of the Observations. This study, examining behaviors students employ to progress through a training program (see Appendix A), and the contextual factors surrounding those behaviors (see Appendix B), is best suited for non-participant observation. Because the primary concern was with students, faculty members were the primary focus of attention only when their actions had a direct influence on students. Faculty, therefore,

were observed only within the instructional environment, whereas students were observed in environments ranging from the classroom, to the hallway, to the cafeteria.

Field notes from observations were recorded in logs of three types, each focusing on a different aspect of data collection. The first, field notes, recorded observed classroom events, teacher behaviors, student behaviors, and other significant events which occurred within the training program. The second, the study log, contained a record of all inquiry procedures including how the methodology was influenced and altered as the study progressed. The third, the theoretical diary, contained questions, concerns, and personal comments, including those which addressed themes and meanings that began to emerge as a result of observations.

Interviews

Two types of interviews, formal and informal, were conducted with the subjects. Each enabled the researcher to obtain additional information from teachers and students about studentship and the context within which it occurred.

Formal interviews. The first type of interview was formal in nature. Specifically, these interviews employed what Patton (1980) refers to as the interview guide approach. This approach allowed ample freedom to explore particular issues during the interview, setting forth in writing general areas of inquiry the investigator planned to discuss with each of the informants, yet not obligating the researcher to ask each interviewee the same standardized questions. The interview thus can

become less of an interrogation and more of a conversation, encouraging subjects to become more relaxed and willing to talk.

Formal interviews, utilizing the interview guide approach (see Appendix E), were conducted with one key informant selected from the classes. Here, a key informant was used because she offered information and explanation of events that the researcher could not otherwise acquire (Patton, 1980). In this case, the informant strategy enabled the researcher to follow one person closely throughout each of the two classes. Initially it had been decided that two key informants would be chosen, but later it was decided that only one informant would be used because it would free the investigator to pursue supplemental interviews with a larger and more varied body of students while at the same time maintaining a close relationship with one student enrolled in both classes. During the first few days of class, the key informant, Jan, was selected according to the following criteria:

(a) subject's degree of involvement in the class,

(b) subject's ability to articulate clearly,

(c) the degree of rapport the investigator was able to establish, and

(d) subject's willingness to participate.

The researcher conducted three open-ended interviews with the key informant, one of which employed the interview guide approach. The interviews were scheduled at intervals through the duration of the course, and were taped and later transcribed.

In addition to interviewing a key informant, the researcher conducted one open-ended, partially structured interview (see Appendix E)

with twelve students who were enrolled in both of the classes. The content of these interviews reflected more specific purposes which emerged during the duration of classes. These included the need to discuss significant classroom events with particular individuals, the need to interview individuals who were members of an important sub-group within the class, the need to interview a representative portion of males and females, and for other reasons which made themselves apparent as data collection progressed. These students were selected based on:

(a) reasons which became apparent as data collection progressed,

(b) subjects' ability to articulate clearly,

(c) the rapport the researcher was able to establish, and

(d) subjects' willingness to participate.

Finally, the researcher conducted two formal interviews with each of the three faculty members who agreed to participate in the study. The first interview was conducted within the second week of classes, was taped, and followed the interview guide approach (see Appendix F). The second interview was completed several weeks after the classes ended. It was taped, later transcribed, and also utilized the interview guide approach.

Informal Interviews. The second type of interview employed an informal approach. Informal interviews enabled the researcher to collect data while carrying on casual conversations with participants, usually without formal stipulation that an interview was taking place. The strength of this technique was that it enabled the investigator to respond differently to different individuals, allowing the opportunity to examine

events occurring in the immediate context (Patton, 1980), and contributing to increasing rapport between the investigator and informants.

Although the researcher formally interviewed only twelve students, a variety of informal contacts made it possible to question many different individuals. Because the informal interviews were not taped, students at times were more willing to openly discuss their feelings, beliefs, and behaviors. A more complete understanding of studentship emerged as a result of these informal conversations than could emerge from data derived only from formal interviews.

The researcher attempted to talk with students not only individually, but also in groups. By making use of opportunities to talk with spontaneous, casual groups, students were able to build upon the responses of others enabling the investigator to learn more about studentship. Most informal contacts concentrated on talking with students about events in their immediate environment (particularly events for which the researcher needed clarification) and on soliciting students' perceptions of the class, their behaviors, and the behaviors of others.

Document Analysis

The third source of data consisted of documents that were collected and copied for later analysis. First, the researcher examined all documents disseminated in each of the target classes. Second, all student course evaluations were reviewed at the end of each class (this was negotiated with the instructors as part of the entry agreement). Third, class notes from several volunteer students were examined to determine what students felt was important enough to write down. Access to class

notes was negotiated with the key informant and with other students in the class who were selected based on:

(a) subjects' willingness to allow the researcher access to their notes, and

(b) reasons which were made apparent as data collection progressed.

Analysis of Data

Data analysis, an ongoing process in any naturalistic study (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975), was conducted with three purposes in mind. The first was to describe studentship behaviors employed by students, the second was to describe contextual circumstances which appeared to encourage studentship, and the third was to describe factors which reduced the tendency for students to employ such behaviors.

It is not enough, however, to merely describe what occurred in the research site and expect readers to believe it as "truth"; instead the naturalistic investigator must also convey to readers how data were reduced, analyzed, and finally summarized. This section of Chapter 3 explains each step the researcher took throughout the process of data analysis by discussing the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of data; outlining the data reduction and display procedures which were followed; addressing issues related to researcher bias; and presenting the timeline across which this study was completed.

Credibility, Transferability, Dependability, and Confirmability

Naturalistic investigators have frequently come under fire for engaging in research studies that are undisciplined, "sloppy" research

based upon subjective observations (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). They are further criticized for maintaining a construct of "truth" that is different from that ordinarily held by quantitative investigators. The fact is that understandings about the nature of truth often are dissimilar for those who employ a qualitative paradigm for inquiry. Quantitative researchers hold that truth exists in some absolute and final sense, out there in the real world, whereas naturalistic researchers believe that truth exists only as it is experienced, and thereby exists differently for different individuals. This, however, does not make naturalistic research inadequate--it simply makes if different from quantitative research. A good naturalistic study can produce as least as much knowledge about classes, teachers, students, and the operation of a professional preparation program as might be produced by quantitative research. The truth in that knowledge, however, must be sustained by strategies appropriate to its definition.

The central problem is that because naturalistic investigators would rarely use traditional quantitative methods to establish the validity and reliability of their research, they are criticized for conducting studies which lack scientific rigor. On the one hand, it is tremendously important for a study to be valid and reliable. On the other hand, not using familiar methods to establish or describe the trustworthiness of data is beside the point as long as one devises and scrupulously follows procedures that are appropriate for obtaining and analyzing naturalistic data in ways that inspire the reader's trust.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have introduced criteria which are specific to assessing the trustworthiness of data obtained through a naturalistic research paradigm. These criteria were the foundation upon which this particular study was grounded. Discussion of the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of data follows.

Credibility. The credibility of a research investigation comes under scrutiny whenever it is made public. If a reader does not perceive the results as believable, the value of the work and the reputation of the researcher are undermined. It is the investigator's responsibility, hence, to implement strategies which contribute to credibility. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) have demonstrated, by employing specific research procedures, it is possible to improve, if not insure, credibility of results. The strategies to be used for this particular investigation were prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checks.

(1) The first strategy, prolonged engagement, insured that the researcher had adequate time to complete the study, establish rapport with subjects, test for misinformation, and "learn the culture" of the setting. This investigation, conducted throughout a four-week, in-depth period, allowed ample opportunity for observing significant events which occurred within the framework of two individual classes. The three interviews scheduled with the key informant, the single interviews with twelve additional students, the two interviews with both teachers, and the informal conversations with a wide range of individuals, produced an abundance of valuable data and provided prolonged exposure.

Contact with participants over the four week period was extensive and soon the investigator was perceived less as an outsider and more as a specially privileged insider. This was evidenced by frequent group and individual invitations for lunch, coffee, and other informal social activities. As relationships with students became closer, students were less guarded during informal conversations.

(2) The second strategy, persistent observation, also enhanced the credibility of research. The purpose of this strategy was to "identify those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail. If prolonged engagement provides scope, persistent observation provides depth" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 304). Although initially the investigator was concerned with all events which occurred within the training program environment, the focus of observation narrowed as events specifically relevant to studentship began to emerge.

(3) The third strategy, triangulation, also improved the probability that findings would be found credible by preventing the investigator from accepting initial impressions, thereby improving the density, scope, and clarity of constructs (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In short, triangulation means that data have been obtained from multiple data sources. This alone not only increased the richness of the data base, it also enabled the investigator to compare findings from one data source with findings from a second or third source. By contrasting the findings obtained from direct observations with data derived from student accounts, faculty accounts, documents, and other data obtained throughout the courses, conflict,

errors, and confusion could be located and confronted, either by revisiting data sources or enlarging the data base.

(4) A fourth step towards establishing credibility was peer debriefing. In using peer debriefing, investigator biases were probed, methodology questioned, and other relevant matters were discussed with a disinterested peer. One graduate student, familiar with naturalistic inquiry, was selected by the researcher for purposes of periodic peer debriefing. The peer debriefer had access to interview tapes along with all three research logs. Her role was to assume the position of a devil's advocate, forcing the investigator to clarify possible biases, justify interpretations, and confront the need for changes in the process of investigation. Ninety minute sessions with the peer debriefer were conducted during the second and fourth week of classes. Subsequent to data collection, peers were often consulted to discuss various aspects of data analysis.

(5) The fifth strategy, negative case analysis, involved the constant revision of hypotheses until all or most cases had been accounted for. Data here were continuously scrutinized for negative cases which did not fit evolving themes and understandings. Where such occurred, they signaled the need either for follow-up investigation, or revision of tentative themes and hypothesized relationships.

(6) Finally, member checks, a critical technique in establishing credibility, were employed throughout data collection. Through informal and formal interviews, students were invited to correct errors of fact and inadequate interpretations of the data, volunteer additional information,

summarize personal perceptions, and confirm the observations of the investigator. Although the researcher had ultimately to make all final decisions about what data to include in the analysis, data were only used after careful consideration of feedback and validation through the member checking process.

Transferability. While the quantitative investigator is concerned about external validity, generalizing the results from study of a sample of events to other events and settings not observed, the naturalistic investigator is primarily concerned with transferability. "Thus the naturalist cannot specify the external validity of an inquiry; he or she can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 316). It would, therefore, be inappropriate to claim generalizability of results from this particular study to other professional training programs which might be quite different. Instead, it will be possible to transfer results to other contexts only when readers are able to perceive connections between events as they are described in the study setting, and events they have observed or experienced in their own lives. Where the quality and depth of description does encourage such perceived relationship, the present study gains a significant degree of credibility.

Dependability. The dependability factor in a naturalistic investigation is the naturalist's equivalent of conventional reliability, and is as important to the naturalist as the replication factor is to a quantitative investigator. As there can be no validity without reliability,

there also can be no credibility without dependability, therefore, dependability must be demonstrated if results are to be perceived as being credible. Several strategies to enhance dependability, as discussed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), were employed throughout this investigation.

The first, overlap of methods, represents triangulation of data. Although triangulation was used to insure credibility, it also was a means of establishing dependability. As the richness and completeness of the data base increased, and particularly, as distinctly different modes of data acquisition were employed, comparisons among types of data sources could be made, and the dependability of the data itself could thereby be supported.

The second, stepwise replication, normally requires that two or more individuals split into two separate teams for purposes of investigating a setting and then analyzing the results separately. Lincoln and Guba (1985), however, have strong reservations about the effectiveness of this strategy. While for a more quantitative investigator this technique may prove invaluable, too many obstacles exist for the naturalist. Primarily because naturalistic investigations employ an emergent design, this technique would be more problematic than productive. The researcher here, however, stretched the meaning of this strategy to include peer debriefing as a form of replication. Based upon an independent analysis of the data, a peer engaged the investigator in discussion and reflection about biases, methods, and interpretations. The assessment of events and context at the study site then functioned in much the same way as would an assessment generated by a second

investigator. When the independent assessment ran parallel to that of the investigator, dependability was enhanced. The clear limitation, of course, was that unlike replication through an independent observer, the peer had access to the study site only through data selected and recorded by the investigator.

<u>Confirmability</u>. In establishing confirmability, it was necessary that findings, interpretations, and recommendations be supported by the data base. If this was not possible, the characteristic of confirmability would not be present. The audit trail was one means of insuring that the results of this investigation were adequately supported by the data. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicate, the residue of records accumulated throughout the period of data collection guide the audit trail.

In a technical sense, the audit trail exists only in the total corpus of materials relative to the study. In a more limited sense, however, this trail from data to conclusions was made visible in the raw data and analytic constructs selected for inclusion in the report. Therefore, the following materials were used in the final report to allow the reader to develop at least a limited sense of confirmability:

(a) raw data (excerpts from tapes of interviews, field notes, documents),

(b) data reconstruction and synthesis products (segments from descriptions of typical events or characteristic student responses),

(c) materials relating to the investigator's intentions and dispositions (excerpts from informed consent documents

given to students and instructors, and student and instructor interview guides), and

(d) study development information (descriptions of changes over time).

Data Reduction and Display

Most naturalistic inquiries utilize multiple data sources, are conducted over a period of time, and lend themselves to the accumulation of massive amounts of data. In addition to performing data checks for triangulation, and all of the subsequent manipulations and transformations required by the process of analysis, the researcher must also be concerned with presenting data logically, concisely, and accurately in a final written document. Reduction and display of perhaps hundreds of pages of raw data can be the investigator's greatest obstacle. Therefore, the investigator should be required to produce guidelines which specifically addressed how data were managed.

The researcher in this investigation was committed to treating data collection as an ongoing process. This not only encouraged the development of preliminary hypotheses and refined the methodology, but it also increased the probability that the data would be less confusing once observation ceased and formal analysis began.

The first step in formal analysis was an ongoing review of all collected documents, acquired notes, and typed transcripts. This analysis began on the first day of data collection and continued throughout. Once the process of formal data analysis began, the second step of conducting

multiple data reviews was undertaken and continued into the stages of preparing this report.

The third step, while continuing multiple reviews, was to sort the data into preliminary thematic categories. Multiple copies of the data enabled the researcher to "cut and paste" significant events into different tentative categories. Each event was divided into a particular descriptive category and the event was summarized on an attached note card. Events which could be categorized under several categories were given final placement in the one providing the best fit, with notes made on summary cards of the other categories so that the event could be recalled as one having been considered for inclusion. This sorting eventually resulted in the compilation of 21 categories which best described specific studentship behaviors, the contextual conditions under which they occurred, a description of the classes, and other important information.

The fourth step was a thorough review of the emergent categories. Here events were compared as they occurred within individual categories, as they occurred across categories, and as they were related to each data source. The purpose was to develop categories which represented commonalities and described patterns. Therefore, whenever negative cases were discovered, categories and hypotheses were refined until they were representative of the majority of individuals.

The final stage in data analysis was an attempt to construct summary descriptions from a triangulated perspective of the teachers, students, and investigator. The classrooms were described in terms of the investigator's and participants' own words, allowing the record of events

and interactions to illustrate the thematic regularities which comprised studentship in program context. Here description focused on the types of studentship behaviors employed, the contextual conditions within which such behaviors were displayed, and such analytic assertions about relation of the two as were properly grounded in the data.

Researcher Bias

A central concern with naturalistic inquiry is that the investigator is never a perfect instrument who holds no biases or has made no assumptions. In quantitative research, because the investigator is not the primary instrument to be used in data collection, assumptions and bias are not ordinarily considered to be a major issue. Unlike quantitative research, the naturalist is the instrument through which data collection takes place. There can be no perfect objectivity, or separation of observer from the observed. Therefore, the investigator from the outset must be concerned about not allowing the "meanings of their world" to become tangled up in the data in ways that are undetected or not made apparent to the reader.

While it is not possible or even desirable to eliminate all researcher bias, it is possible to address the issue. The investigator can inform readers of biases which may affect the interpretation of results. The purpose here is to inform the reader of this document about the assumptions the researcher had prior to data collection which inevitably influenced how studentship was perceived. The researcher's personal experiences as a student, a teacher, and a teacher educator had led her to believe the following.

(a) All students have engaged in and are familiar with studentship behaviors prior to entering a college or university.

(b) Most students in a teacher preparation program will exhibit some form of studentship.

(c) The majority of preservice students are more concerned with receiving good grades than they are about other aspects of learning to teach.

(d) Studentship most frequently is an individual behavior, but it also may occur within a group of individuals.

(e) The student sub-culture in most professional training programs provides a social medium which encourages studentship.

(f) Teacher educators sometimes promote studentship by rewarding those students who engage in such behaviors. In this sense, studentship can be viewed as a perfectly normal and predictable response to program context.

(g) Most faculty members are aware that studentship exists, yet have not concerned themselves with attempting to eliminate the more dysfunctional aspects of those behaviors.

(h) The hidden curriculum which exists in many training programs encourages studentship. For example, if students are rewarded when they express agreement with an instructor, they will quickly learn to express beliefs which are congenial to perceived teacher opinion. If they are subject to sanctions when they describe personal experiences which lead them to conclusions different from those preferred by the instructor,

they will quickly learn to keep quiet and hide their disagreement.

(i) Studentship enables recruits to leave the influence of the training program with beliefs about teaching that are antithetical to the goals of training.

(j) Not all forms of studentship will have negative implications for what the recruit learns during training, particularly if these behaviors enable the recruit to "try on for size" activities which are related to the internalization of new values.

Timeline

The following timeline describes the pace and sequence of this investigation.

December 1986:

(1) Established entry into the research setting.

January 1987:

(1) Submitted dissertation proposal to the committee for approval.

(2) Established entry with teachers, obtaining a signed informed consent from them.

(3) Established entry with students, obtaining a signed informed consent.

(4) Commenced observations.

(5) Commenced informal interviews.

(6) Began collection of pertinent documents (handouts, syllabi, and other materials related to the class).

(7) Interviewed key informant.

(8) Began student interviews.

(9) Commenced meetings with peer debriefer.

February 1987:

(1) Continued interviews with key informant.

(2) Conducted remaining interviews with students.

(3) Conducted formal interviews with all teachers.

(4) Continued meeting with peer debriefer.

(5) Concluded classroom observations, student interviews, and collection of documents.

(6) Began typing transcripts of taped interviews.

March 1987:

(1) Continued typing transcripts of taped interviews.

(2) Commenced formal data analysis.

April 1987:

(1) Continued typing transcripts of taped interviews.

(2) Continued formal data analysis.

May 1987:

(1) Conducted final interviews with teachers.

(2) Conducted final interview with key informant.

(3) Continued typing transcripts of taped interviews.

(4) Continued formal data analysis.

June 1987:

(1) Completed typing transcripts of taped interviews.

(2) Continued formal data analysis.

(3) Began the process of sorting and resorting emerging thematic categories.

July 1987:

(1) Continued formal data analysis.

(2) Began writing draft of report.

August 1987:

(1) Completed the process of sorting data into categories.

(2) Continued writing draft of report.

January 1988:

(1) Completed first draft of report.

(2) Completed additional drafts of report.

(3) Scheduled oral exam.

February 1988:

(1) Defended dissertation before Dissertation Committee.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine in a naturalistic setting, the types of studentship behaviors employed by students enrolled in a teacher training program, the contextual conditions within which such behaviors were displayed, and to examine the total for regularities which might allow for the development of grounded theories. The two formal research questions which guided this study were:

1. What are the studentship behaviors employed by students?
2. What contextual conditions exist which might encourage the use of studentship, and what factors exist in the program which might reduce the tendency for students to employ studentship?

To address these questions, data from field logs, method logs, theoretical journals, combined with transcripts of formal and informal interviews, and documents such as student notes, instructor evaluations, grade sheets, syllabi, and other important written material were reviewed and analyzed in accordance with recommendations for qualitative data analysis (discussed in Chapter 3). Specifically, data were analyzed in the following sequential steps:

a) ongoing review of all logs throughout the process of data collection,
b) multiple reviews of all data subsequent to data collection,
c) sorting into preliminary categories with frequent re-sorting,

d) identification of 21 final categories which best described specific studentship behaviors and contextual conditions under which they occurred,

e) review to identify disconfirming data and to assess the appropriateness of the overall data classification scheme, and

f) preparation of summary descriptions from a triangulated perspective of teachers, students, and investigator.

The results of these analytic steps will be presented in several stages. First, a description of the setting, including descriptions of the college, students, teachers, and individual classrooms will provide a feeling for what life at Carrington College was like for the observed students. Second, studentship will be defined, described, illustrated with examples, and discussed in relation to the contextual conditions which influenced its emergence. Third, studentship will be discussed in relation to the underlying influence of grades. Finally, a subsequent chapter will be presented for purposes of concluding and discussing the results of this study and how the findings impact teacher education programs.

Description of the Setting

Here a description of the college, the students, the teachers, and each of the observed classes will be provided for purposes of developing a feeling for what life in this particular training program was like for the observed students.

The College

The two observed classes were integrated within the required curriculum for those students enrolled in the physical education teacher

training program at Carrington College. The college, a private school which is over 100 years old, is located in the eastern portion of the United States. Yearly enrollment averages over 2000 undergraduates and 400 graduate students. The physical education department, housed within a division, offers students a variety of pre-professional curricula. Only the teacher preparation program, however, was observed for the purpose of this study. Within this program, approximately 250 undergraduate students engage themselves in the professional preparation curriculum for purposes of graduating and becoming certified to teach at either the elementary or secondary level.

The college is well regarded, and the physical education department has historically been described as one which has produced strong, qualified graduates. This reputation encourages many students to select Carrington College when searching for a training program in physical education.

Not only does the college assume responsibility for graduating students who are competent and responsible teachers, but who are well rounded individuals as well. As a result, the pervasive attitude towards educating the "whole person" permeates the entire college community, and seems to have impact on how students determine whether or not to engage in the various studentship behaviors.

The Students

Most of the students who were involved in this study lived either on campus or in an apartment within walking distance from the college. Very few students lived with their parents or attended as commuters. Most

came to Carrington College because of its strong reputation, often being encouraged by parents, teachers, or coaches who know of the college's reputation. The consensus of students participating in this study was that they were pleased with their decision to attend the college and that they had received a quality education which would influence the type of job they would obtain.

The observed students were seniors, completing the last two required courses prior to student teaching. While a few would still need to take additional courses to meet graduation requirements, most students would complete the semester and graduate at the end of the term. All of the participating students, with the exception of two foreign students, were enrolled in both classes. There were 30 students enrolled in Curriculum, 20 men and 10 women. In Organization and Administration 21 men and 11 women were enrolled for a total of 32 students.

The Teachers

The nature of the study demanded that great discretion be used in protecting the identity of subjects. Accordingly, very little personal biography will be presented in describing the teachers.

Elizabeth Jones was the instructor for Organization and Administration. It was a class she had taught for several years, and one which she indicated she enjoyed teaching. She had been employed at Carrington College for many years, held a masters degree, and at one time had seriously contemplated obtaining a doctorate.

Christine Baker was one of two co-instructors assigned to teach Curriculum Development. She had been employed at Carrington College for

several years and held a doctorate. She had previous experience teaching this course and also indicated she enjoyed working with students. She felt particularly comfortable at Carrington College because she felt it provided students with an excellent learning environment and allowed her to focus on teaching rather than research.

Claire Smith was the second of two co-instructors for Curriculum. She had taught this class previously with Christine. Claire was a recent addition to the faculty at Carrington College and her job responsibilities included both teaching and coaching. Claire held a masters degree and was contemplating obtaining her doctorate if the demands of teaching and coaching could be managed so as to provide the necessary time.

The Classes

Each of the two classes observed, Curriculum Development and Organization and Administration, are populated primarily by majors in their senior year. In the fall, each of the classes commences after student teaching is completed. In the spring, when data were collected for the present study, classes are scheduled immediately prior to student teaching. Because the classes are offered within the same semester as the major field practicum, they are scheduled to meet intensively Monday through Friday for a four week period, Organization and Administration for two hours in the morning and Curriculum Development for one and a half hours in the afternoon.

Organization and Administration. This particular class was scheduled to meet in a second floor classroom every morning from 9:00 until 11:00. One of the most memorable physical attributes of the

classroom was that the overabundance of desk chairs spaced closely together allowed little room to move about freely, much less to reach a desired location. Only two Asian students consistently sat in the front row near the teacher. The remaining students were scattered throughout the room, many sitting far back to produce a persistent pattern of vacancies in the front rows closer to the teacher. Students usually sat in the same location each day, associating with the same peer group. It was not unusual for students to remain in their coats or heavy sweaters throughout the duration of the class, with complaints being regularly overheard regarding the coldness of the room.

On the first day of class the teacher, Elizabeth Jones, shared her expectations and goals with the students. Information the students would need was both explained by Elizabeth and included on the course syllabus. The objectives which Elizabeth intended to accomplish were stated as follows (at the conclusion of the course the students should be able to).

1. Discuss the problems faced in administering a program and identify how they can contribute to solutions as a teacher.
2. Identify the relationship between basic physical education, intramurals, interscholastic, adapted programs, and social agencies.
3. Discuss guides used by administrators regarding planning, personnel, facilities, budgeting and financing, purchasing, public relations and legalities.
4. Apply the fact that an administrator of a physical education program must first be concerned with general education, as well as, physical education.

Included in the remainder of the syllabus were the course outline, the scheduled reading assignments for the single required textbook, a list of supplemental references, course policies, a percentage breakdown for determining grades, and a brief description of the assignments. In addition to this syllabus, students were required to sign a contract which indicated they understood the course policies.

In terms of evaluation, it was explained that 50% of the grade was to be determined by performance on the final examination. Another 15% of the grade was based on an assigned panel discussion topic which students presented to the class and which was to be accompanied by a brief paper and reference list. A cover letter and personal resume were each worth 5% ot the grade and were one of the first assignments students would submit. The final 25% was to be determined through completion of a policy handbook to be conducted as a small group exercise (3-5 students per group). Students were graded for attendance only if they exceeded three allotted absences, in which case their grade would be lowered by one letter for each additional absence.

In describing the general format the instructor employed throughout the four weeks, a temporal sequence provides an appropriate frame. Class consistently began with the ritual taking of roll, usually between 9:00 and 9:05. Elizabeth would enter the classroom, and after organizing her materials, would begin to call students' names. They obliged by answering when present and then continued to talk while sitting in their seats as roll continued. Frequently, students would stand by the teacher's desk prior to

roll and ask questions, generally centering on grades, absences, and assignments.

During the ensuing first hour of class, Elizabeth would spend the majority of time lecturing about subjects listed in the course syllabus. Students were encouraged to ask questions, interject their opinions, and were sometimes asked to answer questions. Students focused their attention on Elizabeth, taking notes whenever they deemed it appropriate (to be discussed in detail later in this chapter), and frequently sharing teaching experiences and personal beliefs about teaching with the rest of the class. Toward the end of the hour students occasionally indicated restlessness by slouching in their seats, moving around noisily, or by starting conversation with neighbors. Elizabeth would respond by giving the students a five to ten minute break.

The second hour of the class was devoted primarily to class discussion or student presentations. During the first few classes, prior to the student presentations, Elizabeth would sometimes finish her lecture shortly after the break, and if the students did not have any discussion questions, she would dismiss them early. Once the students began to use class time for their presentations, class usually lasted the entire two hours. When the students were dismissed, unless they had a question for Elizabeth, they were packed up and out the door within a minute.

The class format rarely differed except for the three instances when guest speakers were invited to present. The first speaker was a woman from Placement Services who spoke about resumes and cover letters, highlighting appropriate and inappropriate selections on the

overhead. Following her presentation the students adjourned to the library where three male students had been assigned to present a video-tape on interviewing skills and two mock interviews designed to illustrate how to, and how not to, interview. The second guest presentation was planned by two male students also in fulfillment of the presentation assignment. They invited a speaker from the local teachers' union to discuss the purpose of unions and then answer questions they had prepared. The final guest speaker, a woman, appeared at one of the last class meetings to speak about teacher liability, lawsuits, and the implications of both.

When interviewed, the students <u>described the class</u> as taking a "common sense" approach to teaching. They indicated a general belief that Elizabeth was preparing them to go into the schools and become a teacher, equipping them with the necessary skills a teacher would need in the "real" world of teaching.

> ...it's very practical and it's not like something that's inferior you're not learning, it's like real, it's like everyday, it's like life, you know. It's like what we're going to go out there and do. It's not out of a book, you know, although we have a book for that class, but it's just, and the stories she tells, she tells stories that are, that are real, and I can relate to them. The content is good. It like it. (Pam, p. 3)

> I would say that the most important thing I've learned is the realistic, the real world environment of a teacher. In other words, the actual salaries, the actual rules on leaves of absence, and taking time off to do your own master work studying or Ph.D. work studying. The real world aspect of teaching I think is something that hasn't been addressed too much in the other classes and this class addresses it a lot. (Jan, p. 4)

> I like the practicality of the class, starting to deal with issues that are gonna arise as teachers, that we're gonna come across. I think it prepares us a little to be a little bit more comfortable with those problems as they arise and know a little bit about how we might think about them and sort them out as teachers. (Sean, p. 2)

The students believed the classroom provided an atmosphere which encouraged the sharing of opinions, regardless of whether or not they were contrary to those of the teacher. They appreciated the opportunity to listen and share the dilemmas they were beginning to encounter as they grappled with the task of completing the course and beginning student teaching.

> I would say it does differ in that there is a greater chance for discussion in this class than in any other class that I've had as far as academics go here or the physical education program. You definitely get a chance to talk and speak out if you feel you have an opinion. One way or the other you're allowed to make that choice. Some of the other physical education classes that we've had it was strictly the teacher would lecture to you, you wrote down, and then time for the test you wrote it back down for him and handed it back to him and that was it, and there was no chance to make your view known or your opinion. So I think this is a definite difference from those other P.E. classes that we've had because of the chance to voice your opinion. (Jen, p. 4)

As this last student indicated, discussion was always an option, and students began to realize that many different beliefs about teaching were held, opinions that often were not congruent with their own. They began to use the discussion as a way of confronting contrary opinions or as an opportunity to display and confirm their own. They began to believe that

although they had strong beliefs about how to teach, there was not one right way to do things. Although they were beginning to develop ideas about possible solutions to educational problems, they also were beginning to feel a degree of uncertainty about the role of being a teacher. This was particularly evident whenever Elizabeth would stress that in organizing and administering programs there isn't always a "rule or a definite procedure to follow."

In sharp contrast to this was the Curriculum Development class where students faced the task of learning a conceptual approach to curriculum construction, one which was governed by strict guidelines and which offered far less flexibility than the material they were encountering in Organization and Administration. This contrast provided an opportunity to observe the same set of students in two very different training contexts.

Curriculum Development. This course met every afternoon from 1:00 until 2:30 p.m., after a two hour break following Organization and Administration. Students usually met in a small lecture type auditorium in the lower level of the same building as the morning class. The room had an aura of gloominess, with cement floors, painted walls in faded institutional colors, chairs bolted in place, inadequate heat, and only a few small windows near the ceiling to admit thin rays of sunshine or provide a chance to watch the snow falling. The room was much like a medical school theatre with steps progressing downwards towards a long black lab table, the type that is standard in any science laboratory, which the teacher would use as a lecturn and desk. Once the two instructors entered

the room, turned on the lights and commenced class, some of the gloominess was dispelled, but an air of shabby austerity remained. After the first week, the class would meet on occasion in one of two other locations selected according to the demands of particular lessons.

The first class of the semester ensued when Christine Baker passed out three sets of papers. She joked with the students while her co-instructor, Claire Smith, sat quietly in the front row. Once the students had their handouts, Christine began:

> This four week period will be a real push on your part. There will be much to learn in a short amount of time. You students will probably find it easier than those in the fall who student taught first and then had to come back and take the course during the last four weeks of the semester. You will be required to spend a great deal of time working together. You'll get sick of schoolwork and you'll be most happy to leave.

Christine then directed the students' attention to the course syllabus which contained four sections; objectives, the textbook and recommended readings, a general course outline, and an evaluation section. The objectives were listed so that the students were aware by the end of the course that Christine expected them to be capable of

1. explaining and engaging in the process of curriculum development,
2. identifying conceptual frameworks for decision making in physical education curriculum development,
3. engaging in a group process of curriculum development and contributing to group projects,

4. expressing in writing personal views on the qualities and characteristics of the "physically educated person",
5. identifying potential strategies for change and suggesting implementation tactics for the curriculum developed, and
6. identifying program evaluation techniques for assessing goal attainment and areas of weakness in the curriculum developed.

These objectives were to be accomplished through readings, assignments, lectures, and classroom activities.

Student evaluation was to be based upon several criteria. Christine explained to the students that 40% of their grade would be determined according to final examination performance (to be administered so as not to conflict with the exam for Organization and Administration). Another 15% of their grade would be based upon two individual assignments. Completion of two group assignments would comprise 25% of the grading scale. Class participation was to be worth 10% of students' grade while group membership and process participation was another 5%. The final 5% was to be determined according to a self and class (group) evaluation of each student's work. Christine completed her explanation of the evaluation process by telling students they always had the option of electing to redo the individual or group assignments as a means of improving their grade.

In describing the general format which the two teachers employed, neither sequence of events nor mode of instruction provide a reliable framework. Class usually commenced with the taking of roll or with a short period of announcements in which the teachers conveyed important

information to the students. These announcements included such matters as the student teaching seminar, administration of the National Teachers' Exam, departmental matters, or messages from other teachers. Unlike the Organization and Administration class, however, the activities of the classroom tended to differ from day to day, particularly as the semester progressed. Just as the students did not meet in the same room for the entire four weeks, so too they never experienced the same routine from class to class.

During the first two weeks, class was predictable with Christine lecturing to students about how to develop a curriculum, how to involve community members in the developmental process, and the types of curricula that had been devised. Throughout these two weeks, though lectures filled part of each period, time was allotted for questions, discussion, a small group assignment, and administration of the major exam (this was proctored by another professor as both Christine and Claire had prior professional engagements).

The final two weeks differed significantly from the first two. Here Claire had the main responsibility for leading the class and working with the students. It must be noted, however, that while Claire was now the acting instructor, Christine continued to be perceived as the primary one. Claire usually spent the initial portion of class, anywhere from 15 minutes to one hour, lecturing and diagramming various curricula, answering questions, and engaging in discussions with the students. The remainder of time was allotted to the students for the purpose of working

with their assigned small groups. On these occasions both Claire and Christine would walk from group to group giving assistance as necessary.

As with Organization and Administration, once class was dismissed the students left quickly, particularly at the end of a lecture session. On occasion, usually after working in small groups, some students remained after class, continuing to work on assignments with their peers. On the last day of class, after the students completed the course evaluation, and after both teachers summarized their feelings and congratulated students on their impending graduation, the students left the room smiling and cheering. One student yelled out, "Yeah, the easy work has just begun!"

As with the morning class, students believed that class participation was important not only because they enjoyed an opportunity to share their beliefs, but also because they perceived that active engagement in the class could only improve their grades. Unlike the morning class, however, participation did not occur as readily throughout the entire four weeks.

The first few classes were sufficiently general to permit students to feel comfortable discussing various aspects of curriculum and what they termed their "personal philosophies" about what activities should be included and what role the physical educator should take in the development of a program. As class progressed, however, and new concepts were introduced which went beyond personal experience and casual observation, discussions waned and participation took the form of asking questions about formal constructs and the technology of curriculum development. These questions became a necessity for those who wanted to

"keep up" and not fall behind the increasingly difficult material which was being presented. Eventually the asking of questions also became more infrequent, and the majority of student involvement shifted to conversations which occurred within the small groups. Once again students shared experiences and discussed personal philosophies, but this time within the safe confines of a small peer group which could disconnect from the formal content of the course. Here two students clearly indicate their perception of why this occurred.

> So I think when the student feels confident about a topic that they're more likely to raise their hands and discuss. In the Curriculum class I think it's only when, the student only participates when they don't understand something and sometimes not always. Sometimes you don't understand something and you won't raise your hand because you feel dumb that nobody else has raised their hand yet. Class is almost over and if I ask a question now she might go into a half an hour dissertation and everyone will be mad at me because we got out of class late. Or I'm the only one that didn't understand it, I think I'm the only one that didn't understand it so I'm not going to ask a question. (Jen, p. 15)

> Well I think Christine expects you to be attentive and to ask questions. I think part of our grade, I don't know what percentage it is for class participation, but I think she likes it when people participate and talk. I know in the beginning I talked a lot the first couple classes, and I've kinda quieted down a little bit cuz I haven't felt as confident or as comfortable in what we're talking about with the talking about the frameworks and the models, and stuff like that, the curriculum based stuff. You know, I think I know, but I don't know if I know it well enough to, confident enough about it to talk about it in class or ask questions. I'm not even sure what type of questions to ask. (Bob, p. 6)

Students _described_ the Curriculum class as being much more theoretical and textbook oriented than Organization and Administration. While some students greatly disliked the theoretical approach because it did not provide them with enough common sense, practical approaches to teaching, other students reveled in this approach. This latter group described it as being a more thought provoking class in which students had to set higher standards for themselves and where one's intelligence was never insulted. Because a fair number of students regarded the theoretical approach as highly valuable, it must be noted that these students' beliefs contradict the notion that recruits want only to receive prescriptions for doing the work of teaching (Lanier and Little, 1986), not wanting to receive training in foundational knowledge (Feiman-Nemser, 1983).

While no clear-cut descriptors can be used to distinguish absolutely between these two groups of students, generally each group can be characterized as follows. On the one hand, students who valued the common sense approach tended to particularly enjoy discussions and the chance to share opinions and recount personal experiences. While these students were by no means academically inferior students, they tended to dislike assigned readings, paperwork, and any requirement to think in abstract terms which took them beyond the level of specific practicalities. On the other hand, those recruits who preferred a theoretical approach also participated in class, but tended to participate by asking questions, proposing explanations, disputing conclusions, or by engaging in "academic dialogue" with the teacher. These students tended to study with a small group of like-minded friends. Sometimes they would

surpass the teacher's minimum expectations by staying after class to do additional work, or by completing optional as well as required readings. While these students never admitted to studying for enjoyment, lengthy assignments which required considerable abstract thought never seemed to bother them. Their definition of what might be beneficial to their future included a range of content and intellectual skills much beyond the immediately practical.

Studentship Behavior

Four major classifications of behavior emerged as consistent patterns in the professional classes; short cutting, cheating, colluding and psyching-out, and image projection. For each of the four major behavior classifications, subcategories were developed to further describe the dominant patterns of student behavior used in the classes. Examples of common behaviors are cited to describe each category and to demonstrate the validity of the classification scheme. Finally, the context surrounding behaviors in each category is identified in order to understand the underlying conditions associated with the occurrence of studentship.

Short Cuts

The largest and by far the most frequently occurring studentship behavior was taking short cuts. Short cuts were behaviors students used to progress through the courses in the most efficient and economical way without sacrificing personal integrity, grades, or the chance of receiving a good recommendation. Very simply, short cuts were used to regulate the amount of energy and effort expended in successfully completing each course.

Short cutting strategies were evident in both classes and while the degree of involvement varied with each individual, taking short cuts appeared to be a common phenomenon in students' lives. Taking short cuts, however, was not necessarily peculiar to these particular classes because students readily admitted to engaging in many of these behaviors long before entering these two classes. The frequency with which various types of short cutting were manifested differed sharply in the two classes.

Students would engage in short cutting for a variety of reasons that were highly individual. For example, students' sense of morality was one factor in determining when short cuts were used and when they were avoided. Short cutting also depended upon the perceived worth of assignments and students' level of interest in completing each assignment. In the following, the three dominant short cutting behaviors exhibited by the students, assignment completion, attendanceship, and note taking, will be explained and illustrated with examples.

Assignment Completion. Assignment completion refers to short cuts intended to circumvent the arduous process of completing a required class task. In Organization and Administration, in addition to the final examination, students were required to complete the following assignments: a) a panel discussion presentation, b) a cover letter accompanied by a professional resume, and c) a policy handbook which they would complete as a small group exercise. In Curriculum, in addition to the final exam and graded class participation, students were required to complete the following assignments: a) a paper describing a physically

educated family, b) a paper focusing on an element of curriculum development, c) a curriculum project which they would complete in small, pre-assigned groups, and d) a group paper discussing the philosophy of physical education. In completing various assignments for both of these classes, the students exhibited four consistent short cutting behavior patterns. These patterns included: 1) copying work that had been previously submitted for other classes, 2) using other students for ideas, 3) allowing other students to do the work, and 4) using the work of those who had taken the class previously.

In employing short cutting behaviors, copying previous work was a strategy whereby students would use work they had completed for another course. An example of copying previous work was the resume assignment required for the Organization and Administration class. While many students found this assignment to be the most valuable and worthwhile assignment, one which would benefit them immediately because they had reached that point in their training when they would be applying for jobs, a few saw the assignment as no more than another arbitrary obstacle to cross prior to graduating. For the majority who found the assignment to be highly valuable, great care was taken to complete it as competently as possible. They based their efforts on what they had learned in class. These students weren't motivated to take short cuts because they felt the assignment held real benefits for their future careers.

> I just typed my resume last night. I had one done , but it wasn't that good. I just, you know, redid it and I think, I feel like she's giving me a kick in the butt and saying, "Lets get going.

> Lets face reality here. You're going to be out here in the real world in 12 weeks." ...I need that. (Len, p. 11)

> ...we're doing resumes and we're doing cover letters and things like that, and those are important for when you go out to teach and when you go out to get a job because she's really looking out for you. She's not doing it for herself. A resume and a cover letter isn't for her, it's for you, and I think she wants you to know that it's important. That these things are done and they're done correctly and not to wait until the last minute. I think she's really looking out for us rather than herself, not to just give us a grade. Just to make sure that we're doing what's expected, and for us to get the best out of life that's ahead of us. (Mark, p. 4)

There were, however, students who completed the assignment by simply relying on previous resume work they had completed for another class. Even though some of these students may have felt the assignment had some worth, they used a short cut simply because it was easier to do so. During the first formal interview, the instructor, Elizabeth Jones, discussed her feelings about how some students had elected to complete the resume and cover letter assignment by copying previous work.

> Some of them I give them five points for the resume and five points for the cover letters. Some of them were just boring, and I put that on there, and I marked them down for it. They come to me and say, "When I redo this will you up the grading on it?" I say, "I don't accept redo, this is it. Take it over to Miss Brown and redo it for yourself. It's not for me." I just want to make sure they get those cover letters sort of ready, but they left off their practicums, you know their teaching, and they said, "Well I haven't done it yet." I say, "I know, but I directed you and told you to put that in here. You know where you're going." Well, what they did was copy one (resume) that they made last year for Dr. Jameson so they haven't updated it, they haven't put in, and I <u>told</u> them to update it. They just

> went up there, got that, and handed it to me. So I took off for it so they're not too happy with me. You know I took off one point or two points and I said, "Hey, that's my job to see whether you did it or not and you didn't." Some of them wrote cover letters that they didn't make up situations for. They just said, "Dear Principal." I told them how to do it. Some of them applied for graduate school which I told them specifically <u>not</u> to do in a cover letter. Some of them (sighs) applied for coaching jobs and not a teaching job, and they're turning in their transcripts and their resume for a coaching position next year. ...They didn't do it. That sort of frustrates me. I don't think they're dumb. I'm just a little disappointed. Maybe it's because maybe they don't have the professionalism. That's because they haven't had to do it. I don't know. (Elizabeth Jones, p. 4-5)

When students were interviewed, most described the resume as a valuable assignment, not addressing whether or not they had copied previous work. Instead, they directed conversation about short cutting behaviors to other assignments, ones they determined were not worthwhile to their futures, and ones which they identified as busy work. Don, however, openly admitted to not placing a great deal of value on the resume assignment.

> ...it seemed as though I had a great deal of apathy because I had sent my resume to the print shop, and I had totally forgotten that we had those due today and she goes, "Well did you bring a cover letter?" and I'm like, "Well, I left that at home too." You know, and it's not apathy it's just as though I'm not placing such a value on it. You know, I'm doing things because I want to do things. (Don, p. 14)

Another short cutting strategy, <u>using other students for ideas,</u> was a practice whereby students would gather and exploit ideas from other students. Frequently the students would either go to their classmates for

assistance or to students who had already completed the course. By using other students for ideas, particularly the "brighter" students, the burden of the assignment was lessened and the perceived chance of success was enhanced. For example, one student, Mark, who was having trouble with the resume assignment didn't hesitate to ask a friend for assistance, one who had already completed the course.

> When I was doing my resume and cover letter there was a friend of mine who did it last semester, and I had a little trouble with it, and he showed me his resume, and we worked on a few things, and that kind of sped up things a little bit, but basically if I have trouble I'm going to ask somebody for help. And if they've already done it before, and if they can help me out with what I have been doing than sure, I'll ask them, why not? Why bang my head against the wall when somebody can help me out? (Mark, p. 8)

When students relied on their peers for assistance they tended to approach students who they perceived as understanding the material with which they needed help. For example, one day prior to the final examination for Curriculum, the instructor had asked one of the students, Sean, to lead the class in a review of some of the material that might be covered on the exam. The instructor knew she would be late to class on that particular afternoon and believed that Sean was the most capable of helping his peers to understand the material thus far presented. Throughout the review, Sean answered questions and explained concepts which the remaining students were having difficulty understanding. Following the review, Sean's peers quickly latched onto him prior to leaving the classroom.

Midway through the review session, the instructor entered the classroom and observed how Sean's peers reacted to his understanding of the material. During an interview with the instructor, she indicated that using someone like this particular student was one of the biggest short cuts students take.

> There are some that use more (short cuts) than others. One of the biggest short cuts that kids in that class use is for those who aren't, who don't manage their time well, or who think they can slide by, they let somebody else do the work. They use short cuts the day we had the study session in class. There were plenty of them trading on what they thought Sean's knowledge was. ...they were using his knowledge. So they will use one another, they will talk with one another in order to, to get ideas and do that instead of, instead of reading. (Christine, p. 6-7)

During a subsequent interview with Sean, he discussed his reactions to how his peers came to him for assistance after the review session. His feelings differed from the instructors in that while she perceived Sean's peers as "using" him, he perceived the other students as just needing extra help which he didn't mind giving.

> I think that in Curriculum Development after I got assigned to teach that class for the day, or review the test, I noticed that a whole trail of people came following me to the library, and I have no problem with that at all. I really enjoy helping people if I understand the material. ...my theory on this is that we all have to get through this together, some of us will be better teachers than others, and somehow we'll all get through it, and if I can help anybody in any way without getting somebody who's not qualified to be there, you know somebody who really cannot teach, I think I would tell that person, "Look you're in the wrong ballpark, why don't you try something else." But, I would help anybody, whether it's

> making the grade or whether it's getting a job, but that's because I'm very human services oriented. (Sean, p. 7)

Using other students for ideas was a common practice in both classes. There were no clear cut contextual differences which were associated with this behavior pattern in the two settings. Through observations and interviews it became clear that relying on other students for ideas was a frequently used behavior, yet the degree to which students used this behavior seemed contingent more on individual student differences than on contextual factors in the classroom.

The third behavior category, letting other students do your work, occurred when students allowed others in their assigned or selected groups to take primary responsibility for completing a majority of the assigned work. In some cases, letting other students complete the work meant taking a group assignment and dividing the work among individuals. In other cases it meant not participating in the formal group dialogue, forcing others to complete the task without assistance from all group members.

This particular strategy was used differently in each observed class. In Organization and Administration, because only one group project was assigned, it meant using short cutting strategies for purposes of completing the handbook assignment. Specifically, students would divide the handbook assignment into sections, assign each group member specific sections, have each group member take responsibility for writing only their section, meet once all individual sections were completed, and then staple them together to complete the handbook.

> I think we are taking short-cuts by dividing the handbook up into its ten sections and then doling out three sections to each person and having them be responsible for it. ...So I think a short cut that we're taking is having each person responsible for their categories, meet a few days before it's time, look at it, type it up and hand it in. (Jan, p. 7)

While this short cutting behavior may seem rather benign, one purpose of this assignment was for students to have practice working in groups which are similar to what students may ultimately encounter once they graduate and are employed in the public schools. While dividing the work into sections seemed a very reasonable solution in completing what students believed to be an arduous assignment, they only received practice at completing their individual section, not learning how to work cooperatively in a group setting, and not becoming familiar with all assigned sections of the handbook.

In Organization and Administration, letting other students do the work meant dividing the work into sections and only doing a specified amount of work, usually no more or no less than any other student in the group. In Curriculum, however, letting other students do the work frequently meant not engaging in as much discussion or task oriented behavior, forcing the remaining group members to carry a heavier share of the workload. In part, this occurred because in Curriculum, students were given ample in-class time in which they were to work in their assigned small groups. They were forced, therefore, to use class time to complete various aspects of the assignment and could not simply divide the work into sections which they could take home and complete at their leisure. When Frank was asked what short cuts students take in the Curriculum

class, he responded by indicating that some students use the group work as a short cut.

> Yes, I think people will take advantage of that (using other students to do the work) in the group work, and I've seen it already happen through talking to two other people in the class. Not in my group it hasn't happened a lot, but it has happened in other groups more. Yeah, my roommate. (Frank, p. 9)

When students discussed how they felt about working in their assigned groups for curriculum, some admitted that others in the group took responsibility for completing the majority of the work. Bob was one student who admitted that his peers took more responsibility for completing the group assignment than he did. Observation confirmed that Bob rarely participated. Instead, the other students in his group assumed primary responsibility for leading discussions and taking notes. Bob discussed his group behavior during an interview, indicating that other students seemed to want to take on more responsibility.

> Working with the group too has been a good experience. A group of kids that weren't just your buddies or anything. You know, working on the projects, on our curriculum projects together and seeing how we all can delegate responsibility and do our share. And it's been funny because especially in our group it seems like we had two kids come to the forefront and take on more responsibility I guess cuz they want to, as far as doing the papers and typing them up and stuff. The rest of us have kinda taken our ideas and try to help them out, but they wanted to do things their way. So it's funny how you try to have to work with that. There's always gonna be different personalities, but it's been a good experience, but it's been a challenge too, but also I guess sometimes I'm in there and I would rather be somewhere else. (Bob, p. 5)

Other students in the class indicated that they felt compelled to assume a leadership position because they didn't feel comfortable about allowing their peers to do so. Some of these students resented that their peers weren't willing to take on the same responsibility. Many students who felt they carried primary responsibility for completing the assignment also resented being assigned to a group of students who didn't care as deeply.

> In other words, when I did the resume and a cover letter I did it by myself. I didn't have to worry about other people and what my grade would be. My grade was from my work in the group type classes. Now my grade is from everybody's work not just my own. So if I get a bunch of yo-yo's who don't want to do any work, that's going to reflect on me. (Mark, p. 3)

> I mean there's a certain people you'd pick to be in a group and a certain people you wouldn't, whether they're friends or not. Two of the people in my group are good friends of mine although they do diddley in the group. They don't do anything really. They don't help at all...you're busy enough as it is you don't need to do stuff for other people. (Frank, p. 9)

While there were students who felt exploited by their peers while working in their assigned groups, Len justified why the instructors were asking the students to take on a group project.

> I think they expect us to take the material that we're getting and try to apply it in our group the way we're working in groups. They're trying to show us how to work in that group right now, and if we could take this material and have a better understanding of how to work in meetings or groups or how to develop a certain curriculum and everything it's going to, it'll make us one step ahead of the game. (Len, p. 6)

Another student who greatly disliked being assigned to a peer group stated that being able to grade one's peers for the amount of work they contributed on the assignment made the group work a bit more tolerable. She indicated that she graded her peers according to their contributions to the group, not whether or not she liked those students. When her fellow group members would approach her and ask what grade she gave them, she indicated that she simply lied to them.

> ...it wasn't like a difficult assignment, it was difficult conscious-wise because they're you're friends, but like some of them didn't do anything. Then you think are they gonna say, are they gonna say, "Hey, what did you give me for a grade?" ...Yeah, but I lie...some people I did (lie to) cuz I didn't want to hurt their feelings. (Jan, p. 3)

For some students, working in the curriculum group setting became an easy way of avoiding primary responsibility for completing an assigned task. For other students the group work became a source of annoyance because they felt responsible for assuming a leadership position if they wanted to do well on the assignment, particularly if their peers weren't willing to do so. There was, however, an additional category of students who enjoyed working in the group, neither because they wanted to assume a leadership position nor because they wanted to let other students take responsibility for doing their work. This group of students simply enjoyed working with their peers, discussing ideas, and having an opportunity to complete the assignment in a less monotonous manner than having to complete it alone.

> I like the group stuff. As much as when you're in a group you have a variety of people throwing things out, but it's good, it

> breaks up the monotony. You know a lot of people think it's easier working by themselves, but a lot of times you get so tired of doing, especially now when you are taking that class, it's good to get together to have the groups and do it together because I think it makes things a little bit easier. But at the same time I know our group, you get people throwing things out and it's hard to agree on what you want to do, and time is a big thing. We only meet for four weeks, and we've got to get these things done. I think the group work was the best thing though. (Ted, p. 2)

Group work became a short cut for some and for others it meant assuming responsibility for completing the work of others. In Organization and Administration most students in each group relied on short cuts by simply dividing the work up among classmates. While some students put forth more effort on their particular section, all students in the group were forced to take responsibility for some portion of the handbook. In Curriculum not all students relied on short cutting behaviors because they felt compelled to complete the assignment to the best of their ability, even if that meant they were doing more work than their peers. Thus, while working in a group setting produced an environment conducive to short cutting, the nature of each assignment and the climate of each observed classroom strongly influenced how, when, and by whom short cuts would be taken.

The fourth short cutting behavior pattern students exhibited while completing required class tasks was <u>using the work of those who have taken the class previously.</u> This behavior pattern is best described as copying directly from assignments completed in previous terms or extrapolating significant portions of work completed by past students and

incorporating that work into a present assignment. This short cutting strategy was employed by many students, but was heavily influenced by the contextual conditions of the classroom. While the degree of occurrence again varied among individual students, it was a strategy most students felt comfortable employing without hesitation or loss of personal integrity.

Using the work of those who have taken the class previously was evidenced to a greater extent in Organization and Administration than in Curriculum. It was a particularly dominant mode of behavior with regard to the handbook assignment. For this assignment students were asked to work in small groups to complete a policy handbook similar to one they might find in a high school. Students were allowed to sign out from the instructor previous handbooks that had been completed in past years which were to serve as a reference. Many students did sign out these handbooks, however, many also asked their friends for past handbooks that the teacher did not have access to so that she would not be able to determine that they had copied.

For those who had copies of previously graded handbooks, they could choose either to copy directly or to use it as a resource for ideas. The following excerpts indicate what the majority of students believed who were categorized as using previous handbooks as a resource for ideas. While most of these students believed that using past handbooks was a good use of time, a few indicated that they would only use past handbooks as a reference, not as a means of copying directly.

> ...the thing is I could copy that word for word and she'd never know. I could copy it word for word and give it back to her cuz she would never put two and two together, but I get no satisfaction outa that. The kinda person I am, I would feel guilty doing that. So what I do is I read the one and okay I like the way it sounds, but I never use the material....I didn't copy anything verbatim. (Jim, p. 9)

> ...a lot of people took other people's ideas that were again distributed to the students. (Sean, p. 8)

> I mean why do they give us this handbook? You know you can't say that people aren't gonna pull things outa that whether they do or they don't that's their decision, but at the same time it's just tempting. I mean she gives us a sample handbook to look at and you're sitting there and it's so easy to just go through and just maybe rearrange a little bit or pull things out that you don't want in yours. Whereas I feel sorry for the people who had to do that the first time. ...you're sitting there, you can just go, just change some. Like I said, it's really just human nature. (Ted, p. 8)

> ...but you're just using their set up or the way they present it, you can get ideas from them. I think she encourages that actually to an extent by letting you borrow the handbooks, the old ones. (Frank, p. 16)

It is likely that there was a second group of students, those who chose to copy directly from previous handbooks. These students weren't interested in the ideas presented within previous handbooks, but copied the material because that represented a quick means of completing the assignment. While students such as these probably existed, their behaviors were described by peers. While being interviewed no students admitted to directly copying other handbooks. It seems probable that

students weren't willing to jeopardize their future in the department by admitting to copying even in a confidential interview. Testimony from secondary sources, however, seems quite persuasive.

> I know definitely people that have taken short cuts. ...using other people's handbooks and just blatantly using their exact wording and using their same style. (Sue, p. 6)

> I'm sure there are some handbooks floating around. I'm sure there are some handbooks that weren't signed out that people are probably using word for word. I have a handbook and I just use it. I read it and it gives me an idea, and then I write mine and type it up. (Jim, p. 8)

> We have a copy of the handbook, and to be honest with you I don't think the teacher can remember what all of them are, and it wouldn't take much, and I know students who have just typed it over again and handed it in. (Jan, p. 6)

In attempting to discover why copying and lifting significant ideas from previous handbooks were such prevailing short cutting behaviors, it was determined that this behavior occurred in association with two contextual circumstances. The first was a strong negative reaction to the nature of the assignment. Almost all students who were interviewed, formally and informally, described the handbook as either an unreasonable task to complete in a short amount of time, not worthwhile, or a waste of time. When students explained why they employed short cuts during this assignment, it was for the following reasons.

> The handbook I thought was an unreasonable assignment to get done in that amount of time. ...Again, when I wrote my handbook I just pieced it together using several sources, mainly other students' handbooks. If I should ever have to come up with a handbook it won't be the one I put together for

> this class because it's not too much of my own thinking. I really didn't have time to think about what I wanted in my handbook. (Sean, p. 4)

> The main reason is because I really don't feel there's a strong importance on it. If I did I'd be starting it, and writing it, and probably would be almost done by now. (Mark, p. 8)

> I guess what I like least about the class is the handbook that we have due on Friday. It's very long and tedious...and for me I don't really see much use in it. The handbook is going to be there when you get there. (Mark, p. 3)

The second contextual characteristic that played a part in determining whether or not students chose to take short cuts with the handbook assignment, was the risk of being discovered. If students decided that the risk of being caught was great, they weren't as tempted to take short cuts. Several students, however, determined that because the instructor would never be able to remember all of the handbooks that she had read in the past, it was safe to employ short cuts.

> ...in that particular class because there's so many handbooks going to be passed in, and because I think it's possible (to copy) as long as you don't do it too dramatic. ...I don't think you could get away with that in Christine's class (Curriculum). I know you could not get away with that. (Frank, p. 22)

When the instructor, Elizabeth Jones, was interviewed at the end of the term, she discussed the handbook assignment, addressing how she believed some students had copied other students' handbooks. Whereas the students believed she was unaware of their short cutting strategies, she indicated that not only was she aware of these behaviors, but as a result

of the copying that occurred she was considering not signing out handbooks in future classes.

> I think it does help them, but I think I'm going to stop (signing out handbooks) it because I have a feeling that they are absolutely just copying ideas out of there. ...I don't really mind if they use the ideas that have been set up before them, but I find that they will almost copy them, and I'll tell you why I find that. Sometimes I change, I give them an outline and I'll say, "I want this to be Chapter One, this to be Chapter Two," then I'll change it and I'll say, "Put the policies, Chapter Two is now Chapter One and Chapter Three is now Chapter Four or Table of Contents." I've changed the whole thing around and they haven't used that one, they use the one they copied. (Elizabeth Jones, p. 5)

To summarize, in the process of completing required assignments, students employed four short cutting behavior patterns: a) copying work that had been previously submitted for other classes, b) using other students for ideas, c) allowing other students to do the work, and d) using the work of those who had taken the class previously. While some students engaged in short cutting behaviors regardless of the assignment or class, there existed a substantial amount of short cutting behaviors which appeared to be related to particular contextual factors in each class. These conditions determined if and when some students would employ short cutting behaviors. The three contextual conditions which dominated their decisions were: a) opportunity, b) perceived overall worth of the class and the value of each individual assignment, and c) time available for completing each assignment.

The opportunity to engage in short cutting became a significant factor which students carefully considered prior to engaging in any

behaviors which might jeopardize their standing in the class or standing with the instructor. Opportunity meant two things. First, if students had available to them some means (for example: a previous handbook) that allowed convenient short cuts, they tended to do so. Second, if they believed they could employ short cuts without getting caught, they were less hesitant about doing so.

Students in Organization and Administration tended to employ more short cutting behaviors than students in Curriculum. Students believed that Christine deliberately made it more difficult to employ short cuts in Curriculum. The students had fewer opportunities to copy from other students, the material which was being presented made it more difficult to employ short cuts, and students also believed their chances of getting caught by Christine were greater.

> But this stuff (Curriculum), there is so much theory I think it's almost like what you think. So you're not as apt to cheat in this class. (Bob, p. 7)

> The short cuts I would take, Christine (Curriculum) has higher standards expected out of me than Elizabeth (Organization and Administration) does, therefore, I know I gotta be a little bit more on my toes to please Christine, and I think I do that. (Sean, p. 11)

> Certain classes there are, you can take short cuts. It's a lot easier in certain classes, but you know Christine's (Curriculum) class is very difficult cuz like I say, she never makes it the same, never. ...In Christine's class she makes it a lot more difficult because she doesn't do the same thing over and over. ...In the morning class there's definitely some short cuts you can take, some definite short cuts in that class. I mean people, some of the assignments you can more

> or less get up there and wing it without too much difficulty. (Ted, p. 11)

> ...I haven't had the opportunity to do it anyway which she (Christine) sees to because she changes her assignments. (Jim, p. 12)

In addition to determining whether short cutting strategies were possible in each class, students also made decisions about short cutting based on the perceived worth of each class and each assignment. On the one hand, when students enjoyed a particular course they tended to be more interested in what they were learning. With interest came greater willingness to invest effort. Specifically, when they believed a particular assignment to be valuable they tended to spend more time completing that assignment without using short cutting strategies. On the other hand, when students perceived a class or an assignment as not worthwhile, as a waste of time or as having no future value, they engaged in short cutting behaviors with increased regularity.

As was noted earlier, the handbook assignment was the one assignment in which almost all students engaged in some form of short cutting behavior. It was regarded as having little value, and clearly was an assignment which students would rather avoid. They were tempted, therefore, to employ short cuts in order to complete the assignment as quickly as possible, without much investment of effort, yet with some guarantee of at least modest success.

The students were divided as to which class they preferred. Some enjoyed Organization and Administration because they believed it to be practical, while others preferred Curriculum because they felt it was

more theoretical and challenging. While students in general used fewer short cutting behaviors in Curriculum, probably because they were much more difficult to engage in and because the instructor had what students regarded as higher expectations, it seems likely that some students who disliked the class sufficiently would have chosen to use short cutting behaviors if that had been possible. For those students, however, short cutting wasn't an option, whereas it was for those who disliked Organization and Administration. Students, therefore, rarely indicated taking short cuts in Curriculum, yet admitted to engaging in them during Organization and Administration, particularly when they disliked the class.

> Actually I think I work a little bit harder on the paperwork in that class (Curriculum) because she expects so much more. (Mark, p. 10)

> I would be more apt to take the short cuts in the morning class (Organization) because it hasn't really interested me at all, and I feel like I don't, that I'm not learning that much. I'm not motivated to get anything out of it so I want to get the short cuts and get it over with. Where I'd rather spend a lot more time the curriculum class cuz I'm interested in it and wanna learn more about it. (Jan, p. 10)

Finally, short cuts were employed because students indicated they felt great pressure to complete what they regarded as a tremendous amount of work in a very short amount of time. A few believed that they were being required to complete too much work during the last semester of their senior year, while other students believed that short cuts were

necessary to alleviate some of the stress that had been accumulating throughout these four week classes.

> ...you are going to try short cuts because you are. I am a senior, and I've only got a few more months left. You do wanna learn about these things, but at the same time you are gonna look for these short cuts, if there are any short cuts to get through the project or the assignment. (Ted, p. 11)

> I usually take the shortest route between two points. I don't make work harder than it should be. ...Sometimes you'll run into times where like at this point right now I'm just so stressed out I got a stomach ache for two days. I'm just like, I don't give a shit about this. I could give two shits now. I just, I don't want to deal with it. ...You just get to a point where you're just totally stressed out. I don't like to take short cuts, but then I'm not gonna make the work harder on myself than it really has to be. (Jim, p. 10)

Attendanceship. Attendanceship was a short cutting behavior which referred to the students' attitude and resulting actions toward actual classroom attendance. It was a behavior which appeared to be contingent upon the demands of each instructor. For example in Organization and Administration, the instructor allowed the students to miss three classes before their grade would be affected. In Curriculum, however, the students believed the instructors expected them to be present every day. As a result, students frequently took advantage of the three allowed absences in Organization and Administration, yet they always attended Curriculum unless they were ill or the weather prevented them from driving to the college.

The behavior of not attending Organization and Administration, but being present for Curriculum was observed throughout data collection. It

seemed to be particularly evident on Fridays when several students would be absent in the morning, yet present in the afternoon. For example, on one Friday approximately half way through data collection, eleven students were counted as absent in Organization and Administration, but all enrolled students were present that afternoon for Curriculum.

The students' decision to miss one class and not the other became a topic of discussion among students and with the researcher. Each student had their own reasons for why they would not cut the Curriculum class, many of which reflected the expectations of the instructor, even when they felt that the attendance requirement was unreasonable or childish.

> I liked the administration class a lot, but the curriculum class was a real hassle. It's a lot of work for four weeks meeting every day. It can get very monotonous. And it's tough. You can't take a break from the class, you have to be in curriculum class every day. The administration you're allowed three cuts which is good because sometimes you need that. (Mark, p. 11)

> Something I would like to add about Dr. Baker (Curriculum), I was talking to my friend about this. I think that she should teach the course content. I think she gets too personally involved. If a student, for instance, misses a class of hers she'll get very down on the student. She expects the student to maintain a particular interest level. I don't think that's right at all. I think we're adults, you know, we need to make decisions on our own and, hey, if someone is missing a class that shouldn't be an issue. I mean that's not her problem, it's the student's problem. Now if the student is disruptive in class, then it's an issue. (Don, p. 15)

For Mark and Don, class attendance became a difficult requirement to fulfill and one about which Don felt considerable animosity. Both students, however, conscientiously attended class because they

understood it was an important expectation of the instructor. For other students in the class, attendance was not perceived to be unreasonable. Some believed daily attendance in Curriculum was essential because the material could not easily be made-up outside of class.

> ...having Christine (Curriculum) before, she frowns upon kids missing her class--absences. You know Elizabeth (Organization and Administration) gave us leeway of missing three classes, and Christine hasn't given us any leeway really. Maybe you can miss one class and it might not be bad, but also with curriculum class it was just hard for me to grasp the material presented. It's a theoretical class. So I figure if I miss one class in there I'd really be lost. (Bob, p. 14)

It seems likely that if students are to learn the required class material presented by each instructor, required attendance is one way of encouraging students to learn, particularly those students who would not otherwise be motivated to be there. Obviously the requirement was disliked by some, but most students, because they accepted the importance Christine placed on attendance, made an effort to attend class when they otherwise might have chosen to stay at home.

> Being here in class every day is probably one of her expectations I'm trying real hard in. It's nice to sleep in once in a while. (Len, p. 6)

It became evident that attendanceship was strongly influenced by the contextual conditions of the classroom. Because Christine expected attendance, the students attended class--even when some weren't inclined to do so. The decision to attend, however, may also have been influenced by the time each class was scheduled to begin. For some students a 9:00 a.m. class was very early in the morning, particularly after a night of

partying late. It was frequently observed that many students in class were out late on Thursday evenings, and it also was observed that students most frequently missed the Friday morning class.

Note Taking. Another studentship behavior which appeared was the manner in which students took class notes. It became evident that notes were taken based more on what students would need to know for the exam or assignment, and less on what might be important for them to remember once they became certified teachers. The manner of taking notes based upon what was necessary to know for the exam or assignments became apparent during classroom observations, during formal and informal interviews with students, and after an analysis of individual students' notebooks.

Throughout the duration of classroom observations, students seemed to take notes whenever an instructor wrote something on the board, particularly a definition or term, whenever an instructor repeated something slowly, twice, or with particular vocal emphasis. Finally, students always took notes whenever an instructor indicated the students would be held accountable for that particular information on the exam.

The influence of context on note taking first appeared after the students were informed that the final exam for Organization and Administration was to be based more on assigned book readings and much less on classroom lectures. Once informed of this many students were observed taking fewer notes than they had previously.

> I think any time a teacher tells you to list something, then I write down immediately. Any time they stress it by saying it twice or sometimes I just go by what I feel, you know, what I

> feel is coherent in the rest of the notes I write down. But I think, I don't know if this is a sidetrack, but in the morning class a lot of people have neglected to take their notes now they know that the test is coming on just the book. (Jan, p. 5)

> As far as Elizabeth (Organization and Administration) goes, her lecture time is more geared to what we might do as far as our teaching career, what to expect. But if they wanted to do well as far as a grade goes, I would concentrate on the reading more than the lecture material. I find that really you don't even have to take notes. You can just sit there and listen and pick up what you happen to pick up if you're interested. She's talking about discipline and budgeting and things like that. And you can just pick them up from listening cuz they're not going to be on the test. Most of those things I found out today weren't even on the test. Ninety nine percent of the stuff was out of the book. So if they (other students) wanted to be successful as far as a grade goes, I would say read the book. You could be zoning out in class and still do okay. (Jim, p. 2)

Summary. It was discovered that most students employ various short cutting behaviors on many assignments and with some degree of regularity. While it would be unfair to imply that all students chose to engage in studentship, it must be noted that studentship tactics were employed to some degree by the majority of students, and all students who were interviewed, regardless of the degree to which they engaged in studentship, were aware of its existence.

Contextual factors frequently influenced how, when, and if short cutting behaviors were engaged in. If it was possible to engage in short cuts without being discovered by the teacher and without jeopardizing their emerging vision of professional ethics, students frequently used studentship behaviors to reduce the effort required to meet faculty

demands. For example, students did not hesitate to use the work of other students when completing the handbook assignment, to use other students for ideas, or to not attend class if they were allowed any degree of leeway.

Students, however, were not always inclined to take short cuts, particularly when they determined that an assignment would be beneficial to their future as they did with the resume assignment. While some students did use previous work when submitting the resume assignment for Organization and Administration, and while some students indirectly forced their peers to complete the majority of the group Curriculum assignment, in these cases most students completed the work honestly and in the manner each of the instructors had intended.

The contextual factor which most greatly influenced short cutting behaviors was the combination of opportunity and perceived worth of assignment. When students believed they were required to complete an assignment which they perceived to have little value, combined with having an opportunity to engage in short cutting, the majority of students then engaged in those behaviors, albeit to various degrees. This was particularly true of the handbook assignment for Organization and Administration. This assignment was the one which students most consistently complained about, the one which they described as having relatively little worth, the one which presented the most opportunity to engage in short cutting behaviors, and the one they most frequently cited when short cutting behaviors were being discussed.

> Yeah, I don't always try as hard as I should in things, especially things I'm not interested in or I don't like. (Pam, p. 7)

> I guess the hardest thing that I try to do is to get the paperwork done with the exception of the handbook because everything else I pretty much believe in. (Mark, p. 5)

There also were instructor expectations that students met with little difficulty, no complaint and relatively few short cutting behaviors. These expectations tended to be related to in-class behavior standards such as participation and listening. Students seemed to meet these expectations because they were perceived as reasonable and easily met. While there were times when students participated as a means of gaining favor with the instructor (this will be discussed in the next section, Image Projection), frequently students did so because they were interested, because they enjoyed class participation, and because they regarded it as an important and reasonable instructor expectation.

> Well I think I meet the expectation of participating in class, but I don't find it hard because I enjoy sharing. (Jan, p. 4)

> ...be respectful of her certainly. Ask questions, but do it in a polite manner. Don't goof off in the back of the room which all of us do once in awhile (laughs). You can't avoid that (laughs). Just really to be attentive and pay attention and give her the respect that she needs for that full hour and a half. I mean she's giving her time to us. (Sue, p. 4)

Short cutting behaviors appeared to some degree in both classes, although the contextual factors of the classroom and type of instructor expectation impacted short cutting behaviors most directly. It would be unfair, however, to imply that this form of studentship was a dominant

feature of student experience in the program. The observed students showed great concern about becoming good teachers, particularly with regard to applying what they were learning in their student teaching experience and future professional careers. Studentship only became a prevailing mode of behavior when students felt inundated with work, experienced unusual pressure to perform well on a particular task, and when they were asked to complete an assignment they perceived as pointless.

Cheating

Cheating was a studentship behavior which was related to, but was not coterminous with short cutting. It also was a behavior which was defined differently by various individuals. For example, some students defined cheating as copying from another student's exam during a test, using "cheat sheets", or obtaining an exam which the teacher had not intended them to acquire. Other students, however, also defined cheating as copying from previous assignments that their peers had already completed as some chose to do with the handbook assignment.

For the purpose here, cheating was not categorized with short cutting behaviors because there were instances when cheating was used differently. For example, on the one hand cheating could be considered a short cut if students chose not to study for an exam because they planned to copy another student's exam or from crib sheets. In this instance students would be reducing the amount of studying necessary for an exam because they planned on cheating. On the other hand, cheating could not be considered a short cut if students studied as much as they ever would, yet

resorted to copying from another students exam becuase they felt copying was the only means of passing the test once they began the exam.

Some student behaviors were uniformly identified as cheating by those students who discussed its use. These behaviors were copying directly from another student's exam, using "cheat sheets", writing on one's hands, shoes or the desk, and studying from past exams that had been obtained illegally. Other behaviors were identified by some students as cheating and by others as short cutting. Those behaviors included copying the work of those who had taken the class previously (handbooks), and studying from past exams that had not necessarily been obtained illegally. For the purpose here, cheating will be defined as the former, that is, the definition held by the majority of students. Apparently, when students discussed cheating they associated its emergence more frequently with the taking of exams than they did with the completion of assignments.

All students who were interviewed admitted to taking short cuts of some form or another, most without feeling badly about doing so. When asked about cheating, however, most of these same students condemned the act. They believed that cheating was "immoral", against their personal standards, and students described their peers who engaged in cheating as only hurting themselves.

> ...if you cheat here what's going to happen when you start student teaching in the real world? (Len, p. 8)

> I think it's ridiculous. I think everyone goes through it, and I think that it's stupid because you're really not helping yourself. I mean you've gotten through the test but then what happens when you get out into the real world? You don't have

> it. You've basically really cheated yourself. You think you've helped yourself, but you haven't. (Sue, p. 6)

> I would rather get an F and do it morally correct than get an A and do it immoral. (Don, p. 8)

> Well if a person wants to cheat they're just going to hurt themselves. Len, p. 7)

A few students, however, admitted that they have engaged in cheating and would be tempted in some instances to engage in it again. Perhaps these few select students felt comfortable discussing cheating during the interview while others were afraid to admit to it (or perhaps the majority of students believed cheating would result in too great a loss of personal integrity so that they would not even consider its use). Three students in particular, Mark, Jen, and Bob, openly discussed the temptation to cheat during the Organization and Administration test.

> Why should I study, why don't I just cheat, you know, this will be my last test (Organization and Administration). I won't get caught. Let me just finish the year out, you know, not worrying about it, just glide through it and then I'll be all done. (Mark, p. 8)

> I think I definitely would be tempted to cheat, especially like you said if I walked in and I went blank, and I didn't know anything. I think that definitely would put a fear factor in me, and I'd say to myself, "Gee I have to do well on this test. It's one of the only things that we're graded on besides the handbook." (Jen, p. 9)

> Yeah I probably would be tempted, but I'm not gonna cheat in this class (Organization and Administration) because she says she's not gonna fail any of us. I wanna see what I can do on

> this test. ...I'll see what happens, but sure if someone was sitting right next to me I'd be tempted. (Bob, p. 8)

In analyzing each particular class, cheating was not observed during the Curriculum exam. Of course some students may have carefully positioned themselves or have been so careful when cheating so as to avoid detection by either the researcher or the instructor proctoring the exam, but if cheating did exist to any degree, it was not detectable. Those students interviewed who also believed that no cheating existed during the exam subsequently attributed this, in part, to being monitored closely, never being given an opportunity to cheat. They also believed that Christine made it very difficult to cheat because of the nature of her exams which were usually essay and which were changed from year to year. Christine did provide the students with examples of past exams which students used as study guides and which they believed aided them in their studying.

> ...I think a couple kids have tests from Curriculum too from last year, but for the curriculum class I guess you couldn't consider that cheating because Christine had them on closed reserve at the library. I didn't think too much cheating was going on about that test because it was so much essay. It's really hard to cheat on an essay test. (Bob, p. 9)

> ...she said you could look at her tests, her old test and that's just going to give you an idea of how she wants you to, how she's going to test you. If you get together with the students and think of how, what you think, what do you think your philosophy of the framework is and stuff, that's not cheating. And the only way someone is going to cheat on an essay test is that they take their paper and give them theirs and look at their philosophy and switch them back, but no, it will never happen in here. (Len, p. 8)

Cheating was observed to occur during the Organization and Administration exam. It was observed among several groups of students, and among students who had strongly condemned cheating during the interviews. To place this in context, a brief historical account will be given describing the final exam and the preceding events.

When students initially entered Organization and Administration they were under the assumption that their final exam would be a take-home. They believed this, not because the instructor had promised to administer a take-home, but because that is what had been done in previous semesters. Approximately one week prior to the exam the instructor informed the students that the exam would take place in class and it would be closed book. Upon hearing this the majority of students began questioning why they would not be able to complete it as a take-home as other classes had done in the past. The students continued to complain about how the exam would be administered throughout the ensuing classes. Several days prior to the exam the instructor informed the students that she would allow them to take the exam with a partner. They were to find another student with whom they could work, and they would be able to complete the exam with that person. The students would be allowed to talk with that individual about each answer, yet they would each have their own answer sheet in the case of a disagreement between partners.

On exam day each set of partners sat together. Some groups sat in the far back of the room by themselves, others sat in close proximity to neighboring groups. Prior to beginning the exam, one student began looking

at his notebook and then writing something on his desk. As the exams were passed out he closed his notebook and began discussing with his partner as did the remaining groups of students. Approximately twenty minutes into the exam intergroup communication was observed. Len began looking over Jim's shoulder who was in the group directly in front of him. Jim turned around and responded, "You dick, quit looking." The class was noisy as several students joked with the instructor as she passed by. Len continued to look at Jim's answer sheet when Jim turned around and asked, "What's up?" As the exam continued it was observed that Jim's group and another group in the front of the room were also quietly discussing the exam. When the instructor turned around and saw these two groups communicating, nothing was said. After the exam several students began joking about how other groups of students had helped them to cheat and vice versa. Jim discussed the exam in a formal interview directly after the class.

> We helped them and they helped us. It was a two way street and the oriental students are supposed to be the two smartest in the class. Maybe just because they're Chinese students everybody feels they're going to be the smartest ones, but they were generally asking us for everything. I think they talked us out of one answer and it was a statistics type question that we didn't really understand. I didn't feel that that test was anything that, you know, I'd probably think that was a take home test anyway and that she would have rather just had us all in the same room. You know we didn't have open books, we were just sort of prying it out of our heads. So I think us talking amongst ourselves, I really didn't consider that cheating because if it was cheating it wouldn't have went on for five minutes. Elizabeth was standing right in front of us. She was walking around. ...there happened to

> be three people in our group during the test, and I know the reason she had us sitting in groups and everything else, but I think everybody in that class knew exactly what was expected. It was on the test, and I think everybody passed, so I think everybody would have passed it on their own anyway. (Jim, p. 8)

During ensuing interviews two other students also discussed the intergroup communication that had occurred during the exam. Jan described how she had talked about the test with other groups of students, but believed it couldn't be classified as cheating because several groups of students were doing the same, and she believed the instructor was aware of the communication. Sean's beliefs were similar to Jan's. He also added that several students had obtained a previous exam approximately one week prior to the exam and discovered that the first 50 questions on the exam were exactly the same as on the test they had obtained.

To summarize, cheating was a behavior that occurred during the exam in Organization and Administration, but was not observed in Curriculum. The nature of an essay exam in Curriculum made it more difficult to cheat, as did the close supervision during the exam. In addressing cheating in general and why it may occur more frequently in some classes than in others, Jan believed that teachers are largely responsible for why cheating occurs. She indicated that the moral pressure a teacher puts on students can either prevent or provoke cheating.

While students indicated during interviews prior to the exam that cheating was "immoral", it was interesting to discover that many students engaged in this behavior during the Organization and Administration exam. It seemed that in this particular case, because it didn't seem to bother the

instructor, that it wasn't cheating, but only a vehicle for helping oneself and one's peers. It may also have been undertaken in retaliation because students perceived the instructor had broken the implicit rules of the classroom when she chose not to administer a take-home exam.

Finally, although many students suggested that cheating is only hurting yourself, one student believed that when others cheated they also were harming those who really tried. In this case cheating became not only detrimental to those performing the act, but also to those who were attempting to be successful without engaging in cheating.

> No it's not fair. You know, I know there are a couple of kids who have the test. It's not fair, but like they say, they're only cheating themself. So I think kids who study hard and apply themselves even though it seems like it always is our case, the kids who really try hard and don't cheat, you know, the kid who cheats, that gets the test the night before or something and gets all the answers right usually does better. So it's definitely not fair, but you know inside yourself you've done the best job you can. So you can have a good feeling about yourself. Whereas the person who cheats, although he might be happy and smile because they got a better grade, I'd say they definitely are gonna have a higher esteem for you and a lower esteem for themselves. (Bob, p. 10)

Colluding and Psyching-out

Another category of observed studentship behaviors included colluding and psyching-out. Colluding was the attempt by a group of students to encourage an instructor to reduce expectations. It was a behavior in which students could act together to accomplish a desired result. The desired result, perhaps a reduction in workload requirements, did not need to be determined secretively or planned in advance. Many

times students could glance around the room and decide that some action needed to be taken with regard to "encouraging" the instructor to reduce his or her workload expectations. Psyching-out occurred when students employed skilled questioning techniques as a means of discovering specific instructor expectations such as what would be included on an exam. These behavior patterns were displayed with great enthusiasm prior to the final exam in both classes.

Psyching-out was first evidenced one day prior to the final curriculum exam. On this particular day the instructors of the class had appointed one student to begin reviewing last year's exam prior to their arrival. Once the review began the remaining students began joking with the reviewer, telling him not to read the questions, just the answers. Even after the teachers entered the room and assisted with the review, the students continued in their attempts to discover the questions and answers to the exam. Portions of the dialogue during the remainder of the review session follow.

Teacher: "Are you all pretty clear on this?" (The students are discussing a previous question.) "Are you all clear on this, that's a clue?"

Student: "No, say it again."

Student: "Yeah, say it again. What's the answer?"

Teacher: "Now don't worry about the answer. Tell me what do you do next after you have a philosophy?" (The discussion continues.)

Student: "Okay, are we responsible for..."

Teacher: "No, but you should know the concepts."

Student: "So we should know..."

Teacher: (She repeats the information and discusses the concepts and subconcepts again.)

Student: "Can you repeat that again I didn't get it all. I'm sorry, but I didn't get it all." (The teacher repeats the information and then asks a student a question which he answers promptly.)

Student: "See you don't have to test us, we know all this stuff."

Teacher: "Okay, I'll ask you a different question on the exam."

Student: "No, no. Give us that one." (The questions continue.)

Student: "Okay, now let me say this to see if I've got this right." (He gives an example and the teacher tells him he is correct. The discussion continues with students asking the teacher questions about what will be asked on the exam. The students then begin to joke with the instructor about the length of the exam and the amount of writing which will be required for her essay questions.)

Student: "Should we bring a lunch?"

Student: "Should we bring ice for our hand?"

Student: "Should we bring plenty of clothes and a lot of fluids?"

Teacher: "Okay, let me tell you about the test."

Student: "Tell us word for word."

Teacher: (She then begins to tell them what types of questions will be asked on each page of the exam. She finishes her statement by explaining the exam will be difficult and that the students should seek help if they are having any problems understanding the material. After dismissing the class several students approach her with further questions about the exam.)

This example illustrates how the students in the curriculum class attempted to psych-out the teacher, trying to discover the specifics for what should be studied. They used this particular studentship behavior overtly, not hiding their anxiety about the test from either of the instructors. While the dominant studentship behavior portrayed here was psyching-out, there was a tacit form of collusion which allowed the group to act in concert, exerting a power in the exchange about instructor expectations that would not have been possible for individual students.

Colluding and psyching-out were observed for a second time prior to the final exam for Organization and Administration. This time colluding became the dominant studentship strategy with fewer observed psyching-out behaviors. These studentship behaviors were witnessed for the first time one week prior to the final. As class began, the instructor informed the students that the final exam would not be a take-home, but instead the students would be responsible for completing it as a closed-book, in-class exam. Upon hearing this the students immediately began engaging in colluding behaviors which continued until the day the final exam was eventually administered. These colluding behaviors were

engaged in for the purpose of encouraging the instructor to change her mind and administer a take-home exam. An illustration of the events and the dialogue which occurred between the instructor and her students follows.

Teacher: "Okay, we will have our final in class. It's not a take home test and it won't be an open book test."

Student: "Why won't it be open book, why not?"

Student: "Why not?"

Student: "Oh no."

Teacher: "That will mean you'll have to read that book?"

Student: "Does that mean the test will be easier?"

Teacher: "No, but it will be fairer. Not all of you have the book and you can't pass it back and forth during the test. I want you to read it."

Student: "Why?"

Student: "How does everyone feel about that?"

Student: "Is the test solely on the reading?"

Teacher: "On the reading, but it's pretty much common sense. But if you don't read it and two answers on the test are pretty much common sense you'll be lost and won't know how to answer it."

Student: "Is it a general format?"

Teacher: "There are 100 questions. They are all multiple choice with 10 or 15 short answer."

Student: "Will we be tested on anything about what people talked about in class?"

Teacher: "No, not specifics anyway. We may have some general questions on the topic." (The teacher then talks to the students about their good behavior during yesterday's class. Before she finishes the students again begin asking more questions about the test.)

Student: "Will we be able to use our notes?"

Teacher: "No." (The teacher then tells the students they won't have to worry about memorizing for the test and then quickly changes the subject and begins discussing several handouts.)

Two classes after informing the students about the exam format, the students again began questioning the instructor. The dialogue continued as follows, but this time psyching-out behavior also appeared as students attempted to find out what types of questions would be on the exam. Some of the students may have wanted to discover whether or not the exam would be the same as last year's because several had access to that exam.

Student: "Will the test be open-book?"

Teacher: "No, I told you that the other day."

Student: "Will the questions be the same as last year?"

Teacher: "Well the questions will be the same, but some are ordered differently."

Student: "So they are all the same?"

Teacher: "Well not all of them. I changed the ones most people missed last year. The grades on the test will be curved."

Student: "It's stressful."

Teacher: "Yes, it's stressful, but it will be fair. You'll all be in here doing it together. It will be fair. Look you've all already passed the course. No one gets lower than a C+ in here so you've all passed the course. That is unless you fail to turn in your written assignments. Look, don't worry about grades so much, don't worry about grades."

On the following day the instructor, Elizabeth Jones, informed the students that they would be allowed to take the test in class with partners. During a subsequent informal conversation with the instructor she indicated that she was allowing the students to take the test with another person because there were only 16 tests to go around and not enough time to have more copied. On the day of the test, during an informal conversation she indicated that she was allowing them to work in partners because "it was a learning process and it forces the students to work together."

It is not possible to determine whether or not the students' comments during class had some influence on the instructor's decision to allow the students to take the test with a partner. They had been very vocal during class and during formal interviews concerning the unfairness of having an in-class, closed-book exam. With the exception of a few

students, however, when the students discovered they would be allowed to talk with another person during the exam they indicated they were greatly relieved. In some cases, the students believed the instructor "redeemed herself" by allowing what they considered a compromise.

> I think she turned out to be a little different than I thought she would be. Although she came through and didn't let me down when it turned out to be the actual test and we ended up in partners. Prior to that when she mentioned that we were gonna have closed book individual test, that was a little off key. Four hundred pages while doing everything else in Curriculum Development and writing a handbook, giving our presentation and our resumes all together in this class. I felt she let me down, but then she came through at the end and we had a group atmosphere and really relaxed atmosphere during the test. That I felt was beneficial to everybody. (Sean, p. 2)

Psyching-out and colluding, therefore, were behaviors which empowered the students to have some control over their learning environment. Whether or not the students were successful in employing these behaviors in this particular instance will never be known. Nonetheless, the students did not hesitate to rely on these strategies when they perceived an opportunity to reduce instructor expectations. The use of these behaviors certainly suggests that in the past they have proven to be successful.

Image Projection

Three forms of studentship behaviors fell within the realm of image projection. Each of these behaviors, fronting, brownnosing, and image management were used by the students to project an image of themselves to the faculty which they believed to be advantageous. Each will be

defined, described, and followed by examples which illustrate how each behavior was played out under the contextual circumstances of each classroom.

<u>Fronting</u>. Fronting is a studentship behavior exhibited by students who attempt to promote a favorable image of themselves to those with power. The distinguishing difference between fronting and the two other image projection behaviors is that it describes an individual who "fakes" their way through all or any part of a training program. Specifically, the primary agent of fronting is pretense.

Fronting is a behavior which students never readily admitted. A degree of guilt may have been attached to behaving in a manner which was not congruent with their internal belief system. It meant that they had been willing to sacrifice a degree of personal integrity in order to be perceived in some advantageous fashion by the teacher. The ends could justify the means only when students believed that the trade would allow them access to a significant reward, perhaps a better grade or a recommendation, which might be denied if they simply "were themselves" in the daily interactions of the course.

Even given the social constraints on admitting to fronting behaviors, there is reason to believe that such strategies were neither commonplace in the two classes, nor did all students choose to use this behavior. For the majority of students, fronting meant lying about what they believed to be true. They believed that because they had been encouraged to share their beliefs and had observed no obvious penalties for doing so, they could still be perceived favorably even when their beliefs were not compatible

with those held by the faculty. For example, Jim indicated that he was free to hold his own ideas and beliefs about teaching in the curriculum class. He was fully aware that when he shared those opinions, Christine would never "put him down" if their opinions differed. As a result he believed that fronting was unnecessary and, therefore, he felt comfortable "being himself."

For the individuals who did choose to engage in fronting, they could be classified as having maneuvered their way through part of the program, exhibiting the behaviors Lacey (1977) described as strategic compliance. For Don, one student who admitted he used fronting, it meant telling the teacher of his great enthusiasm and interest in the subject matter when he actually believed the work to be stupid and monotonous. For Sean, it meant approaching a teacher to ask if he was on the right track, when in fact he had not the slightest concern about doing the work correctly.

When fronting did occur, it was evidenced less frequently during general class discussion, whether with other students or with the teacher, and more frequently whenever a grade was directly involved, as on an examination or assigned paper. While students believed that they were free to express their ideas during class, they became more hesitant about doing so on paper. In the following, one student discusses how he came to terms with his performance on the curriculum exam.

> ...the way she tests in class is by essay, and she'll ask you what would you do and you have to apply what she's saying into how you would do it and what you think would be the right way. But the thing is she always feels what's the right way. She has it in her head. Even though you might (want to)

> say something different you've got to sort of think along her lines. (Len, p. 6)

Brownnosing. The second form of image projection is brownnosing, a studentship behavior which is similar to fronting. The main difference here, however, is that when students chose to brownnose they frequently believed what they were saying. Unlike fronting in which they were "faking" a behavior in order to be perceived more favorably, when brownnosing the students believed what they had to say and simply made an effort, sometimes extreme, to be sure the teacher was aware of that belief. In other words, it meant that students would underscore their possession of teacher sanctioned values in order to curry favor and thus improve chances for success. As with fronting, the behavior reflected the belief that they had some control over how they were regarded by the teacher. Also like fronting, it was most common in mild forms such as display of interest in the class, expressed agreement with the teacher, and publicly confirming one's level of commitment about becoming a physical educator.

Students didn't always feel comfortable admitting to brownnosing, particularly when being asked directly. It was, however, described in detail by several students who discussed the "class brownnosers".

> You're always gonna have students who brownnose. You know the ones that are, you know, p.e. is their life more or less. (Ted, p. 4)

> Everybody brownnoses a little, you know, but they seem to be the ones who have consistently done it cuz we're all in the same program and we basically know each other. We were all in classes throughout the four years, so we basically know

> who they are. It's more like their past track record. ...I would say Liz James. She sits with that other girl and those two guys all the time. She works in the p.e. office too, that doesn't help. Let me see who else, oh, Jim Smith is like the biggest bullshitter that ever, he always talks, but he'll tell ya, he always says, "I bullshit with everybody." He is such, all he does is yak about nothing, and it takes him like ten minutes to say it and we're like, "Shut up Jim." ...He like wicked brownnoses all the time. I would love it if he didn't do it on my class time, but he says he can't help it, he has to talk, so he talks. ...Yeah, he's (Don's) a wicked brownnoser too. It's not so much that he talks a lot or anything, but he's just, just a brownnoser. Like he's not really, he doesn't like get his work in like Liz is the type of person who will hand in her assignment a week ahead and makes everybody else look like schmucks. Jim is the one who will yak on and on about things, but Don Davidson he just tries to overdo it, put on a show too much. ...I think people just resent the fact that he (Don) tries to be such a know-it-all. At least Jim Smith will say, "Yeah, I'm a bullshitter. I'm going to go up and brownnose the teacher." But I mean Don, he loves to say when you're making a statement or something, he loves to say, "Well, I don't think that's just right." Whereas everybody else may just not say anything so you don't look, so you personally don't look bad. But he gets up and says something like, "I don't think you're right about that," and "that's what's right" and everything, but he kinda like stands out so that's why I think people pick on him more. (Jan, pp. 4-5)

In the case of this last student's account, it must be noted that brownnosing was most frequently frowned upon by other students when it meant that the brownnoser was in some way presenting a threat or infringing upon the territory of others. As Jan clearly illustrates, no student wants to be shown up by another who passes assignments in early or by one who openly questions peers' judgments in front of the instructor.

Brownnosing also is intolerable when the brownnoser usurps the class time of others, and while most students will brownnose at one time or another, especially in a class that students perceive requires a great deal of work, most students are less accepting of a classmate who brownnoses either continuously or at the expense of others. Thus, the students who are classified by their classmates as frequent brownnosers came to be known as the "class bullshitters".

As students discussed brownnosing, patterns began to emerge for explaining why some chose to engage in this particular act. While the few students who admitted to brownnosing had their version, so did the students who described the behavior of others. It became apparent that the importance of grades and the inherent difficulty of each class were the primary factors which influenced when and if students would brownnose.

> I think some students do (brownnose). Definitely, but it's the same students who've done it all along. I don't have any qualms with that because they're just trying to get the best grade possible. (Bob, p. 13)

> I think a lot of people try to brownnose. I don't know if you want to call what I've done brownnosing. I try to be super friendly with people. I think if somebody's got a bad opinion of you, then it's gonna reflect on how they feel about you, how they teach to you, how they grade you. (Sean, p. 8)

> You're more tempted I think to brownnose in Christine's class (Curriculum) because she's throwing up a lot more work. The administration class I really don't think, you know the test and your one discussion thing, it wasn't really anything major. I don't think there was reason to brownnose unless you're

> really having that much trouble. But like Christine's class oh I definitely could see going in and you know, I'm not gonna, but other people might have gone in and asked all these questions and you know they're constantly hounding her, talking to her about things. You know I think sometimes she thinks about that when it comes down to grades or something. Any teacher does. If you see that a kid is concerned about the class or they're trying to learn to their potential more or less, that you're going to give them that something a little extra when it comes down to giving the grade. Even if they didn't do that well on a test or their assignments or whatever, there always is that thing in the back of your mind, "Well hey this kid came and saw me. He cared enough about this class. He really wanted to learn. I'm gonna give him that little extra whether it be a half grade or a full grade or whatever." I definitely think people do it. (Ted, p. 10)

While a few of the students who were classified by others as brownnosers didn't at all perceive their behavior as brownnosing, one of the students who was classified as a "bullshitter" explained why he chose to engage in this form of image projection. Our discussion began one day as Jim and his friend were leaving the Organization and Administration classroom. Each began to joke about brownnosing saying, "To get a good grade you've got to kiss her ass. If you kiss her ass then you'll pass." The joking continued as they talked about cheating during the final exam and how they helped another student who in turn helped them. Jim's friend then said he had to leave to return the class textbook which he had bought for only one day to study for the exam. If he brought the book back immediately he would be reimbursed. After Jim's friend left we walked to the union to begin a previously scheduled formal interview. During the interview Jim discussed his earlier comments.

> You probably heard me saying, "Kiss ass to pass" (he laughs). I usually say that. I'm walking out and sometimes we'll kid around with each other and say, "Uh, you're kissing ass." I said, "Hey, you kiss ass to pass." Sometimes it's true that some people will look at kids that ask a lot of questions and things like that as brownnosing. I don't think that is. (Jim, p. 9)

As is evidenced, students have reasons for deciding whether or not to engage in brownnosing. Whatever the decision, most students do regard some forms as universal and, potentially, efficacious. It is curious, therefore, to observe that while students believed that teachers are accepting of brownnosing and sometimes quite aware of its existence, the teachers in this particular study didn't believe that brownnosing was a frequent student behavior. Whether or not the teachers were naive, unobservant, using a denial strategy, employing a definition of brownnosing which was different than that used by students, or some combination of all these factors, is simply not known.

> Brownnosing is a difficult thing to, cause your students' interpretations of somebody brownnosing and a teacher's interpretation of somebody brownnosing, you know, if a student is nice to a teacher other students might interpret that as being brownnosing. No, I don't remember anybody being what I would term, being fake and doing extra things just to help their situation. (Claire Smith, p. 3, Curriculum).

> No I didn't feel that way (brownnosing). I didn't really have anybody coming in to see if they could get a better grade or anything. No I don't think so. (Elizabeth Jones, p. 8, Organization & Administration)

<u>Image Management</u>. Unlike fronting and brownnosing, the third form of image projection, image management, was used more as a means of

showing respect or avoiding conflict than as an opportunity to gain some type advantage. It can be defined as a behavior used to promote a certain image of oneself within the course of everyday life (Goffman, 1959). It allowed the students an opportunity to act a certain way in the classroom without feeling "fake" and allowed them to disagree with the faculty without having to be vocal about that disagreement.

For example, students may have actively disagreed with certain faculty positions, but they didn't believe it appropriate to voice their disagreement in a manner which would threaten the faculty or show any disrespect. Frequently students would listen, and although disagreeing with what was being taught, they either wouldn't say anything, or would express only very modest disagreement. Students often indicated during interviews that the faculty had as much right to their opinion as the students did. These students believed that on certain occasions they should simply be respectful of professional mentors by keeping their opinions to themselves.

The distinction between image management and fronting is subtle, and the distinction rests in how students regard particular disagreements with the instructor. In the latter they are hidden because they are a threat to success. In the former they remain unexpressed or are greatly moderated because they are inappropriate to the role and the social transaction of the classroom. Further, it may be that image management has the potential to be somewhat more destructive to the students' development than fronting. While fronting means that the recruit is faking certain behaviors, at the same time, they are playing at the role. As Davis

(1968) discovered, the more students had an opportunity to simulate the role they were being asked to assume, the more they gained conviction about their performance. Templin (1984) also agrees with the importance of role-playing, indicating that performance can bring about mastery, eventually validating training. If this role playing leads to internalization of "played at" behaviors, fronting won't have been dysfunctional. With image management, however, the students submerge their beliefs, never publicly expressing doubts or hesitations about the role. It is here that students not only are disadvantaged by not playing at the role, but they also never verbalize dispositions which may eventually impede the intentions of training.

The nature of image management was such that students were more willing to discuss how it was used because they didn't believe they were being fake or deceitful. Although they lacked explicit language and formal constructs, they were very aware that there were norms for appropriate and inappropriate ways to act in the classroom, particularly while interacting with the instructors. Image management thus became a means of acting in what they conceived to be a professional manner.

> ...I wouldn't act the way I act around my friends. Like I wouldn't say some of the things, you know, tell her a dirty joke we'd tell at the dorm or something like that. I would try and act, you know, professional, but nothing out of the ordinary to her particularly. (Jan, p. 7)

> Well I don't think you can ever, you know, quote/unquote be yourself in front of an instructor or something like that. How do I explain that. Meaning, I don't try to pretend to be something else in front of her, and like, I think in certain

> situations there's a certain behavior required and in other situations there isn't. ...I think the situation calls for how you act around an individual. (Frank, p. 10)

> There are some times when I don't agree with their opinions on a certain issue. Particularly in physical education cuz that's what I'm the most exposed to, and I just take what they have to say, try to understand it, but don't express my opinions fully because either I don't think it's worth the time or, you know, they'll have their opinions and I can have mine, and it's fine if we don't agree. (Jan, p. 7)

While in many cases image management reflected a form of respect or, at least, a sensitivity to social norms, it nonetheless obscured how students were reacting to the subject matter and processes of the class. Without opportunily to air, clarify, and resolve such reactions, student thinking may be untouched by the experience of training. The accumulation of classes which raise issues without closure does nothing to improve predictions about what students will do on the job. For a variety of reasons, it is clear that students often have no intention of using what they ostensibly have learned.

> Yeah, I think I am free to hold my own beliefs, but also I don't know how much anyone in the class is gonna say what they believe. Like I haven't come out and told Christine (Curriculum) that I don't think she has enough experience or anything like that. I guess there's some things that just, you know, some things you're not gonna say, you know, to suffice because you want a good grade in the class. So I'm sure I'll hold back some things like I haven't said that I don't believe in a conceptually based program totally. I think it would be alright to say, but I just haven't felt the need to say it. (Bob, p. 7)

> ...it's not like you're gonna change what they're talking about. Arguing about it is not going to change what you're going to have to learn. Saying, "Hey Christine, we're not going to use this shit" isn't going to help any. More than anything else it'll just make her angry. I don't know if angry is the right word, but it's not gonna help you learn the material. The material has to be learned. She has to teach it to you. Now whether you agree the way it's presented or what the material is it's really irrelevant. Whether you like algebra is beside the point, algebra has to be done. You know that's sort of their attitude. You have to know it. Whether you like learning it or not you have to know it. You're just sorta in there. You gotta sit there and take it. (Jim, p. 12)

Summary. To summarize, it should be noted that the degree to which students in these two classes either fronted, brownnosed, or managed their image was largely contingent upon differences in the manner in which individuals perceived themselves and the class, rather than upon specific features in the context of the class. Some students were either more skillful or simply more comfortable with these behaviors than others, perhaps because they possess the skills of a high self-monitor (Synder, 1980), an individual who is adept, practiced, and skilled at controlling the interactions in which they are involved. For those who used these behaviors, their behavior was the same in both classes, changing only slightly to accommodate what they thought each individual faculty member might want to hear. For those who made little or no use of these strategies, the common self-perception was one of honesty about their beliefs and feelings in both classes, believing (rightly or wrongly) they could be honest with the teacher without jeopardizing their grade or without losing the respect of the individual faculty member.

Most students were reluctant to use image projection strategies. Only observation of discrepancies between class behavior and positions established in interviews, indirect questions, secondary testimony, and probing allowed an estimate of the important role played by image projection in the total repertoire of studentship. Certainly some students felt a need to express denial during the interviews as a way of impressing the investigator, but it also may be that fronting, brownnosing, and image management are such an accepted part of the social fabric in teacher preparation that students are unaware of using these behaviors.

Finally, because of the nature of these strategies, many times it was difficult or impossible to determine whether a student was fronting, brownnosing, or using image management techniques. This difficulty presented itself whenever students asked a question, participated in discussion, and whenever they approached an instructor. By combining information obtained from interviews, observations, and document analysis it was sometimes possible, however, to confirm instances, patterns and even such specifics as by whom, to whom, and for what purpose images were projected. For example, in both classes one woman, Tiffany, frequently participated in discussions, actively took notes, and further showed interest by asking questions, and interacting with the teacher on a personal basis. When asked if it would be possible to have access to her notes, she immediately said "yes" and told the investigator that she would never use any of the material being presented in class, and to just throw away her notes when done analyzing them.

In this case it had not been obvious during class that Tiffany was using image projection behaviors. Instead she seemed genuinely interested in the class content, to value what was being acquired, and to be concerned about implementing the material when teaching. It wasn't until encountering her attitude about the accumulated "valuables" that disconfirming information became available. Even then, we are left with no clue about the motive for such skillful performance.

While some image projection behaviors may seem relatively harmless and unsurprising, as Locke and Dodds (1984) have indicated, something less benign may emerge. If recruits are demonstrating skills and displaying beliefs just to please the faculty or in order to be perceived more favorably, they may as a consequence be distancing themselves from engagement with issues which demand reflection and resolution. By effectively externalizing so much of process and content in preservice training, recruits become less likely to implement those skills and dispositions once they leave the influence of the program. As in Tiffany's case, because recruits master appropriate teaching behaviors does not necessarily mean they are committed to using those behaviors. It is then that a little "faking-it" and "showing politeness" may seriously jeopardize the intentions of the faculty and training program.

The Underlying Influence of Grades on Studentship Behaviors

Grades ultimately had the strongest influence over student behavior, although they were consistently downplayed during formal interviews. It was the combination of data collection techniques over an extended period of time which revealed how important grades actually were in the lives of

students. Apparently students did not feel comfortable discussing grades during formal interviews for some of the same reasons they hesitated to discuss fronting. The following quotations indicate some of the ways in which students discussed grades during interviews.

> The only value I put on grades is to get into grad school. (Don, p. 8)

> I used to study hard because of grades, but now I study hard because I'm interested. When I first came I studied hard because I wanted to have good grades, but the more I got involved the more I wanted to study because I wanted to learn what was, the things that were going on, and it's something that I was interested in. (Jan, p. 5)

> I'm going to strive to get a good grade, but if it comes to... knowledge then I would sacrifice a grade. ...you know from like an "A" to a "B", a "B" to a "C". (Pam, p. 4)

> You know I know a lot of kids that had straight "A's" all through college and they've graduated with a physical education degree, but they went out there and they can't cut it. They can't teach. (Mark, p. 5)

For those students who indicated grades were important, there was wide variation in level of expectations. Obtaining a "B" for some students provided as much feeling of success as an "A" would for other students. Students appear to set their own individual levels of success, regardless of what their peers determine to be successful.

> Yeah because I wanna do well. Everybody does. You know, everbody does. I like to see the "B", and it's important to me to do well. (Ted, p. 6)

> I mean the guys I sit with back in the corner, they really don't put that much of an emphasis on it (grades). We struggled for four years, we tried, and we made it which is great. And I think in the long run we're going to be better teachers in the long run because I think we're more human. (Mark, p. 6)

One particular event which underscored the importance students placed on grades occurred when the instructor in Organization and Administration began discussing grades with the students. During class Elizabeth Jones told students she had noticed that they seemed to be placing too much importance on grades. She went on to urge that grades be kept in perspective, telling the students that grades weren't the "end all." From that date on, students became very vocal about grades during interviews, indicating they couldn't understand how she could tell them they weren't important. Many of these students who discussed this particular classroom interaction were the same students who had previously indicated that grades were not that important to them--learning to teach took precedence.

> ...she does, but she says she wouldn't like to (place importance on grades). I think she's burning the candle at two ends. When we had this test and we were setting up for this test she was like, "I really don't think the test is necessary, but this is the only way I can grade you." (Sean, p. 5)

> She said, "And just calm down, you shouldn't worry about it. Why do people think grades are so important?" And we were trying to explain to her grades are important because they're the way other people, you know, look at us. And that was kinda weird because it's obvious to me that she can't get to know all of us so the only way she's gonna base her opinion of us is by our grades. (Jan, p. 1)

> I think she does (place importance on grades), but she doesn't want to say. She doesn't want us as students to put importance on it, but I think she as a teacher does put importance on grades because she gave us the student outline as to what was gonna be expected in class. She had the percentages right there, how much each thing counts, and she's made a couple of comments to people who haven't come in to get things that they were supposed to get from her in class and "how did they expect to get a grade for this project" or "how did they even expect to complete this project." I really do think she does put importance. How much I'm not sure, but I definitely do think it's important to her. (Jen, p. 7)

These examples strongly suggest that students believed a hidden curriculum existed, one which told the students grades were important to the instructor in spite of her claims that they weren't. This perception combined with discovering that the final for Organization and Administration would be a closed-book, in-class exam became the topic of a great deal of comment and discussion, frequently by the very students who had indicated that grades were not particularly important. The following illustrates how one student who previously deemphasized grades reacted to discovering the final would not be a take-home exam.

> I know that they (the students) feel like cheated--really cheated. In my opinion it's certainly not fair at all, and I can't understand her justification for it. I don't care that it's closed book, but it should be at least fair within the same year. You know what I mean? Or at least, you were in class this morning, you heard her say, "No I didn't change any of the questions." And then she told us it was a standardized test, and to me we spent all of this time in the lecture and everything and we're not even going to be tested on it. All we're going to be tested on is a standardized test from the book. It just doesn't seem fair. And then she went on today to quote grades that other people got. She said, "Well people

> got" whatever she said, but so what. They took it home and used an open book. I mean I don't think we're gonna get, I know I'm not gonna get any 90/95 on the same test when I'm sitting without the book. (Jan, p. 2)

Concern about grades had considerable influence in determining if and how studentship behaviors would be employed. For example, when discussing brownnosing, Mark wasn't willing to tell Christine that she didn't have enough experience to be credible as a teacher of curriculum because he was afraid it might affect his grade. Her lack of experience in using the curriculum she was teaching was a source of constant irritation to Mark. He felt coerced into learning and using a curriculum process with which the teacher had not herself had any direct experience. Despite his doubts about course content, he swallowed his concerns and remained compliant--never challenging the teacher or questioning what was taught. By his own account, all of this resulted from an unwillingness to jeopardize the grade he might receive.

Summary

The results of this study have been presented in several stages. A description of the setting, the college, the students, the teachers, and the individual classrooms provided a feeling for what life at Carrington College was like for the observed students. Studentship was defined, described, illustrated with examples, and discussed in relation to the contextual conditions which influenced its emergence. Finally, studentship was discussed in relation to the underlying influence of grades. The final and subsequent chapter of this document will provide concluding comments and a brief discussion concerning studentship and its

impact on teacher training programs. A discussion also will be presented which addresses the process of conducting a study of this sort from the perspective of a non-participant observer, how the study changed as data accumulated, and the limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Conclusions

The studentship behaviors which existed in the two observed classes can be classified under the four major headings of short cutting, cheating, colluding and psyching-out, and image projection. The first category, short cutting, included strategies students employed when completing assignments, deciding whether or not to attend class, taking notes, and generally fulfilling the expectations of each individual instructor. For example, when completing assignments students were observed copying work that previously had been completed for other classes. They also relied heavily on other students for ideas, sometimes indirectly forcing other students to complete the work for them. Some also copied the work of students who previously had taken the class.

Cheating, the second category of studentship behaviors, was directly observed to occur during the final exam for Organization and Administration. Here, several students resorted to using previous tests from which to study prior to the exam, and were observed talking to other students during the administration of the exam, some copying the work of their neighbor.

The third category, colluding and psyching-out, were behaviors which students exhibited when attempting to discover what a teacher might ask on an exam. Often this involved using the power of the group to encourage the instructor to reveal some of her expectations. These

behaviors became particularly evident prior to the final exam in both of the observed classes.

The final category, image projection, included strategies students used to portray a positive image to the faculty. To some degree, although with great individual variation, all students were observed at one time or another attempting to project a particular image to the faculty. Three specific behaviors were observed to occur under this category. Some students chose to engage in fronting, a faking behavior undertaken to promote a certain image of self. Other students chose to engage in some form of brownnosing, a deliberate attempt to say or do something which would please the teacher. Finally, most students engaged in image management, a conscious attempt to promote a favorable image of self without being directly fraudulent.

Studentship was an action students employed as a means of reacting to the forces of socialization, empowering them with control over certain aspects of their lives in a teacher training program. It was a behavior pattern which they had learned prior to entering a teacher training program, and one which they continued to employ throughout their years at Carrington College. Studentship provided students a means of progressing through the program with greater ease, less effort, and increased chance of success.

The manner in which students engaged in studentship varied with each individual student and within each observed course. Students also indicated that studentship behaviors changed, remained the same, or were eliminated according to individual standards, specific class

circumstances, and year in the program. While some students admitted to having used cheating upon entering Carrington College, individual sense of ethics sometimes changed for juniors and seniors thus influencing whether or not students still felt cheating was an acceptable personal behavior.

The influence of Carrington College upon the overall intellectual growth of students also had a strong bearing on whether or not studentship was employed, influencing both its degree and frequency. Many students were not able to engage in some forms of studentship such as cheating because they believed that to do so would be a direct violation of the high personal standards of behavior espoused at Carrington College. A strong sense of social responsibility was reinforced throughout their four years, not only in the training program, but within the entire college curriculum.

Another influence on the use of studentship behaviors were contextual factors in the observed classes. First, opportunity to engage in studentship was one factor which had to be present before some forms of studentship could even be considered. Not having an opportunity, due to risk or other factors, automatically served to deter students from employing studentship. For example, availability of previous exams or assignments was one contextual factor which determined opportunity. Second, some forms of studentship were influenced by perceived pressure to meet instructor expectations, some of which had to be met in what students considered to be a very short period of time. Third, when students believed the instructors were treating them unfairly, in terms of particular demands, they were more inclined to employ short cuts. Fourth,

student perceptions regarding the worth of particular assignments was a contextual factor which heavily influenced if and when studentship occurred. Finally, the importance of receiving good grades and perhaps a favorable recommendation from the instructor were factors which played a substantial role in determining whether short cutting or image projection behaviors would be employed.

Studentship is not a unique characteristic of teacher preparation programs. Students have learned how to control their own class agenda prior to ever entering college (Allen, 1986) and have engaged in studentship for many years (Emmers, 1981). As Weinstein (1982) suggests, students negotiate the classroom daily--even at a very young age students have learned how to meet the varied demands and expectations of their instructors.

Studentship also is a behavior pattern which has been observed to occur in training programs for doctors (Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961; Becker, Geer, and Hughes, 1968) and nurses (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968). Recent studies from a variety of subject fields have made clear that students have a large repertoire of tactics for progressing through teacher training programs (Graber, 1986; Lapin, 1985; Sears, 1984a, 1984b; Steen, 1985, 1986). Many of those tactics include some of the same studentship behaviors discovered here.

What distinguishes the field of teacher preparation from training programs in law and medicine, however, are the strong beliefs students carry into the program--the belief that they know what occurs in schools and have little more to learn (Lanier and Little, 1986). Unlike students

training for the medical profession, teaching recruits have observed teachers for thousands of hours (Lortie, 1975), already developing very strong images of what teaching is about. The job of teacher educators, therefore, is made much more difficult. Why should students believe what teacher educators have to say when they have had little recent contact with the public schools and little credibility as models of excellence in teaching. If the program does not offer special knowledge and skills essential to professional practice, why not engage in some form of studentship in order to progress through a training program with greater ease? All the student must do is survive the program and one can go out and teach in a personally acceptable manner which already is known to "work."

Further, unlike the medical profession, the process of learning to teach is not determined by clear models of correct procedure. There is no one right way for determining which teaching style is most appropriate or how to deal with an unruly student as there is for a doctor who is learning how to set a broken leg or perform an appendectomy. Learning to teach, like teaching itself, therefore, becomes very complex, making it difficult for a novice to untangle what is from what might be. For example, the importance of active learning time is not obvious to a student whose 12 years of school experience were in a program they perceived to be successful, but which provided little time for actual instruction.

When recruits enter a program with lingering memories and beliefs from their experiences during pretraining, it has been persuasively argued that those influences are so powerful that formal training cannot

overcome the beliefs about teaching already developed (Feiman-Nemser, 1983). Unfortunately, those beliefs may be perpetuated as a result of the failure of training program faculty to confront, as part of the explicit curriculum, the educational predispositions and beliefs of their students (Freeman and Kalaian, 1985). Because students are neither helped to clarify what they believe nor forced to confront conflicts with alternative belief systems, it seems only natural for students to engage in some form of studentship in order to pass through the training program successfully and with the greatest ease.

In addition to ignoring the actual predispositions of their students regarding educational matters, teacher educators often ignore the social and political realities of their classrooms. Frequently students engage in studentship because it is easy and because they have found studentship provides greater success than eschewing studentship. If students believe they won't get caught copying the work of a student who had previously received an "A" on an assignment which has little perceived worth, why not copy word-for-word and page-by-page?

Of course students won't always agree with instructor expectations or understand the relevance of specific assignments. If educators, however, were willing to openly discuss the purpose and value of assignments without becoming threatened, taking great care to insure that short cuts such as copying would be difficult if not impossible, then students would be encouraged to regard learning tasks as legitimate--worthy of effort and significant as a means of obtaining professional skills. Students might, of course, resort to some fronting

techniques in the process, but a little fronting and role-playing may constitute a process of "trying on for size", leading to the internalization of values not previously held (Davis, 1968; Templin, 1984).

It is reasonable to believe that if teacher educators were more sensitive to the emotional stresses encountered by students throughout the process of learning to teach, they might have greater control over studentship. In a recent study of teacher training, Clift, Nichols, and Marshall found that undergraduates "were concerned with their survival as students and not as teachers" (1987, p. 13), frequently worrying about specific instructor expectations, what to study prior to a test, and becoming anxious over workload requirements. While the role of teaching may seem somewhat removed from students' lives, the role of being a student is ever-present. Understanding student concerns and how those concerns might influence engagement in studentship seems a priority if teacher educators are to exert a measure of benign control over student responses to training program demands.

If teacher educators can come to understand studentship behaviors as perfectly normal responses to the contextual conditions over which they exercise considerable control, they will have acquired powerful new leverage within the training process. To regard studentship simply as moral transgression, is to misunderstand both undergraduate trainees and the realities of professional socialization.

Discussion

It seems appropriate to close with some brief discussion regarding the process of doing qualitative research on a topic such as studentship in

the context of a professional teacher training program. Three specific areas will be addressed; the process of conducting a study of this sort from the perspective of a non-participant observer, how the study changed as data accumulated, and the limitations of the study.

First, assuming the role of a non-participant observer, was a decision which had to be made prior to data collection. Given that studentship usually is a covert action, prior to entering the research setting it was necessary to determine whether it would be possible to develop a sufficiently trusting relationship with subjects to allow a degree of access to their private thoughts. If that was not possible, a deception paradigm in which I assumed the role of student, would be necessary. My experience in the pilot trials urged that within some limits, the former strategy was possible. Now, with the wisdom of hindsight, I can share some insight into the advantages and disadvantages of that decision.

The assumption of this role enabled me to develop a relatively honest relationship with the students and teachers in the observed classes without having to "lie" about my presence. In qualitative data analysis the primary data collection instrument is the researcher. My belief, therefore, was that I had to fit comfortably into the role if I was to establish an authentic relationship with the subjects. A deception paradigm would have felt uncomfortable and ultimately could have had serious ramifications for both the participants and the investigator.

Assuming the role of non-participant observer also provided an opportunity to focus all of my energies on the students and the events in

the classroom. It provided more freedom to define my role than would have been possible if I had chosen to act as a student or participant observer. Far too many significant events might have passed undetected if my energies were focused on assuming a more active role.

Obviously one could ask the question, "Was it possible to study students with any genuine depth as an outsider?" I believe it was, but that question is better answered by someone who has had an opportunity to assume both roles and decide which provided the most information. There were, of course, disadvantages in assuming an outsider's role. It was not possible to engage in some of the social interaction that comes with being a true insider. I will never know whether or not students would have engaged in dialogue of greater depth had I been a more permanent part of their social network. On the one hand, students might have discussed cheating and fronting with greater ease. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that some aspects of studentship are easier to admit to an outsider who is not perceived to have the sanctioning powers of a group member.

In considering which role to assume for a study of this nature, it seems that every researcher must first ask three fundamental questions, "What feels the most comfortable?", "Which role best fits the research question being asked?", and "How can I best protect the interests of the participants?" I am comfortable with my decision and remain convinced that it yielded valuable data.

Second, in addressing how the study changed as data accumulated, alterations were based on what would provide the richest and most

accurate data for addressing each of the research questions. Several critical decisions provide examples of in-course changes which improved the quality of data. The most important decision occurred on the first day when it was decided that focusing on a single group of students throughout two classes would provide a better basis for subsequent analysis than would observing two separate groups of students. If two groups of students had been observed, it would have been difficult to determine whether context was affecting students' behavior or whether individual differences in students were what accounted for differences in studentship.

The decision to focus on one key informant instead of two was a decision which was made during the first week of data collection and was a change which also proved to be valuable. This decision enabled me to pursue supplemental interviews with a larger and more varied body of students while at the same time maintaining a close relationship with one student enrolled in both classes. It was a trade-off which proved to be valuable because of the rich description of events I was able to obtain from those students whom I would not otherwise have had time to interview.

A third adjustment was in changing some of the language used while conducting interviews. It became apparent, for example, that students felt uncomfortable with the word fronting. Instead, the word brownnosing was substituted, and immediately students began to describe instances when they or other students had engaged in this behavior.

Fortunately, few modifications in the overall design of the study were necessary. This was due in large measure to the several pilot studies used as the basis for planning. Trial and error had produced the sophistication necessary to deal with the mechanics of entry, data collection and analysis. Instead, the major modification required was not in relation to data collection, but involved my own predispositions for what I had "expected" to happen.

Prior to the study I listed the many beliefs I had about studentship and what I thought might occur while collecting data. From these it is clear that I regarded studentship as a universal mode of adjustment to the circumstances of being a student in a teacher training program. Over time, however, analysis of the negative cases in this study made it apparent that not all students engage in studentship behaviors for the purpose of progressing through the program. While many students do engage in some form of studentship at one time or another, there actually were students who gave every indication of having made the decision to be genuine and "play it straight." This might be attributed to specific individual values, or it could be that the environment at Carrington College does influence how at least some students choose to act.

Finally, it is important to address the limitations which are inherent in the design of this study. The modest scope of the investigation constitutes the most important limitation. While it was possible to develop some understanding of what life was like in each of the classes, it is not possible to determine how engaging in studentship will influence students' later behavior as teachers. Only a longitudinal study, ideally

from entry into the preservice program through the first three years of teaching, could provide comprehensive insight into the role of studentship in teacher development.

The second limitation was the brief time available for the maturing of my relationships with the participants. The span of a college course allowed no more than a brief encounter within the long process of learning to teach. While it was possible to develop relationships which evolved quickly and resulted in frank exchanges, some evolved more slowly and required additional time to achieve mutual trust. Fortunately, the pace and intensity of these particular classes encouraged the rapid development of social familiarity and a loosening of the usual constraints on interaction with an outsider. This produced an unusual opportunity to obtain access to the student perspective.

Third, and finally, the study does not yield prescriptions which will eliminate studentship. After reading this document one might, for example, be disposed to believe that manipulating the contextual factors which encourage studentship would provide a sure measure of control Unfortunately, studentship is too complex to yield to simple interventions. Simply reducing opportunity for cheating, for example, won't eliminate other forms of studentship, and easily could have unanticipated consequences.

As reward systems are presently structured, students perceive grades and other forms of teacher approval as a scarce commodity. Accordingly, they will do whatever is necessary to improve the probability of obtaining their share. While a teacher can attempt to eliminate

cheating during an exam, that doesn't mean students won't front, attempt to discover what was asked on last year's exam, or engage in colluding to circumvent teacher expectations. Some students may now feel more desperate to compete under the increased pressure of decreased opportunity. Tightening constraints in one area may produce increased studentship in another. Only shifting the transaction away from zero sum competition could avoid this unhappy consequence.

There are no simple solutions or easy answers to the complexities of studentship. It does exist and will effect, to some degree, the dispositions about teaching which are developed by students. Perhaps the best response for the teacher educator is to convince students that there are enough rewards to go around without the use of studentship--so that everyone can be a winner.

APPENDIX A
DEFINITION AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES
FOR STUDENTSHIP BEHAVIORS

APPENDIX A

Definition and Data Collection Procedures For Studentship Behaviors

This appendix was developed prior to data collection for the purpose of identifying and defining studentship behaviors which could exist in a teacher training program and how those behaviors could make themselves apparent to the investigator during data collection.

Cheating

Cheating is a deliberate violation of the established rules which have been set forth in either an explicit or implicit manner at the departmental level or within the realm of an individual classroom. Cheating may be observed to occur in one or more of the following manners when students

(a) look at another student's exam,

(b) use "illegal" materials during an exam (cue notes, opening a book when the instructor is not present, writing on one's hands or shoes),

(c) plagiarize a paper, or

(d) ask another individual to complete a course assignment.

Data Collection. Cheating may be observed by the researcher when witnessing a student copying from another individual's exam. It also may become apparent during interviews when a student describes ways in which they cheat. Cheating, however, is one example of a behavior students carefully attempt to hide. When undertaken, it is done with much risk and great caution. If students are caught cheating they are likely not

only to face measures of reprisal, but they also will be perceived unfavorably by faculty who are responsible for their evaluation. The researcher, therefore, must rely on a combination of data gathering techniques in the attempt to discover if cheating is occurring. A few of those techniques will include

(a) faculty interviews (formal and informal),

(b) student interviews (formal and informal), and

(c) direct observations.

Fronting and Image Projection

Fronting and image projection are studentship behaviors exhibited by students who attempt to promote a favorable image of themselves to those with power. Fronting is the action of an individual who "fakes" his or her way through all or any part of a training program. Image projection describes an action an individual may employ for purposes of promoting a certain image of oneself within the course of everyday program life.

Data Collection. A researcher cannot be sure if a student is fronting or employing image projection behavior unless other data support that assumption. For example, if the researcher observes a student discussing the latest classroom management technique with an instructor, they cannot be sure if the student is "brownnosing" unless other evidence, which may have been revealed during prior observation or during interviews, supports that claim. The student may truly be interested in learning more about classroom management, not in obtaining special favor. Therefore, as with cheating, fronting and image projection will most

likely be observed through a combination of data gathering techniques such as

(a) faculty interviews (formal and informal),

(b) student interviews (formal and informal),

(c) direct observations, and

(d) document analysis.

Colluding

This is an attempt by a group of students to confront an instructor on any important issue, perhaps to coax them into reducing some of their expectations. Colluding is done in a group in order to insure that any one individual will not be singled out by the instructor as a "poor" student. In this case, it is the group which empowers students. For example, it may be evidenced when a group of students decides to approach an instructor regarding unfair grading procedures.

Data Collection. As with the other studentship behaviors, colluding will most likely be observed through a combination of data gathering techniques such as

(a) faculty interviews (formal and informal),

(b) student interviews (formal and informal), and

(c) direct observations.

Short Cuts

Short-cuts enable a student to reach a goal with greater ease, less effort, and increased chance of success. Although short cuts are similar to cheating, students consider short cuts not to be cheating, but a sensible

means of attaining an outcome with the greatest ease. Short cuts may be evidenced when students

(a) collaborate on a paper assigned as individual work,

(b) divide assignments up amongst themselves,

(c) use quotations as a means of lengthening a paper, or

(d) copy each other's work.

Data Collection. Data collection will include a combination of techniques such as

(a) faculty interviews (formal and informal),

(b) student interviews (formal and informal),

(c) direct observations, and

(d) document analysis.

Short cuts may be closely related to other forms of studentship behaviors like cheating and colluding. Therefore, at times it will be difficult to delineate between the behaviors, and the researcher must decide which of the definitions most closely fits the studentship behavior.

Psyching-out

Psyching-out occurs when one or more students engage in questioning the instructor for the purpose of attempting to discover the expectations of that individual. Students may attempt to discern what it is that might be asked on an exam, what should be included in a paper, or how to act during an internship. Psyching-out is undertaken by students for the purpose of narrowing the field of demand in order to obtain good grades, not because the student(s) wants to learn more.

Data Collection. As with the other studentship behaviors, data collection will include a combination of data gathering techniques such as

(a) faculty interviews (formal and informal),

(b) student interviews (formal and informal), and

(c) direct observations.

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAM AND CLASS CONDITIONS THAT MAY BE RELATED TO THE USE OF STUDENTSHIP

APPENDIX B

Examples of Program and Class Conditions that May Be Related to the Use of Studentship

(1) Size of classroom

(2) Placement of seats within the classroom

(3) Location of the instructor's desk or lectern

(4) Affective tone of the classroom

(5) Communication between teacher and students

(6) Communication between students

(7) Degree of reciprocity between teacher and students

(8) Respect for teacher

(9) Acceptance of diversity

(10) Acceptance of contrary opinions

(11) Nature of relationships between teacher and students

(12) Verbal and non-verbal signals

(13) Class participation of students

(14) Grading requirements

(15) Importance of class in students' minds

(16) Pressure placed on students to perform well

(17) Acceptable level of success as defined by students

(18) Desired level of success as defined by teacher

(19) Student input into grading procedures

(20) Expectations for conformity to "professional" norms of belief or behavior

(21) Degree of selectivity at entrance or within program

(22) Importance of individual recommendations to career

(23) Total work demand exerted by program

(24) Norms established by upperclasspersons

(25) Willingness of students to meet teacher expectations

(26) Willingness of students to meet course demands

(27) Student friendships outside of the classroom

(28) Amount of time students spend studying together

(29) Nature of assignments

(30) Presence of teacher during an exam

(31) Importance students place on grades

(32) Importance teacher places on grades

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM FOR INSTRUCTORS

APPENDIX C

Consent Form For Instructors

I.

My name is Kim Graber, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Physical Education/Teacher Education program at the University of Massachusetts. I am interested in learning about how students, undergraduate majors in a physical education teacher training program, work and study so as to progress through the program successfully. Specifically, I am most interested in observing students in professional classes and interviewing some of them to learn more about the strategies they use to meet the expectations of their instructors.

I am interested in learning about these strategies because students' reactions to their training environment can have a direct bearing on what they learn and how they eventually act as teachers. By closely observing several classes of preservice students, I hope to better understand how students react to their training. How students feel about and devise responses to class activities, assignments, and other program demands are of particular interest in this study. Observations and interviews also will enable me to study the contextual conditions which exist in the class when students engage in the work of learning how to teach and coach.

II.

I am asking you to participate in this study and also allow me access to your class as a non-participant observer. In addition, your cooperation would be required for two formal, taped interviews lasting approximately ninety minutes each. These would be scheduled at a time

and place convenient to your schedule. The first would be conducted after the second week of the semester, and the second interview would be conducted after the class has concluded. Each interview would focus on your perceptions of the students in your class and the strategies they use to meet programmatic demands.

In allowing me access to your class, I would assume a neutral role, not participating in class discussions, assignments, lectures, or other class activities. My concern is to not disturb the natural events in your classroom, or the teaching behaviors you might display had I not been present. If opportunity permits I will speak informally with students prior to or after class. Formal interviews and other informal contacts with students will be conducted outside of the classroom. The only in-class activity on my part will be taking notes while instruction and class activities are in progress. This can be done in a manner which will attract little attention. Finally, I must stress that I am not interested in evaluating either you as a teacher or your students as preservice trainees. The purpose of this study is entirely descriptive and analytic. I only wish to understand what is happening, and at this time have no direct interest in what should be happening.

III.

In addition to the data which will be generated through interviews and observations, I hope to increase the data base by collecting documents which are generated as a result of the class. First, I wish to examine all documents, written assignments, syllabi, and handouts that are used during the semester. Second, if you grant permission, all student course

evaluations will be reviewed at the end of the semester. Third, class notes from selected students will be reviewed to determine what students feel is important to write down. These documents will be collected, copied, or as in the case of the course evaluations, only analyzed at the research site.

IV.

The materials from this study will be used primarily for my dissertation, but may also be used in research presentations or publications in professional journals. In any written materials or oral presentations, every effort will be made to provide anonymity for you, your institution, the program, and the students involved. Although a reputable and discrete typist may be asked to transcribe the audio tapes from interviews, all written documents to be made public will contain only fictitious names. All participants and the location of this study will be known only to the transcriber and the chair of my dissertation committee.

V.

While consenting at this time to participate in this study, you may at any time elect to discontinue participation in the research project without prejudice. In such case, all data generated from your participation will be destroyed. After data collection ceases, however, all data and related documents from this study will become the property of the investigator, and it will not be possible to withdraw consent for your participation.

VI.

Furthermore, while consenting to participate in this study, you may withdraw consent to have particular portions of interviews or specific written documents included in the final report, provided you notify me not later than two weeks after our closing interview.

VII.

At the completion of this study, and if you so desire, I will be happy to discuss both the experience of sharing your class as an observer, and the preliminary results of data analysis. Further, I will provide copies of any resulting publications.

VIII.

In signing this form you are stating that no financial claims will be made against me for the use of material gathered during data collection. You also are stating that no medical treatments will be required by you from the University of Massachusetts should any physical injury result from your participation, and further that you will not seek compensation from the researcher for injury.

IX.

Finally, I look forward to working with you. Not only will your participation play a substantial role in completing my program of doctoral study, it may help all of us better understand the process of professional preparation.

DO NOT DETACH. PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN ONE COPY OF THIS FORM. KEEP THE OTHER COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS.

I, ______________________, have read the statement above and agree to participate in this study under the conditions stated therein.

______________________ ______________________

Signature of Participant Date

____

Signature of Investigator

Kim C. Graber
Totman Building
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003
413/546-4544 (home) or 413/545-2323 (office)

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENTS

APPENDIX D

Consent Form For Students

I.

My name is Kim Graber, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Physical Education/Teacher Education program at the University of Massachusetts. I am interested in learning about how students, undergraduate majors in a physical education teacher training program, work and study so as to progress through the program successfully. Specifically, I am most interested in observing students in professional classes and interviewing some of them to learn more about the strategies they use to meet the demands of the program and the expectations of their instructors.

I am interested in learning about these strategies because students' reactions to their training environment can have a direct bearing on what they learn and how they eventually act as teachers. By closely observing several classes of preservice students, I hope to better understand how students react to their training. How students feel about and devise responses to class activities, assignments, and other program demands are of particular interest in this study. Observations and interviews also will enable me to study the contextual conditions which exist in the class when students engage in the work of learning how to teach and coach.

II.

I am asking you to be a participant in this study. Data collection will consist of three phases. First, I will be conducting observations during class to determine how you as a student react to class activities, assignments, and the instructor. Second, while some students will be

asked later to participate in formal interviews, I also hope to have opportunities to talk informally with all students. Formal interviews will range from sixty to ninety minutes and will be conducted several times during the course of the semester. Third, from time to time I may ask you to share your class notes with me. If you do allow me to examine your notes, they will be returned promptly and any use I make of them will fully protect your anonymity as specified below.

By signing this informed consent you are granting permission to observe you in the classroom. Your consent, however, does not obligate you to be interviewed or obligate you to allow me access to your notes. If you do not wish to cooperate in this study at all, I will make every possible effort to exclude you from observational notes of any kind.

III.

The materials from this study will be used primarily for my dissertation, but may also be used in research presentations or publications in professional journals. In any written materials or oral presentations, every effort will be made to provide anonymity for you, your instructors, the program, and your institution. Although a reputable and discrete typist may be asked to transcribe the audio tapes from interviews, all written documents to be made public will contain only fictitious names. All participants and the locations of this study will be known only to the transcriber and the chair of my dissertation committee.

IV.

While consenting at this time to participate in this study, you may at any time elect to discontinue participation in the research project

without prejudice. In such case, all data generated from your participation will be destroyed. After data collection ceases, however, all data and related documents from this study will become the property of the investigator, and it will not be possible to withdraw consent for your participation.

V.

Furthermore, while consenting to participate in this study, you may withdraw consent to have particular portions of interviews or specific written documents included in the final report, provided you notify me not later than two weeks after the last class meeting.

VI.

In signing this form you are stating that no financial claims will be made against me for the use of material gathered during data collection. You also are stating that no medical treatments will be required by you from the University of Massachusetts should any physical injury result from your participation, and further that you will not seek compensation from the researcher for injury.

VII.

Finally, I look forward to sharing your class experience. Your participation will play a substantial role in completing my program of doctoral study. It also may help us better understand the student's perspective on the process of learning to teach.

DO NOT DETACH. PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN ONE COPY OF THIS FORM. KEEP THE OTHER COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS.

I, ______________________________, have read the statement above and agree to participate in this study under the conditions stated therein.

______________________________ ______________________________
Signature of Participant Date

____
Signature of Investigator

Kim C. Graber
Totman Building
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003
413/546-4544 (home) or 413/545-2323 (office)

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE: STUDENTS

APPENDIX E

Interview Guide: Students

1. How did you first become interested in physical education as a college major?
2. What do you expect to learn about teaching as a result of your training in this program?
3. Was physical education your first choice as a college major?
4. How do you feel your instructor would describe the ideal undergraduate?
5. Are there any particular ways that you differ from that ideal?
6. If you were to explain to a new student how to attain success in your class, what would you tell them?
7. Have there been times when the instructor turned out to be different than you thought she would be?
8. What stands out for you in your experience in the class so far?
9. What do you like most about your class?
10. What do you like least about your class?
11. How does this class differ from others in the program?
12. What is your definition of a "good" teacher?
13. Is your instructor's definition of a "good" teacher different?
14. What is the most important thing you have learned from your instructor so far?
15. What do you think your instructor expects from you in this class?
16. Which expectations of your instructor have you tried the hardest to meet? How do you meet them?

17. Are there any expectations that are unrealistic or unreasonable?
18. Are there any expectations you intentionally do not try to meet?
19. In this particular class, do you think you have been free to hold and express your own values and ideas about teaching and coaching?
20. How much importance do you place on grades?
21. How much importance do other students place on grades?
22. How much importance do you think the instructor places on grades?
23. Do you study hard because of grades?
24. How do you feel about cheating?
25. Are there some strategies for cheating or short cutting that you know students have used in this class?
26. Are you concerned with the instructor's opinions of you?
27. Do you try to act in a particular way in front of your instructor?
28. Can you remember ever acting one way yet feeling another?
29. How do the other students in class make your life easier or more difficult?
30. Do you always try as hard as you can, or do you have short cuts which help you get through this class with greater ease?
31. How successful do you think you have been in progressing through the program as a whole to this point?
32. How successful do you think you have been in this class?
33. What would you classify yourself as, an "A", "B", "C", "D", or "F" student?
34. How do you think your instructor would classify you?

35. If you wanted your instructor to write a strong, positive recommendation to help you get a teaching/coaching job, what would be the most important things for you to do in this class?

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE: TEACHERS

APPENDIX F

Interview Guide: Teachers

1. How would you describe the ideal undergraduate in a teacher training program?
2. How are your students like and unlike that ideal?
3. What do you like most about the students in your class?
4. What do like least about the students in your class?
5. How do these students differ from others you may have had in the past?
6. Can you describe the "typical" undergraduate in your class?
7. How does the structure or purpose of this class differ from others in the program?
8. What is your definition of a "good" teacher?
9. What would you say is the typical student's definition of a "good" teacher?
10. What are the most important expectations you have for what students do in your class?
11. How do you think students define success in your class?
12. How much importance do you think students place on grades?
13. Do you think students study mostly because of grades or mostly because they want to learn about becoming a teacher?
14. Do you think students use short cuts to get through your class with greater ease?
15. How frequently do you think students in your class engage in cheating?

16. How many students do you think engage in cheating of some kind in your class?
17. Are you concerned with the students' opinion of you?
18. What do you think students believe they have to do to really make a good impression on you?
19. Knowing what you do about this study, could you talk to me about the behaviors or strategies students use to progress through both this class and the program with the most success?

APPENDIX G

HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW ABSTRACT

APPENDIX G

Human Subjects Review Abstract

1. How will human participants be used?

The purpose of this study is: (a) to examine the strategies students use to successfully meet programmatic demands, and (b) to describe the contextual conditions which exist when such strategies are exhibited. Students in two classes will be observed throughout an entire semester. Key informants will be selected for participation in a series of formal interviews. Other students will be selected for informal interviews or for the purpose of allowing access to their class notes. Some informal contacts with students will be pursued outside the classes which serve as the primary observation sites. Finally, in addition to observing students and events in the classroom, I will formally interview each of the two teachers at the beginning and end of the semester.

2. How have you insured that the rights and welfare of the human participants will be adequately protected?

The participants in this study are volunteers. They will only be included in this study after signing an informed consent form which outlines the purpose of the study, subjects' rights, how data will be used, and how anonymity will be protected.

3. How will you provide information about your research methodology to the participants involved?

After obtaining general approval from all responsible administrators in the program I plan to study, I will confer with each teacher at least twice prior to data collection. At an initial meeting I

will, clarify the purpose of the study, inform the instructors of my interest, discuss the role I intend to assume, carefully describe the research methodology, and ask them to consider giving their cooperation in the conduct of the study. At a subsequent meeting I will respond to questions and again clarify my intentions prior to asking them to sign an informed consent form. At the conclusion of data collection, a debriefing session will be scheduled with each instructor for purposes of discussing the study, expressing my thanks, and bringing closure to any problems that arose.

Before formal observations begin, arrangements will be made with the instructor for a short amount of time in which to explain to the students the reasons for conducting the study and why the study is significant. The explanation will be much like the one given to the instructors, but will not be as detailed. All students will then be asked to sign an informed consent form which specifies their rights, explains the role the researcher intends to assume, and outlines provisions for anonymity.

4. How will you obtain consent of the human participants?

Immediately prior to data collection, instructors and students will be asked to sign an informed consent form. At this time they may ask any further questions and may decide to decline participation. I will stress that such decision will hold no negative consequences. If, however, they agree to participate, the participants and the investigator will sign two copies of the informed consent. Participants will keep one copy, and I will retain the other. The investigator will have pre-signed all forms passed

out to students so if they decide to participate they already will have a signed form to keep. Students will be told that instructors will not be told who has signed the informed consent forms and who did not. Further, students will be asked to pass back all forms face down, after signing or not signing, so that exactly who participates will be known only by the investigator and each individual, not the whole class.

5. <u>How will you protect the privacy or confidentiality of participants?</u>

The identity of the participants, location of the setting, and specific program to be studied will be known only to myself, a discrete transcriber, and the persons on my dissertation committee. All written materials, including transcripts, will include only fictitious names and will not refer to the specific program or location of the research setting. Although interview tapes may contain identifying material, my chairperson, the transcriber, and I will be the only individuals who will have access to those records. When a peer debriefer is used, copies of notes will be given to them only after deleting information which would jeopardize the anonymity of subjects. After data collection ceases, original materials will be stored in a safe location known only to the investigator.

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