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AN EXAMINATION OF THE IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO TEACH ADULTS:
DO THEY REFLECT THE BEST IDEAS ABOUT GOOD TEACHING?

A Dissertation Presented

by

MARGARET L. MEAD

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February, 1990

Education

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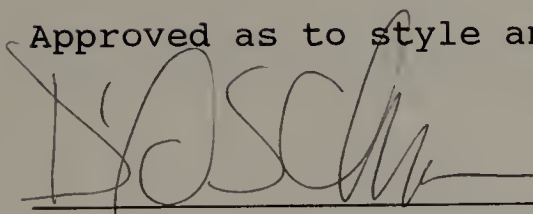
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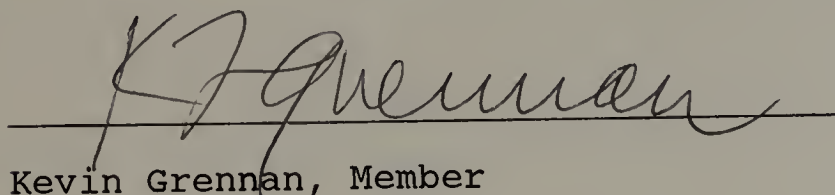
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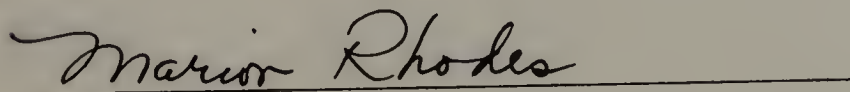
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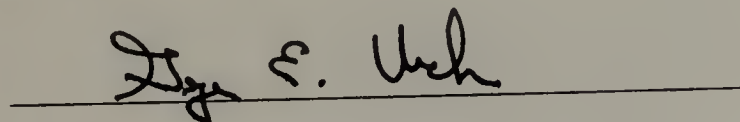
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to all of the adult students at the College of Public and Community Service at the University of Massachusetts at Boston who have inspired me to think carefully about good teaching.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with all doctoral dissertations I could not have done this by myself. I am delighted to acknowledge the assistance of the following people. David Schuman, my advisor, taught me the value of clear thinking and encouraged me to value myself as a thinker. The group of doctoral students whom I met with monthly and who carefully read and commented on my writing, as they shared their writing with me, helped make my work clearer and more compelling. The four teachers whom I interviewed gave generously of their time and were wonderfully open about their best and worst teaching, their certainties and their doubts about good teaching. The faculty of the College of Public and Community Service, especially the Center for Human Services were supportive, both emotionally and practically. I especially want to thank Jean Griffin, Betty Johnson, Gary Siperstein, Vicky Steinitz and Ann Withorn. Patricia Bull was a wonderful editor. Much of the clarity of my writing is thanks to her. Brian Butler provided invaluable help with the computer applications I used. Finally, I am glad to acknowledge the support of my partner Carole and our daughter, Elena who, each in her own way, had total faith in my ability to complete this project.

ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF THE IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO TEACH ADULTS:
DO THEY REFLECT THE BEST IDEAS ABOUT GOOD TEACHING?

FEBRUARY, 1990

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Directed by Professor David Schuman

This research explores the question of whether the current thinking in the adult education literature on how to teach adult students reflects the best thinking about good teaching. Two bodies of literature are reviewed. First, the literature on good teaching is reviewed to get a sense of the dominant ideas about how to recognize and judge good teaching. Then, the literature on teaching adults is reviewed both to determine the dominant ideas and to analyze the extent to which those ideas are reflective of the best ideas about good teaching.

In depth interviews are presented with four people who teach in undergraduate programs at colleges or universities and who teach both 18 to 22-year old undergraduates and adult students. The teachers were asked

to talk about their lives growing up and being students in order to show the effect of those events on their ideas about teaching. Each teacher then discussed the question of good teaching by talking about his or her own teaching practices.

The analysis of the interviews concludes that none of the teachers use practices that are advocated in the adult education literature. The teachers all acknowledge that adult students are different from their younger counterparts; none of them say that those differences are fundamental to the activity of teaching.

The conclusion of the dissertation is that good teaching is good teaching, no matter the age of the student, and that the adult education literature does not generally reflect the best ideas about good teaching. In fact, the research points out that much of the literature in the entire field of education does not incorporate the best ideas about good teaching. More research needs to be done on good teaching, and more work needs to be done to ensure that the best ideas about good teaching are reflected in the education literature.

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INTRODUCTION

In the last 20 years the field of adult education has taken deep root in the United States. Notions about teaching adults certainly predated this period, but the widespread acceptance of the idea that learning can and should take place after people are in their mid 20's, and the increasing proliferation of educational programs oriented and marketed to adults dates back to the late 1960's.

Much of the reason for this shift in acceptance is understood by examining demographic shifts that educators have been aware of for at least the last twenty years. The United States is increasingly becoming a nation of adults. By the year 2000, the population of the United States will be dominated by persons in their middle years (Golladay, 1976,p.12). It is estimated that 57% of the population will be over 30 (U.S. Bureau of the Census,1977,p.23). And many of these adults will be going to college.

More than 20 million adults participated in some form of organized educational activity in 1981, three million more than in 1978 and eight million more than in 1969. Many of these 20 million adults were enrolled as undergraduates in colleges and universities. The 1980 U.S. Census Bureau report shows that one in three college students is now 25 years old (Magarrell, 1981). The National Center for

Education Statistics projects that, by 1990, students over the age of 25 will account for 47% of the total student population (Frankel and Gerald, 1982).

At a minimum, the above numbers provide some insight into why educators have come to pay so much attention to adult education and why the field has grown so rapidly. If age is a meaningful characteristic, the nature of the undergraduate student population is undergoing a significant transformation.

The field of adult education has developed on the belief that adult students are different from younger learners in ways that are fundamental to the process of education, and should, therefore, be taught differently. However this belief has been largely untested. It seems only right, then, to question that belief. As more and more adults become students and as many of them enroll in programs that are explicitly for adult learners, one is moved to ask several questions. Are adult learners different from their younger counterparts? Are those differences ones that affect the process of learning? Should, therefore, adults be taught differently? Are the current ideas that hold sway about how to teach adults good ideas? In short, are adults getting the best possible education when taught in programs and by teachers who employ the prevailing principles of adult education?

These are the questions which are addressed in this dissertation. As the reader shall see, the finding of this research is that there are some fundamental problems with the dominant thinking in the field of adult education. The notion that adults are different from younger students in ways that are relevant to education will be called into question. The results of extensive conversations with four good teachers will show that they do not teach adult students any differently from younger students.

Furthermore, the research will show that the principles of adult education are not necessarily compatible with the best ideas about good teaching. As a result, the dissertation will call into question the worth of having a field of adult education. However, the research also will shed light on a much larger and more important subject - the nature of good teaching. In showing that much of the current thinking about adult education lacks the qualities of good teaching, the dissertation will force us to look at the much more fundamental notion of what is good teaching.

The response to the initial set of questions will be clear. The idea of a special field of adult education does not make sense, because it does not incorporate the best ideas about good education. Rather, good teaching will be shown to be good teaching no matter the age of the students. In understanding this, we will also come to

understand some things about good teaching. That was not the original intent of the research, but it is the most important and promising aspect of this piece of work. It is easy enough to tear something down, and the dissertation does indeed suggest that the field of adult education should be dismantled (or at least significantly reconceptualized). It is harder to be constructive, and the dissertation pushes us to think positively about good teaching.

A Story About Why

Although the demographic data described above makes a compelling case for the importance of understanding more about how adults learn and should be taught, that data was not the primary motivation for me to undertake this project. Rather, the motivation was much more personal. The following story explains the initial impetus for me to write this dissertation. As well as revealing why I wanted to know more about how to teach adult students, the story sheds some light on the major themes in adult education and the major problems.

I grew up in a small town in the Midwest, the third child of college educated parents. My grandfather was a lawyer; my grandmother a chemist. My father was editor of the small town newspaper; my mother was unhappily underemployed as a housewife. I sensed her discontent. In

my family, education was terribly important. Doing well in school was assumed. I knew how to read by the time I went to kindergarten. By the time I was six or seven, I began to join in the lively dinner table discussions on current events.

In elementary school I had some of the same teachers my father had thirty years before. I followed an older sister who got nothing but A's, even in conduct. I was not so well behaved, but, in my own way, I was just as good a student. Only later did I understand that several teachers put my desk in the hall and gave me junior high text books, because it was difficult to contain me in the classroom. I was quick and almost always knew the answer to whatever question the teacher was asking.

It seemed that my fate was assured. I was bright and got good grades. Surely, I would always do well in school. This proved to be true through high school. I was an awkward child, not always terribly popular, but I covered that awkwardness by excelling in school. When it came time to choose colleges, I knew I wanted to apply to only those schools judged most difficult for women to gain admittance. One of my choices granted me early acceptance.

No one questioned that I would do well in college. They were wrong. My first year I got a C average. My second year

was not much better. By my junior year I was taking more courses in my major, classes were smaller, I was more interested in what I was learning, and I even managed a few A's. My senior year was substantially the same, better than the first two years, not outstanding. I was devastated. I had expected Phi Beta Kappa. I did not even graduate cum laude. By some standards, I had done just fine. By mine and those of my family I had not.

What remained was for me to make sense of this experience. With the exception of one or two courses, I never felt connected to learning while I was in college. For the first two years, most of my classes were huge. I often sat in the back row of a five hundred seat auditorium. It was little wonder that I felt a lack of connection. But, I did not do well in the one course I took my freshman year with twenty students. I could not really blame it all on large classes. The only way I could make sense of my experience was to conclude that I was not so bright after all and that it had taken college to expose the truth about my abilities. The explanation seemed to fit the facts. As one can imagine, it was not totally satisfactory.

When I graduated from college, I went to work in a job I loved. I was the director of a peer counseling center. It was the early '70s, a time when many believed that

counselors did not have to be professionally trained. In fact, there was great suspicion of professionals. One of my responsibilities was to develop training for the volunteer staff of the center. In an effort to learn how to do this, I got involved with what was then called the human potential or T group movement. I found group dynamics fascinating, and I seemed to be a natural group leader.

Several years later I went back to school. I wanted to learn more about how to run the organization I was directing. I chose to go to business school. It was like being back in elementary school. Once again, I was a capable student. I got good grades, wrote thought provoking papers, had lots to say in my classes. It became even more compelling for me to make sense of my lack of success as an undergraduate. Perhaps I had done poorly because there was something lacking in how I was taught rather than because of who I was as a student.

In my continuing work as a trainer of volunteer counselors, I learned about Andragogy, a notion popularized by Malcolm Knowles. The premise of Andragogy is that adults have to be taught differently than younger students, because they are inherently more self directed, and because they are motivated to learn in order to solve the tasks of life. Andragogy seemed to fit my experience in graduate school. I started making sense of my experience through the

framework of Andragogy. I decided that I had done well in graduate school because, as an adult learner (I was twenty-five and self supporting) I had been allowed to choose some of the ways I learned, and what I was learning was absolutely helpful in my job.

This new concept of education was still not a complete answer about why I had done poorly as an undergraduate, but I was beginning to develop the idea that there were certain ways to teach adults, that those ways were quite different from how I had been taught as an undergraduate and that adult students would flourish if taught in this new way. In the process of developing this new perspective, I completely rejected the educational methods which had predominated in my undergraduate college.

When I left that first job, I spent the next fourteen years working as a trainer. Specifically, I trained human service workers to do their jobs better. I employed all the principles of Andragogy. I conducted needs assessments in which the learners identified problems they were having at work, and I designed training so they could solve those problems. My trainings were experiential (in a counseling skills training the learners would actually counsel each other) and practical. The people who took my trainings were enthusiastic about my work. Clearly, I was a good trainer.

During that time, I was hired as a faculty member at the local public university. The college that hired me was a college for adults and an institution that embraced many of the practical, experiential, concepts of Andragogy. Admission was open to virtually anyone, regardless of past academic performance, as long as the applicant had been working (either paid or volunteer) for a number of years after high school. The typical student was thirty-eight years old, married with children and worked full time.

For the first few years at this college, I continued to employ the ideas I had developed as a trainer. I believed that what had been true for me as a graduate student would be true for all of these adult students. They should be encouraged to be self directed (choosing what and how they wanted to learn). They should learn things that had applicability in their lives. They would do their best work if taught in this manner.

Gradually, I began to question this approach. All of my students did not seem to do well when I encouraged them to set their own direction for learning. Some students did outstanding work. Others did no work at all. What was particularly troubling to me was that, often, the students who had the poorest academic preparation did the worst with my student-directed approach. I started teaching those students differently. At times, I became quite directive

with them. Some of the students who had floundered under self-direction began to do better. Even that differentiation began to break down. It seemed that there was no easy way to predict, without knowing the student, whether an individual would do better work with or without substantial direction from me.

There was an even greater problem with Andragogy. I was teaching courses where, in some cases, I had spent years learning and thinking about the subject. Was I to keep quiet while the self-directed student learned what he or she wanted to learn? What was my proper role as a teacher? What was I to do with my greater wisdom, with my values? For several years I continued to teach in ways that allowed the students to be self-directed, but I was growing increasingly uncomfortable with this approach.

Gradually, I decided that I was unwilling to deny the students the benefit of my knowledge or my values. Often, I realized, because I had thought carefully and deeply about some area of learning, I had an interest in, at times a passion about, that area that students might never encounter if I allowed them to be entirely self-directed. I began to change my teaching style. In my courses I reclaimed a central role in setting the direction for the learning of the students. This role made sense. I knew more than the students, and I had an excitement about what I was

teaching that I wanted to get across to the students. I still required the students to think about what they wanted to learn, and I still allowed students to choose an independent direction if they had a clear sense about wanting to learn something, but the direction-setting process became a shared activity in which my voice was significant.

I noticed that I was teaching more and more like some of the best professors I had as an undergraduate. What I thought I had resolved for myself was beginning to unravel. My total rejection of my undergraduate experience could no longer be sustained. I had always cared deeply about being a good teacher, but I was less absolute in my understanding of what good teaching was. Specifically, I found myself wondering whether the dominant ideas about adult education were right or useful.

It seemed important to answer that question and not just for my personal satisfaction. I knew that the adult education literature was largely filled with arguments in favor of Andragogy, with the assumption that adults needed to be taught differently from the way I, for example, had been taught as an undergraduate. But, here I was teaching more and more like my undergraduate professors. I felt that it was important to be more thoughtful than I had been about the mainstream ideas in the adult education

literature, for the sake of adult students I would teach in the future, and to write about those ideas so that other teachers of adults might also be more thoughtful about their teaching.

What is the best way to teach adult students? Is there something about being an adult that makes being a student different? Should these students be taught in ways substantively different from the ways younger students are taught? These are the questions with which I started the dissertation.

In the next section of this introduction I will discuss some of the issues that arose because I was doing research in the area of education, specifically adult education. Then I will present some decisions I made about how to limit the scope of my research so that the topic was manageable. Finally, I will give a sense of what is to follow, an introduction to the rest of the chapters.

The Perils of Doing Research in Adult Education

Any research in adult education is confounded by a variety of difficulties. First of all, there is considerable disagreement over what constitutes an adult. Witness the person who can be drafted or vote in an election but cannot order a drink in a bar. Second, scholars have considerable difficulty defining education as

a field, much less adult education. Third, adult education takes place in a variety of settings besides the traditional educational setting, the school. Some educational scholars go so far as to argue that every life experience after high school is a potential adult education activity if the person learns from that activity. Finally, much of adult education is voluntary. Adults often choose to be in school. Thus, a very different mentality has developed around adult education. There is the ever present notion that one must please the adult, voluntary, student or he or she will choose some other way to learn. Adult education has become a market-driven phenomenon. The prevailing ethic is to please the student.

The following attempts to define adult education give a sense of the vagueness with which we are dealing and introduce the notion that almost any activity can be labeled adult education.

I define adult education as any planned learning activity engaged in, by and for anyone who possesses the biological, civil, and cultural characteristics of an adult (Long, 1980, p.4).

Adult education is sometimes used to describe the process by which men and women continue learning after their formal schooling is completed. In its more technical meaning, adult education describes a set of organized activities for mature men and women carried on by a wide variety of institutions for the

accomplishment of specific educational objectives (Knowles, 1977, p. viii).

Adult education encompasses all activities with an educational purpose carried on by people engaged in the ordinary business of life (Bryson, 1936, p. 3).

Education...in its larger acceptation, comprehends even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things of which the direct purposes are very different, by laws, by forms of government, by the industrial arts, by modes of social life; nay, even by physical facts not dependent on human will, by climate, soil and local position. Whatever helps to shape the human being; to make the individual what he is or hinder him from being what he is not, is part of his education (John Stuart Mill, 1867).

With definitions like the above that are so broad as to encompass virtually all of life, one can imagine how difficult it can be to do meaningful research on adult education.

It is not surprising that research in adult education is not held in high regard. When researchers lack agreement on what constitutes an adult, on the properties of education and thus adult education, and when they are working in a field that has borrowed from other disciplines for its theoretical foundation, the research they produce is likely to be problematic. This is born out in the literature. Boshier (1971,p.3) calls adult education a

conceptual desert, and Mezirow (1971,p.135) complains that the "absence of theory is a pervasively debilitating influence." A content analysis of 517 articles in adult education between 1950 and 1970 shows that 3% discussed theoretical formulations (Dickenson and Russell, 1971).

It is not adult education alone that suffers from a lack of theoretical constructs. The more general field of education experiences that same absence. In fact, the lack of theory in adult education can be traced directly to the fact that education is not a discipline. Eisner (1984) comments on the difficulties presented because education is an applied field, not a discipline.

A great many in the educational research community wish to be known not as educators who research educational practice, but as psychologists, sociologists or political scientists who happen to work in schools of education... Indeed, many educational researchers claim that education is not and can not even be a discipline; it is an applied field - and what is applied is psychology, sociology and so on (p. 451).

The problems with adult education as a field emerge not only in an examination of the quality and usefulness of the research that has been conducted in the area but also in the literature of the field. In an examination of syllabi for courses in adult education offered in graduate programs of education, K. Patricia Cross (1986) discovered that

there was virtually no agreement on what constitutes the literature that a graduate student in adult education should read. Of the 43 course syllabi that she examined, she determined that there were literally hundreds of different books and articles being read. Of the 45 required readings represented in this sample, only four were used in at least three of the 43 courses. The lack of a shared notion about the basic literature led Cross to conclude that "there is little consensus on what constitutes a base of knowledge in adult education" (p. 7).

This dissertation will help make some sense of the muddle that is the field of adult education by suggesting that adult education is not a meaningful category, because good teachers do not teach adults differently. The recommendation will be that future research be concentrated on education, on good teaching, no matter the age of the students. But this is getting ahead of ourselves. Here, the point is to acknowledge that research which claims to be in the area of adult education, as this dissertation does, is treading on very uncertain ground.

Research Decisions

Two limiting decisions define this dissertation. Despite the acknowledged unclarity about how one defines "adult", some decision had to be made in this research. The

age category of "over 25" was chosen for two reasons. First of all, it is outside the range of 18 to 22 that was, prior to now, considered to be the typical age of an undergraduate student. Students 25 and older are generally put in the category of "non-traditional" by colleges and universities. Second, as we have seen above, agencies that keep track of these numbers (like the Census Bureau) use the definition of over 25. Throughout the dissertation, when the term adult or adult student is used, the meaning is a person over twenty-five years of age.

The second limiting decision made in this research was to think about the teaching of adults in undergraduate institutions of higher education. Clearly, as shown by the above definitions, adults are being taught in a variety of settings other than as undergraduates in colleges or universities. However, it was necessary to limit the scope in some reasonable way. The assumption is that much of what applies to teaching adults as undergraduates pertains in other settings as well.

An Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is a systematic attempt to think about the question of whether there is a best way to teach adults. The approach involves an examination of the relevant literature for the purpose of cataloging the ideas currently existing on the topic. In addition, the results

of interviews with people who teach adults are reviewed for the purpose of understanding how they think about their work and analyzing and comparing their approaches to teaching adult students with the approaches suggested in the literature. Finally, my own views on the question and possible directions for future research will be presented.

There are two literature review chapters. Chapter 1 examines the literature on good teaching, both to provide a sense of the major ideas on the topic and to articulate the perspective to be used for then examining the literature on teaching adults. Once we understand the forces that shape the thinking about good teaching, we can then determine whether the teaching of adults is thought about in ways that are similar or markedly different. One will not come away from this chapter with any simple or easy ideas on exactly what good teaching is. Instead, one will come away with a better idea of how the topic is approached by those who have done research on teaching. The review will highlight the pitfalls that occur when one tries to say, with great precision, what is good teaching and will suggest some more thoughtful and less precise ideas about what good teaching is.

Chapter 2 examines the literature on adult education. It will indeed show that adult education has been affected by the ideas on good teaching documented in Chapter 1.

Unfortunately, it will show that the ideas on good teaching about which I am most critical in Chapter 1 are just the ideas which have been adopted most enthusiastically by adult educators.

This chapter explores the philosophical and historical underpinnings of Andragogy, the dominant concept in adult education, and the debate on the validity of Andragogy. Although the debate is heated, and although it is weighted on the side of those who question the validity of Andragogy, there is no other idea about teaching adults that has surfaced to challenge Malcolm Knowles' formulations about the best way to teach adults - a formulation that presupposes that adults should be taught quite differently than younger students. The chapter is, finally, critical of Andragogy and explores the reasons why it is an approach that is, at best, only one useful approach to teaching, and, at worst, quite a wrong way to think about the teaching of adult students.

Chapter 3 is the method chapter. In it the important ideas that have guided the choice of method are put forward. The notions of Jean Paul Sartre and Hannah Arendt will be discussed. They argue that, when one endeavors to understand more about human beings one must appreciate that every person is unique. Aggregating those unique individuals into categories will lead the researcher

into drawing conclusions about people that may be wrong and will be superficial. Sartre and Arendt also make the case that the actions of a person today can only be understood by knowing the person's history. These arguments are incorporated into the method of the dissertation.

The ideas of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss and a whole group of feminist theorists (DuBois, Reinharz, Roberts, Stanley and Wise) whose work provides important guides for how one does research and what is the role of the researcher when one endeavors to understand human beings will be explored. Finally, this chapter will contain a description of the exact approach that was used to talk to four teachers, learn about each of their lives (their personal histories) and hear them talk about how best to teach adult students.

Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 will present the stories and ideas of the four teachers. In Chapter 4, we will learn about the personal histories of the teachers as they each talk about growing up and being a student. In Chapter 5, we will learn how each person became a teacher and see how the circumstances of growing up affected the teacher that each person became.

In Chapter 6, we will hear each teacher talk about good teaching by listening to their descriptions of their

own best and worst teaching experiences. In Chapter 7, we will learn what each teacher does when he or she is teaching adult students. Each of these teachers starts with the premise that teaching adults is quite different from teaching younger students. We will discover, as they themselves do, in fact, that the age of the student is not a primary factor in the teaching practices of any of the four people. We will begin to speculate about what this means for our initial question, how best to teach adults.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter of the dissertation. Here, what has been learned from the four teachers will be examined in light of the literature presented earlier. We will see to what extent the ideas presented in the literature are borne out by the teachers. To the extent that the literature is not borne out, and, in most cases it is not, I will speculate about why this is so and propose ideas about where further research on this topic might fruitfully go. As I suggested earlier, I will recommend that we think much more carefully about good teaching.

CHAPTER 1

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON GOOD TEACHING

Introduction

This chapter examines the literature on good teaching. The review of this literature shows how pervasive the desire is to say, with certainty, what is good teaching and to prove that good teaching is something that any motivated person can learn. The examination also suggests another approach to good teaching, an approach that describes teaching as an aesthetic experience in which aesthetic criteria must be used to judge the quality of the teaching. This second approach causes uneasiness because it is less precise, but as we will see, it may lead in more fruitful directions.

The search for a definition of good teaching is a compelling one, but the answer is elusive, and those who would look for a simple, certain answer may come to some very wrong conclusions. The following story is illustrative of this point.

There is a professor at a local college who has a national reputation because of the research and publishing she does. By the most conservative of criteria (that which places research ahead of teaching as the most important work of a university professor) this person's accomplishments are the bench mark for excellence. She has written and published numerous books and articles. She has

received numerous research grants to support her work. In her tenure case, it was acknowledged that her teaching was not outstanding. No one doubted for a moment that she would be granted tenure; their faith was well placed.

Yet, this woman wants to be a good teacher, and she has sought out assistance from those of her colleagues whom she knows to be better in this area than she is. She imagines that to become a better teacher she must be more like these colleagues, teach more like they do. She asks her colleagues how they would approach a particular teaching issue, and she wants to learn from that approach. Her colleagues understand that she cannot simply imitate their teaching, but they are not certain what to tell her instead. Reluctantly, they tell her what they would do. The results are mixed. The classes go better and she reports the improvement. But, the classes still are not great, and she does not become a good teacher.

The story presents two dilemmas. Can anyone be a good teacher if he or she cares enough and works at it? And, are there certain things that all good teachers do that can be identified and copied? There is an understandable desire to answer yes to both questions, to believe that some teachers know what good teaching is and how to do it, because, if this is so, once identified, good teaching can be taught to others, and all teachers can be said to have the potential to be good.

We will return to this story at the end of the chapter, because the literature does point the way to what this teacher has to do to be good (or, at least, the best teacher she can be).

Teaching as Science or Art

The subject of good teaching is complex and people approach it from many perspectives. These perspectives will be grouped into two broad categories: teaching as science and teaching as art. These categories have been chosen because they are reflected in the literature and because they are the frameworks being used to make judgments. If one is exploring the issue of good teaching, one must make judgements and know from what perspective one is making them.

If teaching is defined as a scientific process, it can be viewed as a replicable activity. It then follows that one should be able to define the components of good teaching in objective, quantifiable terms so that different people can talk about the components and mean exactly the same thing and so that the components can be passed on from one person to the next. If teaching is presumed to be an artistic endeavor, then one would talk about the activity in terms of its unique, non-replicable nature and view it as an unreducible whole rather than the sum of its components. The standards for judgement would be aesthetic

and not quantifiable. There are arguments in the literature for each position.

The Argument for Science

Elliot Eisner (1983) provides some helpful insight into how and why education has endeavored to develop as a scientific activity. He points to the influence of both Edward Thorndike and Frederick Taylor. Thorndike tried to create a science of psychology that would explain all human behavior. He was especially interested in learning, and he set the tone in the education field, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, for a strong desire to develop a science of education. Similarly, Frederick Taylor's concept of scientific management was eagerly embraced by educational administrators. Under his influence, management of education was hyper-rationalized. "The guiding metaphor was industrial and the scope for personal ingenuity on the teacher's part was accordingly diminished" (Eisner, 1983, p.7).

Overwhelmingly, the majority of educators accepted that their primary task was to identify and then get teachers to utilize the one best teaching method. Naturally, they thought that the tools of scientific inquiry, which were precise and afforded the possibility of discovering the replicable, would be the most useful in identifying and then presenting to others that one best method.

When the scientific method is used in educational research, the researcher is guided by certain aims. These include the desire to reduce the ambiguity of the results and to insure their reliability and validity. To achieve these aims the researcher is likely to engage in a number of standard research practices. The focus of the research will usually be on units that are segmented or small. Long experimental treatment time, that tends to confound the data, will be avoided, if possible, by conducting experiments on teaching that are brief. Instruments that provide data that is reliable and valid (such as standardized questionnaires with statistically valid samples) will be used. The ultimate justification of this approach is that a prescriptive educational science will make prediction and control of education possible and such results are educationally desirable.

Although it may seem intuitively easy to dismiss the notion that we can judge good teaching through a scientific lens, the search for Taylor's "one best method", the one right way, remains compelling. The researcher has a natural human desire for order and predictability, and the possibility of discovering the best way to teach is enough to motivate many in the field of education. Even those who acknowledge that education is not truly a science often get caught up in an "as if" approach. Teaching, they admit, is not a scientific process, but they want to regard it as if

it is and see what can be learned. Because, if the scientific method is used, unambiguous, replicable processes that are used by good teachers will be identified, and these processes will be defined in a way that others can learn to utilize them.

In general, what these researchers provide us is, first, a way of measuring good teaching and then, using those measuring tools, a set of approaches taken by or characteristics possessed by good teachers. A summary of that research follows.

How To Measure Good Teaching

The literature provides us with a variety of possible ways of measuring good teaching. These include: measuring student achievement (Demmon-Berger, 1986; Guskey & Easton, 1988; Weslander, 1983), measuring student self-esteem (Doherty, 1980), using ratings from students, administrators or other faculty (Cruickshank, 1985; Easterly, 1985; Gurney, 1977; Guskey & Easton, 1988; Weslander, 1983), or evaluating categories of possible teacher behavior such as creativity, verbal communication, use of cues, reinforcement of student desired behavior, and use of feedback to students (Downs, Javidi, and Nussbaum, 1988; Pellicer, 1984; Pittman, 1985).

We are also provided with operationalized definitions of these teacher behaviors to reduce any ambiguity we might have. Creativity in one study, for example, is measured by the extent to which the teacher uses different methods and materials and adapts instruction to the situation.

Characteristics and Approaches of Good Teachers

The results of the measurements of good teaching described above fall into several categories. They include: the personality traits most often exhibited by good teachers, the teaching techniques most often employed and the behaviors exhibited toward students that are the most highly rated by those students.

The most important personality characteristics of a good teacher, according to these studies, are warmth and caring, described in various studies as: caring, friendly, sympathetic towards the problems of learners, and sensitive to students' points of view (Demmon Berger, 1986; Easterly, 1985; Gurney, 1977; Guskey and Easton, 1988; Hosler and Schmid, 1985; Weslander, 1983). The next most important characteristic is organization. This is mentioned by: Demmon-Berger, Guskey and Easton, Hansen, Pittman and Weslander. The third most important is flexibility, as identified in studies by Demmon-Berger, Gurney, Pittman, and the Queensland Board of Education.

In addition to the above, we find various studies that advise that a teacher should be: clear (Cruickshank, 1985), creative (Pittman, 1985), have good self esteem (Doherty, 1980; and Easterly, 1985), have good rapport with students (Gurney, 1977), cultivate student participation (Guskey and Easton, 1988; and Pellicer, 1984), and have a solid command of the subject matter (Demmon-Berger, Hosler and Schmid, and the Queensland Board of Teacher Education).

The Critique of Scientific Measurement to Define Good Teaching

What are the limitations of using a scientific framework to analyze complex and ever changing human interactions? Because the believability of conclusions in this type of research can be no greater than the reliability of the instruments used, the researcher might ignore that which is educationally significant but tough to measure or observe and focus on that which is insignificant but comparatively easy to measure or observe. Hannah Arendt (1958) makes this point clearly and forcefully. "The new always happens against the overwhelming odds of statistical laws...the new therefore always appears in the guise of a miracle" (p. 178). Guided by a scientific perspective, we, in education, would never acknowledge the miracle.

Let us look again at the measurement tools and the definitions they provide for good teaching described in the

previous two sections. We can see that they are precise, or, to use technical language, behaviorally operationalized. To measure a broad concept such as creativity by looking at use of different methods, takes us out of the realm of the imprecise and gives us a concept we can easily measure. For that reason, the proposed measurements are attractive. They provide us with a sense of certainty. A careful observer can go into a classroom, watch a teacher at work, and count the number of different instructional methods used. Then, one would simply add up those counts and determine which teachers were the best.

Similarly, one could develop a standardized measure for student achievement, compare teachers with each other according to the achievement of their students and determine which teachers were best. Having attained these precise results, it is a relatively straightforward matter to train other teachers to do just what the good teachers in the particular research study do.

The problem with these measuring sticks is twofold. First of all, they may precisely measure something and be precisely wrong. For example, student achievement is an elusive concept. It may be impossible to say for certain just what it is. If one teaches one's students something that most of them only "get" years later, one may have done a superb job as a teacher, but no measurement devised

will capture that achievement. Rather, in this example, the typical measurement of achievement administered at the end of a course will show that nothing was learned. Yet, the claim and the power of the measurement is that it is precise. In fact, it might not be so.

Second, as mentioned above, it is hard to be precise or to operationalize big, often fuzzy concepts. Instead, there is a tendency to have measuring sticks that take the most important substance out of teaching. The operationalized definition of creativity is the perfect example of that. When one considers the concept of creativity as applied to teaching, is counting the number of different instructional methods used by a teacher what one does? One could certainly do that; it is certain that much that is creative would be left out of such a process. The result could well be precision of the absurd.

When one examines the qualities of good teaching identified by scientific measurements two things occur. First of all, one cannot help but notice how few studies mention a central aspect of teaching, knowing the subject. Second, one gets a sense of an incredibly well intentioned effort that misses the point. Of course it makes sense that, all other things being equal, a teacher who is warm and friendly and well organized and who likes him or herself is preferable to someone who is cold, uncaring,

disorganized and self hating. But, all things are not equal, because none of this gets at the real stuff of teaching. Does a teacher know what he or she is talking about? Is he or she deeply involved in the subject matter? Does he or she care passionately about what is being taught? In short, does he or she have something to teach?

The above ideas about teaching are dangerously close to Michael Dukakis' notion that the presidency is about competence not ideology, that it is a process, not an end. The American people knew immediately that he was wrong. What a president believes is far more important than how good a manager he is. The same is true for teaching. What the teacher knows and believes is the most important aspect of teaching. Hopefully, the teacher is also effective in conveying that knowledge. What we will see in the next section is that even teachers who are not, on the surface, using good teaching techniques can be good, even great, because the students are caught up in the powerful and captivating depth and breadth of what the teacher knows and his or her love of that knowledge.

The Argument for Art

Elliot Eisner (1983) tells us what it means for a teacher to function as an artist:

When rules cannot be used to decode meaning and when prescription cannot be used to control practice, the teacher must rely on art and craft. To function as an artist or craftsperson one must be able to read the ineffable yet expressive messages of classroom life. It requires the ability to appreciate what one has encountered (p. 11).

But appreciation, Eisner argues is not enough. The teacher must act on that which is encountered, must be willing and able to create new forms of teaching.

The aesthetic in teaching is the experience secured from being able to put your own signature on your own work - to look at it and say it was good...It means being swept up in the act of making something beautiful (p.12).

Barone (1983) says that the cultivation of educational experiences is the most important mission of the teacher. A truly educational experience is likely to possess certain fundamentally aesthetic attributes among which are: an aesthetic dynamic form, buoyant emotional qualities and a vital tension between the experiencer and the experienced. Aesthetic experiences include: a sense of expectancy (the recognition of a dilemma or the discovery of a problem), a growing elan (a sense of growing meaning toward an end that is felt as accomplishment of a process), and a tired satisfaction (closure, resolution).

Gage (1984) defines teaching, which he regards as the central process in education, as a practical art. It departs from recipes, formulas and algorithms and requires improvisation and spontaneity and the "handling of a vast array of considerations of form, style, pace, rhythm and appropriateness in ways so complex that even computers must lose the way" (p.88).

Cahn (1982) gives us his artistic vision of teaching when he says that great teachers project a vision of excellence. "The hallmark of superb instruction is not the applause of students but rather their informed and abiding commitment to recognize and respect quality" (p. 39). Cahn is also clear about the role of the teacher when it comes to meeting the needs of the students and argues that the teacher should not merely go along with the whims of the students. Teachers, he argues, have the responsibility to lead their students to master appropriate subject matter without misrepresenting it or diluting it yet, at the same time, arousing appreciation for it. Students should be led to appreciate the subject as a thing of beauty in itself.

Characteristics and Approaches of Good Teachers

It is not possible in this section to mirror the discussion of good teachers in the preceding section, because the very nature of looking at good teaching from an

artistic perspective demands a holistic approach. Thus, we will not present research that describes isolated characteristics of good teachers. Instead, we will find research that explores good teaching by telling stories about individual teachers whose work is excellent.

Joseph Epstein (1981) in Masters: Portraits of Great Teachers, presents wonderful stories about good teachers, stories that echo Cahn's themes. He argues that what all great teachers appear to have in common is a love of their subject, an obvious satisfaction in arousing this love in their students and an ability to convince them that what is being taught is deadly serious. As for the one best method, he says that there "is many a tried but no true method for getting a subject across" (p. xii). Instead, he sees that "everywhere the task of teaching is the same - this lighting of sparks, this setting aflame - and everywhere it is carried on differently" (p.xii).

In his book, Epstein presents the stories of well respected academic men and women, each of whom writes a chapter describing the best teacher he or she ever had. Epstein did this, he tells us, because great teachers have left no record of their pedagogical accomplishments. The effect of their work, like that of opera singers before the advent of recordings, is indirect, it must be assumed from the activities of those who experienced their efforts.

What we discover in this book is a powerful testament to the ineffable activity "the sculpture made of snow" (p.24) - good teaching. What we also find is a sharp rejoinder to the list of traits produced by scientific educational researchers.

Werner Danhauser gives voice to this. He tells us that teaching is a profoundly personal activity and that he must describe his mentor and teacher, Leo Strauss, through personal reminiscences. Since there is something ineffable about teaching and its effects, "I must recollect in a manner completely non-scientific" (p. 255). Strauss, he tells us, was not a pleasant person and did not show the respect for students that is so highly touted today. In fact, he could be sarcastic and, at times, downright cruel, but students, Danhauser at least, recognized his brilliance and were in awe of his range of knowledge. Danhauser pushed himself in order to meet Strauss' expectations; he was the better for that push.

Hannah Arendt, we are told by Peter Stern and Jean Yarbrough, did not have the compelling lecture style or ease of communicating with students the earlier researchers told us were so critical to good teaching. She would walk quietly into a classroom, take her place at the front with her eyes on her note cards and rarely look up at her students. Often, she would read from a fully written set

of notes for an hour and then answer questions for forty minutes. However, she transformed this old-fashioned method of teaching "through her sheer brilliance and originality of her ideas" (p.190).

Edmund Wilson tells us that Christian Gauss had a classroom manner that was sober and quiet, with a detached and impersonal attitude toward the students. He, like Arendt, made no eye contact with the students when he lectured. However, Gauss had "the fidelity to a kind of truth that is rendered by the discipline of aesthetic form. He made us all want to write something in which every word, every cadence, every detail should perform a definite function in producing intense effect" (p. 14).

Wilson goes on in his testimony. "I sensed that he had something to impart which was of infinitely greater importance than the mere content of the course in French literature...It was he who first taught me how to think. He instilled into my very soul the determination to be a seeker after truth" (p.17).

Sidney Hook argues that a great teacher has the ability to inspire in students a dedication to the subject of instruction. Morris Cohen was such a teacher. Cohen, too, did not display the behaviors argued for in the previous section of this chapter. Hook tells us that he

used the Socratic method with devastating results. "Cohen dispatched students' answers with a rapier or a sledgehammer. There was no animus in this ruthless abortion of error, of stereotyped responses and of the cliches and bromides that untutored minds brought to the perennial problems of philosophy" (p. 27).

Alfred North Whitehead, we are told by Joseph Brennan, had a style quite different from Cohen. He took a personal interest in his students and was never repressive or sarcastic or superior. However, he eschewed the clarity which many would argue is essential to effective teaching, because there is a danger in clarity, "the danger of overlooking the subtleties of truth" (p.49).

Nadia Boulanger developed in Suzanne Hoover a passion for excellence that has survived intact. Boulanger, her piano teacher in Paris for several years, exhorted her to "practice the impossible until you can do it and then nothing again will ever be difficult" (p. 88).

How To Measure Good Teaching

It must be acknowledged that these teachers may have only been effective with some of their students. We are, after all, only hearing testimony from one of each of these teacher's students, and the students are a highly select group who themselves now have national reputations as

scholars and teachers. But that is just the point with an aesthetic framework, goodness depends on the learner as much as on the teacher. An aesthetic experience is one that involves the viewer (learner) as much as the artist (teacher). Using an aesthetic sensibility, we must acknowledge that what is good teaching for one student may not be good for another. Susan Hoover may have thrived under Nadia Boulanger's insistence that she do the impossible because of the implicit assumption that Boulanger thought she could do it. Perhaps she would have withered under Strauss' cruelty.

These stories are rich in their variety and compelling in their result. We hear, through the words of accomplished students, the memories of those teachers who helped them arrive at their place of accomplishment. What we hear, very clearly, is that there is no one behavioral trait that distinguishes these people. In many ways, their stories raise serious questions about the studies in the earlier section that tell us that a good teacher must be warm and caring or that the best teachers are organized and flexible, because they show us how empty warm and caring can be if the teacher lacks the wisdom, the passion or the inspiration that the above teachers possess.

Although the above testimonials to good teachers do not identify the same kind of behaviors that the scientific

studies name, we can discern some identifiable themes. These themes give shape to the standards to be used when judging good teaching from an aesthetic perspective. These teachers knew their subject matter; they were themselves learned people. And they had a passion, a passion for truth, beauty, quality and excellence, and that passion (whether the teacher was or was not a good lecturer, did or did not treat the students with respect) led the students to develop the same in themselves.

As we listen to these stories, we hear something in each that is compelling. We imagine each teacher is being the best teacher he or she is capable of being, because each is teaching from what he or she knows best and cares most about. And that is the final factor that must be mentioned when making aesthetic judgements about good teaching. The good teacher is good out of his or her own sense of the world. The good teacher develops his or her sense of truth, beauty, and quality and teaches from that sense.

This takes us back to the story with which this chapter began, the teacher who wanted to imitate good teachers. In borrowing the best methods of other teachers, she was clearly not doing her best teaching, because she was not connected to what she could do best. She might, in fact, have the potential to be the most scintillating lecturer in

her institution. Clearly, she was a national authority in her field. Clearly, she cared deeply about her area. But she was not bringing that into the classroom with her. A colleague was appalled to discover that this teacher, in her desire to use more progressive teaching methods, was not sharing her impressive grasp of her area with her students. The students had no idea who they really had as a teacher because she was not teaching from her strengths. This woman recently admitted that the presentations she gave at national conferences were better than her classroom teaching. At the conferences, she gave herself permission to be artistic as only she could be. In her classroom, she had limited herself by some notion of good teaching that did not make sense for her.

The Critique of Artistic Frameworks to Define Good Teaching

The attraction to using scientific measurements to define good teaching is that the result, the definition of good teaching is clear, unambiguous and replicable. The weakness of an artistic framework is that it results in none of the above. When we make judgements through an artistic sensibility, we conclude that good teaching depends upon the individual teacher, the students being taught, the subject matter and a host of other factors that give form to the specific situation in which the teaching takes place.

This conclusion may be troubling for some. If teaching is a unique and individual activity it certainly can not be replicated. The question then arises, can someone learn to be a good teacher. In fact, if one is looking for easy to follow formulas, they do not exist. However, it is just as Alfred North Whitehead suggested. There is danger in such formulas - "the dangers of overlooking the subtleties of truth". The truth is that we can recognize good teachers and differentiate good from bad using artistic judgements. We can recognize teachers who are deeply involved in their work and who can arouse passion for understanding and dedication to excellence in their students. These qualities are clearly not easily taught to another teacher. But that is no reason to conclude that a teacher can not become better, cannot dedicate him or her self to her subject and her teaching in a way that will inspire students to know more and do better work.

The next chapter will examine the literature on the teaching of adults. That literature does not contain the standards represented by the aesthetic approaches described in this chapter. The result is that there is little discussion of elements of teaching such as: depth of knowledge, truth, quality or excellence. The literature is less substantial for that lack.

CHAPTER 2

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ADULT EDUCATION LITERATURE:

One of the themes that emerged in Chapter 1 is the desire to identify exactly and precisely what is good teaching. In this chapter that theme is also present. Research on adult education, in many cases, is aimed at being able to say, definitively, what is the best way to teach adults. Much of this chapter will focus on the presentation of that literature and an examination of its usefulness. Before that, however, it is necessary to discuss the theoretical underpinnings to adult education.

In this discussion, the influence of two thinkers, John Dewey and Ralph Tyler is obvious. These two men, whose ideas arise from opposite traditions (progressive and conservative) have provided the framework for and defined the boundaries of the field of adult education. Dewey's progressive yet pragmatic philosophy, that education must be based on experience, and Tyler's conservative and also pragmatic notion, that education is about carefully defined ends and means and precisely measured goals, have established the starting point from which virtually all of the major thinkers in adult education approach the field.

The literature in adult education echoes Dewey on the one hand or Tyler on the other or, despite their

philosophical differences, both Dewey and Tyler, as the conservative and progressive traditions have been united through their common pragmatic bond. Much of the debate about good teaching of adults, then, is bounded by a pragmatic philosophy, and most of the subsequent discussion about how best to teach adults reflects that pragmatic underpinning. A brief review of Dewey and Tyler follows.

John Dewey

John Dewey did not have adults specifically in mind in much of his writing; he was thinking primarily of the education of children. However, his ideas have taken deepest root in the adult education movement of the twentieth century. It is not an easy task to summarize Dewey. I owe much thanks to Cyril Houle's discussion in his book, The Design of Education (1972). Houle points out a number of ways Dewey contrasted his ideas about education with those of mainstream educational thought. Dewey opposed education that was imposed on students from above in a uniform manner. Instead, he advocated education that allowed for the expression and cultivation of individuality. Similarly, Dewey said that education should not be an externally imposed discipline but should allow for free activity on the part of students. The students should not learn from tests and teachers but, rather, should learn from experience. Tests and teachers, Dewey argued, allowed only for the acquisition of isolated

skills and techniques. Experience, on the other hand, allowed students to learn skills and knowledge as a means to obtain ends with direct, vital appeal. Education should not be preparation for a remote future; rather it should allow the individual to make the most of the opportunities of everyday life. Education should not have static aims or employ static materials. Instead, it should provide each student an active acquaintance with an ever changing world.

Dewey's ideas found their fullest expression in practice in the 1920's and 1930's, the same time as the early major development of adult education in the United States. While his language has relevance to learning at any age, some educators of adults took it as almost a direct message to themselves, since it expressed so clearly their own feelings about the field and mission of adult education.

The very act of thinking, Dewey believed, was a process of solving problems. The process, he said, goes as follows: a difficulty arises, the specific nature of the problem is defined, possible solutions are formulated and tested and the most adequate one is chosen. This process, Dewey argued, should be used to guide education.

Then education becomes a constant quest for competence and enlightenment as an individual or group seeks continuously to solve problems

encountered in the effort to reach defined goals (Houle, 1972,p.11).

Ralph Tyler

Ralph Tyler's ideas come out of the pragmatic tradition in education. He believed that educators should develop specific objectives for each educational endeavor. These objectives should be developed by first gathering information on the learners, on contemporary life and from subject specialists. This data should be screened by the educational and social philosophy of the curriculum builder and by findings of the psychology of learning. The objectives should be stated in a way that allows an educator to select learning experiences and guide teaching. Such experiences are chosen and organized to produce the desired results. Evaluation should be designed to measure the degree to which identified objectives have been achieved. Tyler is the ultimate means to achieve ends thinker. He made no attempt to specify what the educational or social philosophy of the curriculum builder should be. That, he said, was not a question for him to answer. Rather, he developed a process by which one could set educational objectives no matter what one's philosophy.

On the surface, these two thinkers are far apart. Dewey advocates a kind of educational spontaneity in which instruction responds to and follows experience. Tyler is

arguing for a formulaic response - set goals, select methods to achieve the goals, apply the methods and evaluate the learners to determine whether the goals have been achieved. In most cases, adult education programs have managed to marry the two approaches. There is much emphasis on using adults' experience and evaluating it using Tyler's means and ends measurements.

Application of Dewey and Tyler to Adult Education

In 1926, Eduard C. Lindemann formulated a way in which Dewey's thought could be applied to adult education.

The approach to adult education will be via the route of situations, not subjects ... In conventional education the student is required to adjust himself to an established curriculum; in adult education the curriculum is built around the student's needs and interests. Every adult person finds himself in specific situations with respect to his work, his recreation, his family life, his community life, etc. - situations which call for adjustments. Adult education begins at this point. Subject matter is brought into the situation, is put to work when needed. Texts and teachers play a new and secondary role in this type of education; they must give way to the primary importance of the learner (Lindemann, 1926).

In the above quote, we can hear the main assumptions that Lindemann was making about adult education. He felt that education is life, not preparation for life. He argued that adult education should be primarily nonvocational. The

approach to education should be through examination of situations, not subjects, and the resource that is of the highest value in education is the learner's experience, not the teacher and not the subject matter.

These assumptions provided the conceptual framework for Lindemann's adult education philosophy. They also led Lindemann away from the prevailing notion that adult education was primarily a vehicle designed to remedy deficiencies from prior educational experiences. John Dewey's philosophy provided the foundation for Lindemann's development of the idea of adult education. At the core of Dewey's philosophy is the pragmatic view that ideas are true if they can be experienced as true. Lindemann made the experience of the learner the centerpiece of adult education. "If education is life then life is also education... and experience is the adult learner's living textbook" (Lindemann, 1926, p. 9-10).

Malcolm Knowles

Dewey's ideas, as applied to adult education by Lindemann are best known today through the work of Malcolm Knowles. Through the sheer volume of his writing (14 books and innumerable articles) and from the amount of adult education literature dedicated to supporting or refuting his ideas, one experiences the weight of Knowles' influence in adult education.

Knowles' primary contribution to the field is his promotion of the concept of Andragogy, which he defined as the art and science of teaching adults. Originally, Knowles juxtaposed this term with pedagogy, which he argued was not the art and science of teaching but, rather, specifically, the art and science of teaching children. Knowles argued that educators were trying to teach adults using methods developed specifically for children. This was wrong, he said, because adults are different from children and need to be taught differently.

Knowles made four assumptions about how adult learners were different from children. He believed that as we develop, our self concept moves from seeing ourselves as dependent on others (in this case teachers) to seeing ourselves as self-directed (or, capable of being our own teachers). As part of this developmental process, the adult accumulates experience that becomes an increasing resource. Adult learners, naturally, have more experience than children because they have lived longer lives. Knowles further believed that an adult's readiness to learn becomes oriented to the developmental tasks of his or her social roles. The social role tasks of an adult (eg. worker, parent, spouse) are different from those of a child. Finally, he argued that, as we develop, our time perspective changes from postponed application of knowledge to immediacy of application. The adult learner, he

maintained, has a more immediate time perspective than a child.

In essence, Knowles is saying that an adult is different from a child and must be taught differently. He suggested an approach to teaching adults in which, because an adult is more self-directed, the teacher should not be the expert, but, rather, should facilitate the learning of the adult. He argued that learning must be relevant to immediate problems in the adult student's life, that an adult should establish goals for what he or she wants to learn and how the learning takes place. Knowles also argued that the adult should have a major role in evaluating his or her learning. The role of the teacher, then, is to make resources available so that the adult can learn what he or she wants to learn.

Knowles contrasted his concept of Andragogy with the traditional method of educating children. When a teacher employs a pedagogical approach, the instructional climate is authority oriented. The instructor plans, diagnoses needs, formulates objectives and evaluates. When the assumptions inherent in Andragogy are accepted, Knowles argued that the above tasks are to be a mutual process between instructor and student. The teacher is a facilitator of learning rather than a disseminator of information.

What is important about Knowles as a thinker is not the originality of his ideas (Dewey and Lindemann clearly deserve that credit) but rather his ability to gain widespread popular distribution of his thoughts and, it would appear, unthinking acceptance on the part of many educators. Knowles started writing during the most recent revival of thinking about adult education, during the time of the growth of the community college and the increase in the number of adults attending college. As a result, his ideas gained a level of popularity that would not have been possible at another time. Educators were aware of and concerned about the growing number of adult students in college, and some of them were wondering whether these students needed to be taught differently. Knowles' ideas responded to that concern. His ideas, however, are not without their critics.

The Debate Over Andragogy

Cyril Houle (1972) argued that the learning activities of adults did not differ that much from children. Leon McKenzie (1977) reduced all debate over Knowles' ideas to one issue: whether you believe adults are different from children. If you believe adults and children are essentially the same, you will believe Andragogy is a non-useful term. If you believe adults and children are existentially different, then you will argue that the

concept of Andragogy represents a significant contribution to adult education.

Jack London (1973) faulted Knowles for being a technician who was providing technical answers to educational questions. What Knowles failed to realize, London argued, was that he was assuming that society is all right as it is. If you do not believe that, and London does not, then Knowles has missed the important function of education, to be critical of society.

John Elias (1979) argued that Knowles had made distinctions between adults and children that did not hold up. He said that the process of becoming independent begins much earlier in life, that Piaget's research has shown the self-directedness of child learners. He also argued that experience can contribute to or prevent new learning. Adults' greater experience does not necessarily mean that experience-centered education is better with adults. If the adult's experience has narrowed him or her, then education that starts with experience will start with an unnecessary and unfortunate narrowness of perspective, and that perspective might never be broadened.

Elias also took exception to the notion that the need for adults to solve different developmental tasks meant they learned any differently. The process of learning

might still be the same. Finally, Elias said that children can be just as present-centered as adults, and children's learning could and should be problem-centered as well. Adults and children are different, but not in ways that pertain to fundamental educational processes.

Some of the controversy over Andragogy has centered on whether or not it is a theory. Day and Basket (1982) concluded that Andragogy is not a theory of adult learning but is an educational ideology rooted in an inquiry-based learning and teaching paradigm. Further, they argued, his client-centered problem solving model is not always the most appropriate or effective means of educating adults.

Rosenblum and Darkenwald (1983) supported the findings of Day and Basket. They found that including learners in the process of course planning, diagnosis, objective-setting and educational design did not result in meaningful differences in either learning or student satisfaction. Andragogy, they argued, was prescriptive rather than descriptive. Adults, they found, are not inherently self-directed but, in fact, have been socialized to be dependent upon the teacher. The research, they concluded, does not bear out the effectiveness of Andragogy.

Conti (1985) found that teaching style can affect student achievement, but he found teacher-centered

approaches were more effective with GED classes which focused on the short-term task of passing the GED examination while learner-centered approaches were more effective with ESL classes.

Malcolm Knowles was not unaware of his critics, and, in an article entitled "Andragogy Revisited" (1979) he updated his ideas. First, he admitted that he made a mistake in creating a dichotomy between andragogy and pedagogy. He agreed with his critics that his learner-centered ideas might very well pertain to children and argued that the reason it was first discovered that traditional, pedagogical methods do not work with adults is that adult education is voluntary and adults would not stand for authoritarian teachers. He also conceded that pedagogical approaches are appropriate in instances when adults know little about a given subject. For example, he conceded, in a subject area such as the higher mathematics of nuclear physics, andragogical methods might not work.

If anything, though, Knowles was not giving up on Andragogy, just extending it to children as well as adults. His use of the rather extreme example of nuclear math as a possible content area in which a learner should not be self-directed clearly indicated that he believed that there were few times when pedagogy was more appropriate than andragogy when teaching learners of any age.

Knowles also had his supporters among those who write for education journals. Robert Carlson (1980) argued that Andragogy must be supported for political and philosophical reasons. In a democratic society the legal and educational rights of adults are different from those of children. Politically, society must set an age when one becomes an adult. At that point, pedagogy is no longer appropriate. Socialization is an important part of the education of children in a democracy but should be excluded from adult education. Philosophically, the teacher must act as if human beings are essentially good and capable of self-directed learning. A philosophy consistent with democracy must honor the individual and his or her humanity.

John Rachal (1983) wrote that Knowles' concepts were useful, but age should not be the deciding parameter; rather, learner motivation should be the key concept. A non-voluntary (non-motivated) learner probably would not benefit from self-directed learning approaches.

What are we to make of Knowles? Clearly, he has an answer for the question of this dissertation. Is there a best way to teach adults? Yes, use teaching techniques that are andragogical. Is he right? The literature would indicate that there is, at best, considerable disagreement over this. Since Knowles has not tested his ideas, since they are prescriptive, why have they received so much

attention? There are several important reasons for the popularity of his ideas. One reason involves the moral issue of telling another person what to do. The other reason revolves around the service orientation of adult education. These reasons will be explored in the following sections.

Avoiding the Moral Dilemma

When one is teaching someone, one is changing them, wanting them to be dissatisfied with what they currently think or are able to do. "Education is a conscious attempt to change the learner's behavior" (Lawson, 1975, p. 12). When teaching children, teachers generally have an easier time being authority figures. When teaching adults, it is not so easy to accept that authority. If one believes that education involves the intention to change behavior and, perhaps, to change the values that underlie that behavior, one is confronted by a moral dilemma. Ought one to change someone's behavior or encourage them to adopt a new set of values?

When teaching adults, the teacher is instructing peers. This makes the moral dilemma more acute. One might believe that it is morally permissible to change a child but not an adult. The ideas of Robert Carlson discussed above are an example of that reluctance. Knowles has provided a way out of the dilemma. Andragogy allows the

teacher to follow the lead of the student. The teacher goes only where the adult student says he or she wants to go. The teacher never has to assume a position of authority, never has to say he or she knows better. Dilemma resolved.

Unfortunately, of course, this is the wrong way to resolve the dilemma. K.H. Lawson says it well.

Unless education in the adult education context is given a different meaning, unless it is taken to involve no values whatever about what is learned or to refer to no standards of performance or achievement but to remain at the level of subjective personal insights...the positive conception of a teacher has to be introduced (1975, p. 24).

Andragogy lacks that positive conception. It is seductive in that it gets one out of the uncomfortable position of telling an adult student what to do or what to believe, but it is also morally bankrupt, because the solution to the dilemma is simply for the teacher to forsake all responsibility.

Adult education as service

Adult education has developed a service orientation in which programs and curricula are devised in response to the demands of potential consumers. This service orientation is congruent with the belief discussed above that teachers ought not to impose their own values on adult

students. Adult education tries to avoid making judgments about what should be taught and learned. The alternative, which has been adopted in most cases, is for adult education to be student-centered.

The emphasis is then placed on the requirements and desires of the learners rather than on the subject to be taught or the wisdom of the teacher. As Patricia Cross (1982) says, adult education is a market-driven phenomena. Partly, this orientation is in response to the typically non-vocational, voluntary, recreational context in which the current form of adult education developed. Adult education is viewed as competing against a range of other demands upon the leisure time of adults. Adult students, for the most part, can vote with their feet, so education had better meet their needs. Admittedly, sometimes the adult is not a completely voluntary student. Still, adult education has developed with the notion that the adult is freely choosing education from a wide range of choices. The service orientation image holds even when it does not fit the facts.

Knowles' concept of Andragogy is perfectly in tune with this service orientation. One rationale for education that is oriented so that the students determine what they want to learn and how rather than the teacher, is that then

the students will be satisfied (and the service model will be maintained).

However, Andragogy is more than a technique to satisfy the adult learner. It represents a view of the nature of education which conceals its own educational values. The guiding principle of this idea is that the equality between teacher and student ought to be recognized. However, it is an equality that reduces both parties by assuming that they are the same. The teacher is placed in a passive role and his or her wisdom is only summoned if the student requests it. The teacher makes no authoritative input except at the command of the student.

The process of education which is implied in this approach is one of personal discovery based on one's own insights and subjective responses. It assumes that there is a rational basis for the choices which adult students make, that the evidence is available and that the issues are understood. "The paradox is that what has not yet been learned is not yet known and the learner can at best only dimly perceive what he wants to know more about" (Lawson, p. 23).

In her Forward to Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo's book ,Literacy: Reading the Word and the World, Ann Berthoff offers her criticism of the idea that the teacher

does justice to the students by letting them decide what they want to learn.

Recognition, on the part of the teacher, involves acknowledgement of what the learner knows and respect for that knowledge, it also requires evaluation... To be "non-judgemental" is a rhetorical virtue, not a logical option. We must respect the plurality of voices, the variety of discourses,... we must be tactful, but a neutral stance is impossible... All human activity is by definition purposeful and has, therefore, a direction. For a teacher not to undertake to make this direction apprehendable and to join in dialogic action to examine it is to refuse "the pedagogical, political, and epistemological task of assuming the role of a subject of that directive practice" (p. xviii, 1987).

Again, the popularity of Andragogy is understandable as teachers strive to provide a service to and retain the interest of the adult student. However, even if one accepts that adult education is a service, one must seriously question whether a superficial solution to the goal of satisfying the consumers (let them learn whatever they want) is indeed fulfilling the service mandate.

On Beyond Knowles

Not all the literature is consumed with arguing one side or the other of the question of the rightness of Andragogy. In the following section, other perspectives are presented. All, however, continue to be influenced by

Dewey and Tyler and to be dominated by Knowles. Burton Sisco (1984) clearly shows the impact of Dewey and Knowles. He agrees that the commonly accepted role of the adult educator is that of facilitator of learning. His emphasis on facilitation is rooted in research on adult learning which shows that adults, when given the opportunity, prefer settings in which they have primary responsibility for directing their own learning. He cites research on independent or self-directed learning by Brookfield (1982), Hiemstera (1975), Knowles (1975), and Tough (1978,1979). The role of the adult educator, we are told, is facilitator of learning rather than content transmitter.

Alan Knox in his book, Helping Adults Learn, tells us that there is no one best way to teach adult students.

Because the rich mixture of varying content, learners with distinct needs and life experiences, and your own instructional approach creates the potential for infinite variety and unending challenge, ... it is unlikely that anyone will agree on one best way adults learn" (p.1).

Knox has a metaphor for the instructional role, and this metaphor is reminiscent of Knowles' concept of teacher as facilitator. Knox believes the instructor is a guide for people on a transformational journey. The instructor is there to help the students clarify what they already know and then help them to become their own guide.

According to Knox, the basic components of good teaching are: mastery of the subject matter, satisfactory interpersonal relations and verbal facility.

Knox describes six steps that a teacher should take in the instructional process. First the teacher should assess student needs by comparing current proficiencies with desired ones. Then a context analysis of the learning situation should be conducted to determine societal trends, the mission of the particular educational institution and competing or complementary opportunities from other educational providers. At this point, one should set objectives for what the instructional process will accomplish. Then one should select learning activities appropriate to the objectives and the learners. Next, one carries out the learning activities; finally one evaluates.

Knox tells us that adults engage in learning activities mainly to enhance their proficiencies. Proficiency-oriented adult learning gives attention to specific objectives, mastery learning and evaluation of learner achievement of objectives.

In Knox's writing, we see the marriage of the ideas of Tyler (Knox's six steps in the instructional process) and Dewey (as represented by the concepts of education to

enhance proficiencies and teacher as guide for the student).

Stanley Grabowski, in his book, Preparing Educators of Adults, echoes the theme of teacher as facilitator. He reports research by DeSanctis (1976), and Schroeder and Haggerty (1976) that says that staff development programs should prepare adult educators for a learner-centered rather than a teacher-centered environment.

Grabowski also provides us a look at the theme we saw in the first chapter of the dissertation, the desire to identify the traits and behaviors of a good teacher. He shares with us a study by Chamberlain (1961) which says that the most frequently mentioned competencies of good instructors, as rated by adult education professionals, students in graduate education programs and administrators, were: communication skills, program development, administration skills, and knowledge of the principles of adult education.

Grabowski, in an earlier study (1976), after substantial review of the research that identifies the competencies of good teachers of adults, distilled ten competencies that are common to most of the research. These are:

1. Understands and takes into account motivation and participation patterns of adult learners.
2. Understands and provides for needs of adult learners.
3. Versed in theory and practice of adult learners.
4. Knows the community and its needs.
5. Knows how to use various methods and techniques of instruction.
6. Possesses communication and listening skills.
7. Knows how to locate and use education materials.
8. Has an open mind and allows adults to pursue their own interests.
9. Continues his or her own education.
10. Able to evaluate and appraise a program.

We see in the above much of what we encountered in the review of the literature on good teaching. There is an emphasis on traits such as flexibility and communicativeness and on an understanding of the students, in this case of adult students. There is no mention of knowledge of subject matter or appreciation of truth or passion for quality.

Jerold Apps (1981) provides another example of the list of traits approach. He tells us that the exemplary instructors of adults :

1. Are more concerned about learners than about things and events.

2. Believe in the capacity of adults to learn and recognize the breadth of influences that face returning students.
3. Know their subject matter.
4. Are able to relate theory to practice and their own field to other fields.
5. Are confident as instructors because it is only when persons feel fundamentally adequate that the self can be transcended and attention can be given to the needs of others.
6. Are open to a wide variety of teaching approaches.
7. Share their whole person.
8. Encourage learning outcomes that go beyond course objectives.
9. Create a positive atmosphere for learning.

Here the notion of knowledge of subject matter is acknowledged, but it is only one of nine attributes.

Apps also relates the details of a study (Feldman, 1976) in which older and younger college students agreed on the characteristics of a good teacher: ability to stimulate interest in the topic, enthusiasm, knowledge of subject taught and preparation for and organization of course taught.

Robert and Pegge Alciatore (1978) asked college seniors about the characteristics of the best and worst

teachers. Students over 24 agreed with students under 24 on these positive characteristics: interest in students, good personality, interest in the subject matter, ability to make subject interesting, objectivity in presenting subject matter and dealing with students.

Over and over we notice the same emphasis on personality characteristics of the teacher that is reflected in Chapter One.

Kidd (1975) continues the earlier theme that the teacher is there to assist the student. He argues that the term teacher is incorrect and says that in adult education we need a term which describes he or she who assists learning to happen or the manager of learning. He also tells us that the teacher must be a learner as well. It is the teacher's attitude towards learning that is communicated more forcefully to the students than his or her words.

Kidd, however, places an emphasis on subject matter that we do not hear in much of the rest of the literature. "The adult educator cannot be simply a person of good will and generous impulses... he [or she] must know something well" (p. 298). He goes on with his notion of what is essential to a good teacher.

Perhaps the most profound thing that can be said of the teacher is that he can't help it. Searching for and revealing truth, assisting in the way that others grow, these are the means by which he comes to grips with and expresses the life that is in him (p. 307).

Kidd tells us that he owes much of his vision of a good teacher to Alfred North Whitehead, who believed that the most important trait of the teacher was imagination. Whitehead argued that since the advent of printing, universities were not needed to impart information. Books could do that quite satisfactorily.

The justification for a university is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest of life, by uniting the young and old in the imaginative consideration of learning. ... This atmosphere of excitement, arising from imaginative consideration, transforms knowledge. A fact is no longer a bare fact, it is invested with all its possibilities. It is no longer a burden on the memory; it is as energizing as the poet of our dreams, and as the architect of our purposes (1949).

Notions such as Kidd's and Whitehead's are not prevalent in the literature. They are an important counterpoint to the technical approaches of Tyler and his followers or the andragogical approaches of Knowles and his colleagues. Both Tyler and Knowles would have us believe that the good teacher can be a technician who holds no values dear, and is willing to follow a rational course of

objective setting, accomplishment and evaluation at the direction of the student. It is a notion of education that is particularly hollow.

The above ideas on adult education fit right into the distinctions drawn in Chapter 1 about good teaching. Most of the thinkers in adult education embrace the scientific model. They view teaching to be a technical process in which the teacher should follow clearly delineated steps from needs assessment through instructional design to evaluation. A good teacher, in this conception of teaching, is someone who can fully assess what the students want to learn and creatively make resources available from which students can draw for their education.

Dewey, we might imagine, would favor the artistic conception of teaching. He might well be appalled at the modern day application of his ideas in adult education programs. However, in the literature surveyed above, only Kidd and Whitehead present ideas about teaching that are compatible with the artistic framework suggested in Chapter 1. It is for just this reason that I have concluded that, unfortunately, most of the thinking in adult education leads us away from the best thinking about good teaching.

The next chapter of the dissertation will describe the research method. It is a method that was used to help us

understand if these seemingly hollow notions of adult education are being accepted by teachers of adults.

In the introductory chapter several factors that affect the subject of this dissertation were discussed. There are more adults, today, than ever enrolled as undergraduates in colleges and universities. There is, therefore, heightened interest in learning the best ways to teach adult students. However, there are many factors at play that impede gaining knowledge about how best to teach this rapidly growing group of students. As was pointed out, the field of adult education is nebulous at best. Scholars can not even agree on what is a suitable definition of adult. There is a paucity of theory about adult education, little agreement on what books should be read to be knowledgeable about adult education, and an ongoing dispute as to whether the area even qualifies as a field of study.

Further confounding any understanding of how best to teach adults is the fact that teaching is a very private process. Few people know the acts of a teacher unless they are that teacher's student. And, as both Joseph Epstein and Werner Danhauser have so eloquently pointed out in Chapter 1, there is no permanent record of the acts of a teacher. Danhauser referred to teaching as "snow sculpting" - the result is there for only a moment in time. Students are testament to the teacher to the degree that they talk about his or her accomplishments, but only an indirect testament.

The examination of the literature on good teaching undertaken in Chapter 1 has shown that precise, behaviorally defined definitions of good teaching are seductive but hollow. They are seductive because they are so precise. They are hollow because they overlook the substance of teaching. The artistic definitions of good teaching are far less precise, but they provide the substance. They incorporate essential concepts of teaching such as: knowledge, values, truth and beauty, and the relationship between teacher and learner. The teachers described with such admiration in Epstein's book on great teachers clearly deserve high marks when judged by aesthetic standards. The method of this dissertation, talking with four teachers about their teaching, will give us a chance to see if more ordinary teachers talk about their work in scientific or aesthetic terms.

The literature of adult education, explored in Chapter 2, is replete with arguments for and against the notion of Andragogy. As we have seen, the concept is well intentioned and understandably popular, but it is as empty as the attempts in the first chapter to precisely define good teaching. It omits the substance of teaching as it advocates a process in which the student has the major responsibility for setting the direction of his or her learning. However, there is, as yet, no well developed concept of adult education to rival Andragogy.

This affords a wonderful opportunity. Because there is little that is known so far that seems to be right in terms of advancing our knowledge about teaching adult students, I have chosen to talk to teachers in an attempt to shed light on and add to our understanding of effective educational approaches to adult students. The method, very simply, was to talk with four teachers with a variety of experience teaching both "traditional" - aged undergraduates and adult undergraduates. The aim was to find out from each of them what brought them to teaching, what they were doing when they were being the best teacher they could be, and what they found to be the best ways to teach adult students.

The research methodology is based on several premises. First of all, it was assumed that the existing concepts and theories about how to teach adults were largely unsatisfactory. Andragogy, as analyzed in Chapter 2, is a well intentioned but not completely satisfactory notion about teaching adults. Yet, it also was clear that Andragogy is a popular notion. So, the question became, do thoughtful, good teachers of adult students use andragogical methods? Do they teach adult students differently from younger undergraduates? Do they encourage their adult students, especially, to be self -directed? Do they see themselves as facilitators of learning? Do they use the experience of their adult students as an integral part of the teaching/learning process? The interviews with

the teachers were designed to come to some understanding about these questions.

Because the research questions are inextricably involved with the complexity that is human behavior, there was a need for a research design that would capture, not gloss over, that complexity. This meant I needed to talk long enough with each teacher so I could understand each person's past and present life context - understand how each of them made sense of his or her life. I wanted to know each person through his or her stories. Finally, I understood in no way could I be an objective observer. Rather I understood myself, as researcher, to be an integral part of the process of each person telling me his or her story.

Underlying these premises was the realization that I was dealing with individual people. Each teacher and student is a unique individual. That fact needed to be reflected in the research method.

In the following sections, the important ideas which shaped the research design will be discussed. Subsequently, there will be more detail provided about the actual process of talking, in-depth, with four teachers.

The Ideas Behind the Method

Sartre

In his book, In Search of a Method (1963), Sartre proposed a holistic or totalizing method for understanding reality. He based this method on the belief that people make their own history but that they do so from within a given environment and on the basis of real, prior conditions. However, he emphasized, it is people who make reality and not prior conditions which make people. The method that he proposed is both regressive - looking backward toward the original condition - and progressive - looking forward toward the objective result, the attempt to overcome the original condition.

Researchers, Sartre argued, need to form this horizontal and vertical synthesis in order to understand the individual and his or her relative autonomy, and the situation which establishes the person's dependence. According to Sartre, each person is at one and the same time free and not free. An individual is characterized by a drive to go beyond the given situation and by a need to succeed in creating something that exceeds the person's origins. This going beyond a situation Sartre calls the project. The project is a person's attempt to rise above the given reality, to go toward what he or she has not yet been and to do something in a way that no one else does.

The project becomes a singular activity, one which is unique to the individual because no two individuals share the same set of life circumstances. This individual coloration of reality is what establishes the person's uniqueness.

However, there are limits to the project. A person can only move away from what already exists. So, what exists provides the parameters for what it is the individual is trying to surpass. The field of goals is also limited by social and historical reality. In addition, each person is partly defined by the total of possibles which are impossible for that person. So, an individual is both free to act and limited by the possible actions. Still, Sartre believed each person's actions are important.

It is by transcending the given toward the field of possibles and by realizing one possibility from among all the others that the individual objectifies himself and contributes to making history (p.93).

Sartre argued that when the researcher is attempting to understand existence, methods such as experiment, observation and phenomenological description must be used. The researcher must look both at the individual person and the economic, social, and historical context in which the person functions, because people live in the universal as particular. It must be understood that this is an interactive process. The individual is conditioned by the

social environment and, in turn, conditions that environment.

Sartre warned the researcher not to form concepts in advance of observation. One must not look at events, persons or acts and put them into prefabricated molds. Rather, one must be truly open to whatever is discovered and must form concepts on the basis of those discoveries. The researcher must also understand that research is a living relationship between people. The researcher and the object of the research form a couple; their relationship must be understood as a moment in history. Carrying out research is an historical act and changes the environment in which the research takes place.

This dissertation is about people. My aim is to use Sartre's method to understand why four people teach adults as they do by understanding their past and present and by locating them in their contexts. Hannah Arendt, in The Human Condition, provides more intellectual grounding for this approach.

Arendt

"Nobody is ever the same as anybody else who ever lived, lives or will live" (Arendt, 1958 p. 8). This is a wonderful statement of the human condition. It is a statement with which one would expect no scholar to

disagree. It is inarguable that each person is unique. The implications of this reality for knowing about people are, of course, staggering. Since each person is unique, the task of learning about people is a formidable one. And, since each person is unique, statements about groups of people inevitably ignore that uniqueness. As Arendt tells us:

The laws of statistics are valid only where large numbers or long periods are involved and acts or events can statistically appear only as deviations or fluctuations. The justification of statistics is that deeds and events are rare occurrences in everyday life and in history. Yet the meaningfulness of everyday relationships is disclosed not in everyday life but in rare deeds, just as the significance of a historical period shows itself only in the few events that illuminate it. The application of the law of large numbers and long periods to politics or history signifies nothing less than the willful obliteration of their very subject matter, and it is a hopeless enterprise to search for meaning in politics or significance in history when everything that is not everyday behavior or automatic trends has been ruled out as immaterial (p. 42).

Arendt provides even more of a reason why quantitative analysis is limited when examining human behavior. "The new always happens against the overwhelming odds of statistical laws ... The new therefore always appears in the guise of a miracle" (p. 178). In order to know people, the researcher

needs to know their acts. Yet, if one does quantitative, statistical studies to reduce the "wild variety" of mankind (the studies that allow the researcher to group people into categories) one will not discover the acts of people. Rather, the actions of individuals will be obliterated, because they will be viewed as deviations.

This dissertation is not an obliteration of individuals or their actions. Quite the opposite. It is a detailed examination of four individuals in order to pay close attention to what each of them has done as a teacher of adults. How was this examination to take place? Arendt tells us, "in acting and speaking, men [and women] show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world" (p. 179). Later, Arendt says, "Who somebody is or was we can only know by knowing the story of which he is himself the hero" (p.186). In order to know an individual, one must know his or her story; in order to talk about that individual, one must tell his or her story. I spent at least eight hours with each of the four people, encouraging them to tell and then listening to their stories.

This process sounds relatively straightforward, but it is not without its complexities. Again, Arendt helps us to appreciate the inherent difficulties.

The manifestation of who the speaker and doer unexchangeably is, though it is plainly visible, retains a curious intangibility that confounds all effort toward unequivocal expression. The moment we want to say who somebody is, our very vocabulary leads us astray into saying what he is (p. 181)... The manifestation of the 'who' comes to pass in the same manner as the notoriously unreliable manifestations of ancient oracles which ... "neither reveal nor hide in words, but give manifest signs" (p. 182).

In listening to these people's stories, another dilemma arose. Again, Arendt explains. "one discloses one's self without ever knowing him [or her] self or being able to calculate beforehand whom he reveals" (p. 192). What Arendt is saying is that each person knows less who she is than do the people who see that person act. Although I did not see any of these people teach, I listened carefully to their stories about teaching. And I realized that these people often did not "know" what they were saying. They could tell their stories, but they did not understand them as I, who was watching them did. "Action reveals itself fully only to the storyteller, that is, to the backward glance of the historian ... what the story teller narrates must necessarily be hidden from the actor himself [herself]" (p. 192).

It was my job, as researcher, to "see" each of these people, to "see" what they were saying that they themselves

could not see, and to report and reflect on their stories. Although they told their stories to me, in this process I was, to use Arendt's imagery, the storyteller.

Grounded Theory

One of the challenges in this research was to make meaning out of a tremendous amount of information gathered in the interviews with the four teachers. One approach to the analysis of theory from the data was developed by Barney Glaser and Anslem Strauss and is referred to as "Grounded Theory". In their book, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967), Glaser and Strauss provide a strong intellectual rationale for using qualitative research to develop theoretical analyses. Kathy Charmaz (1983) has written a useful summary of the grounded theory method. Her article provides much of the substance of the following discussion.

The grounded theory method stresses discovery and theory development rather than a deductive reasoning process which relies on prior theoretical frameworks. The deductive process, according to Glaser and Strauss, is appropriate for theory testing but not for theory building. The central idea of their method is to allow theory to emerge from the data rather than to examine the data with a theory in mind and then test to see if the theory is supported by the data. They believe much of social science

research focuses on how to verify theory. This results in de-emphasizing the prior step of discovering what concepts or hypotheses are relevant.

Glaser and Strauss pointed out the result of confusing theory building with testing:

When generating [theory] is not clearly recognized as the main goal of a given research, it can be quickly killed by the twin critiques of accurate evidence and verified hypotheses. ... Evidence and testing never destroy a theory (of any generality), they only modify it. A theory's only replacement is a better theory (Glaser and Strauss p. 28).

Charmaz adds :

From the grounded theory perspective, researchers who pour their data into someone else's theoretical framework or substantive analysis add little innovation and may also perpetuate ideas that could be further refined, transcended, or discarded(p. 110).

Grounded theorists rely heavily on studying their data rather than on the literature to shape their ideas.

Finally, grounded theory emphasizes theory as process, an ever-developing entity, not a perfected product. The assumption is that "making theoretical sense of social life is itself a process" (Charmaz, p. 111). Theoretical analyses may be transcended by doing further research, bringing different questions to the data, or

creating different categories out of the data. Grounded theorists aim to develop fresh theoretical interpretations of the data rather than any final or complete interpretation of it.

Feminist Research Methodology

The last set of ideas that informed the method are those having to do with the perspective of the researcher in doing this kind of research. I draw heavily on feminist research methodology (Du Bois, 1979; Reinharz, 1980; Roberts, 1981; and Stanley and Wise, 1980) for this perspective, although the ideas are by no means limited to feminist thinkers. In fact, both Sartre and Arendt provide helpful insight into the issue. The basic notion is that my perspective, as researcher, was not neutral or what we have been trained to call "objective."

This research is not value-free. A researcher is never able to pursue inquiry free from the values and assumptions of society. Rather, the researcher can necessarily expect that his or her own beliefs will enter into and shape the way in which interviews are conducted analyzed and interpreted. This is not a problem of the method chosen, but rather, a truth. Since the researcher cannot be left out; he or she must be included in ways that strengthen the research. Du Bois (1979) says that research that is rooted in, animated by and expressive of our values is passionate

scholarship. Those scholars who have most vividly illuminated our vision of the world understand the meaning "of what Michael Polanyi calls personal knowledge, the relationship of the knower to the known, the passionate participation of the knower in the act of knowing" (p.113).

Stanley and Wise argue that the insistence that the researcher be objective is rooted in positivism, an ontological approach, a way of seeing and constructing the world, which insists that physical and social worlds are all the same. Positivism claims that in any occurrence there is one true set of events (the facts) which is discoverable. It describes social reality as objectively constituted and so insists that there is one true reality. And, it suggests that researchers can objectively find out this real reality because they remove themselves from involvement in what they study.

This was not my approach. I assumed that my relationship with the people whom I interviewed was a central part of the process of talking to them. As Arendt and Sartre would say, we were making history together. Our talks were actions. What each person chose to tell me of the myriad of stories they could have told was intimately connected to their perception of me and the relationship we formed during our discussions. My understanding of what

they told me was intimately connected to who I am and how I was affected by each person during our time together.

The Interviews

Who I Talked With

I talked with four people, each of whom teaches undergraduates, and each of whom has had a variety of experience teaching traditional-aged, 18 - 22 year olds and adults. Two of the people are women; two are men. Three are white; one is black. Two are in their fifties, one is in her forties, one in his thirties. The youngest person has been teaching for eight years, the others for 20 years or more. One person teaches philosophy, one teaches math and two teach in human service programs. One person teaches in a community college; one teaches in a university that educates mostly the 18 to 22 year old student; two teach in colleges that serve adult students within universities that cater to the younger undergraduates.

How I Chose the People

I started out with three criteria. I wanted to talk to teachers who had taught both populations (older and younger undergraduates), I wanted to talk to teachers who were thought of as good, and I wanted to talk with teachers who represented some diversity in terms of gender, race, discipline and type of undergraduate institution. To that end, I asked people I knew and respected to recommend

teachers to me. In one case, I chose a teacher whom I knew and knew to be good. I wanted to start out by having uplifting conversations. I felt that if I started with the notion of talking to people whom at least one person I respected recommended as being a good teacher, I would be more likely to be having conversations that would lead in useful directions. As I mentioned earlier, I was able to achieve my aims of diversity, at least in terms of characteristics such as age, race, gender, discipline and institution.

I was not looking for statistical diversity. Rather, I wanted to start out, on the surface at least, talking with people whose backgrounds were likely to be quite different. In fact, following Arendt and Sartre's notion of individual uniqueness, I knew that each person, no matter what his or her background was, would be quite different. Still, I felt the study would be strengthened by talking with people who had different backgrounds and whose present contexts were different as well. The reason for this is that most of us have been conditioned by the pervasiveness of social science concepts to sort people into categories like race, gender and age. If I had happened to talk to only women, or only white people, the reader might be misled into thinking that the research was incomplete or unbalanced, because it included no men or no people of color. In fact, the balance in this study comes from the fact that I talked as

completely as possible to each person and allowed each teacher's uniqueness to emerge from his or her stories. However, I felt it would be easier for the reader if I talked to people whom social scientists would consider to be different. In fact, the interviews would have been just as valuable (and just as different) if I had talked to four men or four women.

What We Talked About

Following Sartre's method, I wanted to know about each person's context, both historical and present. Following Arendt's ideas, I wanted to learn about those contexts by listening to their stories. I had five basic areas in which I wanted people to tell me their stories: family history, experiences as a student, becoming a teacher, experiences as a teacher, and experiences as a teacher of adults.

The idea was that each of the five topics would be covered in a separate interview and that I would talk to each person five times. It did not quite work out that way. Some people told me many stories about being a student as part of their discussion of family history. One person told me her stories chronologically, no matter what topic I presented. In every case, I let the teacher tell his or her story in his or her own way.

Where the Interviews Took Place

I wanted to talk with people where they would be comfortable and where we would not be interrupted. In general, I suggested that we meet in their homes; some people preferred to meet in their offices.

The Interview Process

Once I had determined who I wanted to interview, I contacted each person, explained the research I was doing and asked if they wanted to participate. I made sure to stress that the process would involve a significant time commitment (at least eight hours), that the interviews would be taped and transcribed, and that I would maintain confidentiality by changing all the names of people and institutions that they mentioned in their conversations including, of course, their names.

All were excited about the research proposal and indicated a real interest in being interviewed. All four were leery about the time commitment, more because they are busy people than because they doubted the need to spend that amount of time. At the end of the interviews, each person indicated that he or she felt the time had been well spent and all said they had learned something about themselves in this process of telling stories and being listened to.

As I indicated, I had five general topics on which I wanted people to tell me their stories. In every case, I began the first interview by saying something like, "Tell me about your background, your family, life growing up." In only one case did I need to do much prompting after that. Three of the people were able to talk easily for two hours or so with that initial framework. One person needed me to ask more specific questions to keep him going. In all cases, I limited my follow up questions to things that emerged from what they were telling me. I did not want to direct the interviews. I wanted to follow the lead of the person being interviewed. For example, I might ask a person to be more specific or give me an example to amplify what they were saying. During the course of any given interview, I would not introduce topic areas that they had not mentioned themselves.

Between each interview I would play back the interview tape to remind myself of what was said and to begin to notice pictures or patterns that were emerging. I started each interview after the first by asking the person to reflect on what they had said the preceding time and to share thoughts they had had in the intervening week. (There was usually about a week between interviews.) In most cases, I would then introduce the next topic area. For example, "Tell me stories about you as a student." If they had already woven those stories into the previous

conversation, I would provide a brief summary of what we had talked about previously and ask the person to continue from that point.

Although everybody reported enjoying the conversations, I noticed that each person was also a bit self-conscious. One woman remarked that it was hard to do all the talking and have me just listen. She said that she was curious to know about my life and my experiences and was generally more comfortable in conversations that were more mutual. Each person, at least once, would ask, "Is this what you want, am I telling you what you are wanting to hear?" That concern seemed to arise mostly in the first interview. I sensed that people got more comfortable with the process as we went along. I always responded to their concern by telling them that I wanted to hear their stories and that whatever they said would be just right.

I thoroughly enjoyed the process of talking to each of these people and found it to be extremely productive. In every case I found myself really liking the person with whom I was talking. The richness of their stories was wonderful; their willingness to share intimate details of their lives and admit failings was admirable. I felt like I was getting to know each person in ways that maybe no one else in their lives did. I had a desire to treat what they were saying to me carefully. I found their stories to be

precious. My overwhelming desire was to want to represent each person fairly and to see and describe their lives in their terms and not overlay their lives with my judgments.

I was rather awed by three of the people in terms of their smartness and their creativity as teachers. One person was clearly less smart and less creative. At first, I thought that it was going to be a problem that I had chosen him to interview. Gradually, I came to realize, that for the type of teaching he does and the students he has, he is perfect. I appreciated that he, like the others, has made sense of the world in a certain way and then teaches out of that sense, so that his students are far the better for having him as a teacher. Ultimately, he enriched my study just because he did not initially impress me as the others had. In appreciating his beauty as a teacher, my metaphor for good teaching was allowed to develop.

In the next four chapters we will hear their stories.

This chapter is about growing up. In this and the next three chapters, I will relate the stories of the four teachers with whom I talked. In this chapter we will hear about their experiences in their families and in school. This chapter is contextual. The method of the dissertation is based on the assumption that one can only fully understand how each of these teachers thinks about teaching adults by looking backward at each of their lives, by understanding what Sartre referred to as the "original conditions" of each teacher. In Chapters 6 and 7 we will hear the four teachers talk about good teaching and good teaching of adults. The fullness and richness of those later stories can only be understood by viewing them through an understanding of what their lives were like growing up, what kinds of experiences they had as students, how they made sense of those experiences, and how they came to be teachers.

Judith

Judith, a white woman in her forties, is a philosophy teacher at a college where most of the students are adults. Her courses are not the typical abstract, theoretical courses that one often encounters in philosophy, but are geared to applying an ethical perspective to issues in

everyday life. Judith's ultimate goal is to teach students that philosophy can enable them to live better lives.

Each time Judith and I talked, we were in her home. We sat at her dining room table which was always covered with her favorite books and papers she was in the process of writing. The table faced a huge picture window overlooking a wooded backyard. Her house is on a hill overlooking the city in which she lives. The view is spectacular; the yard filled with birds, wonderful plants and trees. I realized, as I got to know Judith, that she had a love of nature and the outdoors, and this home was a perfect place for her to live. Her house was filled with furniture and artwork which had belonged to her beloved grandmother, who was an important influence in Judith's life.

Judith regarded our talks with utter seriousness. She was always careful to make sure that we met uninterrupted for at least two hours. At the beginning of each interview, it was obvious to me that she had given much thought to what we were to discuss. Sometimes she had prepared notes so she would not forget something she deemed important to our topic. She always offered me refreshments, which I appreciated as a sign of good manners and her desire to make an otherwise somewhat one-sided process more reciprocal.

Growing Up

Judith was born in a beautiful old city in the western part of the country. Unlike many people who live there and are transplants from somewhere else, Judith's father was born there and returned, after college, to live in his hometown. Both sets of grandparents and many aunts and uncles lived nearby. Judith grew up with a strong sense of feeling rooted to a place and still feels a strong connection to the area, especially to the land and the natural beauty there.

Judith was the second of four children and the only girl. Her father was a successful lawyer and her mother a homemaker who kept busy and satisfied with community projects and poetry writing. Her parents had enough money, from their work and from inheritances, that life was materially quite comfortable. Both grandmothers lived nearby, and Judith spent much time with each of them. Her maternal grandmother would have Judith, her brothers, all their cousins, plus any friends who wanted to join them, over every Saturday for games and activities. The family were avid campers, and Judith remembers going along on those trips from the age of four. Her parents were both well educated (each a college graduate from a top-notch school), and dinner table conversations were filled with conversations about current issues or good books.

Her parents were both active in the community. Her father provided substantial pro bono legal services to those in need, and her mother was involved in volunteer activities as well. They were each strongly influenced in their commitment to caring for people by Judith's maternal grandmother, a wealthy woman who felt a strong obligation to use her time, money and influence on a variety of causes.

She was very politically active. If she didn't like something, she wrote a politician. If she read a book and liked it, she wrote the author. She was always getting these letters back from these famous authors you would never expect to write to somebody. She cared passionately about politics. She had, before I knew her, supported all kinds of unpopular causes. No one in the family can get a security clearance because of her. She was one of the first to work on integrating recreation areas in our city. She had black friends when no one else in her social group did. I admired that tremendously ... My grandmother was a strong influence through the whole rest of my life. I was fortunate in having her all those years. I felt as though we were friends as well as relatives.

Only after her grandmother died did Judith's family learn that her grandmother, for years, had written regularly to a number of shut-ins who had almost no other friends. To Judith's satisfaction, she also discovered that her grandmother had given large sums of money to causes in

which she believed; so much so that most of her money was gone by the time she died.

Despite the influence of her liberal grandmother, Judith's parents were Republicans when she was growing up, although their views changed as they grew older. Her parents were part of a rich, conservative social set from which they gradually became disenchanted. They belonged to a prestigious country club whose exclusive membership policies were racist. Her mother wanted to resign from the club. Her father wanted to stay as a member and work to change the membership policies. Judith recognizes this as evidence that her parents never quite fit into their social grouping.

I think... my parents were in that social set because of their social status, but their interests were other than that. They were much more intellectual. Growing up, I never felt comfortable there [at the country club]. I never felt comfortable with the people I grew up with who were from wealthy backgrounds. In a way, it took us children to move my parents away from that group.

Judith clearly grew up with a sense of being loved and cared about, although that caring had its limits.

I think that while my parents gave us all sorts of educational opportunities, and that was a very important part of my life, there was an odd sort of lack of emotional support that took me a long time to come to terms with. There was particularly my

father who clearly loves me and has been very supportive but hardly ever says so, and there is a kind of stiff upper lip mentality that means you don't talk about certain things, that you don't express your emotions openly.

One of the things that was not talked about in the family was a younger brother who was born with a variety of disabilities that affected him physically, cognitively, and emotionally. The family chose to treat this brother just like the rest of the kids. This approach, however, did not work and may have made it harder for everyone in the family to be realistic about what her brother could and could not do.

That it was and is clearly a source of deep pain for everyone in the family is clear. I think the fact that our family was not good at expressing feelings had to make it harder on everyone.

Judith talked about her younger brother for a long time in our first interview; how it was growing up with him and how he currently struggles to hold down a job and live apart from their parents or even find a way to feel good about himself as a person. Clearly, his disabilities affected her strongly.

I'm going on and on about this because it's been, I think, so important. I have thought a lot about my interest in human services. Where does that originate? Some of it has got to be my brother, seeing the pain he was in and, from an early age, having a deep sense of how people who don't fit in

are treated and how hard it is to get any kind of decent help for them or to help them feel in any way good about themselves.

Another limitation of her parent's love for her is that she felt very overprotected growing up.

I felt that because I was the only girl, even though my father treated me like a boy in terms of things we did in the family, I was not allowed to do the same kinds of things ... Even college was a little too close to home. That's partly why I went to Europe for a semester and went to [an east coast university] for graduate school.

Judith's parents were both quite religious, and, until she went to college, Judith attended church regularly with them. At one time she expressed a desire to teach Sunday school. Their minister had promised Judith she could one day do this; unfortunately, he left and his successor, to Judith's great disappointment, denied her the opportunity. Later, Judith wanted to be a missionary. When she went to college, she made a radical departure from organized religion, despising the way that many people use religious beliefs to behave in rigid, dogmatic ways that exclude those who do not share the same set of beliefs. However, she never gave up an interest in religious philosophies.

In college I read all of these accounts about the historical nature of Jesus and different ways of interpreting the Bible. I found that very, very interesting and at that point became an agnostic. But, I have always been interested in religious

issues, and I think my interest in philosophy is connected to that too.

In addition to being religious, Judith remembers that her parents, as well as her grandmother, had a strong sense of right and wrong.

I am sure some of my interest in ethics comes from that. There is a strong pull in the family, an interest, in ethics and how people act. It is interesting to me that one of my uncles is doing business ethics at [a prestigious university] and I am doing social work ethics.

Being A Student

Education was very important to Judith's family, and she was no exception. She loved to learn, and she was a good and eager student. Throughout her life, she went to prestigious, private schools, schools that were part of a family tradition. For elementary school, she attended a school where her father and his brothers had gone. In high school, she went to the all-girls school where her mother had been a student. In college, she chose a prestigious university where, again, her father was a graduate.

She already knew how to read by the time she started first grade, having learned from her older brother. The grammar school was expensive and exclusive; the work was hard but not terribly inspiring. Judith describes the approach as "rote learning". Once in high school, learning

finally became a marvelous experience. Judith was delighted to be in a school that emphasized understanding what was behind an answer. This experience laid an important foundation.

I guess that one of the things that is most important to me in teaching is conveying to others how much fun it is to learn, and that I see learning as a form of recreation. I felt that very much in high school.

Judith loved her math classes because the instructors would explain why equations worked the way they did and the logic behind them. She also adored physics in which the emphasis was also on figuring out why things worked the way they did.

To me that has always been essential. That is probably why I went into philosophy in part, knowing why and seeing what is behind something.

Judith excelled in precise subjects like math and physics and Latin but was not as strong a student in history or English. She felt she was too immature and unaware of her feelings to write well or appreciate poetry. However, "not doing well" must be put in the context of Judith's standards which, she admitted, were perfectionist.

If I would get an A - I would consider that I had not done well. Clearly, I had too high expectations of myself and others. I remember, in my sophomore year, I got three A +'s for the year. I was kind of disgusted with the teachers for giving me those

grades, because I knew I had made mistakes. It wasn't like I was perfect. They should have known and not given me an A+. I always felt very insecure in school and anxious. I never liked speaking up in class. I always felt that I wasn't going to do very well. Although, for me, not doing very well was, you know, loaded in a certain direction.

Besides being one of the brightest students in high school and working very hard at her school work, Judith was a well rounded student. She was active on a number of athletic teams and was elected president of her senior class.

After high school, Judith got, if possible, even more absorbed with learning in college.

It really became a passion in college, and I am sure some part of it was to avoid other things, but the rest of it was real ... It was like I wanted to know it all.

After graduating with honors from college, Judith went East to go to graduate school in philosophy. Again, Judith did outstanding work, but she was not always satisfied with the education she was getting. She felt she was in a department which approached philosophy from too dry and abstract a perspective. Judith loved philosophy for the ways in which it could speak to dilemmas in living a good life and enjoyed using the ideas of different philosophers to think about every day issues.

At one point, she took a leave from the doctoral program, because she found it too detached from people's lives and took a job as a social worker. Judith enjoyed the work and stayed with it for three years. At that point, she developed a doctoral thesis topic that blended her concern for people with her love of ideas, and she returned to school to complete her degree.

Judith was an exceptional student who did well in the traditional academic activities: taking classes, reading challenging books and writing thoughtful papers. However, she did not believe that the best education necessarily happens in the classroom. As Judith reflected on her experiences as a student, one of the themes that emerged for her was the richness of learning that can take place in informal settings, a richness that is often inhibited in formal, classroom settings. She particularly remembers the year she spent in France studying while in college. What stood out in that experience was not so much the courses but:

 spending hours and hours in art museums and sculpture museums and travelling around and finding out that I could do everything and speak in a foreign language.

She also views positively the three years she spent as a social worker while taking a hiatus from her doctoral studies. Finally, she discussed at some length a friendship

she had with another woman who was a doctoral student in the same program. They shared a similar, and quite different from the department they were in, view of philosophy and often studied together, both to pass their comprehensive exams and to learn philosophy in the way that meant something to them. Judith believes that she learned the philosophy she truly values while studying and talking together with that friend.

Richard

Richard is a white man in his mid-fifties; a full professor teaching traditional-aged undergraduates in the human services program of a prestigious university. He teaches courses on Power and Race and Class; interests clearly reflected in his early life. He is actively involved in a campus political movement to force the university to divest its financial holding in South Africa. He is also on the boards of several community agencies serving the poor. Richard was the first recipient of the teaching award that is now voted annually by the students in his college within the university. He is proud of the award; he values teaching and feels the award is a legitimate expression of the students' positive opinion of his effectiveness as a teacher.

Richard and I had our talks in the study of his home. He has an extremely busy life and our meetings were often

interrupted by his family or telephone calls. Richard was very enthusiastic about my research. He also found it the most difficult of any of the four people I talked with to make time to talk to me. He dealt with each interruption expeditiously. I also felt that it was a reality of his life that we would continue to be interrupted. Richard is committed to a myriad of things in his life: teaching, writing, community work and family. I suspect that he agreed to talk to me despite not really having the time to do so. The result was more than satisfactory. Our talks were lively and interesting.

Growing Up

Richard grew up in a small town in the Midwest, the first of two children, an only child until his brother was born ten years later. Richard was born during the Depression, a fact he remarked had a significant effect on his life. His family never had much money. When Richard was eight years old, his father had to give up the true love of his life - coaching sports in the local high school - to make more money in an office job.

Richard had loved being the son of "the coach". When his father bought new uniforms for the team, five-year old Richard got his own uniform. During halftime of the high school basketball games, Richard, in his uniform, would be

allowed to go onto the court to shoot baskets. It was clearly an important way he identified himself.

Richard was devastated by his father's decision to leave coaching. He remembers being in a restaurant when his parents told him and leaving the table to cry in the bathroom. It pained Richard to see his father abandon the occupation he loved for a job he hated just to earn more money. The irony is that Richard's father only made more money initially. If he had stayed with teaching and coaching, he would ultimately have earned more. Even though Richard's father is now in his eighties and has not coached for over forty years, people in the town still call him "coach".

In many ways, sports were the focus of Richard's early life. Family conversations centered on sports activities. Despite being fairly small, Richard was an active participant in a sport every season. By the end of his senior year of high school, he had lettered in football, basketball and track.

Richard describes himself as a child who played happily alone for hours, reading books or listening to the radio.

I did a lot of make believe stuff. I would play with marbles, and the marbles would be people ... As I got older, I would play basketball in the kitchen while my mother was cooking. I would put the

basketball hoop up, and I would play imaginary games for hours and hours by myself.

Richard remembers his father as the dominant parent. His mother was far less visible. The special things she did for Richard she often did behind her husband's back. For example, when Richard had his first bike, his father forbade him to ride it to school. It was terribly important to Richard to be able to ride that bike to school. He remembers one day when his father was home sick. Richard begged his mother to let him ride his bike. He recalls the scene: he and his mother standing outside the house, she telling him he could ride his bike if he were careful and stayed on the sidewalks. The whole time they were outside, his mother stared up at her bedroom window, wary that her husband would see them and intervene. Richard remembers clearly sensing that she was afraid of being caught contradicting her husband for Richard's sake. Richard loved his mother for taking the risk; unfortunately, that memory is one of the few positive ones he has of his mother.

Overshadowing much of Richard's childhood were his mother's illnesses. These illnesses were never discussed in any detail with Richard, adding to his anxiety about what was happening to his mother. At first, her problem seemed to be physical - something vague about back pain - although Richard could never make sense of this explanation. Then, when he was in junior high school, she

was hospitalized in a mental institution. Richard remembers one awful visit with his mother in that institution. She talked and laughed strangely, then angrily accused the staff of moving her clothes. She said she had been taken out of her room for a treatment and when she returned, according to her, the clothes were missing. The story made no sense to Richard and left him feeling very uneasy with his mother.

Despite the hospitalization, Richard said life went on as if nothing was seriously wrong. He continued to be active in school sports, student government, and drama productions. The family barely mentioned his mother. He acknowledged resenting her for not being able to be there for him and recalled relying instead upon his grandmother, who took care of the family during this period. His grandmother became the rock on whom he could rely and the family member with whom he was the closest as a child.

Richard's mother was eventually released from the hospital. [Richard is still not clear how long his mother was hospitalized]. For the rest of her life she took anti-depressant medication which enabled her to remain at home. Her overall health, however, did not improve, and physically she began to deteriorate. To this day, Richard cannot specify what his mother's problem was, because it was never discussed concretely in his family. The secrecy

surrounding his mother's real problem was as disturbing to Richard as her physical deterioration. Even as an adult, Richard has difficulty talking about his mother. As he grew up, it became harder and harder to be around her.

Not only because of her but also because of the tension between the two of them. My dad dominated and my mother was passive. It was such a classic kind of control/dependent relationship.

Richard's relationship with his father was more intense than that with his mother. At first, he adored his father. When Richard realized the destructive role his father played in his mother's life, Richard's estimation of his father went from "hero to bum." Richard and his father had "some pretty strong fights" during that time.

Richard's mother was not the only person in the family to have physical problems. At Richard's birth, the doctors had to use great force to help him pass through the birth canal. Again, the details are sketchy, because his family did not talk about such things, but Richard was told "instruments had to be used" during his delivery, and he sustained a variety of injuries that have plagued him all his life. He was initially paralyzed from the birth trauma and could not swallow, so he had to be fed intravenously. Richard's head was "pushed over to one side", and he had to wait until high school to have an operation to fully

correct that problem. His left leg was shorter than the right but the right leg never developed the muscle size of the left, so both presented problems that needed to be rehabilitated.

Mostly what Richard remembers about this is how first his father, and then he, were determined not to let these physical problems limit what he could do. Richard's father bought him a longed for scooter and gave it to Richard with strict instructions: if he saw Richard push it with his left leg (it was his right leg that needed building up) he would take it away. Richard did not allow his physical problems (or the operations to correct those problems) to limit his athletic pursuits. When his neck was operated on the summer before his junior year, Richard simply wore a special pad inside his jersey and went ahead with playing football.

Both of Richard's parents went to college. His father took six years to complete his degree, because he had to drop out every year or so to earn more money for tuition. He worked as a steel worker as his father had before him. Years later, he pointed out with pride to his grandchildren the tallest building in the nearby metropolis, a building he had helped build. Richard's father was an outstanding athlete in college, even though he was in and out of school. For many years, he held the state record for

running the hurdles. He was inducted into his college's Hall of Fame in honor of his athletic accomplishments, and Richard was proud to be able to attend that ceremony with his father.

Richard's mother was a music major in college and he heard stories that she was an accomplished musician, though the only evidence he ever saw supporting these stories was a closed violin case.

I knew the violin was there. I would open the box and look at it. Only on one occasion do I remember my mom ever playing it. It was almost as if once she got married she stopped being everything she was at the point she got married.

Being a Student

When I asked Richard to tell me about being a student, he sat quietly for a number of minutes before he could even respond. Finally, he replied.

Well, this is interesting. I have seldom ever thought about myself as a student. I do not have many memories of school or classroom learning being much of an "ah ha" experience. I think more about informal learning as having had an impact on me, political activities, training experiences, important interactions with people.

And, in fact, talking to Richard, one gets the sense that is true for him. He has few memories of elementary or high school, either of himself or of important teachers.

His most profound memory was of a football coach, a former professional football player who had volunteered to assist the regular coach.

He got on my case about blocking, teaching me how to block. I was playing offensive end at the time. He got the biggest person on the team to be opposite me. I was about the size I am now [150 lbs.]. He told me, "block this guy!" He showed me how to do it, and we did it over and over and over and over again. He told this guy to just barrel into me. He told me to head right into this guy. Now that I think about it, it is interesting in terms of how I see teaching. On the one hand, I remember at the time, hating him. But I also realize, at some level, how much he respected that I could do it. I was little, and people had always said, "You play football?" This did not mean beans to him. He did not care what size I was. The fact that I was there and supposed to do it meant that I was going to do it right. In that way, I really felt the teaching. I learned something. I learned how to block, and I did not know how before.

Besides this experience, Richard remembers mostly social and athletic activities in high school. He was active in drama productions, was elected president of the student council, qualified for the National Honor Society and was selected by the Key Club.

College was, initially, traumatic.

I came from this small town where I was this big fish, an athlete, never studied, decent grades. I

went to a big state school, and I got blown away academically.

Because Richard had good test scores when he entered college, it was suggested he go into pre-med. Without much more thought than that, he did so. After one year, he had a D average. He went home for the summer, discouraged, sure he would not be returning in the Fall. However, his residence hall counselor called, urging him to return. Richard agreed.

A pattern began to emerge in Richard's life: again and again in the next few years he would be unhappy, uncertain about what to do next. Someone would appear in his life and suggest a course of action to him. Each time this "accidental" encounter proved to be a major turning point in Richard's life. This time, he went back to school because a resident advisor urged him to. On the train returning to school, he met some friends of his father's. Richard recalls:

I never took the train. I always hitchhiked.

Yet, there he was, on the train. These friends had all been fraternity brothers with his father. Several days later, Richard received a call from the fraternity inviting him to join. He did, and it turned his life around at school. Suddenly, he had the close-knit community of people he needed. He started working harder in his courses, and he

got better grades. He was elected president of the fraternity and then president of the Intra-Fraternity Council on campus.

Being part of a community was the most important part of Richard's college experience. He was never an outstanding student:

In college, as a student, I was more intimidated than anything. I just did not think that I knew enough. I had very little confidence in myself as a student... In general, I was not into being a student, into learning for the sake of learning. It is not something I was driven by. Which is interesting, because I hold that value high now. Nor did I spend a lot of free time reading things that were challenging.

By the end of his junior year, Richard had no idea what he was going to do with his life. During his senior year, he "really scrambled" to meet the necessary requirements to be certified as a teacher. One day, just before graduation, he bumped into the residence hall counselor who had convinced him to return to school after his freshman year.

The counselor suggested that Richard consider enrolling in a graduate program in school guidance counseling at a neighboring state university.

Many of Richard's friends had found him a good listener and had suggested he would make a good counselor. Still, he

never considered the idea seriously until that moment. On impulse, he decided to apply to the suggested program, and, despite having only average grades, was accepted and given a residence hall job that paid all his expenses.

Even in graduate school, Richard did not develop the love of learning for the sake of learning he has today. He was driven by two main concerns: he did not want to fail, and he wanted to get through. By his second year in the master's program he was married, so family responsibilities, in combination with fear of failing, kept him from taking really challenging courses.

So, for example, I never really got into Marx until after I was out of school. I never got into political theory while in graduate school. I never got into power until I had been teaching for ten years. So, all this stuff I have learned since then ... I saw school in a very practical, functional way as the way to get a job. Even then, I did not have a connection that this [being a teacher] is what I wanted to be.

Richard did have some positive experiences as a graduate student. He spoke at length about the French course he had to take in his doctoral program to prepare him to pass the language proficiency exam. He found the course "hard and demanding and fascinating," and he appreciated the teacher who was "funny, and good and challenging." On the day that exam results were posted,

Richard went to "learn his fate" and tell the teacher how much he had enjoyed his course. Richard had assumed he had done well on the exam.

So, I walked over at the end of class to tell this guy I really appreciated what he had done, and how well he had taught the course. The teacher was really uncomfortable. Finally, he said, "Well, I have to tell you, you did not pass the exam." And I remember walking from his office back to the school just crying. I was just devastated. I remember saying to him when I left -- I was starting to be very emotional -- I said, "This does not in any way -- I just want you to know I really loved that class." Then I left.

Richard spoke highly of learning experiences that took place outside of traditional classroom settings.

When I think about learning in ways that were really "Ah ha's" for me, there is no question that the experience learning how to be a trainer was one, and when I got into the power literature in the early '70's and since then, I have been obsessed with reading all the books I could find on the topic and essentially have become the kind of academic I am today since the early '70's.

Marcia

Marcia is a black woman in her mid-fifties who is currently teaching at a college that serves adult students. She is a professor in the human services program and teaches courses in Race and Culture, Adult Education and

Group Leadership. She also conducts research on black women in leadership roles.

I met with Marcia twice in her office at the college and twice in her home. Being a black woman is central to Marcia's experience of life. Her home and office reflect that fact. Her office walls are covered with artwork and posters that celebrate black accomplishments; her home is filled with a marvelous collection of African art.

Besides being a teacher, Marcia is an accomplished cook and a talented gardener. She has a huge garden in the lot next to her home, which she showed me with pride. It was harvest season during the time of our talks. I never went home without tomatoes or squash from her garden.

Like the other teachers I interviewed, Marcia was interested in and excited by the question of how best to teach adults. She willingly made time in her very busy schedule for our talks. Marcia's style was to tell her story chronologically. This worked well, because her chronology seemed naturally to cover my questions.

Growing Up

Marcia was born in 1937, the sixth of seven children, in a southern state. Naturally, being born during the depression, she grew up poor.

We were poor, but, as a child, I certainly never knew it. I don't think I lacked anything. I remember in grade school, I thought fried salt pork was a gourmet meal. I would beg my ma to make salt pork and cabbage for dinner. To come home from school and smell that was like the greatest thing in the world. We had a lot of meals that were poor people's food, but I didn't know it at the time.

Marcia's father supported the family by driving a type of taxi referred to as a jitney. He drove up and down the main street of their town, picking up fares for a nickel. He had to pay for his own gas, and many nights the 45 cents he paid for gas exceeded the money he earned in fares. The jitney her father drove was actually a big car. The neighbors all thought Marcia's family was rich, because they were the only family with a car. The welfare system decided that because Marcia's father had a job the family was not in need of assistance. So, Marcia's mother would have to beg her neighbors for surplus beans and flour to keep her family fed.

There was no such thing as health insurance to pay for medical care. Fortunately, Marcia's family was mostly in good health. However, when a brother had to have his appendix out, her parents had to borrow money for the operation. For many months afterward, the collection man would come to the house each Sunday to get his payment.

Often, her father refused to answer the door, because he knew he had no way to make the payment that week.

Marcia describes her father as having been an outspoken man, an entrepreneur and a risk taker. Now that she is older, she realizes he was a playboy as well. Her mother was a quiet woman, stubborn in a determined way, a community activist, not a great talker. Only after her father died did Marcia hear her mother talk much.

Marcia's parents were born in the South and moved farther North for economic opportunity. When her parents met, her mother was in normal school, studying to be a teacher, and her father was in college preparing to be a dentist. After they dated for a while, her mother became pregnant, and her father had to drop out of college to begin supporting his family.

Although her father did not finish college, her parents were well educated.

My father read at least five to six newspapers a week. He read all the black newspapers. It was my job to go to the store on Tuesday and Thursday, and I had to get two Dutch Masters cigars and the Pittsburgh Courier, a black newspaper, and the Philadelphia black paper. In addition, he read two local newspapers, and my mother belonged to the book of the month club. People were always reading around the house. My father always talked about the

news, and my mother and sister talked about the novels they read.

When Marcia was a young child, her father bought a small business. The business became the centerpiece of the family's social and economic life. He bought a small sandwich shop from his brother, and soon he had all the family members working there.

Even with this additional income, the family was far from comfortable. Marcia remembers her grandmother worrying about how her father was going to feed his seven children.

When I was growing up, I remember getting boxes from my grandmother. One time, she sent us a crate of live chickens. She would send my sister and me slips and panties. They were literally made out of flour sacks, and she would try to bleach all of the letters out. They had little flowers on them and were made out of that nice flannel material. She would make them up cute and send them to us. She would send us peanuts and would roast them in the oven, and she would send canned stuff in those pretty, colored jars. She did this because my parents had more children than any of their siblings. So, we were really poor.

At first, Marcia's father continued to drive the jitney at night, while he worked in the sandwich shop during the day. When Marcia was still too young to work in the restaurant, she remembers walking there with her mother and

baby brother. Her mother would open up the restaurant, and Marcia would watch the baby.

The predominating ethic in the family was hard work. After a few years, her father sold the sandwich shop and bought a larger, sit-down restaurant and also branched into the catering business. Since her father had a nose for business but no talent in the kitchen, he would recruit the customers and her mother and brothers (and later Marcia) would do the cooking.

On a typical workday, Marcia and her mother arrived at the restaurant at 6 A.M. Her mother cooked the eggs, and, when Marcia was old enough, she worked the griddle. Some mornings they cooked and served as much as 300 pounds of sausage, "mountains" of pancakes and dozens of eggs. During the summer when Marcia worked all day in the restaurant, breakfast was followed by clean-up and then preparation of the vegetables and the steam tables for lunch. Then, after lunch, they would prepare the meats and seafood. At 6 p.m. Marcia's father would come in from driving his taxi and tell her mother to go home. Marcia often stayed until 8 or 9 p.m.

Marcia was a rough-and-tumble child who liked to play cowboy and climb on the roofs of houses, jumping from roof to roof. To her mother's dismay, she was always getting her

} clothes covered with dirt and losing the bows and ribbons her mother had so carefully sewed onto her dresses.

Marcia's worst fault, however, was that she was forever breaking her eyeglasses. One time, her older brother asked Marcia where her glasses were.

I could have cared less. I told him they must be inside the house somewhere. My brother held up a pair of smashed glasses. I did not even remember breaking them.

Another time, Marcia went to the optician to pick up her latest pair. On the three block walk from the eye doctor to the restaurant Marcia, paying no attention to where she was going, walked into a telephone pole and broke her glasses. Her mother took one look at her and said, "No more. No more." Marcia's mother was a woman of few words; she meant those she said. Marcia was eight at the time and did not get another pair of glasses until she was 18, married with two children.

The coastal city where Marcia grew up in the 1930's and 1940's was, of course, segregated. All of the black people in the town used one beach, that designated for them. Marcia does not have negative memories of this form of segregation. Quite the opposite. She remembers the beach (fondly called Chicken Bone Beach because of all the chicken bones left in the sand by picnickers) as the center of black social life not only for the city but for the

entire Mid-Atlantic Coastal region. On weekends, she recalls, there would be bus tours from every major metropolitan area with 150 miles. To this day, Marcia remembers the comment of a friend who had gone to Chicken Bone Beach for the first time. He said "he had died and gone to heaven." Indeed, what Marcia describes of the beach sounds wonderful:

People played bongos and danced, and they had food, and the boys would beg for food from the people who had picnics. We would eat all day and swim around the pier. The boys would, anyway. The black lifeguards were on the beach. All the black people were confined to that beach. It did not feel like punishment. You could meet friends from anywhere on the East Coast. If someone were coming into town, you knew where to find them; Chicken Bone Beach.

Marcia remembers the beach with fondness and appreciation that it was a marvelous, vital center for the black community. How the beach became segregated was not so wonderful. She remembers her father telling the story: a new, fancy, "whites-only" hotel had just been built along the beach where black people traditionally gathered. The town fathers decided that the patrons of this new hotel would not want to look onto a beach filled with black people. So, one day, unannounced, a large contingent of police came to the beach. They locked arms -- forming a human barrier -- and walked in this formation along the beach, "sweeping" up the black people in the path and

moving them farther down the beach, to the other side of a huge pier, where they would be out of sight. This was not a time when black people could resist such actions without the severest consequences, so no resistance was made.

Still, one of the wonderful aspects, for Marcia, of growing up in a segregated city was that the town had a solid core of black professionals. Her family went to a black doctor and a black dentist. They patronized stores owned by black people, and her father was part of the black professional community.

We always used black professionals. My father would not think of sending you to the white man for anything. He did not preach hate. He did say that you cannot trust a white man. He dealt with all the white businessmen he had to. They would come to his restaurant in the middle of winter presenting some bill and saying my daddy had to pay. My father kept terrible records. He was sure he had paid the bill, but he could not prove it.

Segregation, of course, had its bleaker side. There were no black bankers; there was no black access to capital. Marcia's father -- ever the entrepreneur -- had several ideas for businesses he wanted to start. Despite his success with the restaurant, he was never able to obtain a loan. To this day, Marcia and her siblings remain unsuccessful in their repeated attempts to get funds from a

white bank to make capital improvements to their restaurant.

Marcia had a lot of responsibility at an early age, but she was no different from her friends. By age 12 or 13 they all had summer jobs. Marcia worked in the restaurant; her friends worked in hotels. They all lied about their age to get admitted to the black nightclubs in the town, where they saw some of the world's greatest jazz musicians.

Unfortunately, there was another, negative, aspect to having to grow up so quickly and assume adult responsibilities -- teenage pregnancy. Marcia's first friend to become pregnant was thirteen. Marcia became pregnant two years later. This, we will see, greatly shaped her experience of being in school.

Being a Student

Marcia appreciated that aspect of segregation that allowed her to feel proud of herself as a black person in an active black community. She also valued segregation because it meant that all of her early teachers were black.

What I have come to realize since I was in elementary school (I took it for granted at the time) is that those grade school teachers taught us Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Phyllis Wheatley. They did this as a matter of course. Black History Week was a big thing, but we were not limited to that week in

our exposure to important black writers or significant events in black history. Many of my friends today, who grew up in the North, had or one or no black teachers and, therefore, got no black history and had no black role models.

Marcia attended elementary school during World War II. Because of the war, she attended a free, government-sponsored day-care program so that her mother (and other women) could work for the war effort. She recalls being given grapefruit juice (a treat unknown at home) and cod liver oil each day in school and receiving all the regular vaccinations and dental and medical check-ups that were available for the students.

Marcia describes herself as an adequate student who could have done much better had she not been sloppy and unwilling to sacrifice play-time to do more schoolwork. Clearly, however, she saw herself as a person with ability. One of her earliest school memories was an incident which happened in second grade. The teacher asked another student to show Marcia how to write her name, because Marcia had evinced no ability to do so on her own. Marcia felt challenged by this request and was also deeply insulted. She knew she could write her name and she was "not going to let anyone else show her up." After this incident, Marcia applied herself to her schoolwork more vigorously; at least enough to show that she was one of the smarter students.

She knew that she could get by without studying much, and that was fine with her.

I never thought of myself as studious, and I always knew that if I put forth more effort I could do better. But, I was not going to put forth more effort, because I had the YWCA after school and girls' gymnastics and basketball and other clubs. I enjoyed sports, I liked being with the other students. We had so many extracurricular activities. Several times I was class officer. I was in the choir, and, in junior high, I ran track.

The high school that Marcia attended had a reputation for academic excellence. Residential boundaries were such that the students who went to the school came from white communities as well as black, and it was clear to Marcia that the pressure from the upper income groups kept it a good school. There was a vocational high school in the town as well, but Marcia showed enough ability to be placed in the regular high school.

Marcia's parents did not exert tremendous pressure on her to get good grades, but they did assert themselves the one time that Marcia brought home failing grades. Her father informed her that she would be grounded "forever" if she did not pull her marks up. She quickly did so. Her parents also got involved during the many time when Marcia got into trouble for her behavior in school. Marcia had too much energy and curiosity to sit quietly in class. She was

always of concern to her teachers who tried to harness all that energy. As Marcia pointed out:

The teachers lived in our community, saw our parents in church and knew them on a first name basis, so news of trouble quickly reached my parents.

Again, her parents set very clear limits, and, again, Marcia was able to rein herself in enough to stay out of severe trouble.

Marcia's parents had hoped that all their children would go to college. World War II spoiled that dream for Marcia's brothers, and Marcia's pregnancy in her sophomore year of high school ended any immediate thoughts of her going to college. Her parents were disappointed that she would not go on to college, but they did not react with either blame or punishment. Her mother simply said, "Promise me that some day you will finish school." They would have preferred that Marcia have an abortion, but she would not consider it. Instead, at the age of fifteen, she got married.

Marcia and her new husband moved into the back room of his mother's home. His mother gave them a section in the kitchen cabinet and a shelf in the icebox and informed them that they were to be responsible for buying and preparing their own food. It was clear that this would be only a temporary arrangement. Fortunately, after a short time they

were able to move out, since they had qualified for an apartment in the city's housing project.

There I was at fifteen with my apartment and about to have a baby. Young and dumb. Innocent. I did not even know, just could not imagine, what lay ahead. I had several friends who got pregnant at the same time, and there we were with our baby carriages sitting in a circle in the yard in the project.

In fact, what lay ahead for Marcia was not very promising. Because she and her husband had no money, her first child had to be delivered at the local public health clinic. There was no education in natural childbirth or painkillers for the delivery. The rooms were all full the day of the delivery, so Marcia gave birth in the hallway. To stop her from thrashing about while she delivered, the staff tied her arms and legs to the rails of the bed. Then they just left her to attend to women whose deliveries were more complicated.

Despite the hardships of the delivery, Marcia loved her first child. Before she knew it, she was pregnant again. At this point Marcia realized that if her family were going to get anywhere, they were going to have to get more education. The obvious candidate was her husband, but it was Marcia who took all the initiative. She read an article about pharmacists in the local paper. They were well paid and in demand. Marcia thought since her husband had done

well in science courses in high school he might do well in this field.

It was Marcia who sent away for applications, filled them out and made plans for how the family would get by while her husband was in school. Because there were no colleges in their community, he would have to go to a school 60 miles away. He would live there during the week and come home on weekends. He would get a part-time job to pay his expenses while Marcia would start working in a factory to support herself and the children. That was her plan. Marcia put the family on an ironclad budget. She allowed herself only five cents a day for "pocket money" for a Coke. She would walk the fifteen blocks to work each weekday to eliminate carfare.

Amazingly, during that period Marcia managed to find the time to complete her Graduate Equivalency Degree (GED). It was clear to her that education offered the only avenue to change her circumstances.

Right after work, one or two nights, I would take courses and then take a test. If I passed, I would go on to the next course. I took Spanish one year, all year. I knew I was not going to pass the Spanish test, so I went in and asked the secretary what other tests were available. She knew I was good in math and recommended the bookkeeping test. I passed it. I finished high school in two years.

All was not going well, however, with Marcia's marriage. In the summer when her husband was home, he refused to do work around the apartment. Marcia found herself working in the factory, going to school, taking care of the children and mowing the lawn. Marcia was wearing sneakers -- even in the winter -- because she could not afford new shoes; her husband came home from college with new shoes. One time he came home, and Marcia found ticket stubs in his pocket. Her only indulgence was a five cent Coke allowance, and he was going to jazz concerts. The worst, for Marcia, was that he lacked ambition, and he resented Marcia for all her energy. Marcia found out that she was pregnant for the third time. Immediately thereafter, her husband moved out of their apartment and returned to live in his mother's house.

Marcia decided it was time she went to college. Like her husband, she had to move to the large city 60 miles away. She and her three children moved along with a best girlfriend. Marcia found a job and an apartment and began to plan how she would afford school. After a year on the job she was informed by her company that they would pay tuition for job-related courses. Marcia immediately started taking courses at a nearby college. The nearest college was an Ivy League university which offered a continuing education program for women. She was told by the university that after taking ten courses and maintaining at least a C

average she could become a degree candidate. It is clear that Marcia had no idea just what she was getting herself into.

At this point, I had been out of formal education for ten years. All my friends had always told me I was economical, so, for my first college course, I took economics. I could not believe what I had gotten myself into. Because I was economical I took economics! That was the level of my naivete.

A year later, Marcia's father died. She felt obligated to take care of her mother and moved back to her hometown and into her mother's house. For the next seven years she commuted 60 miles every day to the nearby city for work and school. After the first year of this new arrangement, Marcia decided she needed to go to school full-time. She had taken the required ten courses and surpassed the required C average by getting all B's. However, the Ivy League college pretended to know nothing of their offer to let her enroll full-time.

Marcia did not let this stop her. She simply went to the next college she heard about and applied for admission. She was accepted and offered financial aid. To pay the rest of her bills, she substitute taught in a nearby school and worked summers in the family restaurant while her mother took care of the children.

When Marcia graduated from college, she decided to continue on with graduate school. Her reasons were pragmatic, not filled with lofty intellectual motives. There were no jobs in the town where she and her children lived. Her children begged her not to move because all their friends were in town. Marcia had figured out how to support herself and her family while being in school. It made sense to continue. Since Marcia had taken a course in group dynamics and loved it, a graduate school program that incorporated group dynamics made sense. Marcia had not loved her undergraduate institution, but it was a known factor, so she decided to continue at that school. Thus, Marcia began a master's program in educational psychology. When she went to talk with a professor about a research assistantship, the professor assumed she was in the doctoral program. With that encouragement, Marcia decided to go on for her doctorate after completing the master's degree.

Marcia had never imagined that she would be in a doctoral program, but, with typical determination, she was sure she could manage it. She was correct, but only after she got help with her writing. In all her years of school, Marcia had never really learned to write well. She talked to her advisor about this.

He said, "You are my first black student and you are going to graduate. Come to my house each week, and I

will go over your dissertation with you, chapter-by-chapter, line-by-line."

They worked hard and her writing improved. The doctoral program went smoothly despite one awful moment at the end when her briefcase with several dissertation chapters was stolen. Marcia was able to reconstruct the chapters and she completed the program two and a half years after entering it. Marcia found graduate school a much more positive experience than undergraduate school. Much of the difference had to do with how she was treated by the professors.

I was going to take Calculus as an undergraduate. The teacher said, "I will say something once. If you do not get it, too bad." I never went back. By then, I was thirty-two years old. I thought, No. No. I am not going to be treated like that! I had a history teacher whose notes were yellow and crumbling, and who mumbled into the paper and made us memorize insignificant dates and facts. In experimental psychology, the teacher literally marked off the margins one and a half inches, and, if any of your writing was over that margin, she reduced you a grade. I knew that had nothing to do with learning. I said, this is crazy! When I got into graduate school, they [the teachers] were much more reasonable people. I was the same age as the other students. They were working people with children as well. The classes were at night. The program catered to working people, public school teachers who were getting their doctorates... The faculty treated you like colleagues.

Despite the improvements in her graduate school experiences, Marcia did not come away from formal education with a very positive attitude about it.

I knew that all you needed was the degree. Then you would go do what you needed to do. You do not do it in school, and you do not learn in school. You follow the recipe and say, "yes" and do what they tell you and then you read these books and you learn later. You follow the steps and do what they tell you and get your degree. Then you go back and learn what it is you need to know. I figured that out somewhere along the line.

One last thing that is seems important to talk about is what happened to Marcia's children while she was a graduate student. On most days, Marcia would drive the sixty miles from school, classes, and her graduate assistantship work in order to be home when her children got home from school. That time, after school, was reserved for the children. Marcia would do school work every evening from seven to eleven and most weekends. Her children were mostly understanding of this schedule and willing to do their share to make it work. However, they also knew that sometimes they could go to Marcia and say, "Ma, we need you now," and she would respond.

And, her children did well. Her son played the trombone, her daughters took tap lessons. All three of the children were good students, although the youngest seemed

to have some of the same problems Marcia did "behaving" herself the way the school officials wanted her to. Four times in one year, Marcia was called to the school to deal with her youngest daughter's behavior. Finally, Marcia informed her daughter that she would not tolerate any more incidents at school. In fact, Marcia was often in sympathy with her daughter and thought the transgressions were minor on her daughter's part. However, the delicate balance of school, work and family just did not permit Marcia to spend time dealing with teachers who were not happy that her daughter would not salute the flag. Apparently, after Marcia lost patience, the incidents stopped. Only years later did Marcia learn that her older daughter would sign Marcia's name to disciplinary notes sent home from school. The children had clearly determined that their Mom could take no more; their solution was effective.

Of course, Marcia's devotion to family, on top of everything else she was doing, took its toll.

I remember sometimes being so tired. I would pray that I could make the drive home. I needed to be home with the kids. The drive [from school] was a little over an hour. I did not have a real social life. Saturdays, I would be home and be with the kids and do the shopping and study. I saw no TV or movies. I never saw any of the James Bond movies. There was a whole period with no social activities. I realized, when I finished graduate school, I did

not know how to play anything. I did not know how to play cards or swim or play tennis.

George

George is white man in his mid-thirties who is a math professor at a community college. He has a background in learning disabilities and was hired for his current position because he could teach math and work with students with learning disabilities. The two levels of math he teaches are considered "pre-college", although students receive college credit for those courses.

I met with George each time in his office at the college. Our talks took place during semester break, so the campus was quiet and we spoke uninterrupted. In fact, George was one of the few faculty members in the building. He suggested we meet in his office because he was planing to be there anyway, to use the extra time to work with students and prepare his courses.

George is the youngest teacher I interviewed, and the only one without a doctorate. In many ways, his stories reveal a personality still unfolding -- he is very aware he is still becoming the person he wants be.

Growing Up

George grew up in a medium-sized town in the Northeast, the older son of a hard-working couple who passed their

value of working hard on to their son. George's father is Italian from a family with seven children. All seven have held two jobs for most of their lives. His father began working for the railroad immediately after his high school graduation, and spent his entire work life there. He began at the railroad working the graveyard shift, 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. It was not uncommon for him to work double shifts if there was extra work. To manage this schedule, George recalls his father sleeping only three or four hours a day. George's mother worked as well, part-time while he was growing up. She also kept a meticulous home. George describes her as the type who would host a party and clean up everything that same night before going to bed.

Both of George's parents graduated from high school but did not attend college. They were determined that their sons get college degrees. Because both parents worked, they were able to create a comfortable, middle-class existence for their family. Their children, even in college, only took jobs for extra spending money, not because they had to help pay their way through school.

George's grandparents came to this country from Europe: his father's parents from Italy, his mother's from Lithuania. George spent a great deal of time with his grandmothers, because of his parents' work schedule, and he

came to know more about his parents by observing their mothers.

I can see my parents from my grandmothers. My Lithuanian grandmother is the type who will take anything. If we were having a big meal, and there was not enough food for her to have seconds, it just never bothered her. She was easy. My grandmother on the Italian side was very different. She was very domineering. She was the oldest child in her family, the first and only to come to America. She came when she was sixteen, because the streets were "paved with gold." Her father was a merchant; their family was apparently well to do. Then, she came over here, and she had to struggle. It was very difficult for her. Her children think that is the reason she is very bitter. I can see a lot of her in my father.

Hard work was the dominant ethic of George's grandparents as well. George remembers taking simple vacations as a child, and his parents never travelled without their children. When the family would go to the beach or a lake, his father would -- more often than not -- stay home and work. George attributes this to his grandparents, who believed that one should make one's money when one was young. George remembers, shortly after college, complaining to one grandmother that he had three jobs and no time to enjoy himself. She had no sympathy for him. She simply told him, "Work hard while you can. When you are older and have children, you won't be able to work three jobs. Do it now, and enjoy life later."

In addition to their belief in hard work, George's parents had other traditional values. Although they were relaxed about letting George stay out late at night when he was in high school and college, they had definite ideas about what was proper. One time, at the beginning of a college vacation, George wanted to let two women he went to school with stay in the family's house for a night, because their bus home did not leave until the next morning. His parents would not consider it. George thought their objections were silly, but he knew there was no point arguing with them.

George was not a remarkable child in any way. He was unassuming and quiet, more studious and less athletic than his younger brother.

My brother has always been in the limelight, and I have always been in the background. My brother was "Joe Jock" throughout high school and very popular. I was very quiet. As a result, I am my mother's favorite; my brother is my father's favorite. If my aunts or uncles said anything about me at all, it was, "George is a good kid."

Although admittedly not popular as a child, George joined in all the neighborhood activities: kickball, baseball, football, sledding in the winter, tag year round, endless games of chasing and catching. Even in his game playing, George was not an initiator or a risk taker. He recalls on one occasion going to a playground to play

basketball with some kids who were not part of his regular crowd. He had a wonderful time and would have loved to do it again. He never did, though, because no one from his regular group went, and George lacked the courage to go alone. This example seems minor, but George talked about it as being very symbolic. All his life, he says, he has wanted someone to lead the way, and to push him.

George's childhood was remarkably free from trauma. He grew up in one house; his parents live there still. His parents never changed their jobs and they had no desire or need to live elsewhere. Economically the family was secure. George's grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins lived nearby. George was liked by his relatives, but he certainly did not stand out in any way. He was rarely sick as a child, and his parents suffered no major illnesses. All his grandparents are still alive, and he has not experienced the loss of someone important in his life. Clearly, what is remarkable about George's early life is the ordinariness of it.

Being a Student

There is nothing in George's stories of being a student that contradicts this ordinariness. Throughout his educational career he was an unremarkable student. George was the first in his family to graduate from a four-year college, and his relatives sometimes make a "big deal" of

the fact that he is a college professor. George does all he can to deflect that attention. However, since his graduation, many of his cousins have graduated from two or four-year colleges, and one cousin is a doctor. Today, George's educational accomplishment no longer sets him apart in his family.

George recalls, with a great deal of regret, that he was never pushed, by parents or teachers, educationally. He had a parochial education from grammar school through high school. Initially, it was his parents' decision that he attend Catholic schools because they were considered superior. As George got older, they said he could switch schools if he wanted. He decided to remain in the parochial system.

George did not learn how to develop good study habits. He wishes now that his parents had monitored his progress and had done more to force him to pay attention to his schoolwork. Because he shared a room with his brother he had no solitary, quiet place to study. There was a television set in the living room and another in the kitchen, and they were usually on. George remembers trying to do his schoolwork at the kitchen table; one t.v. blaring behind his back and the other set distracting him from the front. His parents never forced him to do his homework, but George knew the nuns would exact consequences for

uncompleted work. He felt some motivation to work to avoid their wrath, and he usually succeeded. But, if George got bad grades his parents were fairly relaxed about it.

In almost every way, George was an average student, so much so that in fifth grade when he did outstanding work for a few weeks (and collected the largest number of the nun's gold stars for that period), the nun assumed there must have been some mistake. That instance was the exception, because George also remembers the monseigneur passing out report cards in the fifth grade. He showed George an F on his report card and asked him if he knew what it was. George responded that it was an F. The monseigneur replied, "Not just any F, a red F." The meaning was clear, he had failed miserably.

George managed to avoid having to repeat a grade or attend summer school, but he had a C average in most subjects. His best subjects in high school were foreign languages; although, he only did well in French because his class was filled with the sons and daughters of French Canadians (who had learned the language at home). The teacher simply assumed that George knew as much as the rest of the class and graded him accordingly.

Besides attending class, George ran track and participated in the chess club. The highlight of his high

school career occurred when the faculty sponsor of the club gave him the responsibility of scheduling the chess matches and keeping track of the wins and losses. Suddenly George was in charge; he enjoyed it. It put him in the limelight for the first time in his life. George was not generally happy in high school, but he did not know it at the time, because he had no really happy experiences in his life to compare high school with. It was not until college where he met lots of people who liked him and shared his values that he realized how lonely he had been in high school.

George chose to go to a college that was nearby, and thus familiar, but one that was far enough away so he would not have to live at home. It was not a Catholic school. George knew himself enough by now to realize that he needed freedom from the restrictions of his family and the Catholic educational system:

By that time, I was tired of the Catholic schools. They were too strict, too regimented and too full of stupid rules. If I came in late, I had to pay 25 cents. If I forgot to wear my tie, the same penalty applied. Since I was polite and never did anything wrong, that bothered me. For the goof-offs, I could see it -- give them consequences. But, since I did not bother anybody, did not do anything wrong, I resented it ... I wanted to get away from home. At that point in my life, like most teenagers, I felt my parents were mean and cruel, and I could not understand why my parents were making me do all the things they did.

George continued to be just an average student in college. He switched his major from history to elementary education, partly because he found it easier. By his own acknowledgement, he did not work hard:

I could have done better. I really was not motivated. I always started [each] semester really well. I would be ahead in all my courses. Then, as time went on, I would cool down. By the end of the semester, if I were going to get a B in a course and extra studying for the final exam would pull my grade up to a B+, I always settled for the B.

Again, George reiterated that he had needed someone to push him, to motivate him, and there was no such person. He did not form any relationships of substance with any faculty members, and, when opportunities arose for such relationships, he actually avoided them.

George did well in Spanish; it was his favorite course. One day, his professor mentioned that students could spend a summer in Mexico learning Spanish from native speakers. Here was an opportunity for George to excel and to come to the attention of a teacher. Just like with the basketball game where he enjoyed playing with new kids, George wanted to do it. However, none of his friends were interested, and he was afraid to go alone. He never went.

Another time, George took a speech course, part of which involved volunteering at the college radio station.

George loved the experience. The following semester, the teacher offered independent study instead of an organized class, to students who wanted to continue at the station and earn credit. George started to do it, but he could not handle the looseness of it. He needed someone to tell him what to do, step-by-step. Not only did he end up withdrawing from the class, he never went back to the radio station.

Fortunately, George's best educational experience finally happened in graduate school. He was truly motivated to be in school. He knew he needed the degree to pursue work he was already enjoying -- working with learning disabled students.

It was very different from my undergraduate experience, because I wanted to be there. I knew what I wanted. There were things I needed. My job required that I have this degree, and the faculty were very demanding, so, at times, I was like a sponge. I was there to soak up anything I could get. It was very different from my undergraduate experience. I wanted to be there. I read everything. I studied hard. I learned a lot.

George did well in his classes: he got all A's or A-'s, and he was close to some of his professors -- a real change from his undergraduate days. Still, he did not find that role model, the motivator he had been looking for

throughout his educational career. George said something particularly telling about himself:

If I had ever had a role model, I would be someplace else, definitely someplace else.

I asked him, "What do you mean? Where would you be?"

I do not know. I guess I see myself falling into all of these things. I have worked hard for everything I have done, but a lot of it is luck. With a role model, that luck might have come sooner. I would not just be teaching basic math to students with learning disabilities.

In the next chapter we will hear about how each of these people became college professors. In each of those stories, we will see how the events of growing up and being a student shaped the teacher that each became.

Judith

I certainly didn't imagine that I was going to be a teacher when I was growing up. I really didn't even think of it until I was in graduate school as something I would say, "Oh, yes. I'm going to be a teacher."

In fact, aside from a brief time when she wanted to teach Sunday school, Judith spent much more of her time watching teachers and noticing what she did not like about what they were doing. She disliked disorganized teachers and teachers who rambled on telling personal anecdotes that were not germane to the course they were teaching.

I was very critical is what it amounts to of my own teachers. I wanted to learn. I didn't want my time wasted. I didn't like it when those kinds of things went on.

She despised those teachers who mocked their students, and she was uncomfortable with teachers who did too much of what she called "touchy-feely" kinds of teaching such as asking students to reveal personal details about their lives. This method, she felt, was appropriate only if done carefully which included getting the students' permission.

Students don't have a choice about being in a class, and I think it is unfair to them to say part of the requirement is that you have to open yourself up in certain personal ways.

Perhaps, more than anything, Judith did not approve of teachers who allowed class discussions to flounder. She had always been interested in the Socratic method of teaching and, one year, had the opportunity to spend some time at a college which was based on the Great Books model and the Socratic method. Judith was appalled at what passed for good teaching. What she observed was that the teachers in each class she visited would support what a student was saying no matter how erroneous. Judith was especially troubled while observing a class discuss Freud, since she had undertaken a careful examination of his ideas in her doctoral dissertation.

I felt as if a number of the students were really bullshitting. They were way off track on what Freud was saying and the teacher made no effort to correct them.

The justification for the method was that it allowed the students to grapple with the material. Judith's opinion was that:

They were grappling but they were so off base even in understanding some of the basis of [the material] that they couldn't even get there. It was like being handicapped by the method they were using.

When Judith was in college, most of her courses, especially in the first two years, were large lecture classes. They were taught by some of the top teachers in

the school and most were wonderful lecturers. She has since come to question the efficacy of that method.

There is something very seductive and wonderful about a beautifully put together lecture. I reject it as a method myself and I don't think it is as good a way of teaching as others.

What are her objections to the method? One is that it represents a model in which the teacher is the expert and the students has little or nothing worth offering. The other is that the lecture format requires that you have completely thought through your material ahead of time.

You are presenting this beautifully constructed picture which I think ultimately gives students the view that they should already have it put together. They never see the process by which someone gets there, and that process is the crucial piece.

Judith began her career as a teacher while a graduate student. She was assigned to be a teaching assistant in an Introduction to Philosophy course. The two professors who were teaching the course were both having personal problems and were unable to organize a good course. Their lectures were often confusing or off the point. So, it fell to Judith to teach much of the material of the course in a discussion section originally designed to supplement the lectures. She felt woefully unprepared to do so. In fact, because she was so terrified, she almost backed out entirely as a T.A. before she even started. Wisely, her

advisor told her she could back out, but only after meeting one time with her class. She took his advice and went to the first class. Even though she felt a fraud because she had not mastered the material as she felt was necessary, she also enjoyed the class enough to stick with it.

Judith's high standards for herself as a teacher and feelings of terror stayed with her for a number of years. She taught in several different colleges and universities and the result was generally the same. The evaluations from students were positive, but Judith was unsure she was doing a good enough job and often doubted whether she should continue teaching.

I think from the beginning there was something about teaching that I loved and a lot about it that I hated. I was locked into this love/hate relationship with it. In some ways, I must have been just acting on faith of some sort. I remember the mother of a friend of mine, who was a professor, saying to me, "it sounds like you are getting a degree that you don't really want to do something that you don't enjoy." I thought about what she said, and I thought, "yes, from everything I have said, that is exactly what I am doing. Why am I doing this?" But, something in me kept at it and knew, I guess, that if I could just get through my fears and insecurities about it and master it more, that I would really like it. I was just acting on that kind of faith.

Her faith has proved to be well placed. Judith still retains the high standards she has set for herself, but the debilitating terror about performance has diminished through "just doing a lot of teaching." Today Judith loves teaching and says she is fortunate to be doing work she loves so much.

Richard

Although Richard had a hard time talking about himself as a student, he had no trouble talking about becoming a teacher. After finishing the master's program that prepared him to be a school guidance counselor, Richard and his wife moved to a small town near where he had grown up. Richard took a job as a counselor in the local junior high school. After several years of being a counselor, Richard decided he wanted to be a dean of students in student personnel, which would necessitate earning a doctorate. With his wife and, now, a young child, he returned to the state university where he had received his master's degree. While pursuing his doctorate, he worked as a student counselor at the university lab school.

Again, his life was affected by another of the fortunate "accidents" that often motivated his progress. The house he and his family moved into was next door to the home of a new faculty member in the School of Education. They became good friends and the faculty member steered

Richard away from school administration -- for which the student personnel degree would have prepared him -- toward counseling psychology. Richard took this advice and transferred into a doctoral program in the Psychology department.

Richard received his Ph.D. and took a position at another large, state university, where he ran the counseling program in the local school system and taught in the university. He enjoyed the teaching a lot. In this new position, Richard worked closely with another professor whose interests were in social policy. Under his influence, Richard started doing less in the education school and more in an institute for social research, where he ran a number of groups. Part of his participation in the institute required spending the next summer in an intensive human relations training program: learning how to run T (training) groups and encounter groups that were on the cutting edge in the early 1970's.

Richard worked with many nationally prominent people in the field of the human potential movement while at the institute. He applied the skills he was developing to an analysis of how to make change in public school systems and he got involved in several projects designed to give students, parents and teachers more involvement and power in the decision-making process in public schools.

At the same time, Richard began to get involved in the civil rights movement. There are only glimpses in Richard's background that explain why the civil rights movement affected him as it did. He grew up in a conservative, Republican town in the Midwest, there was only one black family living in the town, and, like many people of his generation, Richard had little awareness of race. He was actively involved in a fraternity movement as an undergraduate that excluded black and Jewish students, although Richard's role was more of total lack of awareness than conscious racism. As a child he had been best friends with the only black student in his grade. Unlike the parents of some of his friends, his parents never had any problem with Richard inviting that friend over to play.

This was hardly the background of a potential radical, but Richard, as a university professor, got involved in radical civil right activities which continue to involve him today. Even he is not sure just why.

Something happened early when Malcolm X was shot that I do not totally understand. I thought to myself, What the ____ is going on? This is not right... Something was wrong, fundamentally wrong. Somehow, I knew that, and I wanted to do something about it. I got involved with SDS. I got involved in civil right marches.

Eventually these activities got Richard into trouble with the university.

I wound up getting fired. [He was not approved for tenure]. It was traumatic. I could not believe that it happened.

Richard and a good friend were up for tenure at the same time. Richard had by far the stronger case; his friend was the one who got tenure. It was obvious to Richard that the decision was political.

I stood up in a faculty meeting and said some things that people in the department never forgave me for. There was a tone in the meeting of, "Let's be patient [about making changes to solve racial imbalances]. These things take a while." I stood up and said, "That is absolute _____. If we wanted to do something, we could do it tomorrow."

Since Richard was denied tenure he had to find another job. Once again, another person provided a signpost for his life. The night Martin Luther King was assassinated, Richard was in a large city attending a civil rights meeting with black and white people. They heard the news of the assassination.

It scared the _____ out of me. I thought I was a goner. When I went to my car to go home, it did not matter who you were or what you were doing. If you were white you were in trouble. In that experience, something profound happened to me. I was sitting in that meeting, and a black woman said to me, "You know, I really like that you come here, but I also want you to understand that this is easy for you. If you are serious about this, you will be working in the white suburbs, because that is where we need

you." The next year, I went out to the suburbs. She was right. It was harder than hell.

Richard has embraced that penetrating comment as his central mission in life -- to work in predominantly white institutions teaching social justice issues and pushing for change, primarily that of eliminating racism. Richard had to leave one university because of his political beliefs. He has found an uneasy home at his current institution, where he lives the advice he got to work with white people to eliminate racism.

Marcia

In her doctoral program, Marcia had many opportunities to teach. She and another doctoral student co-taught an undergraduate psychology course. The school provided a variety of opportunities for Marcia, from designing training programs to micro-teaching experiences. Sometimes she would design training for other teachers to use in their classes. In the first semester of her doctoral program, she took a course in Group Dynamics in which the structure of the course was to be in a group. The following semester, she spent an entire semester observing a group. Subsequently, she was allowed to team-teach with some of the professors.

Then she got the opportunity to do training outside the college. She worked with policemen on issues of race, with

day care teachers on classroom management, and with private school teachers who wanted the girls in their school to have a significant multi-cultural experience. She put together an Outward Bound program for groups of kids. The extra challenge of that program was that there were children with significant physical disabilities in every group. She designed a training program for a group of nuns who had never known a black person. In the program, the nuns, among other things, had to go out and have a conversation with a black person. Most of the training centered on the concepts of team building, leadership development or group dynamics. Virtually all of the training had the goal of expanding white people's understanding of people of color.

When Marcia graduated, she got a job as Training Director at a national training institute funded by the federal government. She continued to do the kinds of training she had done in school. The difference was that she was now supervising other trainers as well as training people to become trainers themselves.

Marcia enjoyed the work, and she was quite good at it. However, for Marcia being a trainer was fundamentally unsatisfying. That lack of satisfaction describes the difference, for Marcia, between training and teaching. Marcia was ready to leave that first job at the training

institute when she realized that she wanted to go into teaching.

When I knew I had to leave [the training institute] I thought, I really want to work on changing people's behavior. Training, as much as I loved it, did not do it, because you needed a more extended period of time to work with people. [The institute offered training programs that, typically, lasted for two weeks]. I started reflecting on some of my earlier learning experiences and decided it was that extended focus time that really made the difference. I realized that training was a nice catalyst, but I wanted to be more than a catalyst. I wanted to work with people in the way that I currently work with students on their papers. I tell my students, "We are going to work on this until it is right." I tell them, "You may not be an expert, but you will grow." And we work it and we work it and we work it. The student says, "Marcia, I do not want to write this paper again. I am sick of it." I say, "Me too, so let's get it right this time." You can't do that kind of work in a training program. It takes more time. It takes more than ten days of training.

Marcia also knew that she wanted to move to the area where she now resides. After many years of being determinedly unattached, she had become involved with a wonderful man, and they wanted to be together. For several years he had moved to be with Marcia. It was time for Marcia to live in his city. Marcia came to this city which had several colleges and universities. She was certain she could get a job teaching. The task did not prove to be

easy, so, for a number of years, Marcia pieced together a work life made up of training and consultation and part-time teaching at a variety of colleges. Finally, she got the full-time teaching position she wanted. She continues to teach at that institution today.

George

The process of becoming a teacher began in college when George changed his major from history to elementary education. The switch represented both positive and negative aspects of George's personality. I asked why he chose education, especially elementary education. George replied:

I don't know. For me, it was a calling. I knew I wanted to work with people. I guess I kind of feared working with older people, so elementary education made sense.

He quickly found that he had made a wise choice. He loved his teaching practicums and enjoyed working with the children.

George's parents had hoped he would go into special education, because they knew that was where the jobs were. But George thought special education meant working with retarded students, and he felt no desire to work with students like what he imagined retarded people to be. He also knew the program was quite a bit more difficult than

the regular education major. George was still operating on the principle of taking the easiest path.

George's parents proved to be properly foresighted. George substitute taught for a year after graduation and, despite a strenuous job search, was unable to land a permanent teaching job. He stopped teaching and took a job as a second shift production supervisor in a local factory. Several months of that work were enough. He had heard that a nearby residential school for special education students had a position open that combined teaching and residence hall responsibilities. George wanted to say goodbye to factory work, but going after this new opportunity was not easy. He lacked the confidence to believe he was qualified for the position. A friend, sensing his reluctance, acted on George's behalf by giving George's resume to the school's director. The director then called George to set up an interview. George got the job.

George soon found that the work was compelling and completely overwhelming. To his surprise, he loved working with special needs students. He did not enjoy the residential aspect of the job where he was "on-call" every night for students who wet their beds or needed an aspirin. After a few months, George realized he had to do something different. He still despaired of getting a teaching job in a public elementary school. He decided to go back to

school. He enrolled in a master's program in special education. (His parents must have smiled; although George claims they were not smug).

During his master's studies, George began working in the learning disabilities program of a nearby community college. His job was to work individually with students who had learning disabilities. As part of that work, he found himself helping many students particularly with math. His boss suggested that George teach a math class for these students. With little formal preparation he did. George rose to the occasion. He moved into unknown territory, alone, and began to rely on his own instincts. George's teaching style began to emerge. He would try out a particular approach to teaching a given math concept. If it did not work, he would not hesitate to try a different approach. Many teachers do this to some extent; few to the extent that George does. George realized that he knew almost nothing about teaching math, so he went to conferences with workshops on that topic. He soaked up information, eager to learn anything he could about how to teach math. He was willing to try out any technique, and he easily abandoned techniques that did not work.

Today George teaches basic math and algebra to students in a community college. He loves his work but yearns to teach more advanced courses. In order to do that, he needs

another degree -- a master's in mathematics. One suspects that George will soon be in such a program.

GOOD TEACHING: FOUR TEACHERS STORIES

In Chapter 4 we learned about life growing up for four teachers. We heard about each of their families and learned about those experiences that were memorable enough to be shared twenty, thirty or forty years later. We also heard each teacher's stories about being a student. From these stories we learned whether each person regarded himself or herself as having been a "good" student and what each of them valued in his or her education. In Chapter 5, we saw how those experiences growing up and being a student led each of the people to choose to be a teacher and shaped what kind of a teacher each became.

In this, Chapter 6, we will turn to the subject of good teaching by listening to each of the four teacher's ideas on the topic. Each person was asked to "Talk about yourself as a good teacher" rather than to "Talk about good teaching." The idea was to elicit examples of what they were doing or what was happening when, in their judgement, they were being good teachers. The aim was to encourage each person not to speculate hypothetically about good teaching but to describe good teaching in terms of his or her involvement with it. What follows in this chapter shows that each person was thoughtful about the topic and that all of them had much of interest to say about good teaching.

Judith

Judith, as we have learned from her stories about her childhood, grew up in a close, supportive, well-to-do family in which life might have been almost idyllic except for a brother born with significant disabilities. His emotional and physical struggles to cope made the members of Judith's family feel a pain they might otherwise have escaped and offered them visible proof that life is not easy for everyone. This pain had a powerful affect on Judith's life, and she acknowledged that it built the foundation for her lifelong interest in ethics.

Judith was an outstanding student who not only loved to learn but also excelled in all her academic endeavors. Her standards for herself as a student were high (an A+ was not welcomed by her unless she felt it was totally merited) and her standards for her teachers were no less. She wanted teachers who loved their subject and their students, who were well organized and wasted no time, who could explain what was behind a given answer rather than simply supplying answers and who could share their process, their struggle with an idea or concept rather than simply produce a beautifully crafted lecture. For Judith, writers were a potential source of friendship, and a book was a fluid document that could be read and read again, with new understanding to be gained each time.

Judith came to teaching not easily but fully. Initially, she was terrified to teach, and that terror almost propelled her out of the profession. Undoubtedly, part of her fear came from her high standards. She expected herself always to have mastery of a subject and always to know how to convey that mastery in just the right way for each student and every class. Certainly, some of the terror was a result of Judith's admitted awkwardness in social situations. For Judith, to teach is to have a relationship with her students, a relationship based on mutual sharing of the struggle one inevitably has learning complex, thought-provoking material. Judith has not been willing to protect herself from her fear by being distant with her students. Only after teaching for a number of years has Judith become certain enough about herself as a teacher to enjoy teaching.

After teaching at four institutions in which virtually all of the students were in the eighteen to twenty-two year old range, Judith is currently teaching in a college for adult students. Judith teaches philosophy, a subject that allows her to ask and to try to answer the questions about fairness and ethics that are so important in her life. Judith believes that when students engage in a productive examination of these questions they can live better lives.

Good Teaching

We have already heard many of Judith's ideas about good teaching from her perspective as a student. When I asked Judith to share her thoughts on this from her years of being a teacher, several themes emerged. The first is that it is essential to love your work and love your students.

I always took it for granted that, if you worked, you loved your work... I feel very lucky to have found a profession where I get to do what I love to do... What makes a good teacher, or, at least the prerequisite, is that you love your subject and you love your students... Often people have one or the other, and they do not have both.

For Judith, loving her subject and her students is central to her notion of what it means to be a philosopher. She imagines that teachers of other disciplines do not necessarily have the same feelings for their students that she has for hers.

If you taught mathematics, it would be easy to love your subject but not necessarily your students. I mean, you can separate the content from your students because it is such an abstract subject. But, with philosophy, you can not. Philosophy means the study of wisdom. Wisdom is not knowledge. Wisdom involves what it is to live well. So, it involves the whole person and who you are as a person... Thus, you have to be interested in what is happening to your students, how they are growing and changing and what the learning or questioning about wisdom is

doing to who they are. So that, for me, there is no way to separate the two.

The second theme for Judith concerns what it means to be a woman and a good teacher (and a woman who had few women teachers and who teaches in a discipline in which men overwhelmingly outnumber women). The first struggle for Judith, in this area, was to determine, for herself, what kind of teacher she wanted to be when all her role models had been men.

A lot of the struggle [to become a good teacher] in the first few years was just trying to figure out what my voice was. This was harder for me, I think, because all the voices I had heard had been male, and that was not going to be my style.

[I had a great appreciation for Judith's desire to find her own voice as a teacher, and I could well imagine how difficult it was for her to picture herself as a teacher when virtually all of her college and graduate school teachers had been men. What follows is an honest discussion from Judith about how she sought her "voice" and what she rejected in that search. Judith defines much of what she rejected as being a male voice. I understood clearly what it was she rejected, and you the reader will understand it as well. However, I had a difficult time with the fact that she consistently identified her dislikes with male teachers.

I know her identification to be imprecise - certainly all men do not teach the same way - and potentially painful to male readers of this work. I have kept her wording to be true to her telling of her story; however, I wish that Judith had chosen other, more precise, words to define her dislike of a certain kind of teaching. I believe that we all need to challenge ourselves to move past stereotypes that obliterate the individual differences that this dissertation celebrates].

Much of Judith's process of finding a voice involved getting clear about what was not acceptable, for her, in what she termed the male voice. We have already heard how Judith does not value the perfect lecture in which the professor appears to know everything about a subject and in which the students are prevented from engaging, themselves, with the material. Not only is this style deceptively seductive, it is also, in Judith's mind, a part of the male voice.

The lecture format epitomizes a kind of male chauvinism in the academic world. It is a style that is essentially aggressive and combative and very individualistic and competitive, one person up in front of the room holding forth to everyone else. It is very much the model that the teacher is the expert and the students know little of value. Certainly, philosophy is very much in that mode, and logic, which I like so much, is always talked about with those battle metaphors. You attack someone's

position, and you have a good defense... It is a style in which you do not admit to vulnerabilities.

This appearing invulnerable is especially problematic for Judith, because sharing the struggle is essential, in her mind, to good teaching.

I have found in my teaching when I have been really struggling with an issue, and shared that with students, they get much more involved.

Judith recalled two times that stood out for her when she shared her struggle with students. In the first instance, she told a class how much she had been shaped by Plato and the model of Socrates as a teacher, a model that values the students thinking things out for themselves, not simply agreeing with the teacher. Her students were amazed and challenged her on this. Surely, they said, she must, in the end, want them to see things her way. As Judith responded and discussed the struggle within herself to allow students to think things out and to, when it was thoughtful, accept each student's perspective, she said she could feel the classroom come alive.

I could see everyone getting involved at a new level. They were forcing me to articulate my ideas better and to question my own thinking. I could just see that things became electric in a different way.

In the second instance, Judith described a course she taught entitled Confronting Moral Pain. In planning the

course, she decided to teach many of her favorite writers, writers who were asking questions about moral behavior and who had shaped the writing Judith was doing at the time. Judith's writing very much reflected the ethical issues with which she was struggling, and she wanted to incorporate that into a course. It seems that she succeeded. In her words, the course "just took off."

Integrally involved in sharing her struggle with students is learning from them. One of Judith's valued teachers, Socrates, taught her to be always open, and always willing to discover that you may be wrong, no matter what you think, about anything. With her students, Judith is always willing to reopen a subject, to start over, to talk about it again, to take seriously whatever point of view has been presented to her.

This is, of course, not easy. Judith described a conversation with a student whose views were very different from her own. The student had come to discuss a paper, and Judith found herself getting really upset at what the student was saying.

I realized that I started lecturing her in some kind of way. It was my automatic response to her. Then I stopped, because I realized she was not hearing a thing. I had just gotten out of control. It was not even what I was saying. It was the tone of voice in which I was saying it. It was like saying "you have

got to give up those beliefs, damn it all. I am going to hammer this into your head." You can not teach anybody that way.

What does Judith wish she had done?

It is what I have been doing since. I think it has to do with tone and my attitude rather than what I am saying. You need to really listen to what the student is saying and then respond. With students, if they say something that is false, and I believe that there are things that are clearly false, I tell them that. Beyond that, there are a lot of beliefs where I believe there are better reasons and worse reasons. I can point that out. "Well, what about this? What about that? Have you thought of this? Doesn't this that you said contradict this other thing that you said? How do you make sense of that?" If you do it in a really open way, the student can hear it.

The final problem Judith has with the "male" model of teaching is that it splits intellect and emotion. As a student, struggling with being so much brighter than most other students, she wanted to be seen as a whole person. She did not respect those teachers who seemed to reward clever, quick intellect but preferred teachers who were interested in her as a complex person.

Judith believes in being a whole person with her students, because she views a teacher as being an important role model.

I could see that having a woman for a teacher and a woman who had certain kinds of views and outlooks on the world was incredibly important to a number of my students... I certainly did not have role models of that sort myself, but I have come to feel more and more as a teacher that who we are as people is extremely important. There is not a separation between who you are and what you believe... Students will pick up who you are as a person, and that probably has more effect than anything that you tell them.

The last theme that Judith touched on in our talks about teaching has to do with the meaning of what she teaches. For Judith, central to her desire to teach about wisdom to enhance everyday life, is the struggle to make meaning of philosophy for a particular group of students. She strives to do so in a way that students will discover how much fun it is to learn, how learning can be a form of recreation, and so that students will have new worlds opened up to them.

It is not a matter of just presenting the material. You have to think, how can these students find a way into this material? What about this material has particular relevance to their lives? What are the issues today that this author can give us insight into? ... Then, thinking about these particular, unique students, what does each of them need?

The only way she can make meaning for her students is to know as much as possible about the individual or class she is teaching.

[Good teaching] requires that you see each student in terms of his or her uniqueness, and the kind of questioning or conversation that you will have is going to depend on who that student is. For one student it may mean a quite confrontational kind of questioning, pushing, probing... for another student it may mean the most gentle kind of bringing out and reinforcing.

For every class, Judith asks herself how to take the subject or the reading that the students are doing and best set it up so that they can engage with the material in the most fruitful way.

I try all different kinds of things. Sometimes I take a text and we spend a whole class going through it very carefully and closely. This teaches students a way of reading, a way of respecting a text...Then, there may be times when I set up some dilemma, break the class into groups, and ask them to try to resolve the dilemma. I feel like I almost always end a class and think, "Gee, I wonder if it would have been better if I had done it this way, or, what if we had done that?" There are so many things to think about all the time.

Richard

Richard came from a family background quite different from Judith; though he, too, suffered the effects of a significant family illness, in this case, his mother's.

Richard did not grow up in affluent circumstances and he felt the betrayal in his father's decision to abandon a loved area of work, high school coaching, to pursue what was meant to be a more remunerative career in business.

Richard was not an especially good student at any point in his formal education, and being in school did not provide him with the love of learning he now has. What seemed to be important to Richard, as a student, were a sense of community and the advice of informal mentors whose influence was central to each decision to stay in school or pursue more education.

For Richard, the key influences in his life since being a student were his involvement with the human potential, T Group movement, and the Civil Rights movement of the late 1960's and 1970's. As a teacher, as a writer, as a member of a community, Richard is committed to educating people in primarily white institutions to issues of oppression, so that those people will take action to ease that oppression. He currently teaches undergraduates at a prestigious university in the northeast. There are only a few adult students in each of his classes.

Richard was the first recipient of the outstanding teacher award voted on by the students in his college. He was asked to write a short paragraph about his teaching so

that it could be posted under the award on one of the bulletin boards at the college. He chose to write about a metaphor which underlies his ideas about good teaching.

When I think about teaching I picture teaching somebody how to swim. You can stand on the side of the pool and give instructions to the swimmers; you can yell at them if they do not pay attention, and you can watch them as they bob up and down or sink. If they are sinking, you can jump in and save them. I prefer to be in the pool with the students. I want them to go underwater, and I want to go underwater with them. But, I do not want to save them. I want both of us to have to work our way back up to the surface. That is the joint struggle I call learning.

Although Richard claims he never taught a class he did not like, he admits that he became a good teacher only in the last seven or eight years. Why?

My need to be liked was out of line for what was needed for good teaching. I was well liked, and I 'was doing some good things as a teacher, but I had like and respect mixed up. I had them together, and I do not think they belong together. Being liked is no longer the motivator for me... I had not also, until the last seven or eight years, taken planning as seriously as I do now. I do not mean planning in the traditional sense of sitting down and writing out just what I am going to do in a particular class... I spend a lot of time listening carefully to the learners. My job, as teacher, is to make connections for the students. I listen for what is missing in what they are saying, what they are not

seeing, and I try to say something that will fill in that missing piece.

Richard followed this insight with an example which illustrates both his idea about connections and the importance of planning. He described a discussion in his Racism course in which the students started talking in psychological terms about the fear that the newly freed slaves felt after the Civil War. Many of the students in the course were psychology majors, and they were comfortable using psychological concepts of fear to understand the experience of the slaves. Richard knew this was a wrong-headed approach. Psychological fear has an irrational component, a sense that the fear does not necessarily have to exist, and the implication that there are individual, personal solutions to overcoming that fear. The fear that the slaves felt, however, was based on a clear perception of their actual circumstances. It was not irrational.

Richard recognized that the students' discussion was one more way of perpetuating racism. He decided to talk about the students' "psychologizing" in his next lecture. In that lecture, he pointed out to the class that racism is a system, and if you get into talking about it in psychological terms, then you are ignoring issues of access to resources and the aspect of fear that may be a rational, appropriate reaction to existing circumstances.

Anyway, I tied their discussion into the concept of institutional racism, and they loved it. That was clear from their responses. Students then made connections with the internment of the Japanese, and how that policy had been carried out by playing on the fears of white people. Then they tied it into the presidential campaign and saw how each candidate was trying to play on the fears of the electorate in discrediting his opponent. Finally, we tied that back to racism. For me and for them it was really exciting. From my one example of how they were misusing psychology, students grasped a major concept, institutional racism... I came up with that lecture based upon fifteen or twenty minutes of thinking about it while listening to a student discussion. What I am saying about planning is that I am more and more aware of the importance of some time for reflection and time to ground myself in what we are really trying to get done today. What are we trying to accomplish? How does this fit in to last week? How does this fit into the framework of the course? I could give a lecture which everybody would like, but if it does not make those key connections, then it is not a good lecture.

Like Judith, Richard believes in the need to learn along with his students. His swimming metaphor provides testament to that. And, like Judith, "learning together" can even occur when Richard is lecturing

When I am doing a lecture, I can hear my voice saying, "Well, I am going to share something with you that I never thought about before, and, if anybody has any comments, let me know." It is sharing the thought process at the same time. I try

to think of a lecture as moving me to something else, moving myself to another level as well as [the students]. That is one way I am in the pool with them.

Although Richard believes in learning with the students, he does not see that his position as teacher is the same as that of the students. A teacher has a certain role, a certain responsibility that is different from the students'.

I am offering them something that they could not get without me. So, I do not feel apologetic about being an authority as a teacher. Twenty years ago, I tried to be just like the students. Now, I recognize that was wrong.

The authority that Richard assumes, however, does not exclude being challenged by the students. When Richard teaches a class, he wants the students to challenge each other and to challenge him. In one large lecture class, he asked the students to write down anything they wanted to learn more about. Richard collected the papers and skimmed through them while the students were having small group discussions. One student wrote that she was disturbed that a course on racism would only devote one week to the American Indians. Was this not racist, she wanted to know.

I read that and I thought, whoa. I put it aside and went on with the class, but I knew I wanted to do something with it. I was aware, right away, that I was being confronted, and that I wanted to let the students know that, to create the [dialogue] I

wanted, it was fine to confront me. I also wanted to show that she was right, that it is racism, that her comment was substantive as well as process. So, I shared the comment with the class and admitted that the student was correct. The whole class went wild.

Richard teaches about racism to a mostly white, upper-middle class student body. He wants students to both understand racism and also be moved to take action to reduce it. He does not want students either to deny that it exists or to become so overwhelmed with guilt that they are unable to act to reduce racism. This is a delicate balance. He talked about this balance in terms of the need to create dialogue, a dialogue where students move beyond passive acceptance of what is being taught into active engagement with it.

In the area of racism, I know that [most] students are not comfortable with what is being taught in the course. It is too controversial. Yet, they are acting as if they are comfortable. I have to shake them up; that is both a teaching objective and an actual political objective, because, if they are really going to be convinced about what it is we are discussing, they have got to go through something that is going to make them uncomfortable. [Our students] know how to be safe and successful. They get reinforcement for that at school. They are scared to admit that they are uncomfortable about racism, because they do not know how to build something different... The result is that we do not push on each other very much. The idea of dialogue is almost a no no, so that monolithic kind of

thinking is just pervasive. This year, one of my biggest objectives is to get past that.

Richard aspires to challenge the students' thinking, but this is not necessarily only done in a completely serious manner. Richard wants learning to be fun and funny as it is thought provoking. To accomplish this, he often uses himself as a foil. He will poke fun at himself, admit his own faults, so that, hopefully, students can look more easily at their own shortcomings. His hope is that this approach will help students avoid becoming overwhelmed by the implications of racism. He admits that he is not completely successful.

There is something about celebrating learning and enjoying it and taking it seriously all at the same time. I was reminded of this recently. There are four black South Africans here at the school. Being with them, I have seen their spirit. Spirit and hope are so important. Students at our college have the luxury to not deal with issues or deal with them in a way that they become depressed. I have been able to break through by getting students to stop denying, moving them past that and getting them to the point where they accept reality. Then, they get depressed or feel powerless or impotent. In one course, they can not get past that... Next year, I want to teach this in two semesters. In the first semester, we will examine the history and systemic nature of racism. The second semester will focus on social action. Students will do research or actual change work in the community.

In the next section, we will hear from Marcia about good teaching. Like Richard, she pushes her students to do their best work, and, like Richard, her aim is to teach students who will go on to make fundamental changes in social structures and access to power.

Marcia

Marcia, as we have learned, grew up poor, and she grew up knowing both the pain and the benefits of being black in a racially segregated world. She grew up in a family that was more than emotionally supportive; their very economic survival meant that each person in the family depended on everyone else. The family business was truly a family endeavor and one in which each child was allowed, not just to work, but also to make important contributions to how things were managed. For the children, this gave them the opportunity to experience themselves as knowledgeable, as useful.

Marcia was a bright child who never did as well in school as she might have, because too many other things drew her interest. However, even with little application on her part, she qualified for the academic high school and was on her way to getting a traditional, college preparatory education. Pregnancy intervened. Young and in love, Marcia married at fifteen and set about to provide for her family. She knew education was important. She just

made the wrong choice, at first, about who in the family should go to school. After making major sacrifices to put her husband through college, she recognized the marriage was a failure and put her attention on her own education: first, a GED, then an undergraduate degree earned while working full time and raising three children, finally, completion of a master's and then a doctoral degree in education.

It is easy to see how these experiences have shaped Marcia the teacher. She prefers to work with students who do not traditionally have access to higher education, and she is especially attracted to working with women and black students. And, she has a certain irreverent view of formal education, best expressed in her sense that you do what you have to do to get the degree and you learn what you really want to learn elsewhere.

Marcia is the only person I interviewed who was an adult as an undergraduate. As we shall see, this shapes her views of adult students and adult education. Her experience of education at the undergraduate level was almost universally painful and unsatisfying. Graduate school was a delightful contrast. Not surprisingly, much of what she believes about good teaching and good teaching of adults is modeled after that which was best about her graduate program.

In the academic world, Marcia sees herself on the outside looking in. She is a person who, when she first was hired by a university, admitted that she had no knowledge of academic culture and such things as rank or promotional procedures. Marcia has taken very deliberate steps in her life to, if not become an insider, at least understand the culture and the rules of the academic milieu. She also works with students who see themselves as being on the outside. Many of her students have worked for years in the human service field as competent, capable service providers. Yet, in her classes, they would admit that they did not see themselves as professionals. Someone else deserved that title in their minds, not they.

The key to good teaching for Marcia is to make the academic world knowable to these students.

I so identify with the students here, the women, the blacks, the poor, the under served. I really do understand their struggle to work, to go to school, to try to learn, to deal with these things that are just so foreign, so absolutely foreign. If I am presenting a concept in class for the first time, I try to think about how I can develop a way to talk about it... that students can understand. They have something in their life experience that relates to this concept, so I try to make that relationship and then say "here is the language we put on it in an academic discipline"... I try to help people understand (this is a principle that I operate on a lot) that most of what we are teaching them they, on

some level, know. If they think about it systematically, they can take what they know from their lives and see how it translates into a specific theory.

I tell my students, "Here is the language they use. Do not be intimidated. You intuitively know a lot of this stuff. But, I want you to learn how to translate it into this educated person's language."

It is not quite right to say that Marcia believes that students already know everything they need to know and that she simply needs to pull it out of them and give them the appropriate language. Marcia's comments above have to be understood in terms of her desire to help her students see themselves as every bit as good as more privileged students. We will see that Marcia believes that she has important things to teach her students and feels strongly that there are new things for them to know. Rather, her strategy is intended to build student's confidence, build their belief that they already know a lot and have valuable ideas to contribute.

Part of my job as a teacher is to empower people, to help them understand that they have the power to make changes in their lives, the power and the right to speak up... Their thinking is as good as anybody else's. Sometimes I really feel bad. I think, these students are just so whipped. I tell my students, when they are making a presentation in class, "90 % of how you get over in the world is based on your ability to go in and act like you

know it all. If you act like you believe in yourself, other people will believe in you too."

What Marcia is telling her students is not, simply, to fake it, to act like they know something when they know nothing. Listen to her next comment.

I want to help them see that they can make changes in their lives and in society and understand that there is usually a body of literature that will inform them and support their ideas. My job is to tell them to go get it. I teach them how to use the library, how to go and get information. Whatever you are doing, you need to know the history of it; you need to know the theories that affect it. You need to be able to argue for or against it and talk about how that applies in the real world. I tell them, "You can make it. You can do it. Here are ways to get the information you need. Here are ways to put your ideas forward."

Marcia tells a story that well illustrates the importance she, in fact, places on her students doing quality work. She was teaching a research course. The assignment to the students was to hand in a well developed research proposal.

I had a man whose paper I gave back. I said, "You are more intelligent than this. I know you can do better than this. This looks like just doing something to get over." He was a black man. He came into my office and said, "You are the very first person in this college who ever told me that, and I have been here for years. You are right. I just sat down and did this." That was very rewarding for me,

because I felt like I was taking a risk telling this adult male, "This is bullshit and you can do better." But, it was reinforcing. It let me know that I really felt serious, and, if you are really serious about what you are doing, it comes back.

Marcia does not want students simply to get information, undigested, and accept it. Not surprisingly, she wants to make sure that they get a variety of perspectives and that they know how to be critical about what they are learning.

Students need to look at things from several perspectives other than the mainstream one. Take the scientific method. We have to look at who establishes the criteria. They are usually the people in power at the time, often white men. In psychology, research using the scientific method made conclusions about black people that are just incredible. I do not teach students to honor the scientific method; I teach them to question it... I have never been able to swallow a whole package of any theorist. Being black and a woman helps me in that, because so many of those things seem so unapplicable and so inappropriate to my life, being poor, being a woman, being black.

Marcia believes that she cannot do good teaching unless she feels connected to her students. What she means by this is that she needs to have a relationship with the students, so that if they do not understand the material or do not feel comfortable with the way a class discussion is going, they can tell her. When she does not feel that

connection, when she can sense the unspoken uneasiness on student's faces, Marcia feels compelled to figure out what is wrong.

I ask myself, What is happening here? What have I done? What did I miss? What is between this class and myself; the students and the material? I just mull about those things and keep thinking about them and thinking about them until I get some ideas. I talk to other teachers. Sometimes I stop the class and talk to the students.

When she does connect with the students and they with the material, her classes are alive, vital places.

We are having great discussions, the students are making points, they are picking up things that I have tried to get across to them; they have interjected their own ideas and other ways they see it... Everybody is in there and wanting to participate in constructive and varied ways... I can see it when lights come on in their heads... They say, "Oh, now I see what you are supposed to do or how it is supposed to go." ... They are making connections.

Marcia finds that classes tend to go better when she is learning along with the students. This is the same idea we heard from Richard and Judith.

Part of the joy is in the shared struggle to understand. The students are struggling to understand; I am struggling to help them understand a concept or see something in a different way or digest some new principle... That is when I feel

like I am doing good teaching, when the students and I are really sharing in the learning process, and we are sharing in a struggle, and we get through. That feels fantastic.

George

As we have seen, George grew up in a family that valued hard work. It may even have been that hard work was seen as a replacement for talent or special achievement, for there was little premium on doing well, on excelling, and much on working hard. George also seems to have grown up with little sense of risk. The boy who would not venture out of his neighborhood to play a badly yearned for game of basketball with an adjacent neighborhood's group of kids grew up into the man who is afraid to enroll in a doctoral program and one whose life dream is to teach intermediate algebra.

George did not excel as a student; no teacher or subject seems to have captured his imagination. He did well enough in school to avoid trouble and almost fell into elementary education when history proved too difficult a major in college. George's major lament is that he never had a mentor, someone not only to inspire him, but, more importantly, to push him. The most moving moment in our talks came when George regretted the fact that no one had motivated him to make more of his life. If he had such a person, he thinks, he would be someplace else. What was

particularly poignant about this statement was that George could not even say where that different place would be. But he was unequivocal. He was not where he should have been because he did not get the push, the motivation, the inspiration from someone else. We will see how this affects his teaching.

George came into undergraduate teaching through his master's degree in special education and a position as a learning disabilities counselor at a community college. He was not trained to teach math; he has no advanced degrees in the field. A combination of a boss who encouraged him to turn individual tutoring sessions into group math classes and night and summer school opportunities in which the teaching qualifications were not so high, allowed George to become a college math teacher.

Several themes emerge when George talks about good teaching: an individualized approach to the students, a willingness to try any method if it works for the students, and the determination to keep after students who are not keeping up with the work or mastering the concepts. Not surprisingly, the theme of hard work emerges as well.

George says he was hired into his current position because his boss approved of his individualized approach to instruction. He gives students a diagnostic test on the

first day of class, and, based on the results, he designs individual plans for each student.

What they do well on in the test, they do not have to work on. Each student has a plan. It is broken down into six to eight units, each unit followed by a test. When they are ready, they take the test. Occasionally, I come into class and do board work for fifteen minutes. Other than that, each student is working on their own, and I am bouncing around from one student to the next. During the entire class I never sit down in my chair. I do not get a chance to. I am just bouncing around, going up and down the rows, going from one student to the next... If the students complete all the objectives on the list, then they are done. They do not have to wait until the last day of class. They can take their final and then they are done and they are out of here.

In response to the question of what he is doing when he is doing his best stuff as a teacher, George responded, without hesitation, that he is in his office working with one or a few students. Again, the notion of individualized learning is prominent. He has a huge desk in his office and has set things up so that he and his students can sit comfortably around the desk working on their math problems.

I like having anywhere from two to four people in here at once... I think the interaction is better on a one to one. If you get two, three, four people in here, then there is a lot of interaction, and they feel more comfortable with me... I kid around with them, but we get a lot accomplished, too. This way,

I have the students' undivided attention. That is where I feel the most productive... Whoever is here, whatever he or she did not catch in the classroom, we can go over that. That person may just need to hear it one more time, or they may need to have me do twenty of the same thing over and over with them. And, I will do it if that is what the person needs.

George's approach to students has to be characterized by his determination to go after students, to be that motivator for them that he so much wishes he had.

I have said to students, "Look, I am not your mother. I am not your father." But, I will go after them if they do not do what they are supposed to do, if they are not acting responsibly or if they are falling behind. I will go after them and say, "Look, at the rate you are going, you are not going to make it out of this class. You are going to need to see me." And if they say, "Yeah, yeah, O.K." I will say, "When?" And they will say, "Well, maybe next week." And I will say, "Give me a day." I will make sure that they will not slough me off, that they do come. Usually, they will come. But, if they do not, I will say something to them. I will ask, "When are you coming again?" I will go after them. The Registrar's office knows me. I call them all the time asking for the phone number of a particular student. And I will call him or her up. I have one person who got an incomplete in my class. He had an A grade, and he just did not finish. His phone number is unlisted now. He had it changed. So, I am going to write him a letter and say, "Come and see me."

I will be their motivator. I will go after them. When they feel sorry for themselves and tell me,

for instance, "I have two kids at home and I am working forty hours a week." I will say, "Yes, that is tough. That is too bad. I understand that it is hard. But, the thing is, you are here. Think about it in the future. You are here for a reason. Do not give up on yourself."

George does not motivate his students simply by chasing after them. He also helps students identify their goals and then refers to those goals as a way to encourage them to do their work.

This semester, I got to teach a survival skills class. One of the areas that was talked about was goals. So, now I know that, in the future, when I am trying to motivate them, I can start using that word. "What is your long-term goal? What do you want to do? Why are you taking this class? Is there a reason for it?"

Another way George motivates his students is by showing a positive attitude toward them and their work.

I always try to be positive, especially in the basic math where the students have failed for so long. They will always come up and say, "Are these all wrong?" And I will say, "No, you are supposed to say, are these all right?" Eventually, as they go along, either they will say it that way or they will not say anything at all. But, they will not use that negative approach any more. When I correct them, I will try to look for the positive. You know, "Well, you started out right, but somewhere along the line, something happened." Instead of handing it

back and saying, "You got only two right." I try to deal on the positive, wherever possible.

The courses that George teaches are required and are not always the courses of choice for the students in them. Like every teacher in that situation, George has had to struggle with the implications of that fact. He seems to approach the issue in two ways. On the one hand, he says:

Look. Throughout our lives there are going to be things that we do not enjoy, that we do not like, and that we have to do. This is just one of those things that you are going to have to do.

On the other hand, George tries to deal with the reasons why students, generally, do not want to be in math courses.

One of the reasons they do not like math is that they have never done well with math. They might have had a crummy teacher or been insulted by the teacher. Maybe they always got F's. They did not understand it. The teacher did not take the time to explain it. Usually, they start out hating it. I think I can say that usually I win them over.

Me: Because why? What have you done?

George: Now they are having success. That is really the thing. They are intimidated at first. But when they start getting good grades, then they start feeling better.

George's life is guided by the principle of hard work. This clearly manifests in his approach to teaching. In an institution in which faculty teach four courses, each of which meet three times a week for fifty minutes and in which faculty are required to have five office hours spread out over four days, faculty respond in different ways. George has responded by doing more rather than less. He made a major point out of the fact that he shows up for each class ten minutes early. One gathers that most of his colleagues do not do this. George uses that time to pass back student work and to get students started on their work for the day.

75 to 85 % of the time, I am right there at ten of, when the class before gets out. I set out my folders and everything, and, for the people who are there, I will pass back worksheets, tests, etc. and get them rolling. Once they see that I am there all the time, then they start coming in early. When I get evaluated, I always tell my boss, "come there at ten of, just so that you can see, even though class officially begins at nine, it really begins at ten of."

George also holds more than the required number of office hours, and he is generally busy with students during all of those hours.

If I have two or three days when I do not have anybody in here, really, it is a miracle. That is partly my own fault. I say, "Come on. Come to my office today." I do not mind, though.

George is aware that his behavior is in sharp contrast to that of many of his colleagues.

Some people can use their office hours just to correct tests, and they do not have anyone that comes in. That is all they do. They correct the tests; they prepare for the next day. I am taking some advanced math courses. If I go to one of the math teachers here for some help, I will go during their office hours, just because I do not want to bother them. They will say, "I can give you five or ten minutes. That is it, because I have to correct these tests." Or, "I have to prepare for my next class."

I do not say anything to them. I mean, it is nice that they would even help me out. But, it kind of makes you think. What happens if they had students in the whole hour? What would happen?

Conclusion

So, what do we know about good teaching now that we have heard the thoughts of these four teachers? From each person we have heard very vivid images of what they are doing when, in their judgement, they are doing good teaching. From each of them, we get a picture of a very active teacher, of someone who is connected to the students, of someone who has a very definite notion of the role of a teacher.

Only Judith explicitly says that she loves her students and her subject. However, it is clear that each of these

four people loves what he or she is doing, loves being a teacher. Richard says he never taught a class he did not like. Marcia, when she tells us that she does not enjoy teaching eighteen year olds, says that she loves to teach adults. George makes it clear that he has extra office hours, arrives early for class and keeps after those students who need extra help, because he loves his work. One could imagine that each of them would say a teacher must love the work of teaching.

We also hear from each of them that the job of a teacher is to make meaning for the students, to make connections for the students, to insure that the students are actively engaged with what they are learning and to insure that each student does the best possible work. Judith says that she carefully listens to every student and every class. She wants to know who her students are. Every student is unique. Every class is different. She constantly asks herself, how can I make this material meaningful to this student, to this class?

Richard wants his students to understand the concepts of power and racism and to take steps to see that power is more fairly distributed. He knows that he can only succeed if he makes his students uncomfortable, because concepts like racism and power are not comfortable concepts. He believes that one of his responsibilities as a teacher is

to get students actively engaged with what they are learning. He wants them to question what he is teaching, because students will never be committed to making change unless they have had the chance to question the worth of doing so.

Marcia believes that many of her students see themselves as outside the world of the academy. She believes that one of her jobs is to connect students to intellectual concepts, to show them that those concepts are not foreign or beyond their capacity to understand. She also believes that she should accept no less than the best work from any of her students. She confronted a student who other teachers had allowed to slide by. "This is not your best," she told him. "This is not worthy of you." He agreed and thanked her.

Marcia, like Richard, feels so strongly about students doing good work, because she has a larger mission for those students. She teaches students who do not normally have access to the best that society has to offer. She knows that a solid education can give those students that access. She also wants her students to work to change, not just their own lives, but the way society allocates resources, so that others will have access as well.

George wants students to engage with math so that they discover, most for the first time, that they are capable of learning math. He believes both that the introductory math courses he teaches have practical applications in the students lives and that they are a prerequisite to many of the courses a student might take in the future. He wants no student to lose the opportunity to study in any area simply because they are intimidated by math. George will go to practically any lengths to help a student learn math. One gets the sense that if the student is at all willing, he or she will succeed in learning math if George is the teacher.

Each of these teachers has an image for teaching that implies a sense of a shared struggle between the teacher and the student. None of them describe teaching from the point of view of the teacher knowing it all or having the subject well in hand and simply imparting that knowledge to the students. Neither do they describe teaching in which the student goes off to learn on his or her own. Teaching is a shared activity of learning with the students. The teacher might be learning something different, but the teacher and the student are connected in the activity of learning.

Judith says her teaching is best when she is struggling with an issue and shares that struggle with her students. Richard describes teaching as an activity in which he and

the students are swimming together. Richard does not rescue his students, nor is he on the side watching them swim. Marcia says she has to feel connected to her students in order to be able to perceive what they do not understand. She also sees herself struggling with her students. She is struggling to make the material meaningful for them; they are struggling to understand it.

George prefers teaching a small group of students in his office. There, he can give them the individual attention and form the relationship necessary to help each student. Even in his classes, he is teaching individuals in a group setting.

One thing that emerged from the interviews is that all of these teachers seem to do their best teaching when teaching from the context of their lives. In some cases this means that they teach students very much like themselves. In other cases, they teach subjects or use methods that reflect their experiences growing up.

Judith, who has spent her life consumed with issues of fairness and privilege, prefers to teach courses in which students learn how to use philosophical constructs to make ethical decisions. She has a strong sense of gender identity and, although she expresses no preference for teaching women, she is very aware of herself as a woman

teacher and thinks about the effect that her gender has on her students.

Richard has consciously chosen to teach about racism to students who are mostly white and middle class. Besides the fact that his students are at an elite university (Richard would never have attended such a university as a student) they are very much like Richard when he was an undergraduate. His students are earnest, willing to learn and very naive about concepts such as racism.

Marcia also teaches students much like herself. She is a black woman from a working class family. Many of her family members were well read but not well educated in the sense of having graduated from college. Marcia herself went to college as an adult. Marcia, in her life, learned to be suspicious of authority figures, including university professors. Today she teaches adult students, many of whom are black women with her life circumstances, and she teaches them to question "experts" and knowledge in books just as she does.

The students George teaches are not necessarily like him in terms of age, gender or class. They are very much like him (at least some of them are) in terms of being vague about why they are in school. These are students

George especially loves, because he can use all his enthusiasm and willingness to pursue each and every student to motivate them to do their work and learn basic math.

One way to make meaning of this observation about the four teachers is to conclude that teachers are attracted to certain students, subject areas or approaches to teaching based on their own sense of their earlier lives and how they make sense of those lives. I think it is too limiting to say that a teacher teaches his or her own race, gender, or social class best. It may be right to say that important experiences in a teacher's life will inform his or her teaching in significant ways. Those experiences might come out of one's sense of oneself in terms of race, gender, social class or age, but not necessarily. George, for example, makes sense of much of his life in terms of the lack of a mentor, someone to push him or motivate him. So, he becomes a teacher who pushes his students.

Clearly, there is a need to understand this further, to ask more questions to help us understand how a teacher's life manifests in his or her teaching. Certainly these four teachers have used their lives in ways that enhance their teaching.

Finally, we get a sense that there are so many different things a teacher might be doing when he or she is

doing good teaching. George almost always works with students individually; Richard values the learning that takes place in a group and wants his students to feel responsible for each other's learning. Judith eschews lecturing in favor of carefully guided class discussion. Richard enjoys lecturing, especially when, in a lecture, he can make important connections for his students. Marcia teaches her students to have an irreverent view of the academic world; Judith teaches her students to prize good writers and major thinkers. She teaches students to become friends with Socrates; Marcia teaches them to challenge him. Yet, each of these different approaches has a liveliness, a vitality, a sense of purpose that ties them together. No matter what any of these four people is doing when he or she is teaching, it seems that they are fully, vitally there as teachers.

So, now we must ask, is it any different with adults? We have heard these four people's ideas on good teaching. Each of them was quite definite, quite certain that they understood and practiced some aspects of good teaching. Are these practices the same when the students are older? We will hear the answer to that from each teacher in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7
TEACHING ADULTS

In the concluding talks, after the teachers had described what they were doing when they were being good teachers, each person was asked to share his or her thoughts about teaching adults. Again, the question was, what are you doing when you teach adults and you are doing good teaching? Just as with the question on good teaching, each teacher had a lot to say about how they teach adult students, and what they had to say is very interesting in light of the existing literature on adult education. Essentially, their experiences as teachers of adult students provided very little support for the idea that adult students should be taught, as the adult education literature suggests, differently from younger students.

Judith

What does this teacher who loves her work and her students, who believes in sharing herself and her struggles with a particular concept or idea with her students and who struggles to make meaning of philosophy for students who might not ordinarily take to the subject, believe about teaching adults?

More than anything else, she believes that teaching is not very different, no matter what the age of the student.

When I think about teaching younger students and older students, I do not feel that it is that different... I feel that the main generalization one can make is the absence of generalizations. As we get older, we get more and more differentiated. The older we get, the more individual we become, the more complex we are and the more difficult it is to make a generalization that applies to everybody. The kinds of generalizations I make about students are usually along other lines. I see lots of interesting differences between male and female students and between upper class and working class students. But, I am not sure that there are as many differences between older and younger... Some older students need lots of structure, lots of hand holding. There are others that need almost no guidance at all.

That, for Judith, was the conclusion of our talks. The differences between older and younger students were not compelling. However, she did not, in fact, believe that there were no differences, and one of the differences that meant most to her was that she preferred teaching adults.

The night before our last talk, Judith mentioned to her husband that she would be meeting with me the next day and that we would be talking about teaching adults. She told him that it seemed to her that there were more differences between individual adults than meaningful generalities, and she asked him to remind her of how she had talked about her adult students when she first started teaching them.

As he thought about it, he recalled me saying that I enjoyed it more; not that it was different or that I taught them differently, but that I just enjoyed it more. So, it became a question of why do I enjoy it more?

The answer to that seems to come from the fact that Judith, a teacher who believes in struggling with her students and learning from them, finds it easier to share with adults and has discovered that she has more to learn from them. Why is it easier for her to share her own ideas, her beliefs, her struggles with them?

I think of students who are adult students as more formed. They have more sense of who they are, more self-knowledge, and they are not going to be as influenced by us in a certain kind of way...They are quite well developed, and it is not as if we are going to suddenly, totally shift their world. We do sometimes, but it is a different kind of shift.

Clearly, Judith has some concern about what it means to share especially her personal thoughts or struggles with a younger student.

It would have a different meaning. I think students at that [younger] age use it in a different way that makes me queasy. It feels almost incestuous in a way. At that age, students are so much looking up to you still and trying to figure out who they are, that they will use [my personal sharing] in various ways that just are not appropriate. I could not even say exactly what all of those ways are.

With older students, Judith believes that there is more reciprocity, more of an equal relationship. She is still careful about what she says, but she believes that if she can reveal things about herself that can be helpful in making students realize they are not the only ones going through something, it makes sense to do so.

Me: So, you would not have been likely to do that with your younger students?

Judith: I occasionally did and regretted it at times when I felt like it got used against me or the student was using it for some weird purpose.

Judith recognizes that older students have more experience than younger ones but regards that as a mixed blessing. On the positive side, she feels that the added experience allows students to look at philosophical questions in a different way. Also, she feels that their experience is central to the fact that they tend not to separate their emotional and intellectual life. This allows them to get to the heart of an issue.

Adults will cut through a lot of intellectualizing to what is the core of an issue, because they themselves are wrestling with these issues in their everyday lives.

However, she found her adult students to be less used to doing abstract, conceptual thinking, and some of this

difference is attributable to that same difference in experience.

Adult students, particularly women, have been focusing for years on concrete issues and have not had the luxury to think about more abstract issues. They have not been in jobs where they are asked to think more abstractly or conceptually. They have not come right out of school where you are forced to think in a more abstract or conceptual way. This has been a real struggle for me, to enable older students to think more conceptually...Philosophy starts with experience in the concrete, but it quickly moves into trying to generalize and make abstractions.

The last difference for Judith is that older students place a different meaning on being in school.

Older students value school in a way that sometimes younger students do not. It is partly because they have been out in the world longer. What I mean by that is they value the opportunity. They recognize what a luxury it is to have two, three, or four years to reflect and to think about things and learn new things...To go to school is this wonderful experience that gets you out of the treadmill of everyday life. At 19 or 20 you are not apt to see it that way.

Next we will hear Richard's ideas on teaching adults. Like Judith, he recognizes that adults have more experience than younger learners; like Judith, he believes that experience is a mixed blessing.

Richard

For Richard, the primary difference between younger and older students is experience, experience which needs to be validated, which can enrich the student's approach to school, and which can also prove to be unfortunately limiting of the students' ideas about why they are in school. Yet, as with Judith, we will notice that these differences do not appear to have a major effect on the way Richard teaches.

Well, teaching older students, I suppose I find them the same and different. I find them similar to the typical undergraduate age in that they are just as naive about race and power as the other students.

Richard does believe that it is important for him to validate the experience that adults bring to his classes.

Once they realize that their experience, that additional five, ten, fifteen, twenty years, whatever, is valid, then, they begin to be very different learners [from how they were before]. Validating their experience, especially at this university, where it is invalidated most of the time, you can almost visually see them relax.

Why does Richard validate their experience? Not necessarily because he finds it to be an important component of their education at his institution. It seems he does it, as much as anything, to help boost older students' self-confidence. If they are more confident, they can be more relaxed about learning.

At this institution, most of the [older students] are pretty insecure academically. A lot of that is due to the fact that they have been out of school a long time, and they are having to deal with all these hot shots coming out of high school who are good, good at being academic. What the older students bring, their richness, does not get acknowledged. On top of that, a lot of the older students did not have a very good experience, educationally, at the secondary level.

What Richard does with older students to validate them is fairly simple and straightforward and mostly concerns the practical aspects of being a student such as being able to get to class. This does not appear to be central to the teaching process. It is more a way to acknowledge adult students so they can then become engaged as learners.

First of all, I acknowledge that they are older. I do not try to pretend that they are the same as the others... I also recognize that they may have different problems. A lot of them are single parents. When their kids are sick, they have to stay home. That is fine. I do not have any problem with it. I make that clear at the beginning. I will take extra time with them if they have to miss a class because of their children.

Beyond the issues raised by children, Richard also recognizes that older students, who do not live on campus and who are paying for their education themselves, might have other practical problems. He encouraged them to form

an older students' support group to deal with issues such as financial aid, parking and the need for day care.

In his teaching, Richard is careful to use examples that are not exclusive of any of his students, whether the characteristic is race, gender, sexual orientation or age.

At first glance, what appears to be the most substantive difference in his teaching of adults is that Richard encourages older students to write papers connected to work they may have been doing before coming to college.

I try to encourage them, if there is a paper topic, to really draw upon something that may be tied to what they have been doing at work in a certain area, to, again, acknowledge that experience.

However, even this, upon close examination, does not turn out to be a fundamental difference in his teaching. Richard also encourages younger students to write papers that connect to their experience in some way. To illustrate this, he offered the example of a group of 20-year old students who were very upset about the newspaper story recounting the death of an Asian man in Detroit at the hands of a group of white auto workers who blamed him for their loss of work. In Richard's eyes, this experience was no less powerful and no less important to write about than one an older student might have had. Many of his students, older and younger, chose this as a paper topic.

Richard also believes that the papers the older students write are not substantially different from those of younger students.

Most of the time they will write papers very similar to what other students write about. I do not notice or have not noticed any way that there are any stylistic or qualitative differences in the papers they write.

Richard did say that, while the older students never stood out as doing especially good work, "they were usually at the mean or above." Why? Partly because they tend to be serious learners, often more so than the younger students. They were impatient with idle student chatter about social life and were anxious for Richard to use class time well.

This seriousness, this impatience, however, was not always a plus. That relates to the limits inherent in pulling on students' prior experience.

They are serious about what we are doing in class and what they want to do with it. They are almost always clearer about what they want to do with the degree. I look at this as a plus and a minus. I do not always think it is such a good idea to be so certain, as a student, about what you are going to do with your education.

Finally, in Richard's experience, there is the reality that older students can actually fail at school because of their previous experience. To illustrate this notion, he talked about a Latino student from East Harlem. This man

had been a community organizer who intended to use what he learned in college to improve his work in his community. Richard realized that some of the issues this man had encountered in school meant so much to him that, at times, he was frozen, unable to make any progress. In one instance, the student was in a class in which a professor was behaving in racist ways which were intolerable to the student. He was unable to do the work for the class. In another class, which the student loved, doing well meant so much to him that he was unable to do any work at all. This student is illustrative of both the richness of an adult's experience, the ways that experience can enhance learning and, at the same time, the ways that experience can limit and even impede education.

Next we will hear Marcia's thoughts about teaching adults. She has perhaps the clearest ideas about how adults are different from younger learners. However, she also prefers teaching adults more than any of the other three teachers. It may be that what informs her perspective on adult learners is her fondness for them.

Marcia

What emerges when one listens to Marcia talking about teaching adults is how much she enjoys teaching older students and how much she prefers teaching older than younger students. One cannot discount how much of Marcia's

education took place after she was an adult when listening to her discuss her strong preference for teaching older students.

If we have choices, I like working with adults better. I prefer them because they have real-world, concrete experiences to deal with...They can make their own decisions and they should make their own decisions. I enjoy working with that group that knows themselves somewhat better.

Clearly, Marcia has some well developed ideas about adults and how adult students are different. One idea, which we have heard from her before, is that "adults already know 90 % of what we are trying to teach them."

What I have to teach them is a framework to put [their knowledge] on and a language to label it for the academic world. When I approach them in that way, it feels so easy to get across concepts or theories.

Marcia shared an example of this. She was asked to fill in for a colleague who had to miss one of the Human Development classes he was teaching. Marcia went into the class assuming the students knew a great deal about human development from their own experiences growing up and raising children. Her approach was to help them identify their personal theory of human development and then to show them how to relate to established theories from the context of knowing their own. The response from the students was tremendous. When her colleague returned to his

class, his students said that the guest lecturer had finally enabled them to get the concept of human development.

In Marcia's view, although adults may know a lot, they often are not aware of it.

They bring knowledge at an unconscious level. They may not even realize what they know and how much they know. I feel like as an educator of adults, I just have to open them up so they can see how much they know and shape it. Sometimes, in helping them to know what they already know, I teach new concepts that they have not thought about, so they can further develop their ideas. I have them write it down so I can see how they are seeing it and they can see how they are seeing it. I try to keep them asking questions, because the only way you learn is asking questions. It is not answers, simply finding information. It is about asking questions.

She contrasts adults with younger students whom she regards as having a whole different sense of themselves in the world.

The eighteen to twenty-two year old students have not been attending to the world, have been attending more to themselves and their own growing up. They are about accumulating knowledge; 80 % of that is about who am I. With adults, a lot of that is more or less settled, so they attend to the world in a whole different way... They spend less time worrying about themselves and more worrying about the world around them.

The younger students she has taught:

Knew everything and knew nothing. They all wanted to be teachers because somebody told them they should. They are not in charge of their own lives; they are not, it feels like, responsible for their own thinking, yet. You have to motivate them; you have to tell them what is important... Adults can see the relevance, the importance of what I am teaching. With younger students, they just do not know. They can be taught, but it is a kind of work I would just rather not do.

We come back to the central point for Marcia; she prefers teaching adults.

It is too much of a struggle [to teach younger students], and I think they make me feel hopeless. Adult learners make me feel hopeful. I identify with adult learners because I was an adult learner, and I know the problems and the struggles they have.

Yet, despite this clear preference and Marcia's notions about differences between the ages, one does not get the sense that Marcia, in fact, teaches adults that differently. The following statement of hers most clearly expresses that lack of difference:

The principles of adult education are basically the principles of good teaching.

What may be more to the point is that Marcia, as an adult student, would not and does not tolerate bad teaching. We heard the examples of bad teachers Marcia had

as an undergraduate. She either dropped out of those classes or did just what was necessary to get by. Marcia continues to have no patience for bad teaching. She is in a faculty seminar in which participants take turns sharing their research. One day, she sat through a presentation in which the person simply read his paper.

For 45 minutes he read to me. 50 % of the people were asleep. 20 % were doodling. The rest were acting like they were paying attention, and their minds were a million miles away. He did not know anything about how to get information across to us. This is the traditional way, and it is the worst form of teaching. Adults can read the paper, so we should have spent the time interacting with it... I do not need to stand in class and do for you what you can do for yourselves, because you can read. In class, I do what we cannot do by ourselves, which is get different interpretations of what we have read.

Me: Would that be different with younger students?

Marcia: No, it is the same. It is just that younger students may tolerate being read to. As an adult learner, this is a gross insult. This might be the way you have to manage eighteen year olds. I do not even know if it is the way you manage them, but it is an absolute insult and assault on me as an adult sitting in this class.

We can be fairly certain that Marcia would not read a paper to a class of eighteen year old students, even if they would tolerate it. What also seems true is that Marcia simply just does not spend much time thinking about

how to teach to younger students. What Marcia cares about, what drives her as a teacher, is adult learners and creating positive environments for them.

We need to have a place and ways where adults can learn what they can, that uses their knowledge, their skills, their experiences, that allows them to muddle around with ideas and really share their perspectives with adults, with their peers and with people who will respect their differences and their different ways of thinking.

The last section of teachers telling their stories contains George's ideas about teaching adults.

George

George, as we have seen, is a teacher who is very concerned about how to motivate students. Not surprisingly, the main distinction for him between older and younger students has to do with the fact that adults, in his experience, need less motivation.

The eighteen year olds, they have no direction. They do not know what they want to do... Many of them are in liberal arts. The students I get who are probation dismissed [on academic warning] tend to be the liberal arts people. They are the ones who are just floating around... Adults are there [in school] because they want to be there... A lot of [younger students] do not know what they want to do. [College] is just something to kill time.

Older students, in George's eyes, do not need to be motivated, because they come to college with a sense of motivation already developed. They might have been laid off from a job and need new skills. They might want a promotion that they can only get with more education. They might even want to be able to help their children, who are in school and doing work more advanced than their parents are capable of helping them with. The point is that they want to be in school, so George does not have to get them to want to be there.

George does notice that older students have more practical problems that interfere with their doing well.

The older students will come in tired. That is a big difference. They tend to have more legitimate problems, whether it is their kids or a family crisis or they are working overtime. They have adjustments.

George has also learned that he does not have to ride herd on the older students in quite as parental a way. In fact, when he treated them in the way he usually treats his younger students, it backfired. He has a strict attendance policy for his classes, because "The eighteen year old, whatever he or she can get away with, the student will try to get away with it." The older students hated that policy. One group of older students came to George and told him that they always made their best effort to get to class on time. However, their factory jobs sometimes forced them to

stay late. They wanted George to know they were not being irresponsible if they were late or absent and did not appreciate his punitive policy which treated them as though they were not making an effort to get to class. George has since dropped the attendance and on-time policy with older students, and he has found that they do not take advantage of his more lenient approach.

One might imagine that because George found adults easier to motivate and thus, in his words, easier to teach, he would have preferred teaching them. That is not the case.

Me: If you could have virtually all older students in your classes, would you choose that or keep the mix you have now?

George: That is a good question. I do not know how to answer that. I like the older students because they are very motivated. They are also very easy to talk to. I can learn a lot from them, whatever their jobs are or whatever experiences they have had. They talk about different things [than younger students]. I do not know. I like working with the eighteen year olds too. I do not think I can say that there is one age group I prefer. I guess I like the mixture.

Given the different reasons adults have for learning, in George's experience, one wonders whether he found that they learn differently.

Me: You say the older students are more motivated. Do they learn differently?

George: That is a good question. There is somebody here who is doing his doctoral dissertation on adult learning styles. I know this has been fed into my head sometime. Somewhere along the line I have received information... I think the adults tend to be more independent; whereas, the young people really need to be hand-held, spoon-fed, given a lot of direction. I think the older people can do things on their own, can be responsible on their own, do not need real detailed syllabi. The 18-year old needs a lot more specifics, a lot more direction.

However, it is not clear that these differences are compelling for George or even clear cut, and it is not at all clear that George changes how he teaches for older students. Listen to the continuation of what he said above:

I do not really think that I do that much different as a teacher. I do not know. The eighteen year olds are still unsure of themselves, so they need more positive reinforcement than the adults. Unless I am getting the adults who do not have their GED's yet. Those people will need just as much positive stroking. I do not know. I know I am not giving a good answer... I really do not think that I teach any differently.

In fact, we can hear in the next story that George probably approaches older students in ways very similar to younger. He was part of a team from his community college

who was hired to offer college courses to assembly line workers in a local factory. The notion was that students who might not have the confidence to go to a college to take courses would be more able to avail themselves of college if brought to them.

We went right into the plant. I taught math to people who could never imagine they would pass a college math course.

The program engaged many of those students and George now sees them at his college, taking courses along with everyone else.

I bump into some of those students at school. Now they want that degree. Now it is important to them. They are just taking one class a semester or two classes. They are doing it slowly. It was something they always wanted to do. The opportunity has not been there. Maybe it was the fear. We went right into the plant and taught the course. Now they know that they can do it. Now they know they have the potential. Now they are not afraid to come here and take classes.

Just as with the younger students, George puts an emphasis on success, on older students having a positive experience so that they are motivated to continue with their education.

Conclusion

In the stories we have just heard about teaching adults, there is significant agreement among the four teachers. Each teacher believes older learners are different from younger ones in some important ways, but none of them feels that those ways have a major impact on how they teach. Good teaching, they agree, is good teaching regardless of how old the students are.

What are some of the differences? The central difference is that adults have a different sense of self, are worrying less about who they are, about forming an identity. This more fully formed sense of self affects teaching, but only in small ways. Judith finds that she can be more open, more revealing of her own thoughts and experiences with adults because they will not take it the wrong way. Adults, she believes, know who they are and will not be unduly influenced by what Judith says about her own life. Marcia believes that because adults have resolved most of their identity struggles, they can put more of their attention into learning about the rest of the world. George finds adults easier to teach because their increased sense of self usually means they have a clearer idea about why they are in school. Thus, he can spend less time helping them identify why they want an education and more time on math.

The second difference that everyone remarked is that adults have more experience than younger students. In Marcia and George's estimation, that experience was simply a plus. As teachers, they used strategies to build on that experience.

However, for the other two teachers the increased experience of adult learners is not simply a wonderful resource to be drawn upon. Judith finds that adults can cut to the heart of a philosophical discussion because they are more connected to and have a greater base of life experience. However, she also often finds that experience counterproductive when students are trying to think abstractly about philosophical concepts. A woman who has spent the last ten years balancing the often conflicting tasks of working and raising children knows how to be concrete and talk from her experience. She has more difficulty grappling with theoretical concepts.

Richard also is less positive about the fact that adults inevitably have more experience because they have lived longer. On the one hand, he has found it essential to validate the experience of the adult learners in his class. However, he does this primarily so that those adult learners will recognize that he respects them. With this support from him, he hopes that the adult learners can then relax, feel confident that they are competent people and

throw themselves fully into their education. On the other hand, Richard has found that adults are often too focused on why they are in school and how their education can be applied to their lives. He regrets this instrumental orientation that often causes the adult learners to make markedly limited choices about what they will study and why.

Beyond this limitation, Richard has also discovered that some adults actually have a harder time learning because of their life experience. If they are very passionate about their beliefs and have chosen to pursue more education as a part of furthering their life mission, that very passion might paralyze them from being able to learn. There can be too much at stake for an adult learner who is closely connected to his or her life experience.

Another difference between older and younger learners that was mentioned by all four teachers is that adults have practical problems that can interfere with their education, practical problems that most younger students simply will not encounter. The two that were mentioned were: having a job that may make it difficult to get to class on time or find adequate time to study, and having a family who must, at times, be put ahead of school. This is particularly likely to occur if an adult student has children. Children, inevitably, have needs that will come in conflict with the

parent's decision to go to school. The adult student who is also a parent will, from time to time, have to miss class to take care of a child.

Even though all of the teachers acknowledged that adult students are different in the ways mentioned above, none of them said anything that would lead us to believe that teaching adults is fundamentally different. Judith is more open with adults, but she was always somewhat open with younger students and acknowledges that she might be more so today. Richard validates their experience. But this is only what he would do for any student, show them respect so they can go about learning the most from him. Marcia pulls on what her students already know about a topic and makes bridges between their language and the language of the academy. There is no indication that she would teach younger students any differently. George finds that he spends less time motivating adults. Then, he teaches them just the same way he teaches any student, by breaking a math problem down into parts so that the student can understand and succeed at doing math.

Ultimately, the most powerful argument that good teaching of adults is good teaching comes directly from each of these four teachers. Judith acknowledges that she does not teach that differently, that the differences between individual adult students are far more important to

pay attention to than the differences between adult and younger students.

Richard says that his adults do not do work that is substantively different from any other student. Marcia says that the principles of adult education are, simply, the principles of good teaching. George, after struggling to say how adults are different concludes with this remark, "I really do not think that I teach any differently."

There are two final points to be made from these interviews. Both Judith and Marcia, who currently teach only adults, prefer older students. Marcia also makes the point that older students will not tolerate bad teaching in the same way that younger students will. Both of these points will be explored more fully in the concluding chapter, because they provide some clues about why there is a field called adult education if teachers do not teach adults differently.

In that last chapter, I will also review the literature on good teaching and the literature on adult education in light of the four interviews. We already know that the interviews give little credence to the notion that the best way to teach adults is to teach them differently from younger students.

The last question we will explore in the next chapter is why there is such a substantial body of literature on adult education if, as we conclude from these interviews, there is little evidence that adults should be taught differently. The two issues raised by Marcia and Judith, the preference of some teachers to teach adults and the lack of patience on the part of adults for bad teaching, will shed some further light on the entire question.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This dissertation poses the question, is there a best way to teach adult students? Chapter 1 examined the literature on good teaching no matter the age of the student. This chapter concluded that teaching was an artistic activity more than a scientific one. Chapter 2 examined the literature on adult education. It showed that there is widespread acceptance of the notion that adults should be taught differently from younger students, should be taught using Andragogical teaching methods. The chapter also provided arguments that show that Andragogy can be a limited notion of teaching that ignores the critical contribution of the teacher. Chapter 3 described the method of the dissertation, a method devised to see how four teachers of adults think about their own good teaching of adult students. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 provided the results of those interviews. The aim was to learn how teachers think about the question of the best way to teach adults. They talked about their lives growing up, their experiences as students and the experiences which led them to become teachers. The premise was that all of those events would shape the kind of teacher each of the four people has become and would inform their ideas about good teaching of adults.

Now it is appropriate to take what has been learned from the four teachers and reexamine the literature in light of those four people's thoughts. The ideas in each of the literature review chapters will be summarized. That summary will be followed by an analysis of the literature in light of the ideas presented by the four teachers. The teachers had much to say. Is the literature supported or not by their notions?

Since we already know that the teachers do not, in fact, support the idea that good teaching of adults is markedly different from good teaching, I will take one more step in this chapter. I will ask one more question. Why is there such a substantial body of literature on adult education if there is no evidence that focusing on the adulthood of a student is at all useful in understanding good teaching? I can not hope to answer that question in this dissertation. I will put forward some thoughts on the question and some directions for further research.

Good Teaching

Chapter 1, the review of the literature on good teaching, showed that it is very difficult to say exactly what is good teaching. It may, in fact, be impossible to say just what is good teaching because teaching is such an individual activity. At its simplest, it involves an interaction between two people, a teacher and a student.

Each of those people is unique. Thus, what one teacher does and does well, can not simply be duplicated by a second teacher and be just as good. Also, what one student needs from a teacher may be quite different from what any other student needs. What is good teaching for the first student may not be good teaching for the second.

However, that inability to be precise about good teaching can be troubling. There is an understandable desire on the part of many well intentioned researchers to come up with some uniform ideas about good teaching. Chapter One has shown that the education literature is filled with those efforts. The result has been an attempt to reduce teaching to replicable behaviors, to identify those behaviors that are good and then to train teachers in those behaviors. The result may sometimes be better teaching. A disorganized teacher, trained to be more organized, might well become more effective at teaching. However, none of these efforts get at the core of good teaching. These behavioral traits are, inevitably, superficial. A teacher who is warm and caring, creative and clear is not necessarily a good teacher.

Chapter 1 proposed that a more useful way of thinking about good teaching is the idea that teaching is an artistic activity with aesthetic standards. Eisner (1983) told us that this aesthetic approach involves "being able

to put your own signature on your work -- to look at it and say it was good... It means being swept up in the act of making something beautiful." Barone (1983) told us that there must be created a vital tension between the experiencer and the experienced. Gage (1984) said that a teacher must handle a "vast array of considerations," and Cahn (1982) said that a teacher must project a vision of excellence. Good teaching, he said, can be judged by the students' "informed and abiding commitment to recognize and respect quality." Epstein (1981) said that good teachers have a love of subject and an ability to arouse that love in their students. Good teaching involves the wisdom, passion and beliefs of a teacher who is working to see that the students are seekers of truth and quality.

How is this literature reflected in the interviews with the four teachers? First, the interviews showed that good teaching is, indeed, an activity unique to the teacher. The experiences each teacher had growing up and being a student shaped the kind of teacher each became. George feels devastated that he is no further along in his career. He attributes this to the lack of a significant person in his life to push him, to motivate him, to show him the opportunities that would be lost if he did not work hard in school. Listening to George's stories about teaching, one gets the sense that he will never fail his

students in that way. He seems to have dedicated himself to motivating his students.

Marcia's life was clearly shaped by the experiences of growing up as a poor black woman in a deeply segregated society. Most of her education occurred when she was an adult. Marcia has become a teacher of adult students. It is important to her that there are women and people of color in her classes. She is driven to make the academic world accessible to those students so they can change their lives.

Richard found that school only worked for him when he felt a sense of community. He was not the type to study by himself and excel. He was only able to succeed at all in school when he joined a supportive community. He was also profoundly affected by the civil rights movement. His teaching today is centered in the areas of racism and power. And, he prefers to conduct his classes as though they are mini communities in which each student is held partially responsible for the learning of everyone.

Judith grew up in a wealthy family, went to top-notch private schools and was well aware of the privileged circumstances of her life. Even without the misfortunes surrounding her brother's health, it seems likely that she would have been troubled by the lack of fairness she felt

in having so much when others had less. Certainly, her brother's life made the fairness question paramount for her. Judith has become a teacher of ethics. Her most successful course was entitled Confronting Moral Pain. Judith has taken the questions that have troubled her in making sense of her life and turned them into what she teaches in her classes.

In listening to each of these teachers talk about good teaching one sees how the experiences which shaped them as people have shaped them as teachers. More than that, one sees that when each of these people is at his or her best it is because how they have made sense of their lives is manifesting in their teaching and because their desire to move beyond those life circumstances (Sartre's notion of the project) has become who they are and what they do as teachers.

There is no replicable process here because each life is clearly unique. We can not imagine Judith teaching the way Marcia teaches. Judith comes at the issue of fairness from the perspective of having it all and wondering why. Marcia comes at fairness from knowing what it is like to be denied. Richard thrives on building community as a teacher. George is at his best when he is working with individual students. It is hard to imagine asking any of these teachers to be different. It is easy to imagine that if

they tried to replicate a normative model of good teaching that they would do less than their best work.

However, these teachers are not good teachers simply because they have made sense of their lives and incorporated that sense into their teaching. The second thing the interviews demonstrated is that each teacher has a love of knowledge and a sense that good teaching involves both making sense of a subject for their students and struggling with their students to understand the complexities of what they are studying. Judith said a good teacher must love her subject and she does. Philosophy, to her, is the study of wisdom and wisdom involves what it is to live well. She can imagine no more important question than that. As Judith uses her knowledge of philosophy to help her struggle to live her own life well, she shares that struggle with students to involve them with the study of philosophy.

Judith does not simply present material to her students. She always struggles to make meaning of the material for the students. This involves knowing the students and appreciating each person's unique qualities. She teaches each student differently. For her, there is no one way to teach. Sometimes she has a class go through a page or two of a text together so the students learn "a way of reading, a way of respecting a text." Other times she

has the class talk in small groups working to resolve a dilemma she has posed them. Always she is there to make sure that when the students have a wrong idea she sets them straight. She wants her students to be involved; she does not want them to misunderstand the material they are studying.

Richard, too, loves his subject. He is deeply knowledgeable about the subjects of race and power. Although he did not come to this love of subject until after he had completed his formal education, he is now well read and writes extensively in his area. Richard believes that good teaching involves struggling with students and learning together, but it is his responsibility as teacher to use his greater wisdom to make connections for the students and fill in what the students are not seeing or not saying.

Marcia is intensely involved in her subject area: group dynamics, team building, and leadership development and has a special passion for using that knowledge to understand and improve interactions between white people and people of color. She wants her students to be knowledgeable and to do good work so that they can make fundamental changes in their own lives and in society. She does not have a love of ideas just for their own sake. She does have a love of ideas for their ability to improve people's lives.

George is the one teacher who did not talk about loving his subject. He talked about math in practical terms as being useful in the students' lives or as helping them to get into more advanced courses that require math as a prerequisite. However, George does want to teach more advanced math courses and plans to continue his education in math. It is possible that desire comes from some fundamental interest in his subject area. The answer to that did not come up in our talks. George does care deeply that his students learn everything there is to know about basic math and algebra. He would be happy to spend as much time as necessary with each student in his class until they were all doing "A" work. George too views each student as unique, and he tailors his instruction to the individual student.

Teaching Adults

The literature on adult education is dominated by the notion that adults learn differently from children, and, therefore, the best way to teach adults is, at least, different from the best way to teach children. In fact, the whole notion of having an adult education literature is based on the assumption that something is different about adults. Otherwise, why even have such an area?

Malcolm Knowles is the primary proponent of this notion of difference. He argues that adults are more independent

and self-directed than children and need to learn things that will help them in their various adult social roles. The best way to teach adults, according to him, is to let them decide what they want to learn, how they want to learn it and how they want to be evaluated. The teacher becomes a guide, a resource to help the adult learner accomplish what he or she has chosen to learn.

There is also, in the literature, a significant body of work that runs counter to Knowles. Some writers agree that adults are different but argue that Knowles has not properly captured the way to teach them. Others argue that Knowles is actually prescribing what he thinks adult learners should be like rather than describing what they really are like. Knowles, they conclude, is advocating something he wishes were true, not which is true. Some educational researchers argue that adults are not significantly different from children, at least not in ways that impact on teaching.

Finally, there are those who point out the problems in Knowles' approach. They are not concerned with whether adults are different or not. They are concerned with an approach in which the adult decides what to learn, how to learn it and how to be evaluated. How does someone do this, they ask, without already knowing the subject? How do you know what you want to know if you do not even know what the

possibilities are? Included in this group are those who believe that there are real value questions implicit in Knowles approach that need to be made explicit. What does a teacher do with his or her greater knowledge if the student is solely setting the direction for learning? What does the teacher do with his or her values if the student wants to avoid confronting those values? How can someone teach without being straightforward about what he or she believes?

What no one seems to have asked is should there be a body of literature called adult education? Does it even make sense to focus on the adulthood of learners? Is there anything significant about the fact of being an adult and being a learner that makes it worthwhile to create the area called adult education?

The interviews with the four teachers would seem to indicate that the answer to that last question is no. Although all of them talked about ways in which adult learners are different from younger students, none of them found those differences to be central to education. Good teaching of adults is good teaching. There was nothing that any one of them said that would lead us to another conclusion.

Judith has found that the differences between adult students are far more important than the similarities. Richard found that the adults he teaches do not do work that is qualitatively different from that of younger students. Marcia, who vastly prefers teaching adult students, concluded that the principles of good education are the same no matter the age of the student. George had been told that adults should be taught differently, but he finally admitted that he did not teach older students any differently than younger ones.

The four teachers did tell us some things about adult students that should be acknowledged. All of them referred to the greater experience that adults have because they have been alive longer. This experience cannot be ignored. Richard, in fact, argued that a teacher needs to acknowledge the greater experience that an older student has. However, he does this more to build the students' confidence so that they can then go about learning than because he believes it is a central aspect in teaching them. In fact, both he and Judith believe that greater experience is not simply an asset. Judith has found that the experience of having a job or raising a family may make it more difficult for an adult to think analytically, because it forces him or her to deal with such concrete aspects of life. Richard has found that an adult who is involved in his or her career may see school as being of

value only as it serves that career and may ignore areas of learning that are not immediately relevant to work.

The four teachers also told us that adults have some practical problems that younger students do not necessarily face. An adult student is often working and raising a family as well as being a student. There are conflicts inherent in that mix. Those conflicts may mean that an adult misses a class or does not have the time to get the work done. It makes sense for educational institutions and for teachers to pay attention to those practical issues. However, the practical concerns have more to do with the environment that surrounds learning and makes it possible than the process of teaching or learning itself.

All of the four teachers have deeply held values and beliefs that are central to their teaching, and all are clear that they know more about their subject than the students. None of them described engaging in an Andragogical teaching process in which they simply let the students set the course of study. Rather, each viewed teaching as a shared process. For three of the teachers, it is a shared struggle. For all of them, it is learning along with the students. For none of them is it a process in which the student is completely self-directed. Judith was appalled when she visited a classroom in which the teacher did not correct the misperceptions of the students. Richard

was quick to correct a discussion in which the students were misusing the concept of fear. Marcia confronted an student who was doing mediocre work and insisted he do better. Judith recognized that she cares deeply about philosophy. It is her job to bring philosophy alive to her adult students so they too can be involved with it. George understood that his adult students are often just as afraid of doing math as the younger students. With the older students too, George assumed the responsibility of making them believe they could learn math. Richard wanted his class of primarily white students to ask serious and painful questions about race and power. He knew they would not do this if left on their own because it is too painful. It is his responsibility as teacher to push his students, to make them uncomfortable so that they challenge the current balance of power and privilege in society and work to improve that balance.

Is there a best way to teach adult students? The interviews seem to say that there is no one best way. Teachers do and should teach very differently. There is nothing in the interviews that would lead us to believe that we want teachers to become more like each other. A teacher at his or her best may be teaching in a way unlike any other person. That may be just what we want. If teachers are that different it makes sense that students

are too. What is best for one adult cannot be presumed to be best for another.

Based on the interviews, there is even more that we can say about the original question. The question may have been the wrong question to ask, because it puts our attention in the wrong place. The very question implies that there is something about adults that is significant in terms of teaching. The evidence from the interviews does not support this. The interviews lead us to conclude that good teaching of adults is good teaching. That says that our attention should be on good teaching. What is good teaching? What does it mean to be a good teacher? Those are questions worthy of attention. Chapter 1 has shown that it is not useful to think of teaching in terms of discrete, replicable behaviors such as friendliness, organization or flexibility. Rather, teaching needs to be viewed as a whole piece that is about knowledge, truth and excellence. There are lots of ways to be a good teacher, but good teaching is centrally involved with knowing something well, being excited about that knowledge and striving to share that excitement with students. It is not easy to talk about good teaching. Alfred North Whitehead, we are told by Joseph Brennan, warned that there is a danger in clarity, "the danger of overlooking the subtleties of truth." That is the fallacy in being clear about what good teaching is. It is too complex a question to allow for easy, clear answers.

But the future direction for research is clear. It is not to understand more about how to teach adults. It is to understand more about how to teach.

There remains one important question. If there is no evidence that adults should be taught differently, why have so many tried to develop a different way of teaching? The examination of the literature and the interviews provided some thoughts on that question that deserve mention.

Marcia described with much frustration her dissatisfaction with a boring presentation in which the presenter read his paper to an audience who could barely stay awake. She said that adults would not stand for that kind of teaching. The Introduction and Chapter 2 discussed the fact that adult education has developed a market orientation because so much of it is voluntary. The assumption of that orientation is that if an adult does not believe the teaching is good and does not have to be in the class, he or she will walk out. The view is that adults are in class voluntarily and will not tolerate bad teaching. Adult education developed with an orientation to satisfying the learners.

This perceived need to satisfy the learners as shown by Marcia's comment and the literature may account for part of the reason why the concept of adult education has

developed. Adult education was developed partly in reaction to bad teaching practices, or, at least, teaching that did not satisfy the needs and desires of the learners. At its best, adult education could then question everything that is bad about traditional teaching on the basis that adult students will not stand for bad teaching. At its worst, adult education becomes an almost formless entity that bends and twists in shape to meet the whims of adult students.

A second interesting thought emerged from the interviews. The two people who teach only adult students were clear. They prefer it. It may be that those teachers who were drawn to working with adults then needed to create some sense of how it was different. Perhaps they mistook a preference for a certain type of student (in this case older students) for a fundamental difference in the nature of teaching, rather than simply acknowledging that they prefer adults or that they are better teachers with older students. Perhaps they have tried to create a notion that adults are different in order to justify what is in fact a preference.

More research could be done to understand why we have the field of adult education. This research has shown little support for such a field. In fact, this research concludes that the field is harmful, because it leads us

away from the important question of how to do good teaching and puts our attention in the wrong place.

However, in the process of examining adult education, I have illuminated and clarified some ideas about good teaching that are important and worthy of further consideration. Both reviews of the literature (Chapters 1 and 2) have shown that the entire field of education (not just adult education has suffered from the tendency to conceptualize teaching as a scientific process in which behavioral traits of good teachers can be identified and replicated. That conceptualization, I argue is not useful and can, in fact, lead to shallow, unthoughtful conclusions about what good teaching is.

Good teaching, I would now argue, is not an easily replicable process, because it is unique to the individual teacher, the individual student and the specific situation in which the teaching occurs. Good teaching, however, can be identified in terms of certain themes. Those themes revolve around the love of subject and the ability of the teacher to arouse that love in their students.

All of the teachers I talked with have that love of and commitment to what they are teaching. All are constantly struggling to improve the ways they convey their commitment

to their students and arouse in them a passion for knowledge, for truth, for quality.

In looking at adult education, I have discovered some truths about something much more basic, good teaching. This is clearly the appropriate focus for more thinking and more research.

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