L10.

BECOMING A TEACHER

BECOMING A TEACHER: REENACTING YESTERDAY TODAY FOR USE TOMORROW

By

RONALD GEORGE KEYSER, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University
September 1977

MASTER OF ARTS (1977) McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(Sociology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Becoming a Teacher: Reenacting Yesterday Today for Use Tomorrow

AUTHOR: RONALD GEORGE KEYSER, B.A. Honours (Concordia University, Loyola College)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Jack Haas

NUMBER OF PAGES: xii, 135

ABSTRACT

This 'process-of-becoming' analysis focuses on student teachers, particularly during in-College instructional periods. Initially, the theoretical and methodological orientation adopted, symbolic interactionism and qualitative methods respectively, is discussed, and the interrelationship between the two is illustrated by considering some typical, as well as atypical, problems encountered in the field.

It is then shown that the physical appearance of a Teachers' College has an adverse effect on student interaction. Furthermore, the distinction made by student teachers between theory and practice (and the subsequent preference assigned to the practice element) is discussed in terms of its implications. And finally, the notion of simply getting the piece of paper (i.e., diploma) is put forth as the motive for certain impression management strategies.

The fourth chapter is concerned with, first, the largely overt, objectively perceived aspects of the student teacher passage. These aspects are conceptualized as scheduled and sequenced. Secondly, this socialization process is described as a set of transitional statuses that revolve around various subjectively perceived concerns. Furthermore, three stages of concerns are conceptualized.

It is concluded in the final chapter, that on the basis of a four point comparison with medical education, unlike

other occupations where, prior conceptions are reversed during professional socialization, student teachers place events which preceded their formal preparation for teaching within a continuous rather than discontinuous framework. On the basis of the observation that while teacher education works within a continuous framework and society does not, preferable aspects in teacher education are outlined for the future.

PREFACE

These comments are meant to preface - in a very real sense - the remainder of the thesis. This thesis entails a two-fold commitment, not necessarily to coherence and excellence, although one always hopes these are part of one's work. The commitment referred to here is a commitment to method and two audiences.

In keeping with the second part of the commitment, method here has a broad connotation. In terms of social science there is a commitment to a certain methodology (qualitative) which in turn involves embracing a certain theoretical perspective (symbolic interactionism). This commitment is most evident in Chapter II.

Using the imagery of the lay person, method also refers to a way of doing something. In this case, it is a way of doing sociology which in turn involves reporting it as such. Both the content and organization of this thesis reveal these interrelated facets. On this point (i.e., content and organization) I take my lead from Howard S. Becker's notion of natural history.

> The term "natural history" implies not a presentation of every datum, but only the characteristic forms data took at each stage of the research.[1]

The notion of natural history as described by Becker has proved to be a very useful method. The researcher can present his findings and conclusions in a way that the reader can "follow the details of the analysis and see how and on what basis any conclusion was reached."[2] In sum then, part of the commitment involves a responsibility for a qualitative methodology and (hence, symbolic interactionism) while the second part involves a commitment to reporting the research in the form of a natural history.

The second part of the two-fold commitment entails a responsibility for two audiences. This double audience - social scientists and teachers - has influenced the style and content of this thesis.[3] I have tried to write in a manner that will be understandable for both groups. And in the end, because of these commitments, I hope I shall be judged by what this thesis offers both groups.

With reference to judgement, one final prefatory comment is in order. This thesis is not the definitive piece of work in the area of teacher education nor does it pretend to be such. It does, however, present a slice of

---

1. "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation", American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), p. 660. With the exception of the Preface, all footnotes will follow at the end of each chapter.

2. Ibid.

3. Once again, there is precedence for such a move. See D.H. Hargreaves et al., Deviance in Classrooms (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), (preface).

the world of the student teacher. This slice of life is primarily concerned with the events connected with classroom instruction at Teachers' College and not with pre-service practice teaching. This limitation should be recognized for what it is - a limitation to the study.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to a great many people who made this thesis possible in one way or another. My committee of Drs. Jack Haas, Vic Marshall, Bill Shaffir, and Jane Synge deserve a great deal of thanks for the diverse roles they played in the completion of this thesis. Jack Haas, my supervisor, has been instrumental in the progress of this thesis from its conception to the very end. The qualitative methods course that he taught was truly an invaluable learning experience. Data collection and analysis were greatly facilitated by Jack's insight and the mere presence of his 'sociological eye'. His influence on this thesis may be seen in many other subtle ways. To a man who has taught me, by example, much about being a sociologist, educator, and human being - I will remain eternally grateful and in your debt.

As the second member of my committee, Vic Marshall has provided more assistance and encouragement than anyone should reasonably expect. His incisive comments, constructive criticisms, and helpful suggestions were always present in the socialization course and later on in his office. As always, they were greatly appreciated.

My sincere thanks must also go to Jane Synge, who, in addition to serving as a reader for the oral defense,

allowed me to vocalize a great many seemingly disparate issues during our education seminar. In many ways this period may prove to be the turning point in my career. For this, I may thank her even more in the years to come.

And last, but not least, Bill Shaffir provided me with an initial opportunity to publically speak about my research and work through it at the same time.

The next group of people that I wish to thank is the group that made this thesis possible. I would like to thank all those student teachers, associate teachers, College Masters, administrators who gave up their time, their feelings, and fears to make this all possible. It is not possible to thank everyone individually, but they know who they are. Thank you for a most enjoyable experience.

Several others, friends and graduate students alike, deserve my thanks for turning what could have been a miserable existence into a very enjoyable period in my life. Allan Turowetz, Karen Vincent-Zizzo and Carolyn Rosenthal were all instrumental in providing intellectual stimulation within a friendly atmosphere and thus preserving my sanity.

Joan M. Stack must also be thanked for her invaluable typing assistance in the face of unreasonable demands upon her time.

Without a doubt, I owe the most to the Scott family. It is they who have shown me love in all its forms, and provided me with a healthy state of mind during these past

months, that has enabled me to complete this thesis. More importantly, they have taught me to appreciate life. When one values a healthy state of mind and being, as I do, it becomes increasingly clear how much I have to thank the Scott family, especially Christine. For these women I lovingly express my thankfulness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In many respects this thesis, as a scholarly document and/or as a line of argument, is timely.[1] Many people today believe that there is a radical discontinuity between schooling and learning, schooling and educational needs, schooling and employment, ad infinitum and ad nauseum. These people express their ideas and opinions positively and negatively, pro and con, conservatively and liberally, reactionary and radical, ad infinitum. After all is said and done, the two sided coin proves to be multi-faced.

Needless to say, greater attention, from all segments of society, is being focused on education at every level. In the academic sector, a sure sign of this is the great proliferation of journals and journal articles dealing with education at some level. In fact, keeping this thesis in mind, one does not have to look very far for journals and/or issues of journals that deal exclusively with teacher education. One also does not need a score card to know that a significant proportion of all doctoral degree holders come from educational faculties. This attention and concern about education is of course, not limited to academics. On the public side, one needs only to pick up the nearest newspaper or attend a

cocktail party to realize that education concerns have a prominent place in the life space of the everyday citizen. Indeed, a very timely and contemporary topic is the entire question of education and discontinuity.

Although there are many views on this discontinuity a prevalent viewpoint seems to be the following. Many people believe there is a radical discontinuity between our generation and all preceding ones. This sense of discontinuity grows from the feeling that our lives have undergone change so cataclysmic - changes wrought by war; by social upheavals; and by explosions in population, scientific knowledge, and technology, and urban growth - that we now face an entirely new experience in living.[2] So as not to wander too far from the present topic let me highlight, very briefly, some of the things that have happened to education in the past decade.

The most dramatic and drastic changes that have led to our "modern era" really started in the late sixties. Before that time, the schools and education in general had been favourites of the public; people believed strongly in their power to uplift the individual and the nation; there was plenty of money, new buildings, more teachers, and constantly new students. As Clark Kerr has commented:

> the late 1960's ushered in a period of intensive reassessment, a period in which faults in the existing system as well as certain new directions became more visible, a period of transition to respond to new clienteles and to the needs of a rapidly changing society.[3]

In fact, I think we can safely argue that we probably saw more developments and directions in the sixties than in any other decade in our history. We began to make a variety of curriculum adaptations (acceleration, early admission, admission with advanced standing, etc.). We produced ethnic material for the curriculum. We introduced a wide variety of new instructional practices: language labs, team teaching, the use of paraprofessionals, television, programmed learning, directional learning, independent study, etc. We made new efforts to reach students that were previously considered failures.[4] It was a period of great progress.

The student of Ontario education in the sixties realizes that there was more - a commitment to flexibility, freedom to learn, and adjustment to individual differences were to become axiomatic. This was accomplished by an emphasis on the student as an individual and by providing self-motivating learning situations. All of this of course, was embodied in the Hall-Dennis report.[5]

But then it happened-public out-cry. Once again we were dissatisified with our schools. It wasn't working and furthermore, it was costing us too much. What we ended up with was functional illiteracy, ill-prepared job seekers, and a depleted pocket book. The rallying cry of concerned citizens became (to paraphrase George Bernard Shaw): the only

time their education was interrupted was when they went to school! This was destined to be the summary of a decade of progress. We were (are) faced with the notion of discontinuity.

To add fuel to the fire there was the ever present academic world, to document the fallacy of continuity, Peter Drucker's book entitled The Age Of Discontinuity[6] along with Alvin Toffler's work, most notably, Future Shock[7], Charles Reich's The Greening of America,[8] the historian, J.H. Plumb's The Death of the Past[9] and Robert Nisbet's "Has Futurology A Future?"[10] all document the fact that our previous conception of the past is no longer valid. Lortie extends this thesis, empirically, to conclude that education (in particular, the ethos of the occupation) leans toward continuity, stability, and replication of the past while society in general is constantly changing and within a discontinuous framework!! In a sense, it is this conclusion that this thesis is concerned with.

Keeping with the commitments set forth in the Preface, as well as the commitments to be detailed in Chapter II, the reader should be aware that what follows does not seek to prove the thesis of discontinuity. On the contrary, I did not begin this study with an a priori assumption (or conclusion) about discontinuity. The notion of discontinuity did not arise until well after the empirical work had been

completed. Hence, one might argue that this part of the introduction is actually the conclusion. Anticipating such an arguement, some of the same ground covered here is reiterated in Chapter V.

Given a plethora of issues in education to be dealt with the next section of this introduction details how it was that teacher education was selected as the topic for this thesis.

Choosing the Research Topic

The impetus for the research which this thesis is based on was provided by a recent letter to the editor of the Toronto Globe and Mail. The author of the letter wrote:

> half the teachers we now have are products of the very system that has been found so hopeless. Who is to teach the teachers? And will they learn?[12]

Assuming that his statistics are correct (although that in itself doesn't really matter), and assuming that the educational system is in fact hopeless (everyone cries that it is, parents and academicans alike), the questions he poses are valid and have certain logical ramifications and implications for tomorrow's education.

In the weeks leading up to the beginning of the academic year, I had shopped for an organizational setting to

study. A particular interest of mine, since the days of my "open" high school, had been education. The idea of studying a Teachers' College and student teachers surfaced when these three ingredients (the letter, the looking, and the interest) came together in a Qualitative Methodology Field Course.

With the original letter in mind (quoted above), I began to ask some of the following general questions: what of the new teachers that will be graduating from teacher training institutions in the coming years (thus swelling the ranks of that group who are products of a "hopeless system")? Will they possess the abilities, as well as the desire to rectify this hopelss situation? What effect, if any, will they as a group, have on the educational system?

To expand on the original question one might ask: <u>what</u> is it that they (student teachers) will learn and <u>how</u> will they learn it? Furthermore, how will they (or others) know that they have successfully learned what is necessary in order to be teachers? What does the <u>process of becoming a teacher involve?</u>

At this point, the topic was clear, arrived at from three different directions. The research problem had been formulated in terms of a series of general questions - the act of inquiry had begun.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is not to infer that it is also anything new. As will be evident from this chapter, as well as Chapter V, many of these same thoughts have been expressed previously, sometimes, decades ago.

2. This is, of course, a claim made by each generation as they begin to face the world (see Chapter V). Some would probably argue that each generation has faced change so radical as to render them incapable of facing the future. Thus the French addage, the more things change, the more they stay the same. It is not the purpose of this thesis to decide whether our life situation is really different from preceding generations.

3. Expanded Campus: Current Issues in Higher Education, 1972, edited by Dyckman W. Vermilye (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), pp. 3.

4. This is not an exhaustive list, only those things that come to mind most readily.

5. Living and Learning. The Report of the Provincial Committee in Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario. (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968).

6. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

7. New York: Random House, 1970. See also, his The Futurists (New York: Random House, 1972) and "The Psychology of the Future" in his Learning for Tomorrow (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1974).

8. New York: Random House, 1970.

9. London: MacMillian, 1969.

10. Robert Nisbet, "Has Futurology A Future?" Encounter, 37 (5), 1971, p. 19-28.

11. Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

12. Neil H. Sneyd, "If Everyone Is Illiterate 'Who Will Teach the Teachers?'", Globe and Mail, September 10, 1976, p. 7.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The asking of those questions posited in the previous chapter is the beginning of the act of inquiry. "It is obvious that the kind of questions asked and the kind of problems posed set and guide the subsequent lines of inquiry."[1] The problem that has been posed in this instance is "what is the process by which students are socialized into teachers." This "process-of-becoming" type of analysis has enjoyed a rather lengthy tradition within sociology. The most notable study being Boys in White[2] by Becker and his associates. As was the case with that study, the research reported here was guided, in addition to the general questions posed above, by a theoretical, as well as methodological orientation that is nearly identical to the study cited above.[3] Becker et al. present the idea that the reason one would choose a certain theoretical orientation over another is because "it is most suitable for the problems under investigation."[4] In the end though, they come to the conclusion, and correctly so, that "the problems are in part defined by the theory one chooses."[5] Therefore, one must conclude that it is important to state the theoretical, as well as methodological, viewpoint on adheres to during the course of the research simply because it not only aids in the defining of the research problem but also guides all subsequent phases of the research.

It is with this in mind that the following sections are presented.

Theoretical Orientation

The theoretical orientation adopted here[6] stems primarily from the works of George Herbert Mead.[7] To date, the most systematically enunciated treatment of Mead's writings comes from Herbert Blumer in his book Symbolic Interactionism. In the often cited passage Blumer reiterates Mead's thinking:

> Symbolic interactionism rests in the last analysis in three simple premises. The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them... the second premise is that meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.[8]

The interactionist assumes that human beings are able to act because they have agreed to attach certain meanings to relevant objects (things)[9] that make up their world. These objects refer to a variety of things, but before consensus can be reached on the meanings people attach to social objects this must be accomplished through interaction with others (as well as with her/himself). During this time meanings are

fitted together, modified, transformed, and redefined.

Meanings arise in the process of interaction between people.[10] Thus "symbolic interactionism sees meanings as social products, as creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact."[11] Rather than being simply an application of established meanings Blumer argues that:

> the use of meanings by the actor occurs through a process of interpretation. This process has distinct steps. First, the actor indicates to himself the things toward which he is acting;...the making of such indications is an internalized social process of communication with himself, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings...Accordingly, interpretation should not be regarded as a mere application of established meanings but as a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action.[12]

This internal process permits individuals to plan their actions for the future, as well as align those actions with the line(s) of action of others. This view of human action on the individual level applies equally well to a group of individuals acting collectively as an institution, or an organization, or a social class, etc.[13]

I want individual version -

This leads one to consider the symbolic interactionist's conception of human society.[14] Very simply put, human society consists of people engaging in action and the essence of that is to be seen as consisting of their actions, in on going activity.[15] Individuals may act alone, or they may

act collectively (on behalf of some organization or group or others) but in all instances action is carried on with regard to the particular situations they find themselves in. That is, action is formulated on the basis of the interpretation of the situation. In many of our daily encounters the situations we face are defined or "structured" for us based on previous experiences. Given the previous experience we come to accept a common understanding or definition of the situation such that we know how to act in that situation (as well as knowing the eventual outcome). It is these common definitions that give rise to what appears to be ritualized, routinized behaviour that enables people to behave in the same fashion.[16]

This conception of human society, that is, as consisting of human beings who are engaging in action is at variance with the conception(s) that most sociologists hold.[17] There is a tendency amongst most sociologists to view human society in terms of structure (organization) and to treat action (human behavior) as a result of that particular structure. In this way one who adheres to this approach is likely to explain human society in terms of, for example, an institutional organization while at the same time account for social action within the institutional organization. Another prevalent way to study societal organization is to try to detect the "working parts" that are inherent to a

system that seeks equilibrium. One additional way that has enjoyed success in sociology is to identify forces that cause the structure of organization to be what it is, thus bringing about change in it. In sum, these views of human society are concerned with organization while symbolic interactionism is concerned with acting units within the framework of social organization.

The social organization of society is considered, from the symbolic interactionist perspective, to be "the framework inside of which social action takes place and is not the determinant of that action."[18] Furthermore, any changes in that framework are the results of the acting units within that framework and not external forces. Introduction of external forces necessitates a "leap over the acting units of a society and bypass (of) the interpretive process by which acting units build up their actions."[19]

In contrast to most sociologists, then, the symbolic interactionist views structural features such as 'culture' or 'social systems' as setting up the conditions from which social action develops but not as determining factors in producing action.

> People-that is, acting units-do not act toward culture, social structure, or the like; they act toward situations. Social organization enters into action only to the extent to which it shapes situations in which people act and to the extent which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations.[20]

It is necessary to say something about the symbolic interactionist stance on one of the major objects of sociological inquiry - institutions.[21] The prevalent theme in most of the sociological literature is to regard these complex forms of a given unit of societal organizations as entities in their own right "following their own dynamics and not requiring the network."[22] This belief that the network or institution can function automatically because of some inherent qualities or properties is clearly debatable. An institution functions because of the activities of different acting units within that institution. The actions they take are based on their definitions of the multitudinous situations they encounter within that institution. Blumer notes that:

> It is necessary to recognize that the sets of meanings that lead participants to act as they do at their stationed points in the network have their own setting in a localized process of social interaction-and that these meanings are formed, sustained, weakened, strengthened, or transformed, as the case may be, through a socially defining process. Both the functioning and the fate of institutions are set by this process of interpretation as it takes place among the diverse sets of participants.[23]

In seeing the organization as an organization of activities of other people into which individuals have to fit and align their own actions, symbolic interactionism seeks an

explanation for the activity of the institution on the basis of the way in which participants define, interpret and meet the situations they face at their respective points in that institution.[24] This means we must study the organization in terms of its interlinkage of activities between acting participants and explain it in terms of how acting units handle their respective positions in the organization.[25]

In terms of the theoretical orientation, various aspects have been discussed as to their centrality to symbolic interactionism and their subsequent importance to this research. In summary, the three premises give a clue as to the adoption of a certain conception of a) human action on an individual level, b) human society, c) social organization and institutions. These in turn were contrasted to conceptions held by traditional sociology such that the reader would have a better idea as to the differing questions one would ask depending on the perspective adopted.

The next section will deal with the methodological orientation as well as emphasizing the medical education study[26] to illustrate the connection between theory and method.

Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Method

On several occasions I have found myself, and I assume many others have also, greatly influenced by the education study done by Becker and his associates.[27] I find myself, sometimes unknowingly, following the theoretical scheme that they present. In order that I may bridge the gap between the preceding discussion on the theoretical orientation and the subsequent discussion on the methodological considerations[28] let me briefly outline the theoretical and methodological orientation adopted in Boys in White.[29] In addition this discussion will also show how the research is shaped by the methodology.

Becker et al. state in the introduction to their research design that symbolic interactionism "stresses the more conscious aspects of human behavior[30] and relates them to the individual's participation in group life."[31] They continue on to note that symbolic interactionism "assumes that human behavior is to be understood as a process in which the person shapes and controls his conduct by taking into account (through the mechanism of "role-taking) the expectations of others with whom he interacts".[32] What they did not assume was that they knew, in advance, the perspectives of the participants of the institution on various

issues or questions. Their knowledge of medical students was minimal.[33] Given their relative lack of information it was decided to "concentrate on what students learned as well as on how they learned it."[34] This in turn committed them to an open theoretical scheme in order that the variables could be discovered and defined during the research as well as establishing the relationship between variables. Given this commitment to an open theoretical scheme it was necessary that they "use methods that would allow us to discover phenomena whose existence we were unaware of at the beginning of the research."[35] In other words, these theoretical commitments led them to adopt unstructured techniques, primarily participant observation.

Without acknowledging the various definitions and usages of the term[36] Becker et al. go on to write that through participant observation:

> the researcher participates in the daily life of the people under study either openly, in the role of the researcher, or covertly, in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what was said, and questioning people over some length of time.[37]

This methodology is in contrast to the methodology used by most contemporary sociologists who work from the premise that the investigator must be a neutral outside observer and must try to present an objective account of the activity of the

people under. Usually this type of investigator is nowhere to be found in the empirical reality under study, in terms of physical presence. Consider for a moment the following: people act toward objects in their environment according to the meanings those objects have for them. The non-observer is likely to assume that those objects mean the same things to the people he is studying as they do for him/her when he/she constructs a questionnaire. By making this assumption the researcher may distort the whole meaning of the actions of the people he/she is studying.[38] Consequently, if an investigator is going to understand the actions of people who live in worlds different than that of the researcher, he/she must enter their world and learn the meanings they give to the different objects in that world. If one wishes to investigate the world of the medical student, one must observe the student in the course of their everyday activities.[39] In the same sense, one must examine the situational context of the dying patient,[40] the inmate,[41] and "street corner" life.[42]

This methodological commitment is exactly that - a commitment. David Matza realizes that:

> Appreciating a phenomenon is a fateful decision for it eventually entails a commitment-to the phenomenon and to those exemplifying it-to render it with fidelity and without violating its integrity. Entering the phenomenon is a radical and drastic method of appreciation.[43]

In the same vein, Blumer remarks that we should "respect the nature of the empirical world and organize a methodological stance to reflect that respect."[44] The methodological stance that is derived from the theoretical commitments of symbolic interactionsim does exactly that.

To return to an earlier part of this chapter, it was suggested that research (this research in particular) was guided by the theoretical and methodological orientation adopted. To suggest, in somewhat more concrete terms, how this was accomplished one need only look to Boys in White for clues as to how this was accomplished in the present study of student teachers in a Teacher's College.

> (We) expected that the various phenomena we discovered in our research would have consequences for each other...we would be interested in discovering the systematic relationships between many kinds of phenomena and events considered simultaneously..led us to pay particular attention to those phenomena which were of interest to participants in the school and productive of tension or conflict which had the further characteristic of having demonstratable connections with many other observed phenomena...we concentrated less on variations in attitudes and action to be found among students except a few known deviants.[45]

As will be evident during the course of this thesis, the passage above is quite applicable to this study of student teachers. A few brief words on the parallels between the two studies are in order.

All along I expected that there would exist a relationship between previous university attendance, and its associated activities, and present attendance at Teachers' College. I was not necessarily convinced that there would be a strong parallel between the activities of the two institutions but I did feel that university attendance would have a bearing on the goals of a teacher training institution. Inasmuch as years had been spent in the student role how would this affect inculcation of the teacher role. As recently as the university years these people were in fact students and now they were being asked to become teachers-while still in the role of students. In sum, as Becker et al. indicate, I was interested in "discovering the systmatic relationships between many kinds of phenomena and events considered simultaneously..."[46]

Also, during the course of the research it became apparent that there were events, based on the interests of the student teachers, that were leading to tension, conflict and anxiety. The same events were to become crucial to the analysis stage later on and were in fact related to other phenomena. As Gouldner points out, there is merit in studying tension and conflict.[47] Therefore, as Becker et al. suggest, this led me to pay particular attention to tension and conflict.[48]

It also became obvious that, in similar fashion to the medical students of Becker's et al. study, I was dealing with a fairly homogeneous group. Therefore it was only necessary to account for the deviant cases in terms of other phenomena and their relationship to the prevailing attitudes and actions of the majority.

The fourth and final similarity between the two studies involves the changing of the focus of a study. In the same way that the medical education study changed its focus from the original "problems of levels and directions of effort,"[49] I found it was unnecessary, if not unfeasible, to focus on the "who is to teach the student?"[50] aspect of my original statement of interest. Although this aspect, i.e., who is to teach the student teachers?, was not totally neglected it was seen in the light of how student teachers relate and interact with those responsible for teaching them.

Methodology in Action

This section of the chapter is meant to document the beginning of the fieldwork stage of this research. Coupled with the previous sections of this chapter and the following two chapters the reader should be able to form a clear picture as to how the research progressed.[51]

The problem of gaining entry to a research setting, be it an organizational setting or otherwise, has received considerable attention in the literature.[52] In many cases, particularly those involving the nonorganizational research setting, the process of gaining access is a long and arduous task. On the other hand, as Bogdan and Taylor note:

> While there appears to be differential access to research settings, the new observer is often surprised at how accessible many settings are. People, it would seem, enjoy being studied.[53]

In this particular case the gatekeepers[54] of Teachers' College, those in charge of granting acces, fit into the above description. Although forewarned of the distinct possibility that my request would be denied, entry to this research setting proved to be an example of easy access.[55]

The bargain, or spiel,[56] is the "written or unwritten agreement between the gatekeeper(s), and/or subjects, and the researcher that defines the obligations they have to one another."[57] Several commentators on this area of research have suggested that it is best to tell the truth regarding your research interests.[58] Bogdan and Taylor continue on to note that "the rule, then, is to be honest, but vague or imprecise."[59] It is not necessary to go into elaborate detail, using the esoteric language of the social sciences to describe your research design, theoretical interests or methodology.[60]

Initially my first encounter with a gatekeeper involved the Pricipal of Teachers' College. Yet my field notes do not begin at this point. Prior to my first telephone conversation with the Principal when we arranged an appointment, I had made an inspection visit of the physical surroundings. My field notes of this visit proved to be very enlightening as to the organizational arrangement and subsequently, how the participants interact within this organization. It is important to note that the physical descriptions are an important factor in setting the mood for the participants involved. Thus, a library setting is not conducive for violent, noisy activities whereas a gym is. On the other hand, a library is conducive for "scholarly activity", as well as sleeping, given the lack of noise and minimal distractions.[61] My point is that actors assign meaning to objects (this obviously includes physical objects) and on that basis they interact with others, as well as the institution, and define the situation accordingly.[62]

One notices immediately upon entrance that one has encountered these surroundings before. In several sections of my field notes there are comments regarding a sense of deja vu. One is struck by the noiseless empty long corridors with lockers on one side and bulletin boards on the side with messages such as: "Will the following students please report to the office." This plus many other examples suggest

to the observer that he or she has mistakenly walked into a high school and not an institution for higher learning of the 70's. Looking into an empty classroom which contained wooden desks, a piano and other such paraphernalia, I was convinced of this possiblity. Regaining my composure and deciding that I was, in fact, in the right place, I made the further assumption that these classrooms were used to accommodate young children who were attending classes there (similar to a lab school on campus). Once again, I was shown the errors of my way. Speaking to a lone student walking the hallways I asked:

> "Are these rooms for children or something?"
> "Oh no. We have to go out to them. These are our classrooms."

Without belabouring the point, the observation of the childlike quality of the surroundings proved to be very important in terms of later analyses of the behaviour of the student teachers and their relations with their instructors as will be evident later on in this thesis.

As is noted by Bodgan and Taylor, "detailed field notes should be kept during the process of gaining access to a setting."[63] This, quite obviously, applies to the first meeting(s) with the organizational gatekeeper(s). The first of two gatekeepers that I met was the Principal as was mentioned earlier. For this meeting I was prepared

with a written proposal which contained my statement of interest emphasizing "how is it that students develop into teachers...what is the process...how is this socialization process different than other occupations or professions?... how do students view this process?..." Part of my proposal was concerned with assuring confidentiality for both respondents and the institutions. And finally, as Bogdan and Taylor suggest I hinted at my student status and the fact that qualitative methodology demanded in-field experience to be learned. Whether or not this helped my chances of gaining access is not important now, but it should be kept in mind as part of the research strategy.

Immediately after discussing the unobtrusiveness of my research methodology it was quite evident that permission was forthcoming as illustrated by this quote.

> "I really think this has possiblities, mutually benefiting...."

This was to become a prevalent theme throughout our conversation. "Mutually benefiting." Bogdan and Taylor warn:

> The observer may, of course, produce ideas and gain information that could be of interest to the gatekeeper. But a promise to provide such information places the researcher in a relationship of collaboration with the gatekeeper, which in turn might endanger the researcher's relationship with others in the organization and create ethical problems in the protection of lower-level subjects.[65]

In this instance the gatekeeper saw the benefits of "reciprocity of information...to effect curriculum changes" (field notes). Throughout our meeting I expressed my personal conviction against taking part in an evaluative-type research project. It becomes necessary that part of the bargain involves the obligations that each party has towards the other. It is also imperative that everyone knows where the other fellow stands simply so that everyone is protected, including the researcher.[66]

Ironically enough, before final permission could be granted he explained that:

> "...because of the newness of the program, and myself, some staff members....some more than others, might view this as an evaluative situation..."

He had in mind a few staff members who would be receptive about the idea and would contact them to seek their permission before giving me a definite answer. Two days later, I met with the second gatekeeper, a teacher in charge of 22 students. The same bargain was made with this person regarding the unobtrusiveness of the research, the non-evaluative aspect, etc. The obvious enthusiasm that was exhibited left no doubt that entry had been accomplished. This is evident in the following quote, "We'll see you tomorrow." Not only had access been granted, I was supposed to start "tomorrow"!

Obviously, gaining access does not always come this easily to the researcher.[67] Given the lack of difficulty encountered in "getting in," there is a tendency to view the data gained at this stage as relatively unimportant.[68] In addition to identifying the child-like characteristics of the physical surroundings (which influence the nature of the interactions that take place within) these early field notes reveal the basic strategy employed at Teachers' College.

> "...and just hose them to death with all sorts of ideas, one after another...some of them can't handle this all at once but we don't worry about it...All in all they are kept pretty busy..."

Later on in this paper it will be shown that this perception of what is going on is at variance with the perspective[69] held by student teachers. To put it very simply, student teachers do not feel they have been presented with a plethora of ideas as to <u>how</u> to teach. This will be explored in greater detail later on.

Suffice it to say that the data obtained in the early stage of the research may prove to be more fruitful than was originally expected. It is for this reason alone that everything that touches the senses should be captured in your field notes during these first days in the field. "Even the most incomprehensible remarks may become understandable when viewed in the light of later conversations or events" (Bogdan and Taylor 1975:72). Needless to say, this quote sums up

the purposes of the field notes and the tactics used. It is hoped that the above examples illustrate the importance of the quote.

The actual entry into the field can be viewed as the final stage of gaining access to the research setting. In a very real sense, the acquiescence of the actual participants of the setting is needed in order that access to the situation becomes something more than mere physical presence in that situation. Without the cooperation of the participants involved the data would certainly be of dubious quantity as well as quality. Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis, entering the field will be seen as concluding the bargain that originally began with the gatekeepers.

In this case the spiel that was used with the gatekeeper remained the same for my initial contacts with the student teachers. At all times I emphasized confidentiality, unobtrusive measures, and most importantly, the non-evaluative aspect of my research. The issue, the non-evaluative aspect, came to be legitimated by institutional ties. That is, because I introduced myself, as part of my spiel, as an M.A. student in Sociology at McMaster, I came to be viewed as another silly academic with no real connection, via application, to the "real world". Institutional affilation, and hence, my duties or obligations, became very significant in terms of concluding the bargain (establishing rapport) as is evident by this extreme example.

Nearly a month after my initial introduction to the class I was studying,[70] I attended a Halloween party given at the College. Sitting with several student teachers, enjoying some "spirits", we were approached by another member of the class. In approximately 10 visits to her classroom I had never heard this girl speak in class although she glanced in my direction quite often.[71] When she had finished talking to the other person, I commented that those were the first words I had heard her speak. In the ensuing conversation I learned that she had been absent from the class the day I was introduced to the class by the instructor. She had assumed, for nearly a month, that I was part of the college staff and was evaluating them.

Therefore, in retrospect, it proved to be a good idea to identify my organizational affiliations during any introduction to a new subject. More often than not a new introduction took place in the Commons Room (lounge) before classes or during classes at break-time. In this way I was able to meet other student teachers from different classes. When I was alone and approached someone, I introduced myself by saying:

> "Hi. My name is Ron. I'm a graduate student in sociology at McMaster...I'm studying student teachers, trying to find out what it's like, what the process of becoming a teacher involves... what teachers' college is all about... I'm not evaluating anyone, students or faculty, not even the institution..."

My field notes are replete with examples of this same line. On many occasions though, I would be introduced by someone I knew to be their roommate, friend, or new acquaintance. This process, approximating sponsorship, served to shift the burden of introduction from my shoulders to those of my sponsors who typically approached the matter of introduction in a much more flippant manner. In so doing, these half-serious, half-kidding introductions (he's here to study us) implied to these new people, "nothing to worry about". But my main purpose was served, my spiel was reiterated by my sponsors.

One never knows for sure that everyone trusts you as the researcher or when this rapport has been accomplished, but the researcher can assume there are signs that are indicative of this relationship. This process of being sponsored into the community can be viewed as indicative of their acceptance of my presence as a non-threatening element of their community.

The above discussion of concluding the bargain appears to be straight-forward and almost automatic. The experienced researcher knows this not to be the case. Other elements enter into the situation when one is trying to establish rapport with the subjects. For instance, one is bound to find oneself in an embarrassing situation during the course of research. But as Bogdan and Taylor note:

> all observers are faced with embarrassing situations in the field. Take comfort in the fact that others have faced what you face and that you will feel more comfortable in the setting as the study progresses.[72]

Given a research setting that is predominantly female[73] (when the researcher is male), breaches of social amenities are bound to occur. A superficial glance at the literature does not reveal any discussion of this "boy meets girl" situation during the research (although most researchers know this happens, and comment that it is a "delightful problem" to encounter. Few, if any, would make an academic issue out of it).

In the long run this does not seem to be a particularly salient characteristic of the research but one is constantly aware of the male-female dimension. Obviously the social amenities of the everyday world are applicable to the research setting. Therefore, one would hesitate before barging into a group of girls hunched over a table whispering to one another (no sexism intended!). In some ways a more real example of this problem centers around the development of key informants. More often than not the informant is female and there are obvious implications. Extended periods of time spent with a key informant may be interpreted by others as indicative of the more normal occurrence of that type of situation.[74] The extent to which this would affect interactions with others is of course, variable but, nonetheless, existent. Bogdan and Taylor warn that "researchers would be

wise to control how subjects define them and to resist being forced into relationships...that are not conducive to carrying out research."[75] This somewhat more academically phrased statement is certainly valid, potentially more so in a research setting characterized by a dominant population of the opposite sex.

Another problematic situation developed when, two weeks into my observational visits, I did not heed the advice of well-known researchers. Bogdan and Taylor note that:

> a good rule to follow in the initial stage of the fieldwork is not to challenge the behavior or statements of the subjects or to ask questions that are likely to put them on the defensive.[76]

By not adhering to the advice, feeling out of the situation and "learning the ropes,"[77] I caused a scene in front of many people. My field notes relate the incident as follows:

> student: "So, what did you think?" (reference is to a particular workshop class)
>
> observer: "...my first thought was that it was pretty racist and sexist..."
>
> student: (angry voice) "That wasn't racist! That's bullshit!..." "That's something a sociologist would say!"

The subject was never brought up again nor have I had the opportunity to speak to this person again.

Obviously, these first days in the field,[78] as well

as most other days, are filled with problematic situations which cause anxiety for the researcher. The literature verifies this and warns us of the many contingencies we must be prepared for.

In summary then, we have discussed the theoretical and methodological orientation that has been adopted here, and furthermore, have seen the interrelationship between the two in the field. And finally, we have considered some atypical problems encountered in the field, using this orientation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), p.25.

2. Howard S. Becker and others, Boys in White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

3. See also the following works: Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962); Herbert Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Random House, 1969); Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1967).

4. Ibid., p. 19.

5. Ibid., p. 19.

6. This does not pretend to be a systematic presentation of symbolic interactionsm in its entirety, just those aspects that seem most relevant to the topic under consideration.

7. George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); The Philosophy of the Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); The Philosophy of the Present (Chicago: Open Court Company, 1932). These posthumously published works do much to reveal the seminal mind of Mead. His position at the forefront of the founding fathers of symbolic interactionism is well deserved. Others who contributed to the development of symbolic interactionism during this period include: John Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct (New York: Modern Library, 1930); Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956); Robert Park, Principles of Human Behavior (Chicago: The Zalaz Corp;, 1915); and William T. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl (Boston: Little, Brown, 1931). The discussion that follows on the next few pages of the text relies heavily on Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, as his discussion is the clearest and most quoted, statement on symbolic interactionism.

8. Ibid., p.2.

9. Mead defined an object as anything that can be indicated (see Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 10). Blumer states that:

> one can classify objects in three categories: (a) physical objects...(b) social objects, such as students, priests...and (c) abstract objects, such as moral doctrines...or ideas such as justice, exploitation, or compassion (Blumer, p. 10).

Included in this last category would be the concept of self inasmuch as human beings can make objects of themselves as with any other objects. To have a self is to be able to make an object of oneself. To have a self, an organism must be able to interact with itself (thus the differentiating factor between humans and animals). A common example of self-interaction is the carrying on of a conversation with oneself. The importance of selfhood is obvious; every person sees himself as a certain kind of object (that is, defines himself in a certain way) and behaves on the basis of that self-definition.

10. In essence, this is a rejection of both the philosophical idealism perspective as well as the philosophical realism perspective. It reveals the pragmatic position - that things exist for men where they seem to exist. The fact that meaning is given to an object by the way people are prepared to act toward the object does not mean, however, that the object exists only in their minds. Physical objects do have a very real existence outside the minds of men. They do offer resistance to human action, and in this way objects (e.g., a wall) limit the meanings which man can impute.

11. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionsm, p.5.

12. Ibid.

13. It would seem that these collectives, i.e., institutions, organizations, social classes, etc., are the major concern of sociological inquiry but not necessarily from this perspective.

14. The following discussion is drawn from the ideas of Blumer (ibid., pp. 78-89). It is important that one considers such basic assumptions as these, inasmuch as all studies of human society and of human action are guided by images about the nature of society and about the nature of human beings as actors in society. The image one has of society ultimately affects the character of the knowledge that is formulated.

15. This conception of society is different than most sociological conceptions. The structural perspective within sociology, a dominant force, does not start from the view that action is the basis of society. They view the human group as an established organization (social structure) plus a whole series of prescriptions imbedded in culture. The human group is based on a combination of social structure and culture, which is in turn responsible for human action.

16. This does not mean to infer that the processes of interpretation that were mentioned earlier are nonexistent in this type of situation. Generally, it would mean that the process was less difficult in terms of guiding one's own action. However, many of these same situations may not be defined so easily by the other participants in the interaction, hence, the process of interpretation is still evident. Consider this additional evidence: rules, norms, and values arise out of these types of situations, but they also need re-affirmation to continue as such.

17. See Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, pp. 18-21, 57-60, 87-88, and Howard S. Becker, Sociological Work: Method and Substance (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

18. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 87.

19. Ibid., p. 87

20. Ibid., p. 88

21. There is a very clear corollary between how human society or societal organization is viewed by the symbolic interactionist and his/her perspective on institutions. Inasmuch as these social institutions are a given slice of societal organization, this corollary is entirely reasonable. Social institutions are complex patterns of activity organized around the most fundamental interests of society. These patterns we call education, religion, government, etc.

22. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 19.

23. Ibid., pp. 19-20. In terms of the fate of the institution, Blumer comments in similar fashion, that "it is the social process in group life that creates and upholds the rules, not the rules that create and uphold group life" (p.19).

24. It is always possible, probable, in fact, that a single acting unit or even a group of individuals may define the situation as they think it should be and impose their definition of the situation (this assumes there is a differential power structure) onto others, including an institution. This represents something else, other than the process of interpretation as we well know from striking examples in recent years. It is possible to conceive of a Ministry directive handed down to the rest of the organization in such a light.

25. Chapter four will deal with the "positions" of the participants within the organization and will discuss this in terms of status positions and subsequent status passages through the organization from the viewpoint of status passage theory enunciated by Glaser and Strauss, A Status Passage: A Formal Theory (Chicago: Aldine, 1971).

26. Becker et al., Boys In White.

27. Ibid.

28. One would hope that the gap between theory and method is not a wide one, or at least, it is narrowing. On the relationship between theory and method, see Norman Denzin, The Research Act: A Theoretic Introduction to Sociological Methods (Chicago: Aldine, 1970). On the relationship between, more specifically, symbolic interactionism and participant observation, see Allan Turowetz, "Relationship of Participant Observation to Symbolic Interactionism" (unpublished paper, McGill University, 1973).

29. Becker et al., pp. 17-32.

30. This assumes "that behavior is self-directed and observable at two distinct levels - the symbolic and the interactional (or behavioral)" (Norman Denzing, "The Research Act", in J. Manis and B. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), p.78). These two levels refer to Mead's analysis of the act as having two phases: 1) the covert, self-interaction, and 2) the overt, the execution of the act.

31. Ibid., p. 19.

32. Ibid., p. 19. It should also be noted that there are similarities between the phenomenological method and participant observation, i.e., role-taking. See S.T. Bruyn, "The New Empiricists: The Participant Observer and Phenomenoligst", in W. Filstead, ed., Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World (Chicago: Markham, 1970), pp. 283-287. On the other hand, role-taking is somewhat at odds with the phenomenological method inasmuch as it advocates personal involvement in the culture one studies.

33. The same holds true for my involvement with student teachers. Also, see Bruyn, p. 284 with regard to "openness" and lack of preconception about a given situation. As will be shown, an open theoretical framework allows for definition of variables, etc. during the course of investigation (Bruyn, p.284; Becker et al., p. 18).

34. Becker et al., Boys In White, p. 18.

35. Ibid., p. 18.

36. See Raymond Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations", Social Forces, 36 (1958), 217-223.

37. Becker et al.,pp. 22-23.

38. An excellent critique of this type of distortion research, its implications for educational research, and/or innovation (as well as support for qualitatively based educational research) is found in the following articles: W. Gordon West, "Participant Observation in Canadian Classrooms: The Need, Rationale, Technique, and Development Implications", Canadian Journal of Education, 2:3 (1977), pp. 55-74; W. Gordon West, "Participant Observation Research on the Social Construction of Everyday Classroom Order" Interchange, 6:4 (1975), pp. 35-43; D. Ryan and T.B. Greenfield, The Class Size Question (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975).

39. Becker et al., Boys In White; Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (New York: Free Press, 1958).

40. B. Glaser and A. Strauss, Awareness of Dying (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

41. Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1961).

42. William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

43. Becoming Deviant (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 24.

44. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 60.

45. Becker et al., Boys In White, pp. 21-22.

46. Ibid., p.21

47. Alvin Gouldner, Wildcat Strike (Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1955).

48. Ibid., p. 21.

49. Ibid., pp. 9-13, passim.

50. See "Choosing the Research Topic" in Chapter I of this thesis for background.

51. See my comments in the "Preface" to this thesis as to the desirability of incorporating a natural history of the project into the body of the thesis.

52. See Whyte, Street Corner Society; Liebow, Tally's Corner; Ned Polsky, Hustlers, Beats and Others (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1969); M.A. Sullivan et al., "Participant Observation as Employed in the Study of a Military Training Program", American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), pp. 660-667; R.L. Kahn and T. Mann, "Developing Research Partnerships", Journal of Social Issues, 8 (3), (1952), pp. 4-10; Allan Turowetz, "From Communicators to Legitimators: An Entry to the National Hockey League", (unpublished paper, McMaster University, 1976).

53. Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 31.

54. Becker, Sociological Work.

55. This was not because of my abilities as a sociologist, but rather because of the personal receptivity towards research by the Principal.

56. L. Schatzman and A. Strauss, Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), p. 22, refer to the bargain as the spiel, a "statement which identifies (the researcher), his sponsor, or organizational affiliation, his study objectives, and his method of work." This definition is closer to my actual practice as all of those things were included in my written proposal for the gatekeepers.

57. Bogdan and Taylor, p. 35.

58. J.P. Dean et al., "Observation and Interviewing", in J.T. Doby, ed., An Introduction to Social Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts, 1967, 2nd ed.); Bogdan and Taylor, p. 33.

59. Ibid.

60. In a sense, this would be impossible, given the previous discussion about the lack of a research design (as defined by the way it is commonly used in social science) when one employs symbolic interactionism as a theoretical framework and participant observation as the methodological orientation.

61. This is, of course, as long as we define it as such. These meanings are not inherent in the objects.

62. See Blumer, Symbolic Interactionsm, p.2.

63. Bogdan and Taylor, p. 32.

64. Ibid., p.34

65. Ibid., p. 35

66. My personal feelings on the question of reciprocity of information have changed somewhat since the beginning of this research. One can take the typical social science stance and provide the institution with "a very general verbal or written report on their observations"

(Bogdan and Taylor, p. 35). In my opinion this type of reporting has contributed to the generally shared distaste for social science and its inapplicability to "real situations." An attitude such as the one described above, also has consequences for the next researcher who wishes to investigate the same phenomena. On the more personal, emotional level, it becomes increasingly hard to socialize with these student teachers (and those hopeful of becoming such next year) and know about their anxieties, etc. and still remain an aloof academic researcher. Obviously, there are pros and cons to this issue. Nonetheless, my position has been stated.

67. See espically, Whyte, Street Corner Society.

68. One expects that "the best way to learn about the structure and hierarchy of an organization is to be handled around through it" (Bogdan and Taylor, p. 32). At an earlier stage of the research, when I first read that passage, I assumed that I hadn't really experienced that "handling" because I had met no resistance. In a sense, though, I had experienced this handling becuase I progressed from the secretary to the Principal to finally the classroom teacher. A little conflict would have been illustrative, but lack of conflict is, after all, a finding in itself. My main point here, however, is that it is easy to view field notes about this stage of research as mere documentation and nothing more. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

69. By perspective, I mean "coordinated views and plans of action people follow in problematic situations" (Becker et al., Boys In White, p. 33). CF. G.H. Mead, The Philosophy of the Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), passim.

70. As was noted earlier, I had opted for an intensive study of one particular group of 21 who were organized into one class under the direction of one instructor. Although they did go to other lectures given by someone else, these 21 students were the responsibility of this one instructor.

71. In all honesty, my male ego led me to attribute those glances to somethin entirely different.

72. Ibid., p. 43.

73. Of the approximate 435 student teachers, only about 50 to 75 were male. This is due partially to the fact that it was an elementary school trainining institution. One would expect an institution that specializes in secondary education to have a higher percentage of males.

74. This could very easily apply to key informants as well. The occurrence of this happening is of course, enhanced by two facts. One, this is a peer group, and secondly, all concerned, both male and female are at the age of marrying soon.

75. Ibid., p. 44.

76. Ibid., p. 41.

77. Blanche Geer et al., "Learning the Ropes: Situational Learning in Four Occupational Training Programs", in T. Deutscher and E. Thompson, eds., Among the People (New York: Basic Books, 1966).

78. Blanche Geer, "First Days in the Field", in Phillip Hammond, ed., Sociologists at Work (New York: Doubleday, 1964).

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENT TEACHER AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, ATTITUDE AND MOTIVE

This chapter, as well as the next, deals with data analysis.[1] It is the purpose of this chapter to identify some main themes in the hope that these themes will sensitize[2] the reader to the nature of the setting being investigated and the interaction that takes place within.[3]

Physical Appearance of Teachers' College

Perhaps the term child-like over-exaggerates the quality present in the physical surroundings of this particular Teachers' College. On the other hand, one could argue that it does not look like what its name implies-a College. In fact, it is reminiscent of other educational structures many of us have passed through-high schools and/or elementary schools.

To appreciate the physical appearance which I allude to, one need only visualize (remember?) long corridors (empty) with lockers on one side. A walk down one of these corridors reveals neat bulletin boards with various offical notices posted, including several of the type that read: "Will the following students report to the office...." Walking in any number of directions one is bound to encounter a classroom

with wooden desks (and/or the one piece "modern version"). One classroom I encountered even had an upright piano in it. Various other classrooms had the various tell-tale signs of a public school classroom. In addition, the library had a distinctive grade school appearance with the rows of grades K-6 reading and math materials. The magazine section to this particular library contained various childrens' magazines, including Highlights, which I remember from my grade school days.

Without belabouring the point regarding the physical appearance of Teachers' College,[4] let me return to an earlier point. It was suggested that a library setting was conducive for "scholarly activity", whereas it was not conducive for violent, noisy activity, as was a gym. How is it that one meaning is conferred upon the library and not the gym? The meaning of an object (be it physical, social, or abstract)[5] is given fundamentally by the way people act toward the object. From early childhood, we see people use objects in particular ways. The ways people act toward certain objects define the meaning of these objects for us. This is how people develop the ability to recognize and use objects. It is by this process that meaning is conferred upon objects.[6]

Therefore, we come to define the library in one way and act accordingly.[7] When we encounter these same objects over and over again, it is possible, indeed probable, that we will assign the same meaning. By doing so, we will be acting toward the object in the same manner as we did previously.[8] The implication of all this is that if we come to view some objects as the same objects of our past (as do others), we will act towards those objects according to the meaning those objects have for us. More concretely, if we come to view corridors with lockers on one side as reminiscent of our old high school, we will act in a fashion that is similar to our high school days.[9]

According to symbolic interaction theory, one would <u>not</u> say that objects determine our behaviours. Rather, one would be inclined to say that the present is defined (made up of), in part, by the past.[10] Therefore, given this conception of time, defining the situation in the present is based on interpretations of the meanings that were assigned to past situations. Based on previous experience, one knows how to act in a given situation. It is this basis that allows Robert Sommer[11] to begin his analysis of ecological arrangements in the classroom and the consequences for interaction.

What has been referred to as a child-like quality has been described and put into a theoretical framework to illustrate the implications. There are more concrete examples

where this quality emerges.

During my first morning observational visit to the Teachers' College, they were given a break at 10:15 A.M. Upon returning to the "homeroom" classroom (the class had temporarily joined another class in their classroom), I attempted to light a cigarette.

> You can't smoke here. That's one difference between here and university.

Although "NO SMOKING" signs were not posted in the classroom as they were in the men's rooms, it was evident that there were definite rules. This "regimented" (in comparison to university) atmosphere is supposed to, in the words of one of the subjects, "get you used to a real classroom because you won't be able to smoke there either." This notion of getting "you used to a real classroom" (for them, an elementary classroom) became quite obvious, and was put into use in various ways. It was not as though this went unnoticed by the subjects as is evidenced by the following comment.

> ...you get used to it...well, not exactly. See, when you first come here, it's different and exciting... After a while, you do realize that they are treating you like little kids, but what are you going to do?[12]

It would appear that pygmalionism[13] is at work here. The following example, taken from an observational visit at the end of October, illustrates what happens when one is treated like a "little kid".

The exercise they were doing was one in the didactic approach to teaching. After carefully explaining to the student teachers the didactic method ("where the lesson is teacher-directed, teacher-centered"), the instructor cautioned them that "this is only one approach". The instructor then began asking them questions about mountains and mountain climbing (this began at 9:00 A.M.). After asking several questions, the instructor began reading to them from a poem about mountain climbing. The instructor read two stanzas of the poem and then stopped. At this point, the instructor asked several questions with regard to the content of the two stanzas. The student teachers dutifully answered those questions. This process was repeated many times over, until at 9:18 they encountered the following:

(instructor)	Ramparts arrêt. What do you think this means?
(student 1)	Impasse?
(student 2)	Impassable?
(student 3)	Stop?
(instructor)	This is exactly what your 7th graders would have said.

This exchange is typical of the question-answer exchanges of the previous eighteen minutes. After being reminded that

although this exercise was aimed at 7th graders, and they had responded like 7th graders, the instructor resumed reading the poem while continuing the same process. The student teachers were being reminded that they were "on". Essentially, being "on" is a state in which the actor is reminded that he/she is playing a part.[14] At this point, it should also be noted that this is an example of role-playing. These student teachers were performing the socially prescribed functions attributed to a particular role. But, what was expected of them (by the instructor) was that they would engage in role-taking.[15] At the very least, they would "play-at" the role,[16] that is, pretend to play the part. As is evident by this example, these student teachers did more than pretend, and had to be reminded that they were "on".

Nearing the end of this particular workshop class, they had progressed through the poem until they were on the verge of the climax of the poem (i.e., the last page).

> Don't turn that page. (Students are enthralled with poems, wanting to see how they end)...Now, with my 7th grade class, I might leave out the last page and ask them "what happens?"...you can be sure there would be plenty of discussion...or they could write the finish...

At this point it was 9:32, fourteen minutes after they were last reminded that they were not, in fact, 7th graders.

While the instructor was explaining what they could possibly do if it was their own class, many of them flipped to the last page (as discreetly as they could) and continued reading. When the class was dismissed the instructor told them they could keep the poem. All of them did.[17] Those student teachers who hadn't read the ending did so on their way out of the classroom.[18]

Bogdan has noted that in a study of prospective salespeople, where he focused on strategies that these sales trainees learn in order to persuade their clients to buy certain products, "the instructors and company officials use the same techniques on trainees that trainees are taught to use on customers."[19] Unwittingly or not, it was this same strategy that was used on the student teachers. They were treated like the 7th graders that they will eventually teach, and like the sales trainees who bought the "script", these student teachers accepted the "script" they were presented with.

The implications of this, and similar situations will become clearer in later sections when we discuss the transition from the student role to the teacher role. In conclusion, though, one can see a definite relationship between the physical appearance of Teachers' College and the activity that takes place within.

The preceding discussion has focused on the first theme that arose in my first observational field visit and the subsequent development of that theme. Chronologically, the next theme that became apparent also originates in one of the earlier field visits.

The Attitude of Theory versus Practice

The very first day that I began my observations of actual classroom activity proved to be an important visit in terms of a theory versus practice distinction. With subsequent visits this distinction became progressively refined (or re-defined) by the student teachers until it evolved into a distinction between idealism versus realism.[20]

Initially, I first learned of this distinction after a lecture on "Teacher-Pupil Relationships: Discipline, Control and Rules." This lecture took place in the school auditorium where several different classes joined together to hear one instructor lecture. As was to become usual, after the lecture was finished, the different classes returned to their respective "homeroom" classrooms to discuss the lecture with their master instructor. Various theories[21] had been discussed in the lecture as well as their implications for classroom teachers. Returning to their classroom this particular class began a discussion

of behavioral limits theory ("...you limit your behavior in new situations...to behavior that has been successful in the past..."). One student addressed the instructor by commenting:

> I agree with what you said (setting limits on swearing) but...theories on paper are fine but...your first response would be to say "shut up" (nodding of heads, general agreement)

As far as these student teachers were concerned, theory was one thing, but to put it into practice was an entirely different matter.[22]

This idea of theory versus practice appears many times over as a complaint between what is said "inside" (theory-ideal) the College, and what actually occurs "outside" (practice-reality). The more exposure they had to student teaching situations, the more the distinction became couched in terms of inside versus outside (which for them, was synonymous with theory versus practice). The discrepancy is evident in the following quote from my field notes.

> ...they fill you up with so many ideas here (inside the College),...and then, when you are out doing your practice teaching...and even though those teachers have an outline of what you're supposed to be doing...they make you do the actual teaching...they are not supposed to have us teaching yet, but...what are you going to do? Say no?!

The reference here is being made to "teacher assistant days" where the student teachers were basically observers (as far as the College administration was concerned). These were not block student teaching times when they were evaluated. Yet, even though they were not evaluated during these assistant days, it is quite evident that what happens "out there" was assigned a priority above that of instruction within the College.

During the same conversation (as above), it came to my attention that there was an auditorium lecture about "Educational Needs of the Older City" (ENOC). One particular student who was placed in an inner city school had to teach a 7th grade composition class the following Monday. When asked if she was teaching in the inner city, she replied:

> Yea, but I'm not going to that lecture.
> I've got to prepare for that composition.

Although it was conceivable that the lecture would indeed help with the preparation of the lesson, "out there" took precedence. Time could not be wasted with lectures given at the College when there was work to be done. Not only had the distinction been made between theory versus practice, but precedence had been given to the practical aspect of their socialization.

Several months later, when asked specifically to identify the differences between inside the College and outside, the following quotes are illustrative.

> Some things I disagree with that are taught here (inside)...and then there are other things you just can't put to use. I think a lot of teachers realize that it would be nice if things worked the way they teach them in the College, but...
>
> Oh yea, there's a really big difference. ...it's the harsh reality out there.
>
> ...for the most part, they (classroom teachers) are talking about "that's reality, kids, you have to put up with it, and you've got to survive that way." Whereas in the College, what they're saying is "this is the way things should be and everything would be nice that way."
>
> ...yea, sure there are a lot of ideals you can't put into practice, but the way I see it, they are trying to show us the very best way, the utopian way of doing things in the hopes that we won't go right to the opposite extreme, and do it the easiest way you can. That you will at least try the ideals...the ideals can, to a certain extent, be put into practice if we are given some clue how to do it.

As is evident by these four quotes, this theory/practice distinction has evolved into a distinction between ideals, as taught inside the College, and reality, as it occurs "out there" in the classroom. Obviously, this separation is not something new, nor is it restricted to student teachers. Inservice teachers made the same distinction

according to student teachers (see above). Furthermore, social scientists have called our attention to the same idea.

The fundamental discrepancy between theory and practice is what Selznick calls doctrine and commitment.

> Doctrine, being abstract, is judiously selective and may be qualified at will in discourse, subject only to restrictions of sense and logic. But action is concrete, generating consequences which define a sphere of interest and responsibility together with a chain of commitments. Fundamentally, the discrepancy between doctrine and commitment arises from the interrelation of ideas and the interrelation of phenomena.[23]

Deutscher addresses the same notion in terms of words versus deeds.[24] Much of the previous discussion follows the same line of argument as put forth by these two authors, thereby providing further evidence that this common-sense distinction is made often.

Getting the Piece of Paper as Motive

One of the most prominent themes of this analysis was not discovered until much later (in comparison to the first two themes). It was not until the end of October that one of the respondents suggested in an interview that:

> You have to play the game right, by the rules, otherwise...you won't get the piece of paper.

In retrospect, this theme explained a variety of behaviors that I had observed. For whatever reason, a researcher finds many situations where you ask yourself "why did that happen?" These situations were numerous in the early part of the analysis. Imputing my own meanings into the situations invariably brought the response "I don't know." Given the theoretical and methodological commitments as stated earlier, it made it imperative that I understand actions from the actors' viewpoint.[25]

Before reviewing some of these previously incomprehensible events, it should be noted that this notion of getting the piece of paper has a long tradition and is not peculiar to Teachers' College. Particularly in view of what John Lee has termed the fail-safe model of education in Ontario,[26] it will be understood that this generation of student teachers has been raised on the idea of getting the piece of paper.[27] Karp and Yoels[28] have argued that students opt for non-involvement and anonymity in their college classrooms. Although they do not specifically mention that their sample students view education in terms of the end result, their data would seem to suggest that students do not view subjects and subject content as particularly important. Every day observation by those of

us involved in higher education would seem to indicate that content is less important than the end result.[29]

Therefore, not only is the passage thru Teachers' College viewed as a process of acquiring the piece of paper, but the university years are viewed in the same light. Thus, the following quote is representative.

> It (university) was simply a means to an end (Teachers' College).

Of course, not all student teachers view their university education as useless. But on the whole, it remained simply a variation on the same theme. As long as they had to do it,[30] it might as well be something they enjoyed and did well in.

> ...personally, I was very interested in it (biology). If I had to get a degree, why not get it in something I was interested in.

There are implications that need to be discussed with regard to adopting this perspective. These implications manifest themselves in a series of examples taken from my field notes. First, though, I would like to expand on some of the characteristics of <u>being</u> a student.[31]

Extremely helpful in this part of the analysis is the previously mentioned paper by Karp and Yoels[32]. They suggest that:

> by the time that students have finished high school, they have been imbued with the enormously strong belief that teachers are "experts" who possess the "truth". They have adopted, as Freire (1970)[33] has noted, a "banking model of education.. The teacher represents the bank, the huge "fund" of "true" knowledge. As a student, it is one's job to make weekly "withdrawls" from the fund, never any "deposits".... Teachers are in the classroom to teach, not to learn.[34]

If indeed this is the case, and it appears so, one would expect this generation of students to define as problematic any situation where the teacher was not teaching. Indeed, it would be somewhat difficult for the person who has served 17 or 18 years as a student to suddenly play the role of teacher.[35] If students define a classroom as a situation where teachers teach students, a situation where a student is temporarily the teacher and responsible for all those activities that the student perceives as being part of the role of teacher--it would be entirely probable that the student's performance as teacher would be lacking and inadequate.

One can find many examples of this kind of phenomena. I have chosen three qualitatively different examples to illustrate this. The first example is a paraphrase from my field notes concerning a lecture given inside the College. This lecture, which featured a "how-to-do-it recipe" approach to reading, was greeted favourably by the student

teachers (indirect references were made about it later on) on the basis that the lecturer, as well as the filmstrip, instructed them how-to-do-it. That is, how to teach reading.

The second example features the same student mentioned earlier, who had to prepare a composition idea for seventh graders.

> I have to figure out what I'm going to do for this composition thing next Tuesday... What do you give seventh graders as a topic for a composition?

Originally, as noted in my field note, I had attributed this lack of an idea to simply a lack of imagination. In light of the previous discussion though, this is another example of "if I'm not told, I can't do it."

Drawing on the third example, which represents an early over-all comment on the program, one can clearly see the student orientation as it affects the transition to the role of teacher.

> I'll tell you how I feel! Frustrated! I don't know what we are doing sometimes... or what we are learning...I go home at night and feel guilty because I know I should be reading, but I don't know what I'm supposed to be reading.

Clearly, being a student involves being told what to do and when to do it, etc.[36] If student teachers are treated

like students at Teachers' College, and as mentioned earlier, they are (and respond the same way), problematic situations will become commonplace. If they are not told, explicitly, what to do, they quickly develop a feeling of being lost.[37]

A by-product of this "get the piece of paper" attitude is the question of impression management, to use Goffman's term.[38] To reasonably ensure oneself of achieving the end result (i.e., diploma), it is necessary to foster certain impressions for the audience. Referring to classroom participation, Karp and Yoels contend that students are:

> aware that it would be an impropriety to be on a total "away" from the social situation. (Therefore,) students engage in what might be called "civil attention." They must appear committed enough to not alienate the teacher...[39]

I would suggest that this same process exists for student teachers. Although their goal is the end result "out there", the "real thing", it is necessary that they negotiate their passage through Teachers' College in such a way as to maximize their chances of getting a job. One way to maximize the chances is to receive good grades as well as personal recommendations. It is assumed that both of these quantities will maximize one's chances. Given today's oversupply of teachers, this factor must also be given consideration.

In sum, the student teacher must foster the

impression that:

1) he or she is smart enough to receive good grades, 2) has done well enough in student teaching situations to warrant a good recommendation and 3) is committed to entering the profession, if not this year, then later.

Impression management for student teachers was hinted at earlier. It deserves repeating.

> You have to play the game right, by the rules, otherwise....

To illustrate this even more, one need only look at attendance figures. My understanding at the beginning of this research was that class attendance was <u>not</u> compulsory. Yet, very few missed classes. At the time I didn't totally understand this, especially since everyone seemed to have a gripe. A month later, a student teacher who was describing the differences between university and Teachers' College, mentioned that at Teachers' College, unlike university, you had to attend every class. I questioned this student teacher and repeated the official lines I had been told previously.

> Well, yea, that's what they tell you, but if you don't make them think you are committed and enthusiastic, what are your chances? It's like a lot of other things, you have to go along with a lot of things that you may not necessarily agree with.

In summary, then, we have examined how the physical appearance of Teachers' College has an effect on student interaction. This was accomplished by reiterating the discussion in the meaning of an object in Meadian terms. Secondly, we looked at the distinction made by student teachers between theory and practice, and the preference given to the practice element of their socialization experience. And finally, we have explored the notion of getting the piece of paper as a motive (with a history) for certain behaviors. Furthermore, this was explained in terms of an impression management strategy.

FOOTNOTES

1. By data analysis, I refer to the:

> process which entails an effort to formally identify themes and to construct hypotheses (ideas) as they are suggested, and an attempt to demonstrates support for those themes and hypotheses.

(Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (New York: John Wiley and sons, 1975), p. 79). See also, B. Glaser and A. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).

2. Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969).

3. This type of data analysis is to be constrasted to most other methodologies where hypotheses are formulated (upon a priori assumptions) and then are examined according to various statistical procedures in an effort to prove these hypotheses. I am of the opinion, along with many others, that this type of methodology adds precious little to our understanding of a given phenomenon. For a critique along the same lines, see Cicourel, Method and Measurement in Sociology (New York: Free Press, 1964).

4. This is not to infer that all Teachers' Colleges look alike. It is generalizable only to a degree. However, it was brought to my attention in a conversation with another colleague, that other Teachers' Colleges do, in fact, resemble the description I have just given. While this particular colleague, Allan Turowetz, began a description of the particular College he visited, I found that I could successfully complete the description based on my own observations. The similarities were striking.

5. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 10.

6. Ibid., passim.

7. This does not infer that once meaning is assigned to an object it necessarily remains stable. While is is true that people tend to act toward objects in consistent ways, and hence, give them stable definitions, it is also true that in the course of their actions, they may redefine objects by giving them different meanings. Consequently, it is possible to define the library as an ideal place to sleep as well as a place to work on academic endeavours.

8. Given the admonishment above in footnote #7, let me also add that according to Blumer's (ibid., p.2.) second premise, "meaning...arises out of the social interaction that one has with one's fellows". Therefore, meanings are modified according to one's interaction with others (as well as with self). The meaning assigned previously may be modified in subsequent interactions with others (or self) but there always remains the process of interpretation. Once assigned, meaning does not become intrinsic to the object although it may appear so.

9. I can not help but feel that my own experience of déjà vu was indicative of the way we reassign meaning to familiar objects from our past.

10. See George Herbert Mead, The Philosophy of the Present (Chicago: Open Court Co., 1932), passim. Mead's theory of time deserves attention at this point in the discussion (it will also be dealt with later in Chapter V). Mead's theory of time is "a philosophy of the present" because "reality exists in the present" (p.1). Mead goes on to credit the past with "producing all the reality that there is" (p. 26). Mead also contends that "the past is there conditioning the present and its passage into the future" (p. 17). On the surface, this would seem to be leading towards absolute causal determinism, disallowing any possibility of novelty in the present. Mead escapes this trap in his discussion of the emergent event as an event containing novel features not wholly derived from antecedent factors. The emergent event exists in the present as well as being conditioned (partially) by the past. The emergent event is then an act which both adds novelty to the world through adjustment, and reconstruction (see pp. 2, 33, 35). As with all of Mead's thought, the key is his theory of the act (see Mead, The Philosophy of the Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938)). In discussing the temporality of the act, Mead refers to the act as an

event going on in a present but having a past reference and future reference. The act (event in the present) is a "product of past reactions" (Philosophy of the Act, p. 25). To paraphrase Mead's conclusion about the theory of the act, as well as the theory of time, it can be said that both, the past and the future qualify the present in which the act exists.

11. Personal Space (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969).

12. It was interesting to note that in a previous conversation with a "gatekeeper", Teachers' College was referred to as a "graduate school" on several occasions. In the light of the above comment, one could easily make an argument for multiple realities." Although I draw on Alfred Schutz' terminology (see "On Multiple Realities", in his Collected Papers I. The Problem Of Social Reality. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971) pp. 207-259), I do not necessarily share Schutz's belief in the paramount reality of the everyday world. There are separate realities, but to consider one paramount, thereby introducing a hierarchy of realities, is to lend weight (perhaps even political influence) to the so-called paramount reality. On this point, see Ronald Silvers "Discovering Children's Culture", Interchange, 6:4 (1975), p. 51.

13. Pygmalionism of course, refers to the Rosenthal and Jacobson study, Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupils' Intellectual Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968). Pygmalion was a legendary sculptor in Cyprus who fell in love with the statue he made of a woman, and at whose request, the god Aphrodite gave the statue life. Rosenthal and Jacobson use this as an example of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

14. S.L. Messinger et al., "Life as Theater: Some Notes on the Dramaturgical Approach to Social Reality", Sociometry, 25 (1962), pp. 98-110.

15. George Herbert Mead, On Social Psychology, ed. A. Strauss (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

16. Walter Coutou, "Role-Playing vs. Role Taking: An Appeal For Clarification", American Sociological Review, 16 (2), 1951, pp. 180-187. For an interesting discussion of the difference between role-taking, role-playing,

and playing-at the role, see the Coutu article. Coutu points out that in Mead's usage, role-taking was "a strictly mental or cognitive or empathic activity, not overt behavior or conduct" (Coutu, p. 180) whereas role-playing referred "to behavior, performance, conduct, overt activity" (Coutu, p. 180). According to Coutu, "playing-at thus involves both the playing and taking concepts in a make-believe, playful, fictitious or fantasy form" (Coutu, p. 181). The usage of the term play-at in this thesis is different than Coutu's definition and relies on Loosemore and Carlton ("The Student-Teacher: A Dramaturgical Approach to Role-Learning", in Carlton, Colley and MacKinnon, eds., Education, Change and Society (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Co., 1977)). Loosemore and Carlton insist that the playing-at stage need not be reserved for fantasy, child-like activity, and that the difference between adults and children playing-at a role is the higher level of commitment on the part of the adult.

17. Elizabeth Eddy, Beoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1969) has also pointed out "the transmission of written and oral traditions about teaching from one generation of teachers to the next...the handing down of written materials" (p.14).

18. Robert Bogdan, p. 185. See also Robert Bogdan, "Learning to Sell Door to Door", American Behavioral Scientist, 16 (1), 1972, p. 55-64.

19. Amazingly enough, this class was immediately followed by another, where upon the instructor repeated the lecture. There were no significant differences between the reactions of these two classes. If anything, the second class took more copious notes than did the first class.

20. If there is a rationale for maintaining the "theory versus practice" wording, rather than the "idealism versus realism" wording, it is simply because the student teachers more often than not expressed their sentiments in the format of the former rather than the latter.

21. These included such theories as Maslow's hierarchy of needs, stimulus-response learning, Weber's power-authority models, and behavioral limits theory.

22. Of course this distinction is not peculiar to student teachers alone. In-service teachers are often heard making the claims. On this point, see Phillip Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

23. Phillip Selznick, T.V.A. and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organizations (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 70.

24. Irwin Deutscher, "Words and Deeds: Social Science and Social Policy", Social Problems, 13 (1966).

25. Fortunately, it became much easier to keep this commitment inasmuch as, more often than not, I did not have a satisfactory explanation for the events that were occurring. That is, based on psychological make-up and academic training, my perspective on the world would not have permitted me to act in the same ways.

26. John Lee, "Failsafe Education", Canadian Journal of Higher Education, Fall (1976).

27. By eliminating failure from the school system and introducing "mickey mouse" courses to fulfill credit requirements, the end result (i.e., graduation) has been stressed, rather than the "means" by which one acquires the "end". The "ends" are automatic with little attention being paid to the middle part - the content.

28. David Karp and William Yoels, "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation", Sociology and Social Research, 60 (4), 1976, pp. 421-439.

29. The faulty assumption that many university students hold is that the piece of paper will assure them of a job. Needless to say, this is a faulty assumption. One could also speculate that the increase in all kinds of cheating is due to an emphasis on end results while at the same time, de-emphasizing content.

30. Without exception, student teachers were thankful for the years they spent in university for various reasons. Prominent among these reasons was the fact that it gave them time to mature. The mere suggestion that they enter Teachers' College immediately after grade 13 is enough to elicit all kinds of frowns and groans.

31. This area will be dealt with in more detail in the chapter on status passage. The passage from student to teacher will necessitate explanatory notes as to what it is they are moving away from (i.e., student) as well as how that former status (if indeed it is a former status) affects the transition to the role of teacher.

32. Karp and Yoels, "The College Classroom".

33. The reference here is to Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1970).

34. Karp and Yoels, "The College Classroom" p. 432.

35. Dan Lortie, Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975) suggests that although students have experienced an apprenticeship in teaching (by observation), their perceptions of the role of teacher are only partially adequate. As students, they see only the overt actions, whereas, what goes on "backstage" (to use Goffman's term) is unclear. They are not aware of the why's in the teaching process. Although they can take the role of teacher, they can not adequately play the role (see footnote 16 in this chapter). Alaf Meleis,("Role Insufficiency and Role Supplementation: A Conceptual Framework", Nursing Research, 24 (1975), pp. 264-271) has termed this inadequate perception of the role as role insufficiency.

36. It is interesting to note that on two separate occasions, three students mentioned that if they were going to change the structure and format of Teachers' College, they would ensure that everyone knew what was happening the next day. According to these students, a lack of course outline like they received in university was a detriment to their performance. (It should also be noted that these students were from a Council set-up that was not as regimented as others.)

37. Several observations validate this. When the time came to pick their option courses for the months of February and April, a cursory look at their schedules revealed that most signed up for the "how-to-do-it" courses. At various times throughout the research, the common complaint was that a lack of these courses could be equated to their failures in actual classroom situations.

38. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).

39. Karp and Yoels, "The College Classroom", p. 435.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDENT TEACHER STATUS PASSAGE

This chapter is concerned with first, the largely overt, objectively perceived aspects of the student teacher status passage. These aspects are conceptualized as scheduled and sequenced by various levels of officialdom. Secondly, this chapter discusses this professional socialization process as involving a set of transitional statuses that revolve around various subjectively perceived student teacher concerns. Three stages of concerns are conceptualized, of which the first two are based on the present research while the third stage is based on the literature in teacher education.

Introduction To Status Passage Theory

The origins of this type of analysis begin with the French anthropologists Arnold van Gennep.[1] Many have contributed to the development of this type of analysis. Hughes in particular, expanded on this type of analysis using the concepts of career and status passage.[2] Most recently, Glaser and Strauss have systematically set forth some properties of status passages based largely on their series of works.[3] Although Glaser and Strauss' work is the most contemporary, it is clear that much of the

theoretical insights have been gleaned from van Gennep's work[4] as well as Hughes'.[5] All three groups of authors have as their emphasis the transitional character of status passages. The differentiating factor is van Gennep's discussion of rites of separation and incorporation (as well as rites of transition). These two additional phases, absent for the most part from the works of Hughes and Glaser and Strauss, are applicable to the student teacher status passage and will be discussed later as such. Because of the importance placed on van Gennep's three phases, as they apply to the student teacher passage, there follows a brief summary of this work.

Rites of passage are the recurring social mechanisms that a society (or a segment of a society) provides for the orderly transition from one status to another. This process serves to revitalize the society, thereby assuring the continuity of that society.[6] These rites of passage comprise a sequence of events that include rituals and ceremonies. Arnold van Gennep, in his classic study of rites and passage,[7] noted that three phases could be discerned when examining the events that comprise the ritual. He classified these phases as <u>separation</u> (pre-liminal rites), <u>transition</u> (liminal rites), and <u>incorporation</u> (post-liminal rites).

Although each phase is distinct and always present, the phases may not be equally important, elaborate or visible. According to van Gennep, a phase may be sufficiently elaborate and of such length when it is compared to other phases in the ritual that it seems to constitute an independent state[8]. For instance:

> Rites of separation are prominent in funeral ceremonies, rites of incorporation at marriages. Transition rites may play an important part for instance, in pregnancy, betrothal, and initiation; or they may be reduced to a minimum in adoption, in the delivery of a second child...[9]

Van Gennep notes that when the transition phase is sufficiently elaborate to constitute a seemingly independent state, it is characterized by the reduplication of the three phases of the whole ritual scheme within that particular phase (i.e., the transition phase). The importance of this reduplication within the transition phase will emerge later in this chapter.

Such was van Gennep's main thesis. Although this seems commonplace, because of the substantial amount of work done in the area of status passage,[10] at the time of van Gennep's writing these ideas were indeed original.

In keeping with van Gennep's work, Everett C. Hughes wrote some years ago, that:

> We need studies which will discover the course of passage from the laymen's estate to that of the professional, with attention to the crises and the dilemmas of roles which arise.[11]

Glaser and Strauss, among others, heeded this call by producing a series of works.[12] These works served to expand van Gennep's thesis (as well as Hughes' concept of career)[13] by enumerating many properties that characterize status passages.[14] In addition to temporality, which includes such "matters as schedule, regularity, prescribed steps",[15] a number of other properties are outlined. These include desirability, inevitability, reversibility, repeatability, degree of control, legitimation, clarity of the signs of passage, and whether or not the person who goes through the passage does so alone, collectively, or in aggregate (in addition to doing so voluntarily).[16] According to Glaser and Strauss:

> Complex permutations of these interrelated properties give rise to the variable social events which occur...[17]

Glaser and Strauss conclude their introduction with some rather simple advice:

> If we choose...to study status passages and to analyze them, we might as well take a closer look at their several properties.[18]

The following represents exactly such an undertaking. I will focus, most explicitly, on the property of temporality, as well as on the properties of shape and desirability,[19] as they concern student teachers.[20] These three properties, especially the first, have been selected because of the frequency of the data that reveals these properties. It is also assumed that a depiction of these properties will reveal the problematic nature of this status passage.

Temporality - Overt Aspects

As noted earlier (see footnote 15), temporal concerns regarding the passage are much emphasized in the literature. Glaser and Strauss note that:

> People are interested in the temporal expectations for the passage as well as who is to legitimate the expectations, and what differences in expectations will exist among participants in a passage. Also, what is the rate, pace, or speed of the passage, and how does it fluctuate in distance and distinction? Is the rate scheduled or nonscheduled? What are the stages of passage...and are they prescribed sequences? Who is basically in control of the coordination or articulation of temporal aspects of the passage, particularly the movement between transitional statuses?[21]

In one sense, death is not death until the death certificate legitimates it as such. In the same manner,

it is the Ministry of Education that legitimates[22] the existence of teacher training and annunciates various expectations for the passage from student to teacher. This is, in ritual fashion, culminated by the issuance of another kind of certificate — a teaching certificate (initially an interim certificate followed by permanent certification 2 years later).[23] The "official line", as it is contrived here, should not be under-estimated. This would appear to be sufficiently important to student teachers judging by their level of interest as it was expressed during a two hour class on certification and contracts.[24]

In addition to legitmating student teachers' activities, the Ministry is also responsible, in part,[25] for annunciating expectations for those occupying the status of student teacher. This is accomplished in several official documents including a College calendar. This calendar describes the "basic program"[26] as well as the "practicum". Under the heading practicum, several roles (and expectations) are delineated. These include the roles of staff advisor, associate teacher, and student teacher. Particularly interesting is the role of the student teacher during practice teaching.

> The student teacher has essentially the same professional obligations as the staff members of the associate schools... Time of arrival and departure...supervision ...materials...amount of teaching...

This document goes on to state, in general terms:

> The basic criteria for evaluating the student teacher's progress should be his display of professional attitude and his level of teaching competence in a classroom.[27]

Concluding this section on practice teaching, there are two paragraphs on filling out a report form (regarding the evaluation of the practice teaching) as well as what to do with the completed form.

The use of these rather mundane data is to suggest that the legitimators have delineated quite clearly what it is that they expect before conferring legitimation (graduation and teaching certificates).

This, in its most restricted sense, is who legitimates and announces the expectations. In a less restricted sense though, it is the College masters and associate teachers who announce and legitimate certain expectations that are of greater concern for the student teachers. With regards to the in-College ("inside")[28] aspect of a student teacher's career this results in showing commitment to the teaching profession as well as showing the right kind of attitude (e.g., enthusiasm and a professional attitude).[29] Furthermore, these commitments foster impression management tactics.[30] On the other hand, during the practice teaching situation(s), the various commitments (derived from unspoken

expectations that define the situation) result in a substantial amount of imitation. Student teachers will complain about various teaching techniques, such as flash cards, but they continue to employ them as long as the associate teacher does. Opening exercises can be duplicated after observing an associate teacher for only one day. Many other routines are successfully duplicated after only brief observation by the student teacher.[31] Imitation occurs in connection with what student teachers perceive that associate teachers consider indicative of teaching competence.[32] In many instances, teaching competence is equated with class control. To be sure, for all those concerned, discipline matters are of primary interest for student teachers.[33]

As long as grades, received both inside the College and during practice teaching, are deemed important by student teachers[34] (in terms of getting jobs), a substantial amount of impression management will be evident.[35]

The next set of questions posed by Glaser and Strauss regarding temporal concerns deal with the rate of passage, whether or not the rate is scheduled, and the stages of the passage. As is common with most institutionalized status passages, the rate of passage for student teachers is quite scheduled and follows certain prescribed steps. The scheduling of this passage takes place over

the course of eight months beginning in September and ending in April of the following year. The prescribed steps are quite clearly delineated for the student teacher. These steps are set forth in the same official document quoted earlier ("Practice Teaching 1976-77"). All student teachers take part in teacher assistant days (one day per week) throughout the first semester. The first semester also contains two practice teaching situations where student teachers initially spend one week (November 1-5) followed by a two week period (November 22 - December 3). After returning from Christmas vacation, student teachers are required to spend the month of January student teaching (two weeks each at two schools). This same procedure is followed for the month of March with the remaining time spent at Teachers' College.[36]

Of course, the above discussion does in fact deal with the largely overt aspects of the passage through time. To be sure, the rate of passage is scheduled for the student teachers by institutionally prescribed sequences. On the other hand, though, the stages of passage which are subjective[37] do not automatically follow the same sequencing as the instituionally precribed, overt, stages.

Transitional Statuses - Subjective Features

Drawing from previously written material, Glaser and Strauss claim that "it is important...to see a status passage temporally rather than statically. The passage is in constant movement over time, not just "in" a status."[38] Earlier, Strauss had remarked that:

> a temporal dimension is implicit in all kinds of status. No one is assigned, nor may he assume, a position or status forever. Always, there is a clause, whether hidden or openly acknowledged, whereby a man may be disposssessed or may dispossess himself of the status.[39]

It will be remembered from the introduction to this chapter that van Gennep also placed a great importance on the transitional phase of status passage. Various authors, including Iannaccone and Eddy,[40] have characterized student teaching as largely a transitional stage in becoming a teacher. A limiting factor in both of these analyses is that only the student teaching aspect, that is, the pre-service practice teaching situations,[41] is dealt with. There is more to becoming a teacher, that is, incorporating the teacher role, than just the practice teaching phase. My point is that just as Becker[42] came to view the process of becoming a marihuana user as a set of transitional statuses rather than a single transition as was originally

thought, the process of becoming a teacher involves a set of transitional statuses.

Van Gennep has called our attention to the fact that when a rite of transition is sufficiently elaborate it seems to constitute an independent state.[43] Furthermore, it is characterized by the reduplication of the three phases within the transition phase.[44] Although the "whole" professional socialization process can be construed as a transition[45] there occurs within it another set of transitions which are characterized by certain covert concerns.

Initially, there is the separation from university studenthood at the time of enrollment at Teachers' College. In many cases, this separation is more than symbolic, given the fact that these student teachers attended other universities not affiliated with Teachers' College. The symbolic aspect, in addition to the physical separation, places them in a transition period between the former world they inhabited and the new one they are attempting to be incorporated into. Yet, within this ritualized process they will occupy various other transitional statuses. The transitional statuses they will occupy depends on the <u>direction</u> their passages moves in.[46]

Various authors have posited the notion that there is an incomplete separation from studenthood.[47] Lortie[48] has suggested that the apprenticeship (by observation) in teaching, that potential teachers serve for fifteen years or so, while occupying the status of student is not affected by teacher training. Although there is training for separation from the student role, it is largely incomplete[49] by virtue of the fact that conceptions of what good teaching is and what good teachers are remain largely unchanged by teacher training.[50] The power and persistence of previously learned behaviors is clearly set out by Kroeber:

> ...perhaps a larger fraction of the cultural tradition is acquired by each individual at his own initiative. He is left to "pick it up", to grow into it. In this class are his speech, bodily postures and gestures, mental and social attitudes, which he imitates from his elders or from...a thousand and one activities...which a child "learns", often without any formal instruction, because he has seen others do these things and wants to do them too.[51]

This cultural molding can be conceived of on a smaller scale, say, for instance, the activities within a classroom. This molding is indeed powerful and persistent for the incoming student teacher.

When one looks at Freire's "banking model of education[52] it becomes evident that students have become imbued with the belief that teachers are "experts" who

represent the bank of true knowledge. As students, it is their job to make withdrawls, thus leading to the maxim that "teachers teach and students learn."[53] Fifteen or sixteen years of building up this belief is extremely hard to counter by eight months of teacher training. One must conclude that there is incomplete separation from the student role in the case of student teachers.[54]

Organizational features of Teachers' College do not encourage permanent separation from the student role. While training to assume the role of teacher, student teachers "accomplish" this while in the role of student (at least part of the time).[55] Given the conception of "teachers teach and students learn", one is led to believe these two roles are antithetical to one another. At the very least, this process of learning to play the role of teacher while occupying the antithesis of that role, is very complex, demanding and certainly stressful. And to further confuse the situation, the organizational structure requires that student teachers practice teaching intermittantly throughout the year. While "playing at" the role of teacher[56] they are certainly closer to the role of teacher than that of student by virtue of the responsibilities and respect they are given by both associate teachers and client - pupils. Within a short time however, this is followed by a return to the College and, by inference, a resumption of the status

of student.[57] This process is repeated a number of times until such time as graduation occurs and the student teacher assumes the status of "real" teacher and begins the incorporation phase.

As indicated previously, although the process of being a student teacher is conceptualized as transitional in nature, in actuality it consists of several transitional statuses.[58] In addition to the reference to the movement from student status (in Teachers' College) to the status of "almost-teacher" (student teacher during practice teaching) there exist other stages of the passage, which are inextricably linked to the above mentioned statuses,[59] albeit subjectively.[60]

These stages of the passage are centered around various concerns of the student teacher.[61]

Different researchers consider the first stage a survival stage.[62] My own data reveals this quite clearly in any number of ways.[63] Recently separated from the status of university student, but still under the influence of studenthood, student teachers are concerned about themselves. Having been brought up in a competitive environment and progressed through one of society's most competitive institutions, incoming student teachers are more than likely to be concerned with their own personal success. Success, throughout their educational career, has been measured by some form of evaluation. Therefore, while both inside

the College and in the field during practice teaching situations, student teachers are concerned about their supervisor's opinions. During the practice teaching situation, particularly, student teachers are concerned with class control.[64] When good teaching comes to be viewed in terms of class management[65], this becomes a concern for the student teacher if he or she wants a good evaluation from the associate teacher. Because of this situation, then, one's adequacy and survival are defined in terms of discipline and class management.[66]

It is at this stage that concerns about content mastery also appear. This is revealed in the constant complaint, and demand for, more content-oriented courses. In the words of the student teachers: "more 'how-to-do-it' courses." Feelings of inadequacy are typically felt by student teachers over this issue. Fuller and Brown[67] write that "novices may be expected to practice new techniques in their classrooms...before they are comfortable with more familiar routines...[68]. Clearly, this is a case where, as Hughes writes:

> In the process of change from one role to another, there are occasions when other people expect one to play the new role before one feels completely identified with it, or competent to carry it out; there are others in which one over-identifies oneself with the role, but is not accepted in it by others.[69] These and other possible positions between roles make of an individual what is called a marginal man; either he or other people or

> both do not quite know to what role (identity, reference group) to refer him.[70]

Although the empirical findings about the efficiency of teacher education are mixed[71] the concerns of neophytes, as described above, are verified by the literature. We do know that student teachers become more impersonal, more negative, rigid and authoritarian.[72] There is a change from a more humanistic approach to one of custodial, stressing bureaucratic order and control[73] which in all likelihood, represents a shift toward the prevailing ethos of the occupation found in public school.[74] We also know that during the first contact with actual teaching, student teachers' concerns change radically.[75] My data reveals the same process as described in the literature enabling us to describe this first stage as a survival-centered stage which revolves around discipline concerns and teaching competency concerns.

Somewhat overlapping with this area of concerns, there appears the second stage, a mastery stage, when student teachers are trying to perform well.[76] As with the previous stage, this stage can also be invoked during the in-service period of the beinning teacher[77] and is in no way limited to the subjective experiences of the pre-service student teacher. For student teachers, this stage is usually

invoked by the practice teaching situation after they realize they can survive. To put it into their words: "they (pupils) didn't eat me up like I (student teacher) thought". Although survival concerns, particularly discipline concerns, remain problematic there is less emphasis on them, thereby opening the door for concerns about mastery.[78]

These are concerns about "too many students","lack of materials", time pressures involved in preparing lessons, etc. These are all matters that impinge upon their learning to teach well. But as Loosemore and Carlton[79] point out, these are still concerns about their own performance rather than concerns about their pupils' learning. This is expressed in many ways, but the general idea is that "if you know your material, prepare well and perform it well, you have been successful". This of course, relates to the idea that "the teacher teaches, the student learns". The consensus can be expressed in terms of if you perform well, you have taught something and therefore, the students have learned something.

One will notice that these two stages are very closely linked in the sense that both stages are teacher-centered. During part of the first stage content mastery concerns appear with an emphasis on "how-to-do-it" courses which evolves into, during the second stage, concerns about teaching mastery.

The third stage is, by and large, speculation because my data does not reveal such instances of this stage. This is not to infer that data will not, in the future, reveal such concerns. In fact, based on the literature, one can assume that this stage is in fact evoked by the in-service teaching situation in contrast to the first two stages. In the third stage, the teacher may settle into stable teaching routines and become resistant to change[80] or may become consequences-oriented, that is, concerned about the impact he/she is having on the pupils.[81] If the latter path is chosen these are concerns about the social and emotional needs of the children, the inappropriateness of curriculum material for various students, etc.[82] These are concerns about how and why various students do or do not learn the material presented. The notion of "teachers teach and students learn" has been amended with "sometimes". In contrast to the first two clusters of concerns these are no longer teacher-centered, but rather are child-centered.

A note on the natural history of this study, with reference to this stage, is in order. The reason this stage is even included in this chapter is because I thought my data did reveal these concerns. Initially, what I thought was genuine concern over pupils' socio-economic backgrounds, families, external situations, etc. turned out to be

external rationalizations on the part of associate teachers in particular. Typically, this took the form of "what can we do?...look at their home life." Keeping in mind that student teachers have a tendency to imitate associate teachers' behaviors,[83] there were similar vocalizations on this subject by student teachers. One may argue any number of points of view as to why this is so for student teachers. I would contend that very few in-service teachers exhibit these third stage concerns, and therefore, it is unreasonable to expect student teachers to do otherwise. In addition, largely because student teachers are flooded by feelings of inadequacy and other situational conflicts and demands, there is little time for student teachers to consider these concerns about the "total child". Given sufficient time to ameliorate the cluster of concerns in the first two stages it is possible that these student teachers, soon to become "real teachers" (if they get a job), will consider these child-centered concerns.

Summary

The analysis in this chapter detailed the largely overt, objectively perceived aspects of the status passage which are scheduled and sequenced. This involved the official

aspects of the status passage that are legitmated by the officialdom of Teachers' College and the Ministry of Education.

It was suggested that while this would lead us to conceptualize the passage as transitional, which it is, it is a mistake to think of the passage as a single transition. Rather, this professional socialization process must be construed as, in addition to a transition, a set of transitional statuses which are characterized by certain covert, subjectively perceived concerns.

Initially, it was noted that incomplete separation from studenthood confused the situation for student teachers. After having spent years accepting the notion of "teachers teach and students learn", student teachers are asked to be teachers (intermittantly) while doing this in the role of student (which they consider to be antithetical to the role of teacher). Organizational features compound this confusion by moving student teachers from the status of student to the status of "almost-teacher" and back again. This movement from one role (student) to another ("almost-teacher") is instrumental in the appearance of the first two clusters of concerns.

These two statuses (student and "almost-teacher") are inextricably linked to the first two areas of concerns.

The first cluster of concerns, survival concerns, seems to be invoked by the status of student. The second area of concerns, the mastery stage, seems to be invoked by the status of "almost-teacher", that is, the student teacher in the practice of teaching.[84] The third stage, it was explained, is invoked during the in-service teaching year(s), is characterized by more child-centered concerns than the first two stages and is consequences-oriented.

This, then, is the status passage that neophytes are processed through (as well as process themselves through), in becoming teachers. This transitional period though, is not completed at year's end. It continues, and repeats itself, through the the beginning teaching year(s) until such time as the incorporation phase begins. In actuality these two phases, transition and incorporation, will overlap inasmuch as they both take place during the intial year(s) of teaching.

Having described this status passage from the eyes of those undergoing it, that is, the student teachers, the next chapter represents the "outsiders'" view on the basis of "insiders'" knowledge in the hope that an overview of teaching can be presented.

FOOTNOTES

1. Les Rites de Passage (Paris: Nourry, 1909). The edition used here is that of: The Rites of Passage, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

2. Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958). See also Anselm Strauss, Mirrors and Masks (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).and Howard S. Becker et al., Boys In White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

3. B. Glaser and A. Strauss, Awareness of Dying (Chicago: Aldine, 1965); Time For Dying (Chicago: Aldine, 1968); Anguish (San Francisco: The Sociology Press, 1970); Status Passage (Chicago: Aldine, 1971).

4. See footnote number 14 (this chapter).

5. In an earlier draft of this chapter, Dr. Marshall pointed out the importance E.C. Hughes plays as an intermediary between van Gennep and Glaser and Strauss. More specifically, see Vic Marshall, "No Exit: A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective on Aging", International Journal of Aging and Human Development, (forthcoming, 1977) on the relationship between Hughes' notion of career and the more contemporary notion of status passage.

6. Although this is a summary of van Gennep's work, and does not represent my views on society, it should be noted, as Dr. Marshall has correctly pointed out this is indeed a very functionalist argument characterized by a reifying language.

7. The Rites of Passage, passim.

8. Ibid., pp. 191-192.

9. Ibid., p. 11

10. For examples of works that can be subsumed under the general heading "status passage" see the following: Strauss, Mirrors and Masks; Roth, Timetables (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963); Davis, Passage Through Crisis (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963); Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies", American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp. 420-424; Becker et al., Boys In White; Warner, A Black Civilization (New York: Harper, 1937) and

The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959); Haas, "From Punk to Scale: A Study of High-Steel Iron Workers", (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, unpublished, 1971); Willower, "The Teacher Subculture and Rites of Passage", Urban Education, 4 (2), 1969, pp. 103-114; Eddy, "Rites of Passage in a Total Institution", Human Organization, 23 (1964), pp. 67-75 and Becoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1969); Lortie, Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Paulus, "Law-Making: From Bill to Act, A Status Passage", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12 (4: Part 2), 1975, p. 500. The knowledgeable reader will realize that what has been subsumed under the general, more contemporary heading entitled status passage actually deals with rites and/or rituals of passage as well as status change. "Ritual and rite are not to be understood in the restricted sense of the formal aspects of a religious service, although these would be included" (Eddy, Becoming a Teacher, p. 23). Rather as Warner (The Living and the Dead, p. 104) suggests, the terms are used in the broader sense of "any social behavior performed for the sake of expressing a certain meaning or meanings of importance to the group concerned". The idea of a broader connotation is also used by Willower ("The Teacher Subculture and Rites of Passage", p. 109) who prefers to use "the term passageways" rather than "rites of passage largely on the basis that (his) term suggests a longer time in passage, and a more gradual and perhaps, more ambiguous achievement of identification with the occupation than is implied by the notion of rites of passage". Also drawing on Gluckman's "Les Rites of Passage", in Gluckman, ed., Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962) point that tribal societies have a greater elaboration of ritual than modern societies, Willower (ibid., p. 109) concludes that "it (passageways) signifies the passage of a slower and less certain socialization than the more categorical transformation celebrated by ritual". One can conclude from this overly wordy footnote that there is a continuity between all terms under this heading of status passage.

11. Hughes, Men and Their Work, pp. 119-120.

12. See footnote 3 (this chapter).

13. Hughes, Men and Their Work, pp. 8-9, 62-67.

14. Many of these "neglected properties" which were first reported in Strauss ("Some Neglected Properties of Status Passage", in Becker et al., eds., Institutions and the Person (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), pp. 265-271), are simply properties which van Gennep left implicit. For example, van Gennep refers to rites of passage for groups (pp. 26-40) as well as for the individuals (ibid.) Glaser and Strauss (Status Passage, pp. 116-141) do the same while expanding and delineating the differences. Glaser and Strauss (ibid., pp. 14-32) allow that passages may be reversible and/or repeatable to some degree while van Gennep (ibid., passim) talks about rites of separation reffering to preliminary separation (thus inferring reversal to original status before proceeding to permanent separation). Van Gennep (ibid., pp. 11-12) refers to multiple passages as do Glaser and Strauss (ibid., pp. 142-156). One last example, clarity of the signs of passage (see van Gennep, ibid., p. 11 and Glaser and Strauss, ibid., pp. 57-88). One could also argue, as did Dr. Marshall in an earlier draft of this chapter, that there is little in Glaser and Strauss (ibid.) that adds to Hughes' (ibid., pp. 62-67) concept of career. Again, see Marshall (ibid).

15. Glaser and Strauss, Status Passage, p. 12. According to Glaser and Strauss, most sociologists, whether affected by anthropological research or not, "have tended to assume in their analyses that status passages are fairly regularized, scheduled, and prescribed" (ibid., p. 3). Although I too am guilty of this, it is half my case. While discussing overt features in terms of being scheduled, etc. the remainder of my analysis deals with covert features (subjectively perceived) that are not necessarily scheduled, etc.

16. Glaser and Strauss, pp. 4-5.

17. Ibid., p. 9.

18. Ibid., p. 10.

19. Glaser and Strauss (ibid., p. 12) include in the property of temporality, such matters as schedule, regularity, prescribed steps, speed, and pace. Shape concerns the issue of control over the passage as well as periods and plateaus of the passage. Desirability deals with centrality of the passage to the actors, actual desirability of the passage and its voluntary or involuntary character.

20. It should be noted here that I have written this from the viewpoint of student teachers and not administrators or social scientists. With regards to Becker's question ("Who's Side Are We On?", Social Problems, 14 (1966-7), pp. 239-247), it should be evident that this account is written from the perspective of student teachers. Davis, ("Professional Socialization as Subjective Experience: The Process of Doctrinal Conversion Among Student Nurses", in Becker et al., eds., Institutions and the Person, p. 27) writes that we must "write mainly from the vantage point of those undergoing this kind of status passage rather than in the language of such familiar, phenomenologically exterior sociologicall constructs".

21. Glaser and Strauss, Status Passage, p. 33.

22. I use legitimate in the same vein as Glaser and Strauss (ibid., p. 135) who refer to legitimation, albeit, indirectly, when they discuss legitimators in terms of those who "legitimately determine temporal expectations... and (have) discretionary power to withhold or announce them to others with some degree of clarity and of public noticeability."

23. This can be considered an objective feature of the status passage in the career of the beginning teacher. See Hughes (ibid., p. 63) with regard to what a career consists of, both objectively and subjectively.

24. See the previous chapter, sub-section entitled "Getting The Piece of Paper as Motive." Working within a means to an end framework, student teachers are highly interested in the piece of paper that symbolizes the "end". This is consistent with the interest shown in the topic of certification.

25. Of course, at the official level, the Teachers' College administration is also responsible for defining student teachers' expectations and activities. But it must be noted that unlike most other Teachers' Colleges, this institution is directly under the auspices of the Ministry.

26. Under the heading "basic program", there appeared various sub-sections which included: introduction and orientation; the core program (further divided up into: curriculum strategies, the field centre, curriculum development, creating the classroom community, and teacher assistant days); the second semester academic program (curriculum options and foundation options).

27. Both of these quotes are from page 6 of the College calendar mentioned earlier. This document, along with many others, are treated as data in my field notes.

28. See the previous chapter, "The Attitude of Theory versus Practice".

29. See the previous chapter, "Getting the Piece of Paper as Motive".

30. See Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).

31. At times, the participant observation techniques and abilities of student teachers rival those of the best qualitative methodologist. It is quite possible that these abilities could be explicitly used by teacher training institutions, and student teachers to improve teaching. See the following: J. Martin, Classroom Process Analysis: A Training Manual for Student Teachers (Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, 1975); R.L. Ober et al., Systematic Observation of Teaching: An Interaction Analysis - Instructional Strategy Approach (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971). The ideas presented above will be introduced into a tutorial group by the author in the Fall of 1977, in the hopes of training in-service teachers to become participant observers cum researchers.

32. For a strikingly similar account see Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student-Teacher: A Dramaturgical Approach to Role-Learning", in Carlton, Colley, MacKinnon, eds., Education, Change and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Co., 1977).

33. Additional commentary on this area can be found in many sources. See Hoy, "Organizational Socialization: The Student Teacher and Pupil Control Ideology", Journal of Educational Research, 61 (December 1967), pp. 153-155; Willower, The School and Pupil Control Ideology (University Park: Pennsylvania State Studies Monograph, no. 24, 1967); Fuller and Bown, "Becoming a Teacher", in Kevin Ryan, ed., Teacher Education (Chicago: The National Society for the Study of Education, 1975); Iannaccone, "Student Teaching: A Transitional Stage in the Making of a Teacher," Theory into Practice, 2 (April 1963), pp. 73-81. Briefly though, the following comment from my field notes made by

a College Master (to a lecture group) sums up the prevailing sentiment: "...by your own admission, this (discipline) is an all-consuming interest for potential teachers."

34. There is no reason to believe that after 15 or 16 years of formal schooling, where success was (is) measured by grades, they would be willing to accept an alternative perspective concerning grades. See Howard S. Becker et al., Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968) with regards to the importance placed on grades by the college students.

35. See especially, Loosemore and Carlton (ibid., p. 424) on this point. They make the point, using Goffman's (ibid., pp. 30-35) terms "dramatic realization" and "idealization", that student teachers "must highlight his performance with dramatic overtones, and play the visible aspects to the hilt."

36. This format for the second semester varies according to the area council they were placed in. January and March are the primary-junior practice teaching blocks, whereas February and April are for the junior-intermediates. The other two months are spent in the college taking option courses.

37. See Davis, "Professional Socialization as Subjective Experience".

38. Glaser and Strauss, p. 47.

39. Anselm Strauss, Mirrors and Masks, p. 124.

40. Iannaccone, ibid., and Eddy, ibid.

41. On the other hand, my research has focused primarily on that aspect of the socialization experience that occurs within the College setting.

42. Howard S. Becker, "Becoming a Marihuana User", in Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 41-58.

43. Ibid., pp. 191-192.

44. Ibid., p. 11.

45. Iannaccone, ibid.

46. According to the Glaser and Strauss schema of properties, the following discussion deals with the properties of shape ("combining its direction and temporality" (p. 57) and reversibility (pp. 14-32).)

47. The use of the term studenthood follows the same line of reasoning as put forth by Levinson, "Medical Education and the Theory of Adult Socialization", Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 8 (4), 1967, pp. 253-265. Levinson writes that "the suffix 'hood', though awkward, serves the useful function of denoting a condition or state of living. Other important human conditions are identified by the words 'patienthood', 'parenthood'..." (p. 260).

48. Dan C. Lortie, "Teacher Socialization: The Robinson Crusoe Model", in The Real World of the Beginning Teacher, Report of the Nineteenth National Teacher Education and Professional Standards Conference (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1966), pp. 54-66; "Observations on Teaching as Work", in R.M.W. Travers, ed., Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

49. Eddy, Becoming a Teacher.

50. Lortie, Schoolteacher.

51. Alfred Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 283.

52. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1970).

53. See Karp and Yoels, "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation", Sociology and Social Research, 60 (4), 1976, pp. 421-439.

54. Cf. van Gennep's (ibid.) distinction between preliminary and permanent separation.

55. See the previous chapter that depicts the very real presence of the student role, sometimes that of the seventh grade student.

56. Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student-Teacher", pp. 418-420.

57. This is the reversibility aspect mentioned in footnote 46.

58. Herein lies the connection between van Gennep's statement regarding reduplication within the transition phase. A movement from one transitional status to another implies separation from the first status, a liminal state, and finally, incorporation of the second status.

59. The assumption here, of course, is that the various subjectively perceived stages also represent various statuses to be occupied.

60. Hughes, Men and Their Work, p. 63.

61. These various areas of concerns have been partially derived from my own data as well as from the existing literature. Inasmuch as the third area of concerns are to be found during in-service teaching and my data does not extend to this period, the third stage has been conceptualized from the literature. A follow up study of these student teachers, when and if, they get a job, is needed to verify this third stage.

62. See Fuller, "Concerns of Teachers: A Developmental Conceptualization", American Educational Research Journal, 6 (March 1969), pp. 207-226; Lortie, "Teacher Socialization"; Fuller et al., Concerns of Teachers: Research and Reconceptualization (Austin, Texas: Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, 1973).

63. After the first practice teaching block, I asked these student teachers to share their experiences. Several main themes came up several times, which can be interpreted in terms of survival. Many were surprised that "the pupils weren't as bad as I thought", or "I was surprised they didn't eat me up". Many mentioned that they "didn't have any problems (discipline problems)." Another revealing remark was their preference for the "little kids" because they were easier to handle. As is evident by this data, the key to survival is ggod discipline. This will later develop into competency in teaching equals good class control.

64. Because of the primacy assigned to the practice teaching situations, there is considerable carry-over to the "inside" college aspect. Therefore, they are concerned with class control during all aspects of the training. See Chapter III.

65. Hoy, "Organizational Socialization"; Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student-Teacher".

66. On the other hand, they are faced with the more child-centered, liberal orientation of the college masters, which may be, and usually is, at odds with the practices of assoicate teachers. The student teacher gets mixed signals and expectations about goals and means from the different trainers. In fact, the same behavior may be punished and rewarded depending on the student teacher's temporal and spatial location. All this adds fuel to the fire, concerning their concerns about adequacy and survival.

67. Fuller and Bown, "Becoming a Teacher", p. 38.

68. With reference to the present research this can be illustrated quite easily by drawing on an example involving discipline concerns (a part of the first stage of concerns). Neophytes have been asked to use what has been euphemistically termed "tiger personality" with regards to discipline. According to one college master, the key to discipline is contrast. Therefore, one should be fairly low-keyed until such time as it is necessary to let loose with a "roar". Although this is conceivably an effective method, it is nonetheless hard for student teachers in a practice teaching situation that is defined as problematic by themselves, to remain low-keyed. They are not yet comfortable enough with more familiar routines as Fuller and Bown suggest.

69. A prime example of this in the present case, is the over-zealous student teacher who assumes "too much", particularly in the area of discipline, only to be thwarted with the proverbial "You're not even a 'real teacher'." This, in turn, feeds back into concerns of survival and adequacy, thus stressing an already apprehensive situation.

70. E.C. Hughes, "The Making of a Physician", in <u>The Sociological Eye: Selected Papers</u>, vol. 2 (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), p. 400.

71. Robert Peck and James Tucker, "Research on Teacher Education", R.M.W. Travers, ed., <u>Second Handbook of Research on Teaching</u>, pp. 940-978.

72. S.B. Kohn and Joel Weiss, "The Teaching of Affective Responses", in R.M.W. Travers, (ibid.), pp. 759-804; Harry P. Day, "Attitude Changes of Becoming Teachers After Initial Teaching Experience", Journal of Teacher Education, 10 (September 1959), pp. 326-328; Wilbur H. Dutton, "Attitude Change of Elementary School Student Teachers and Anxiety", Journal of Educational Research, 55 (May 1962), p. 380-382; Elmer B. Jacobs, "Attitude Change in Teacher Education: An Inquiry into the Role of Attitudes in Changing Behavior", Journal of Teacher Education, 19 (Winter 1968), pp. 410-415; M.N. Gewinner, "A Study of the Results of the Interaction of Student Teachers with Their Supervising Teachers During the Student Teaching Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1968); J.A. Harrison, "An Analysis of Attitude Modifications of Prospective Teachers Toward Education Before and After a Sequence of Teacher Preparation Experiences" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1967).

73. Hoy, "Organizational Socialization".

74. Lortie, Schoolteacher.

75. Iannaccone, "Student Teaching".

76. Fuller and Bown, "Becoming a Teacher."

77. Eddy, Becoming a Teacher, and Lortie, Schoolteacher. This, of course, is still part of the transition phase inasmuch as the incorporation phase, in the teaching profession particularly, does not take place until such time as sufficient experience, time, etc. has accumulated during the in-service years (see particularly, Eddy, 1969 and Lortie, 1975). The theoretical insight here has been suggested earlier. Because of transition, the phase is elaborate and lengthy, and seemingly constituting an independent state, there occurs a reduplication of rites within the phase as suggested by van Gennep.

78. In general, this was observed to occur during and/or after the second practice teaching block.

79. Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student-Teacher".

80. See Lortie's (Schoolteacher, passim) discussion of the ethos of the occupation that favours stability rather than change.

81. John Gabriel, An Analysis of the Emotional Problems of the Teacher in the Classroom (London: Angus and Robertson, 1957).

82. One of the greatest sources of data that this conceptual stage is based on comes from my "students" in the Sociology of Education class. To these "students", who are in-service teachers, I am eternally grateful.

83. Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student-Teacher".

84. As Dr. Marshall pointed out, the first two stages are in the medical socialization literature, represented by Boys In White and The Student Physician, Robert Merton et al., (eds.), (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957).

CHAPTER V

REENACTING YESTERDAY TODAY FOR USE TOMORROW

This chapter is concerned with an overview of the teacher socialization process based on the analysis in the previous chapters.[1] Contained within this chapter is the conclusion, suggestions for further research, and recommendations for the future.

It has been suggested many times before, that teacher education is of dubious quality and effect.[2] An additional way of conveying this message is suggested by the symbolic interactionism perspective. This is accomplished by a comparison of medical education with teacher education on the basis of four main points. The conclusion arrived at is then examined in terms of continuity versus discontinuity. This, in turn, sheds some light on preferable aspects in teacher education in the future.

Seeing The World In Reverse

Another way to add to the growing body of critical literature on teacher education is suggested by the symbolic interactionism perspective. The work of Everett C. Hughes, in particular, is instrumental in this task. Although

referring specifically to medical education, the parallels to teacher education are obvious.

> Part of the medical culture of the lay world is some set of conceptions about the proper role of the physician and a set of beliefs about the extent to which he lives up to the role so conceived, and the extent to which, and the ways in which he falls short. Initiation into a new role is as much a part of medical training as is the learning of techniques; indeed, part of it is to learn the techniques of playing the role well. A role is always a part in some system of interaction of human beings; it is always played opposite other roles. To play one is not to play another. One might say that the learning of the medical role consists of a separation, almost an alienation, of the student from the lay medical world; a passing through the mirror so that one looks out on the world from behind it, and sees things as in mirror writing. In all of the more esoteric occupations we have studied, we find the sense of seeing the world in reverse.[3]

From this point of view of teacher education, there are four main points in the above passage which need to be considered.

We know that neophytes enter the teaching world for various reasons. Teachers enter teaching because of a desire for upward social mobility,[4] or because of a lack interest in any other field, or possibly because of the influence of previous teachers. Others entered because

they had a hard to market subject area or simply because education is valued by our society.[5] We also know that males and females enter teaching for slightly different reasons (which are related to their different career patterns).[6] But whatever motivations people have for entering teaching, there is at least one area that they have in common with each other. Everyone has some set of conceptions about the proper role of the teacher as Hughes has suggested.

Considering that by the time the neophyte enters Teachers' College, he/she has been in direct contact with teachers for approximately 17,000 hours, models of good teaching and good teachers are bound to have been internalized (by osmosis at the very least). Lortie, among others, has suggested that the early models that are internalized (along with the resultant conceptions) during this process of apprenticeship-in-teaching-by-observation are later brought to the "front stage" and used for the neophyte's own performance in their own classroom (during practice teaching and/or the beginning year(s) of "real" teaching).[7] Regardless of the model(s), there are certain conceptions about teaching that the neophyte carries with him or her through teacher training that remain unchanged by the training itself. This was revealed in many ways in the present study (see Lortie[8] for additional examples). The notion of getting the piece of

paper (see Chapter III) is contingent upon the fact that student teachers believe nothing useful is to be derived from in-College instruction. But, they still have to have the piece of paper to be 'legit'. More concretely, Teachers' College becomes an exercise where what they already know is legitimated and sanctioned. Another example of how Teachers' College does not change preconceptions was revealed in the discussion on the physical appearance of the institution (see Chapter III). As was evident in the particular case given in that section of the chapter, not only were preconceptions likely to remain unchanged, but they were consciously brought to the front stage in the form of 7th grade students. The remaining section of Chapter III dealt with the attitude of theory versus practice. Inasmuch as the student teachers admitted that priority was given to practice teaching (and thus the practical, realistic aspects) it is clear that preconceptions remained unchanged. These student teachers were re-witnessing (and imitating) the very same models that were originally the basis for their preconceptions.[9]

Hughes' next point is "the extent to which he lives up to the role so conceived". This has been discussed previously in terms of the inherent difficulties living up to the role when "both you and they know you're

not a 'real teacher'." A cloak of competency is not provided for by the organizational structure nor is it felt by the student teacher as is evident by the previous discussion of survival and adequacy concerns (see Chapter IV). It is also interesting to note that a good many student teachers have commented that teaching "is a lot harder than I thought" when questioned about their changing attitudes. As far as these student teachers are concerned, they are not living up to the role so conceived. Of course, what they haven't taken into consideration is that while serving that apprenticeship they were viewing a front stage performance and were not privy to the back stage area where some of these same concerns (e.g., adequacy and survival concerns, amount of work) troubled experienced teachers. The main point, however, is that as far as student teachers are concerned, they haven't lived up to the role as they conceived it. The teacher training process has done very little to change this or subjugate previous role models.

The third point that Hughes makes, is that "it (role) is always played opposite other roles. To play one role is not to play another". This may be the case with the medical student, but when one examines the student teacher role, it does not hold up under close scrutiny. One can assume that the opposite role of student is that of teacher. In fact, it was shown earlier that using

Friere's "banking model of education",[10] student teachers arrived at the position that one role is antithetical to another. Given this premise we can now ask how is it student teachers learn to play the role of teacher? A good part of the time it is while they are inside the College, in the status of student. At the very best, the practice teaching situation affords the student teacher time to "play at" the role of teacher.[11] Playing the role of student (sometimes that of a seventh grade student) is not to play the role of teacher. Even "playing at" the role of teacher is not to play the role of teacher because, as Loosemore and Carlton point out, "a person 'playing at' a role is not an incumbent of that position and, therefore, while his behavior resembles that which is socially prescribed, he cannot truly be said to play the role."[12] Another reason often quoted, is that simply because of the artificiality of the practice teaching situation,[13] the neophyte cannot be said to be playing the role. Unlike other occupations, then, the role to be learned (teacher) is learned in its opposite role (student).[14]

Given these three points, and the arguments presented, the fourth point is made with relative ease based on the accumulated evidence. Hughe's concluding remarks revolve around the notion of a separation from the lay world followed by a passing through the mirror

(transition) and finally seeing the world in reverse (incorporation). (The resemblance to van Gennep's three phases is obvious.) In the case of the student teacher it has been illustrated that there is an incomplete separation from studenthood (the lay world) which in turn, accentuates a difficult transition, as is evident by those concerns invoked by student status. Furthermore, the transition phase in this status passage is of a problematic nature such that it doesn't change the preconceptions that neophytes bring with them regarding teaching. And, also, because the transition phase is of such length, and extends into the beginning teaching year(s) where traditional models exert their influence, there is little, if any, change between yesteryear's teaching models, the teaching models that they teach next to, and subsequently, the teachers they are and will become. Unlike other occupations where prior conceptions are reversed as the learning individual looks back on his/her former self from inside, student teachers place events which preceded their formal preparation for teaching within a continuous framework rather than a discontinuous one. A sense of seeing the world in reverse is not a salient characteristic of this occupation.

In a fashion, the notion of seeing the world in reverse is allied with the notion of discontinuity. At

the very least, it would have to presuppose discontinuity between perspectives. That is, a discontinuity of perspectives before and after the transition phase. The idea of continuity versus discontinuity is certainly not new,[15] but it does set the stage for the final section of this chapter.

Continuity Versus Discontinuity

Some years ago, Alfred North Whitehead expounded on the role of ideas in promoting and preserving civilization. At the same time, he spoke of continuity and discontinuity. Writing about "Foresight", he remarked on the acceleration of change in the world and it implications for culture and education:

> Our sociological theories, our political philosophy, our practical maxims of business, our political economy, and our doctrines of education are derived from an unbroken tradition of great thinkers and of practical examples. ...the whole of this tradition is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mould with equal force, the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.[16]

After giving various examples of the consequences of this false assumption for various aspects of culture, including

educational theory, Whitehead continued on to comment that:

> ...our training must prepare individuals to face a novelty of conditions. But there can be no preparation for the unknown. It is at this point, that we recur to the immediate topic, foresight. We require such understanding of the present conditions, as may give us some grasp of the novelty which is about to produce a measurable influence on the immediate future.[17]

With occasional exceptions,[18] Whitehead's point concerning discontinuity and continuity seems to have been virtually ignored until Alvin Toffler elaborated the theme in Future Shock.[19]

As a consequence of ignoring Whitehead's point, we are currently experiencing a value crisis, marked by intensified public interest in education and the future. The failure of education to prepare us to cope with rapid change has led us to react violently against creativity and rational thought,[20] as if our difficulties could be solved without them.

For better or worse (yes, it is a marriage of sorts), our destiny is tied to the future we create by our present decisions. The approach of contemporary revolutionists, with their irrational rhetoric and outrageous behavior, can only lead to such chaos that humanity, further degraded, will demand some form of tyranny. The reactionaries cannot stop the world; there is no exit, no avenue of retreat. Those who hold the status quo,

have already produced a short-sighted world, destructive of its own property. The only alternative open to us is to improve our foresight in coordination with our values. To do this, we must first improve the educational system. We must envisage and evaluate possible futures, giving close attention to the relations between human values that will help determine the kind of future we want, those pertinent facts from which the future is to emerge, and the consequences of our current decisions.

As Whitehead noted,[21] a neat doctrine of foresight is probably impossible. What is possible, is that our special efforts to progress be coordinated by a philosophic outlook "at once general and concrete, critical, and appreciative of direct intuition."[22] It is to this end that the next section is devoted.

Preferable Aspects Of Teacher Education In The Future

In general, when discussing the future, there would appear to be three alternatives from which to begin. The layman may choose to imagine possible futures. This, out of necessity, is usually less scientific and rigorous in method and conclusion. However, this does not always equate with inaccurateness.[23] One who chooses to

forecast (predict) probable futures, on the other hand, usually purports to be more scientific by employing a quantitative methodology.[24] This also does not assure accurateness, and many would argue to the contrary. The third alternative, which may fit into the world view of both the layman and the scientist alike, is that of deciding on preferable futures. One may choose to use data gathered scientifically to decide on these preferable futures, or one can "arbitrarily" decide (usually by intuition) on preferable futures. The important point is that both the layman and scientist agree that the future is made up of many possible futures and is not predetermined for them. Implicit in this notion of course, is that they may select one possible future from a host of others, thereby granting them an active part in shaping the future.

Although it should be quite evident where the following discussion fits into the three alternatives,[25] the attendant assumptions behind this choice need to be explicated further.

It may be worthwhile to state various assumptions about the state of education today inasmuch as out of this will arise the conditions for tomorrow's education (and teacher education by implication). The following assumptions preface the analysis in this section.

1. Technological and social change are outracing the educational system. Social reality is transforming itself more rapidly than our educational images of that reality. This gap must be closed.

2. Today's schools and universities are too past and present bound, which results in the above mentioned gap. An image of the future is nowhere to be found in education today.

3. A lack of a future-consciousness in education serves only to hamper the ability to live, cope, and grow in a high change society. Future-conscious education is the key to adaptability.

Broadly stated, these assumptions lead to educational change at all levels. The prevalent mode of thinking amongst today's educators seems to be that we should continue teaching as we did before. The assumption, of course, is that the past repeats itself. Increasingly, this is not the case. Our future will be, with certainty, unlike our past. We must be prepared for this future that we ourselves will create. This preparation will, of necessity, lead to change.

In conclusion then, the guiding assumptions in this paper are strongly linked with a commitment to change. To hold these assumptions also entails change, not stability. It must also be said that this commitment to change is a dangerous proposition. More often than not, change is perceived as a threat rather than a challenge. We need a more reality-based perspective for dealing with the

unfamiliar, rather than being enslaved by the simplistic equation that strange equals wrong or bad, and that familiar equals right and good. Change seems inevitable and its denial, even within the context of societal neurosis, could ultimately lead to drastic and destructive consequences. Education, as a socializing institution, can be designed to provide ways individuals and the community can create, as well as adapt to, healthy change.

Deciding Where We Are Going

Mead stated a long time ago, that: "we are on our way, but we do not know where".[26] This description seems as applicable today as it was then. It seems impossible to see new forms that even today may be rising to replace the old. Those of us who are caught in the transformations of our society -- rooted in a world that no longer works, unable to foresee the world that future generations will be asked to embrace or oppose -- have few choices. We can give way, allowing ourselves to be swept up by the currents of our times, little heeding where these currents are taking us. At times, perhaps, that is the most that can be done.[27] Or we can discover how to intentionally change ourselves and our society without destroying those things

that are valuable.

> That is the problem of society, is it not? How can you present order and structure in society and yet bring about the changes that need to take place...To bring about change is seemingly to destroy the given order, and yet society does and must change. That is the problem, to incorporate the methods of change into the order of society itself.[28]

This is the challenge presented to us for education in the future, be it teacher education, or education in general. As long as society does, as it must, change, we should recognize our capacity to create those changes, and hence, our future. We must begin to decide on preferable futures.

How will the enterprise of preparing teachers look in the future? The following ideas suggest changes in teacher roles and responsibilities in the years to come. Primary roles described for educational personnel for the future indicate[29] the kinds of preparation programs needed. The best programs for professional preparation should generate personnel who are competent in the following roles.

Values Developers. In an era when the world is continuously shifting values and aspirations, educational personnel will be required to regularly examine their own views. This, in turn, will make the professional educator more effective in helping himself and others make sense out of the elusive changing world.

Resource Finders. Effective educational personnel will know the various data bases to use, the best retrieval strategies, and the efficient ways to help learners get the relevant information resources. A corresponding competency is that of helping each learner to relate computer-retrieved ideas and information to personal-civic values and objectives, to synthesize and interpret facts and ideas and then to move toward competent application.

Learning Diagnosticians. Educational personnel will of necessity, be highly skilled in the use of various tools for individual diagnosis and in guiding learning. The varied academic fields are representative of the realms of specialized learning with contributions to make to the personal and professional development of teachers. Sophistication with regard to psychological, physical, and diverse learning disorders will become the rule. Included in these diagnostic skills will be an enhanced ability to make improved use of referral procedures when justified by learners' needs that are beyond the scope of the resources of the schools. This opening up of the school community will of necessity, involve a series of other competencies.

Community Learning Facilitators. Educational personnel will advocate and facilitate learning beyond schooling. They will know that learning cannot be place

bound, that it knows no geographical boundaries, inasmuch as the world is instaneously at hand via communication and transportation. There will be a computerized community resource file which can be searched relative to the learner's growth profile. Educational personnel will arrange learning experiences for individuals and groups throughout the community, and for community people to come into schooling sites located throughout the community. The joint decisions of professional and learner will determine the most effective utilization of on-school-sites and in-the-community learning.

The four roles (and attendant competencies) as described above, give evidence to the fact that educational personnel in the future will be among the best educated professionals in the nation. By this time, they will have rejected the "what will be will be" syndrome as abdication of duty. The recent desirable change in the new discipline of future study (policies research), of departing from its preoccupation with linear projections of trends, future research has begun to recognize that the future is, in effect, created by human judgment, and by the way in which time, energy, and money are utilized. It seems reasonable that we will find much greater emphasis placed on the role of alternatives, choices, and consequences with respect to

tomorrow's world. Educational personnel will have to believe in rational planning for some of the probabilities of the future. Educational personnel will be utilizers of futuristic processes and substance.

Educational personnel will have evolved into professionals, in that they can put together all that is implied in the previous competencies. They will be teaching and learning specialists. They will know about present and future. They will know how to utilize, effectively, people, time, space, equipment, and materials for instructional purposes. They will know how to assess teaching and learning. They will lead and they will follow. They will function in places called schools, but they will function equally well as educators in other settings.

This will be tomorrow's teacher (education personnel). This also is the challenge for today's teacher education.

The ideas voiced above can be said to be a body of reasoned speculations.[30] To the extent that these ideas prove to be valid, teacher education should become more exciting, meaningful and geared to the improvement of the learner's world of tomorrow.

Assuming that the role of "quasi-prophet" has been fulfilled, it is now time to turn to a more pessimistic (i.e., realistic?) account of the factors that may impinge upon the creation of the above future.

In all probability, the safest prediction one can make about the future of teacher education, as well as all education, is that it will be very much as it is today. This will be so for various reasons. First of all, in general terms, the teaching profession itself is characterized by a commitment to stability rather than change (see Lortie, 1975). More specifically, teacher education will be pressured by the organized teaching profession along many avenues, but with the same end result - no change. These changes will be of an organizational[31], administrative, political, and financial nature[32], due to professional unions. Teacher groups are turned inward, and like other unions, will continue to devote their efforts to protectionist concerns. We live in an era when power, rather than ideas are the major issues. The actual content of teacher education will continue to be relatively neglected in the struggle. Teacher education and its change will always be a secondary concern for organized teachers. In fact, a good case may be made for arguing that teacher groups have vested interest in preventing serious modification of teacher education.

Teacher education in the future will be the same as it is today if it continues to be dominated by traditional forces. Education, and by implication, teacher education, in the past has been bound up in past and present. The future can be different, however, if there is powerful

enough intervention by teacher educators themselves and by others who realize the potential. What is needed now is not more forecasting, but broad-based, widely participatory planning to help create a wide range of alternative futures for teacher education. Visions of what can be are equally important ingredients in the educational program. To some extent, positive and realistic images of the future are self-fulfilling prophecies. Prophets have long known that a people without vision perish.

FOOTNOTES

1. There are two points to be made here. As acknowledged in the Preface, this thesis is primarily concerned with the activities of student teachers while inside the College. Although activities outside the College (i.e., practice teaching) were not totally neglected they have been relegated to a secondary importance for various reasons. While this is an admitted weakness of the thesis, it is not its downfall. This gap is admirably filled by the works of Lortie, Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975) and Loosemore and Carlton, "The Student Teacher: A Dramaturgical Approach to Role-Learning", in Carlton, Colley and MacKinnon, (eds.), Education Change and Society of Canadian Education (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1977).

2. This does not represent an exhaustive list, but see the following: James B. Conant, The Education of American Teachers (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1963); James D. Koerner, The Miseducation of American Teachers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963); Charles F. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education (New York; Random House, 1970), pp. 439-451; The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Continuity and Discontinuity: Higher Education and the Schools (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1973), pp. 90-96; Martin Haberman, "Twenty-Three Reasons Universities Can't Educate Teachers", Journal of Teacher Education, 22 (Summer, 1971), pp. 133-140; John William Sperry "Who Teaches the Teachers?", Life 29 (October 16, 1950), pp. 146-154; Arthur Bestor, The Restoration of Learning (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Random House, 1955).

3. Everett C. Hughes, "The Making of a Physician", in his The Sociological Eye: Selected Papers, vol. II. (Chicago: Aldine - Atherton, 1971), p. 399.

4. Increasingly, this is becoming not the case. The cost of three years of university is becoming prohibitive for the potential teacher. And unlike years ago, when one could enter Teachers' College in Ontario from grade 13, access today is blocked unless the Bachelor's degree is attained. Because of the relative inaccessibility of these institutions, an advantage will be gained by the student who is financially solvent, thus cutting down the amount of upward mobility.

5. Dan C. Lortie, Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study National Education Association Research Division, Status of the American Public-School Teacher, 1970-1971, Research Report 1972-R3 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1972).

6. Many, including Shirley Angrist and Elizabeth Almquist, Careers and Contingencies: How College Women Juggle with Gender (New York: Dunellen, 1975) suggest that women choose an occupation on the basis of life style expectations. Also, one can assume that the career patterns of men and women will soon become merely identical due to economic considerations. Given the oversupply of teachers, women will no longer be able to quit for five years or so to raise a family and then re-enter teaching. One would also expect that the loosening of cultural bends will make it easier for women to remain in the work force continuously.

7. See Lortie, Schoolteacher.

8. Ibid.

9. A very telling commentary on the state of these preconceptions was revealed when students talked of discipline and other in-service teachers they had met during practice teaching. In both instances it was hard for me to discern the criteria they were using in their judgments of good and bad. Finally, after some time, and many interviews, it occurred to me that they knew what was right (good) and wrong (bad) on the basis of knowing what they didn't like. That is, on the basis that "it" didn't fit preconceptions. They didn't always know what they liked but they always knew what they disliked.

10. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1970). See also Chapter IV.

11. See Chapter III, footnote 16.

12. J. Loosemore and R.A. Carlton, "The Student-Teacher", p. 409.

13. Elizabeth Eddy, Becoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1969). Loosemore and Carlton, ibid., Lawrence Iannaccone, "Student Teaching: A Transitional Stage in the Making of a Teacher", Theory into Practice, 2 (April 1963), pp. 73-81.

14. It should be remembered that this is according to student teachers. For them, these are opposite roles. It is, of course, open to argument, whether or not these roles are antithetical to one another.

15. Lortie Schoolteacher, has identified three themes in the ethos of teachers. These three themes include conservatism, a balancing of the scale that tips toward continuity rather than change. In fact, his thesis is that the ethos of the occupation favors continuity rather than change. Needless to say, Lortie's thesis is entirely congruent with my conclusions.

16. Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas (Hammondsworth, Middlex, G.B.: Penguin Books). p. 114. It should be noted that Alvin Toffler begins his article "Psychology of the Future", in A. Toffler, (ed.), Learning For Tomorrow: The Role of the Future in Education (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p.4, in the same vein.

17. Ibid., p. 114.

18. In addition to those works mentioned in the Introduction (see Chapter I) it is possible to put the name of George Herbert Mead. This is tentative speculation inasmuch as it hasn't been fully worked out, but, there can be seen certain parallels between Toffler's conception of time and Mead's conceptions. To begin with, both Mead and Toffler have tried to show how "past", "present", and "future" can be significantly conceived as being interrelated. Both theorists put an emphasis on the present, for in Mead's words, "reality exists in a present". (The Philosophy of the Present (Chicago: Open Court Co., 1932), p. 1). Neither the past nor the future exist and both, insofar as they are real, emanate from a present. This statement in its totality, is certainly true for Mead, but at least for Toffler, it would seem that the past does in fact exist. This point is quite possibly the differentiating factor for the two theorists. Both would agree that it is futile to argue that the future is logically implied by the present. But Mead would extend this exercise in futility to include the past. For Mead, the past is a part of the present in the same vein that the future is a part of the present. It would seem that Toffler would agree with only the latter. Unlike Toffler, Mead posits a "problematic past. See Daniel Leaky, "Past, Present, and Future",

The Review of Metaphysics, 6 (March 1953), pp. 369-380; David Miller, "G.H. Mead's Conception of 'Present'," Philosophy of Science, 10 (January 1943), pp. 40-46; Harold N. Lee, pp. 52-75. Mead's theory of time is indeed, very complex and this small footnote cannot possibly do it justice.

19. Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970). See also: Alvin Toffler, The Futurists (New York: Random House, 1972) and Learning For Tomorrow.

20. To wit, the return to the basics controversy.

21. Adventures of Ideas.

22. Ibid.

23. One needs only to look at the writings of H.G. Wells (who predicted the invention of the airplane, the development of the tanke, the explosion of the first atomic bomb, the use of poison gas, and the discovery of the laser) and various other science fiction writers to realize that the laymen's visions can also be accurate. In fact, one may go on to argue that poets and novelists have a better record as seers than the scholars.

24. My personal preference is against quanitative methodology, particularly a methodology that emphasizes inferential statistics which in turn assumes causality. These criticisms are not particularly new and/or innovative as is evidenced by a wide ranging body of literature subsumed under various headings. The symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective suggests many, if not all, of these criticisms.

25. It should be kept in mind that any discussion of a future would inevitably include aspects of all three alternatives although only one was focused on.

26. George Herbert Mead, "Scientific Method and the Moral Sciences", International Journal of Ethics, 33 (1923), p. 247.

27. The existential writings of Camus would seem to suggest as much. Camus' vision was an heroic refusal to either surrender, or to deny the tragic futility of life. We are all strangers in a strange land; life is meaningless an absurd; we can only strive, with full knowledge that

the effort is doomed. Camus found a way to quiet rising despair in a world that had lost its bearings. But he could find no new direction to go, no new points to help him discover where he was. This was Camus' existential vision. A vision that could only help him endure as old worlds crumbled. See Albert Camus, The Myth of Sisyphus (New York: Random House, 1952) and The Stranger, translated by Stuart Gilbert (New York: Vintage Books, 1954).

28. George Herbert Mead, Movement of Thought in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pp. 361-362.

29. The word "indicate" has been carefully chosen for the following reason. Many, teachers in particular, who will read this will denounce this thesis for lack of practical suggestions and the like. This has been the age old problem confronting researchers and practicing teachers. My position with regard to this, is summed up by Rousseau's words in the preface of Emile.

> People are always telling me to make PRACTICAL suggestions. You might as well tell me to suggest what people are doing already, or at least to suggest improvements which may be incorporated with the wrong methods at present in use.
> (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile, translated by Barbara Foxley (London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1974), p.2.).

30. On the other hand, some teacher education could justifiably claim that these ideas, or at least some of them, are already in practice. There would seem to be some evidence of this, particularly in the area of "value clarification".

31. For example, the appearance of renewal centers for in-service teachers would be a significant organizational change. It is likely, however, that such renewal centers will change the content of teacher education inasmuch as the teacher groups that gain control are products of the same system themselves.

32. Increased control over student teaching by teacher unions, for example, will produce certain changes of an administrative, political, and financial nature. These changes will revolve around how many student teachers, who will supervise, and at what stipend?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angrist, Shirley S. and Almquist, Elizabeth M. Careers and Contingencies: How College Women Juggle with Gender. New York: Dunellen, 1957.

Becker, Howard S. "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation". American Sociological Review, 23:652-660, 1958.

----. "Becoming a Marihuana User", Outsiders. New York: The Free Press, pp. 41-58, 1963

----. "Who's Side Are We On?", Social Problems, 14 (Winter), 239-247, 1966-7

----. Sociological Work: Method and Substance. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Becker, Howard S. et al. Boys In White. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

----. Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968.

Bestor, Arthur. The Restoration of Learning. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Random House, 1955.

Blumer, Herbert. Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969.

Bogdan, Robert. "Learning to Sell Door to Door", The American Behavioral Scientist, 16 (1): 55-64, 1972.

Bogdan, R. and Taylor, S. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Bruyn, S.T. "The New Empiricists: The Participant Observer and Phenomenologist", Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World. Edited by William Filstead. Chicago: Markham, 1970.

Camus, Albert. The Myth of Sisyphus. New York: Random House, 1952.

-------- . The Stranger. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. New York: Vintage Books, 1954.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Continuity and Discontinuity: Higher Education and the Schools. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1973.

Cicourel, A. Method and Measurement in Sociology. New York: Free Press, 1964.

Conant, James B. The Education of American Teachers. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1963.

Cooley, Charles H. Human Nature and the Social Order. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956.

Coutu, Walter. "Role-Playing vs. Role-Taking: An Appeal For Clarification", American Sociological Review. 16 (2): 180-187, 1951.

Davis, Fred. Passage Through Crisis. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

-------- . "Professional Socialization as Subjective Experience: The Process of Doctrinal Conversion among Student Nurses", Becker et al., (eds.) Institutions and the Person. Chicago: Aldine, 1968.

Day, Harry P. "Attitude Changes of Beginning Teachers after Initial Teaching Experience", Journal of Teacher Education, 10 (September): 326-328, 1959.

Dean, J.P. et al. "Observation and Interviewing" An Introduction To Social Research. 2nd edition. Edited by J.T. Doby. New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts, 1967.

Denzin, Norman. "The Research Act", Symbolic Interactionism. Edited by Manis and Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

-------- . The Research Act: A Theoretic Interaction to Sociological Methods. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Deutscher, I. "Words and Deeds: Social Science and Social Policy". Social Problems. 13 (Winter): p. 233-254, 1966.

Dewey, John. Human Nature and Conduct. New York: Modern Library, 1930.

Drucker, Peter F. The Age of Discontinuity. New York: Harper Row, 1968.

Dutton, Wilbur H. "Attitude Change of Elementary School Student Teachers and Anxiety", Journal of Educational Research, 55 (May): 380-382, 1962.

Eddy, Elizabeth. "Rites of Passage in a Total Institution", Human Organization, 23: 67-75, 1964.

-----. Becoming a Teacher: The Passage to Professional Status. Teachers' College Press, 1969.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press, 1970.

Fuller, Frances F. "Concerns of Teachers: A Developmental Conceptualization", American Educational Research Journal, 6 (March): 207-226, 1969.

-----. "Concerns of Teachers: Research and Reconceptualization", Austin, Texas: Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas, 1973.

Fuller, F. and Bown, O. "Becoming a Teacher", Teacher Education, Kevin Ryan (ed.) Chicago: The National Society for the Study of Education.

Gabriel, John. An Analysis of the Emotional Problems of the Teacher in the Classroom. London: Angus and Robertson, 1957.

Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

-----. The Levittowners. New York: Random House, 1969.

Garfinkel, Harold. "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies", American Journal of Sociology. 61: 420-424, 1956.

Geer, Blanche. "First Days in the Field", Sociologists at Work. Edited by Phillip E. Hammond. New York: Doubleday, 1964.

Geer, Blanche et al. "Learning the Ropes: Situational Learning in Four Occupational Training Programs", Among the People. Edited by I. Deutscher and E. Thompson. New York: Basic Books, 1966.

Gewinner, M.N. "A Study of the Results of the Interaction of Student Teachers with their Supervising Teachers During the Student Teaching Period" (doctoral dissertation, Mississippi State University), 1968.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. Awareness of Dying. Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

----. Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

----. Time for Dying. Chicago: Aldine, 1968.

----. Anguish. San Francisco: The Sociology Press, 1970.

----. Status Passage. Chicago: Aldine, 1971.

Gluckman, Max. "Les Rites de Passage", in Gluckman (ed.) Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962.

Goffman, Erving. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1959.

----. Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961.

Gold, Raymond. "Roles in Sociological Field Observations." Social Forces. 36:271-223, 1958.

Gouldner, Alvin. Wildcat Strike. Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1955.

Haas, Jack. "From Punk to Scale: A Study of High-Steel Iron Workers" (doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University), 1971.

Haberman, Martin. "Twenty-Three Reasons Universities Can't Educate Teachers", Journal of Teacher Education, 22 (Summer 1971), 133-140.

Hall-Dennis Report. Living and Learning. The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968.

Hargreaves, David H. and Stephen K. Hester and Frank J. Mellor. Deviance in Classrooms. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Harrison, J.A. "An Analysis of Attitude Modifications of Prospective Teachers toward Education before and after a Sequence of Teacher Preparation Experiences", (doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma), 1967.

Hoy, W.K. "Organizational Socialization: The Student Teacher and Pupil Control Ideology", Journal of Educational Research. 61 (December): 153-155, 1967.

Hughes, Everret C. Men and Their Work. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958.

-----. "The Making of a Physician", The Sociological Eye: Selected Papers, Vol. II. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971.

Iannaccone, Lawrence. "Student Teaching: A Transitional Stage in the Making of a Teacher", Theory into Practice. 2 (April): 73-81, 1963.

Jackson, Phillip. Life in Classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Jacobs, Elmer B. "Attitude Change in Teacher Education: An Inquiry into the role of Attitudes in Changing Behavior", Journal of Teacher Education, 19 (Winter): 410-415, 1968.

Kahn, R.L. and Mann, F. "Developing Research Partnerships", Journal of Social Issues. 8 (3) : 4-10, 1952.

Karp, David and Yoels, William. "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation", Sociology and Social Research. 60 (4): 421-439, 1976.

Kerr, Clark. "Policy Concern for the Future", in Dyckman W. Vermilye, ed., Expanded Campus: Current Issues in Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, pp. 3-21, 1972.

Koerner, James D. The Miseducation of American Teachers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963.

Kohn, S.B. and Weiss, Joel. "The Teaching of Affective Responses", Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. (ed.) R.M.W. Travers, pp. 759-804, 1973.

Kroeber, Alfred L. Anthropology. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948.

Leaky, L. "Past, Present and Future", The Review of Metaphysics. 6 (March): 369-380, 1953.

Lee, John. "Failsafe Education", Canadian Journal of Higher Education. Fall, 1976.

Lee, Harold N. "Mead's Doctrine of the Past", Tulane Studies in Philosophy. 12, 52-75, 1963.

Liebow, Elliot. Tally's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967.

Levinson, Daniel J. "Medical Education and the Theory of Adult Socialization", Journal of Health and Social Behavior. 8 (4): 253-265, 1967.

Loosemore, J.and Carlton, R.A. "The Student-Teacher: A Dramaturgical Approach to Role-Learning", in Carlton, Colley and MacKinnon (eds.) Education Change and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1977.

Lortie, Dan C. "Teacher Socialization: The Robinson Crusoe Model", The Real World of the Beginning Teacher. Report of the Nineteenth National Teacher Education and Professional Standards Conference. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, pp. 54-66, 1966.

------. "Observations on Teaching as Work", Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. (ed.) R.M.W. Travers. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co. pp. 474-497, 1973.

------. Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Marshall, Victor. "No xit: A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective on Aging", (Forthcoming) International Journal of Aging and Human Development.

Martin, Jack. Classroom Process Analysis: A Training Manual for Student Teachers. Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, 1975.

———. "The Development and Use of Classroom Observation Instruments", Canadian Journal of Education. 2:3, 43-54, 1977.

Matza, David. Becoming Deviant. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969.

Mead, George Herbert. "Scientific Method and the Moral Sciences", International Journal of Ethics. 33:229-247, 1923.

———. The Philosophy of the Present. Chicago: Open Court Co., 1932.

———. Mind, Self and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

———. Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

———. The Philosophy of the Act. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.

———. On Social Psychology. (Edited by Anselm Strauss). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

Meleis, Alaf S. "Role Insufficiency and Role Supplemenatation: A Conceptual Framework." Nursing Research. 24:264-271, 1975.

Merton, Robert and George G. Reader and Patricia L. Kendall. The Student-Physician: Introducing Studies in the Sociology of Medican Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Messinger, S.L. et al. "Life as Theater: Some Notes on the Dramaturgical Approach to Social Reality." Sociometry, 25: 98-110, 1962.