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The Real World of the Beginning Teacher.

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Problems and goals of beginning teachers are the subject of these speeches presented by both experienced and beginning teachers at the 1965 national conference of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. The problems include the differences between teacher expectations and encounters, unrealistic teaching and extracurricular assignments, poor relationships with administrators, and loneliness during difficulties. Individual speeches cite the fault of college academic departments to provide teachers with sufficient subject matter knowledge and of professional education to unite theory and practice. Also cited are the necessity of including self-knowledge as a goal of teacher education; the need for "humor, stamina, and love" in a teacher; and the lessons to be learned from other professions regarding work socialization. A seven-year-plus teacher education program, which is designed to fit the teacher of any subject and which features a common point of formal entry into professional education, is described. (LP)

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Hotel Commodore ■ New York City ■ June 22-25, 1965

**NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TEACHER EDUCATION  
AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS**

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Cover: From Horace Mann, "the tall man in the long frock coat" and first secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, came more things written, said, and done about public education than in all the years of the colonies or of the young republic. Probably the most far-reaching improvement under his administration was the founding of the normal schools for preparing teachers: In 1846 Mann spoke at the dedication of the new schoolhouse for the Bridgewater State Normal School. Addressing some of his remarks to former and then present pupils of the Normal School, he cautioned them that "more will sometimes be demanded of you than is reasonable."

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This is the report of the National TEPS Conference held in New York City, June 22-25, 1965. The conference was a part of the emphasis being given to the continuing education of teachers by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. This emphasis began with a series of eight regional conferences in the winter of 1963-64. The topic, "The Real World of the Beginning Teacher," develops one of the important problems identified in the 1963-64 meetings.

Our concern for the new teacher grows out of the conviction that too often he is assumed to be a finished product. We believe that steps should be taken to encourage and support the beginning teacher, to give him the time and help he needs in order to get started properly in a lifelong career, to become what he is capable of being. We hope this book stirs thousands of people across the country to the constructive action needed if the real world of the beginning teacher is to become more habitable.

**Don Davies**  
Executive Secretary

# PREFACE

THE REAL WORLD OF THE BEGINNING TEACHER v

The neophyte teacher has long been neglected. Although experienced educators seldom forget their beginning days, weeks, and years of teaching, they have done little in studying the plight of beginners. They have done even less in helping young professionals to get started properly.

Concern for beginning teachers has had emphasis only recently, probably because until now so much energy has been given to extending the length and improving the quality of undergraduate teacher education. During the period when teachers were prepared in less than four years, it was assumed that once the baccalaureate degree requirement was achieved teachers would be adequately prepared. When four-year programs became the rule, it quickly became evident that beginning teachers still were not finished products.

Induction to teaching must be dealt with as a pertinent stage in career development. A new teacher should not be left to the isolation of his own classroom, to succeed or fail depending on his ability, ingenuity, and resilience. He should not be pressured into certain approaches to teaching merely because of the prevailing system or an imposed climate. He should be treated for what he is—a beginner—and be given the time and assistance he needs to develop his own teaching style.

It was the intent of the 1965 National TEPS Conference to investigate the plight of the beginner and to suggest some ways in which the process of induction to teaching might be altered and improved. It was hoped that such investigation and suggestions would make clear what reforms and innovations are needed in the career development of teachers. The same purposes hold for this report of the conference.

One of the consequences of looking at the real world of the beginning teacher is a larger view of the total scope of teacher preparation and career development. Traditionally, both initial preparation and continuing education have been concerned primarily with the academic education of teachers. To these elements this report adds the personal, psychological, and sociological dimensions of teacher growth and development.

We have begun to scratch the surface in some of these added areas. As more teachers view teaching as a long-term career with

# INTRODUCTION

some fairly clear patterns, more light can be shed on various parts of that career, such as the beginning years. First, however, it may be necessary to startle educators and change accepted concepts of teaching as a career.

The conference succeeded in challenging accepted concepts of the total scope of teacher education and career development. The chapters that follow are meant to do the same. But because ideas communicated in a meeting often do not communicate effectively in print, the conference material has been selected and modified to attain a cohesive, concise presentation in book form. Most of the content of this report represents the substance of material fed into the conference to stimulate discussion. Suggestions made in section meetings on "What Should Be Done," and recommendations made by the study groups have been telescoped into two summaries and are given only brief attention here. Many people made major contributions to the conference which are not visible in the report. (See Appendix A, "Program Participants.")

Although the title may suggest that this volume is of interest primarily to beginning teachers, their experienced colleagues may find that the treatment of teaching as a career, career development, and personal and social problems in teaching have as much, if not more, relevance for them. More important, the implications of the ideas for helping neophytes may be most significant for those who are already in service and want to do something about the problems of beginners.

At the outset, the papers focus on the reality of the beginning years of teaching. Frequently, the writers distinguish between what is and what they think should be. The reader is invited to consider the following questions, many of which the contributors deal with directly or by inference:

How do new teachers perceive reality? What thoughts and feelings do new teachers have about themselves and their jobs? How do principals and supervisors view the new teacher? How do college professors see beginning teaching and the new teacher? What range of conditions exist for new teachers? How broadly do beginning teachers define teaching? To what extent can the different perceptions of beginning teaching and the new teacher be reconciled? Understood? Provided for? How can valid impressions of the reality of beginning teaching be gathered? To what extent must reality remain an individual perception?

The reality of beginning teaching will shock feelings as well as thoughts and will prompt thinking about other questions. Who is ready to do something about the problems, frustrations, fears, and needs of the new teacher? Whose responsibility is the new teacher?

What is presently being done to help the beginning teacher? How productive and effective is it? What should be done that is not being



done? How do we help the new teacher view and deal with reality more effectively?

What is actually done for beginning teachers depends on people in schools, colleges, and professional associations and societies in the local setting. The specifics of recommendations and suggestions on what should be done which were developed at the conference cannot have the same meaning for readers as for the participants who formulated them. For this reason, as mentioned previously, much of what was recommended at the conference is given only brief attention in this report. The substance of the papers do, however, provide ideas for questions about recommendations which are appropriate for local discussion, decision, and action. What reforms are needed? What help and guidance in getting started effectively does every beginning teacher have the right to expect? What respective responsibilities do various groups have? Are there guiding principles or standards for getting the beginning teacher started properly? What policies and procedures need to be changed if progress is to be made in helping the beginner?

The knowledge and ability of many outstanding people have been tapped for this volume in order to penetrate an important problem. Major changes in the whole concept and pattern of teacher education and career development should materialize in the next several years. Some of the ideas for these changes are developed in this book. If it proves a stimulus to thought and action on the problems of inducting new teachers, the report will have served its purpose.

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As education moves into a place of central significance in our time, it is fitting to consider first things first. In the learning of the child, the teacher is the most important ingredient in the educational system. Schools need teachers of the highest quality. With new curriculums and programmed materials reproducing rabbit-like to keep up with the knowledge revolution, and with newly designed school buildings equipped with television, teaching machines, flexible partitions, and other features of a modern technology, the teacher still remains central, just as the highly skilled physician does amid the wonder drugs and the fantastic new heart and kidney machines. If the teaching is right for the pupil, there are few other obstacles that cannot be overcome. If the teaching is poor, all else in school reform counts for little. In this atom-splitting age of material abundance, it is fitting to remember Emerson's advice, in his Phi Beta Kappa ora-

tion on *The American Scholar*, that "not he is great who can alter matter, but he who can alter my state of mind."

I have chosen, therefore, to speak about the teacher and to concentrate upon his most formative years, which extend from the time of entry into preparation through the first several years of teaching. Here he develops his skills, begins to shape his philosophy, sets his sights, and formulates his conception of the role of a teacher.

If what I have to say appears neither as a fiery message nor a path to the lofty mountain top, you will have perceived correctly. I have chosen a lowlier path, to do battle on the darkling plain and to try to cut through some of the stubborn, thorny underbrush of American teacher education. Please turn me not out of the temple if I fail to proclaim that all is well within.

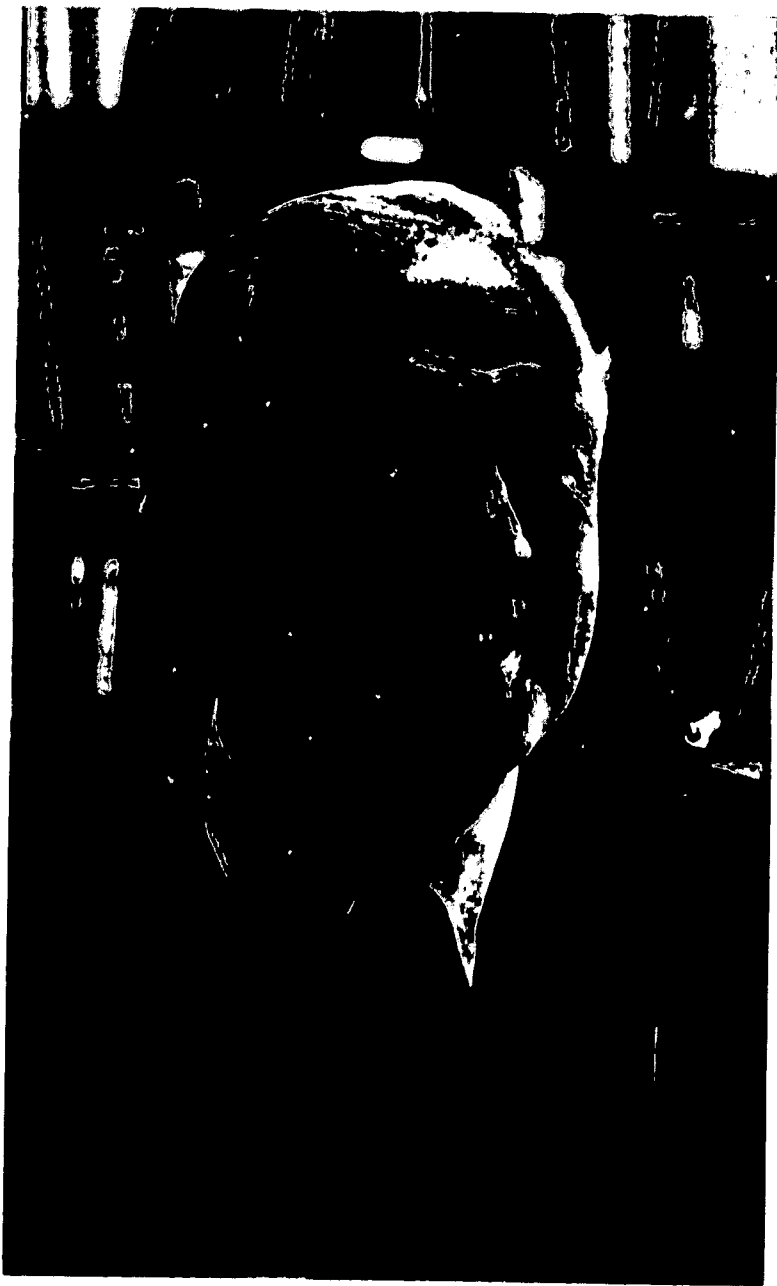
I shall discuss the formative years of teaching at three points—the point of entry, the period of initial preparation, and the first few years of practice—and then deal with two spe-

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# THE FORMATIVE YEARS

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**Robert N. Bush**  
**Professor of Education**  
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cial problems that cut across all three of these, namely, the problem of women in teaching and the hiatus between theory and practice. I shall conclude with the proposal of a new design for teacher education.

#### *The Point of Entry into Teacher Preparation*

When one knocks at the gates of entry to teaching, what does he find? He may even have had trouble in finding the portal, for there is no common point of entry into preparation for teaching as there is for many other professions. Furthermore, the initial knock is often so weak that it can scarcely be heard. But the most significant fact is that, even amid chronic complaints about the teacher shortage, more young college students knock at the gate of teaching than of any other occupation. A 1961 survey by the National Opinion Research Center found 32 percent of all graduating high school seniors aiming for teaching. But unfortunately, a large share never get there. Why? The Carnegie Corporation, in a recent report entitled *Flight from Teaching*, analyzes the picture for college teaching and points to competition from business and research. One reason for the loss at all levels is that the initial commitment is weak. While this situation has unfortunate consequences, it is not peculiar to teaching, and it may not be so serious as is often suggested. How the inquirer is initially treated may be of greater importance.

Sensing the weak commitment of applicants for teacher education, those planning programs have often mistakenly arranged short ones with little demand. The causes which lead applicants to knock, even though lightly, vary, of course, for individuals: some want security, an insurance policy; some love books, a field of study, and an academic-type life; others emphasize the human factors, including even a liking for children. Often unconsciously, some see an easy avenue of upward social mobility. Many young people, some claim a majority, enter college with little or no career drive. Going to college is the thing to do. After drifting for several years, they are first forced to select

a major and then to decide what to do when they graduate. They look hurriedly for a career that takes little additional training. Teaching is such a career.

Our response to the knock is, I'm afraid, an added problem. It is often too glib, too readily affirmative. Standards for admission vary so widely that almost anyone with a little patience, if he inquires in a few places, can be admitted to training for a career in teaching. Too often the candidate's application is not treated in a thoughtful and businesslike manner. Regular standards are lacking. The procedure may be so informal as to verge on being lackadaisical, or when it is formalized, it may be wooden, mechanical, almost perfunctory.

A most serious problem of those who find their way to the gates is that, for the most part, no one has ever encouraged them to present themselves. Numerous studies document the lamentable fact that elementary, high school,

and college teachers neglect to counsel promising young people to go into teaching. This is most unfortunate, considering that many applicants had decided during high school that they might like to teach. Many societal reasons work against more and better people entering teaching. But for this one—lack of guidance and encouragement—we can blame only ourselves. The present student education and future teachers associations are not accomplishing the task.

The seeming handicap of a weak commitment, properly handled, may become an asset. The charge is often heard that young people do not choose to enter teaching but merely drift into it. This is not unique to teaching. Studies on vocational decision making indicate that there is not one point of decision but rather a process of maturing and developing toward a particular vocational commitment over a long period of time. It is a complicated



process, one that requires careful nourishment. Such slowly developing decisions may be among the best. Knocking at the gates in increasing numbers are persons from both sexes, from all ranges of the socioeconomic scale, religious and racial groups, and more and more from higher intellectual and achievement levels. For example, a current announcement indicates that in recent years the number wanting to follow careers in teaching has risen sharply among the National Merit Scholars.

In concluding the discussion on the point of entry, I emphasize that we are not doing so well as we can and should with the talent that presents itself.

#### *The Period of Initial Preparation*

What happens during the teacher's initial period of preparation is of utmost importance.

I shall first comment on length and challenge of the program and then discuss each of its three main strands: liberal education, academic specialization, and professional education.

*Length.* I am convinced that the variability in length of programs is too great, ranging from one to eight years. The duration has probably been too long in some instances, as for example in preparation for college teaching, and too short in others, as in elementary teaching. The program may begin in the first year of college or not until the graduate years. Traditionally, elementary teaching requires the least amount of preparation, secondary next, and college the most. Fortunately, this differentiation is beginning to break down. For the first time in history the legal minimum requirement for a regular credential has been raised to a common denominator for all levels in California: a five-year program is required for elementary, for secondary, and for college teaching. This may herald the beginning of the end of the long-persistent invidious comparisons among the different levels of teaching.

We are almost at the point of being able to agree upon a period of preparation that is sufficiently long, rigorous, and elevated to enable students to develop the competence required

for effective teaching. This does not mean a few weeks in summer school, a little frosting on the undergraduate cake, under conditions which lead one critic with whom I recently discussed the matter to conclude, "Anyone with drive can complete the courses needed for a credential in his spare time."

*Liberal Education.* A good liberal education—an education which liberates the mind from the shackles of prejudice and superstition and the confines of a single culture, that permits one to move freely and joyfully in the past and the present and to speculate objectively with his fellowmen about the future—is a foremost aim of our schools. How far short we fall of this ideal is probably directly related to how far the teachers in the classrooms of our schools have themselves fallen short in their liberal education. Men in all occupations need to be liberally educated, but for the teacher it is absolutely essential if he is to teach properly. This is true for teachers at all levels. And it is equally true for all levels that this is the most serious weakness in the education of teachers. A close, very close, reading of Dr. Conant's studies reveals that he, too, thinks so, though this is obscured by his preoccupation with reforming the professional segment. This lack in liberal education can scarcely be repaired by stealing the few hours devoted to professional education, as some people seem to imply. The reform needed in liberal education lies not in adding a few more hours of this or that. It is a matter of quality rather than quantity. This is neither the time nor the place to detail what is required to bring this aspect of a teacher's education up to a desirable standard.

One major reform needed in liberal education is to return the arts to their rightful place of importance. They have been shamefully neglected in the college and are being squeezed out of the schools. "The arts," Harold Taylor so forcefully states in his thoughtful book, *Art and the Intellect*, "have most directly to do with the development of sensibility and are an essential component of all learning, including scientific learning. . . ."

I wish to present the view that teaching people to think is not merely a question of training their intellects through the study of organized bodies of fact. This may very well teach them not to think but to memorize and accept what they are given, since all the work has been done for them and there is really nothing left to think about. The main problem is to teach people not only to think but to think for themselves, and to organize their own bodies of knowledge and experience. The intellect is not a separate faculty. It is an activity of the whole organism, an activity which begins . . . when an individual is impelled to think by the presence of questions which require answers for him. He begins thinking when he is involved in experiences which require him to place these in some kind of order. . . . Until he becomes conscious of the world around him and wishes to understand it, he is not able to think creatively either about himself or about his world. His sensibility, his values, his attitudes are the key to his intellect.<sup>1</sup>

Promising new practices in liberal education are developing in colleges across the country—studies in depth, relating the residential and instructional programs, colloquiums that cut across traditional subject matter lines, foreign campuses, extending liberal study throughout the college years and on into professional schools, to mention only a few. The rounding out of the liberal education of a teacher is the most compelling reason for extending the length of the college program for elementary and secondary teachers beyond the traditional four years.

*Specialization.* Teachers require training in the subjects they are to teach. This is accomplished by their majoring or minoring in a subject matter field in college. Until relatively recently, this was thought to be necessary only for high school and college, not elementary

school teachers. Fortunately, this is changing. The day approaches when the elementary school teacher will also be specialized in the subject matters he is called upon to teach. This is another reason warranting the extension of his preparation period.

A serious shortcoming in schools is that teachers are often not adequately prepared to teach their assigned subjects. This is due partly, of course, to misassignment, a subject recently thoroughly and imaginatively studied by a special committee of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards and reported in a pamphlet entitled *The Assignment and Misassignment of American Teachers*.<sup>2</sup> A more serious problem, in my opinion, lies in faulty initial preparation. Teachers in training often do not receive an appropriate grounding in the subjects they are preparing to teach. Again, the fault lies not with the few much-abused required education courses. The real trouble is the lack of congruence between the typical college majors and the subjects that are to be taught in the schools. The college major has been planned (I use the term *lightly*, because most often it appears to have grown without reason and become encrusted from academic log-rolling) primarily to prepare for graduate study in the subject. The criteria for a college major do not necessarily constitute adequate breadth and depth for a person who is to teach the subject. While the standards for those preparing to teach a subject should not be lower than for those who major in the subject, the scope and sequence of the subject to be studied should be different.

To select one field as an example: If the teacher of English in high school is guilty of the charge that he is not adequately prepared to teach reading or writing or the structure of his own language, and if he lacks familiarity with the literature which may have most relevance for adolescents, the major fault lies mainly not with the educationists but with the

<sup>1</sup>Taylor, Harold. *Art and the Intellect*. New York, N.Y.: The Museum of Modern Art, 1960. pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup>(A Summary of the Complete Report.) Washington, D.C.: the Commission, National Education Association, 1965. 38 pp.

academicians in the English department. And therein lies the principal source of remedy.

Another problem that causes much mischief is the misconceived idea of a minor. In teaching, it means literally that we require a person to be fully prepared to teach one subject and only partly prepared to teach another. This surely is intellectually indefensible. Anyone who is going to teach any subject ought to be adequately prepared in that subject. If he needs or wishes to teach more than one subject, let him fully prepare to do so. The program should specify what is necessary in any field and require a candidate to complete that requirement. In our teacher education program at Stanford, for example, we no longer acknowledge a minor teaching subject—even though the state still includes this archaic idea in its new credential law.

If teacher education institutions do not uphold the idea that a teacher should reach a full standard in the subject, can the schools be expected to do so? Those who oppose this view and who defend the minor argue that in many small schools, and even in large ones with scheduling complications, teachers must teach in more than one subject field. If this is so, then let them fully prepare to teach in more than one field. But in many instances it is no longer so, what with provision for teaching teams, new techniques of scheduling, and new conceptions for organization of the school. To succumb to the fallacious reasoning that, when schools want to do something that is not educationally defensible, the college program should be shaped accordingly only compounds a felony.

*Professional Education.* I turn now to the last of the three major elements in the education of a teacher, namely, the professional or "educational" strand. This is the smallest, in hours of credit and in years, and comes toward the end of the initial preparatory period. The amount is most for elementary teachers, less for high school teachers, and little or none for college teachers. This professional aspect

is the part of teacher education that has come in for the bulk of the criticism.

As with the other fields, I find, too, that all is not well here, although I am constrained to observe that the importance of this segment in causing many of our current difficulties and shortcomings has been greatly overrated.

In view of the parade of attacks upon the pedagogical aspects of teacher education, it is worth pointing out that, wherever in the world teachers are prepared, special attention is given to pedagogical questions by experts. This will continue. The question is not whether there should be any professional education, but how much of what kind makes the most sense. Fortunately, there is lively ferment in this field.

Professional education is of two kinds: *theoretical*, consisting of courses in the humanistic and behavioral science foundations of education and in general and special methodology; and the *practical* or *laboratory* work, including tutoring, counseling and other work in youth camps and voluntary youth organizations, observing, student teaching, micro-teaching, and internships and externships.

While overlapping and thinness of content are often charged against the theoretical courses, the overarching complaint is the lack of connection between the theory courses and the practice.

A major reform under way in teacher education is the extension and improvement of practice, especially through internships.

Another change is a reorganization of the traditional sequence of general education, specialization, theoretical education courses, and finally, practice. In the new arrangement, specialization, educational theory, and practice continue concurrently throughout the entire training period, each relating to and nourishing the other.

*College-Wide Responsibility and Approach.* The foregoing analysis points up that teacher education is more of an integral part of the total college and university program than are

many other professional training programs. Many of them, including teacher education, once existed in separate institutions. In Russia today is an almost pure example of this practice. We in this country are moving rapidly in the opposite direction. The single-purpose institution is disappearing. So pronounced is the trend that President Clark Kerr of the University of California, in his book entitled *The Uses of the University*, has coined a new title for this more comprehensive type of institution—the “multiversity.”<sup>3</sup> Whether a single-purpose institution cannot achieve better focus of all parts of the central concern is still an open question in my mind. Whether we shall in the long run return to a different and better specialized institution remains to be seen. In the foreseeable future, however, in the United States the education of teachers will take place in multipurpose institutions. The important point here is that teacher education is not solely the responsibility of the education department or school of education. All parts of the institution need to work harmoniously and cooperatively. Each has a unique role. This seems a hard lesson to learn.

### *The First Years of Practice*

We now come to the critical first few years of teaching. As he travels the long road from career exploration to full commitment, the new teacher in his initial years passes through the stages of professional zeal—eager absorption in the task at hand, with not too much thought of the future—into that of thoughtful introspection, and then either out or on to full commitment. Here he learns his role, internalizes the basic values of the teacher's culture, forms his conceptions and standards that will strongly influence his behavior for years to come. Here the first real evaluation of his teaching occurs. Whether this evaluation is by competent colleagues or otherwise leaves its telling mark.

The difficulties and shortcomings are even greater, in my judgment, during these first

<sup>3</sup>Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963. 140 pp.

few years of practice than during preservice education.

The symptomatic clue that all is not well is the high drop-out rate during the first few years. For example, over half of those who receive certificates in June are not teaching two years later. Over half of those teaching in their first year do not intend to be teaching five years later.

The facts are incontrovertible: a significant number of those trained are lost in the first few years. Part of those who stay have their original professional enthusiasm blunted and may turn into the “indifferents,” who arrive on time, leave on time, and develop their major interests elsewhere. There are those who pass the early shoals in excellent condition,<sup>4</sup> to join the growing body of competent teachers who are exercising leadership in education. If we are to cure the pupil drop-out problem, we had better try to cure the teacher drop-out problem first.

These two problems are not unrelated. Conditions that will cause pupils to want to stay in rather than leave school will also cause teachers to want to remain in rather than leave teaching: arrangements which permit pupils and teachers to establish close personal relationships and give teachers time to devote themselves to the genuine concern of pupils; providing stimulating and relevant curriculums with flexible schedules that give pupils time to learn and teachers time to teach; laboratories, and libraries that are open, available and filled with the best possible materials for teaching and learning.

The main charge leveled by both those who stay in teaching and those who leave is that the two worlds, that of the college and that of the schools, are different, often contradictory, and that what happens during preparation does

<sup>4</sup>Several of these young persons have joined me in shaping the analysis of the formative years. They are: Diana Esther Bartley, Randall Arthur Cognition, George Robert Millar, John Joseph Koran, Jr., Paul P. Preising, Dan W. Rehor, and David C. Stannard. I acknowledge their indispensable contribution without holding them responsible for all that I have chosen to present.



not fit one for what he finds in practice. The theme has infinite variations. A popular one just now is that prospective teachers, all middle class, are trained only on middle-class, quiet, conforming youngsters (Where are they?) and cannot stand the shock of reality when they land in a slum school in the decaying part of the city. Another image is that the new teachers come from the preparing institutions, their "Dewey" eyes filled with dreams of innovation: ungraded schools, teams of teachers harmoniously dividing up the labor, offering the new curriculums in carpeted, wall-less schools filled with acoustical perfume. They then suddenly go to pieces when confronted with the reality of overcrowded self-contained classrooms, with only meager teaching materials, limited budgets, seniority practices, and heavy extraclass and playground duties.

In far too many schools the beginner is hazed and finds himself the victim of an ancient system of seniority that we have allowed unwittingly to grow up.

The questions we need to ask in each of our schools are these: Does the new teacher coming into our school have his beginning assignment in the subjects and at the grade levels for which he has been prepared? Does he have only one or two different preparations? Are conditions, materials, and equipment in the school to which he is assigned among the best in the district? Is he welcomed by his senior colleagues as a junior member of a team where his responsibilities are commensurate with his experience? Does he meet with an attitude on their part of, "You have taken your first step in preparation; we are now ready to help you take your next step in initial practice, namely, to carry out, apply, and refine and adjust what you have learned thus far"? Does he find senior colleagues, both teaching and administrative, who are competent in his subject, who take an interest in his teaching, and who visit him and discuss his work?

Does he meet with an atmosphere in the school that respects tradition but also encour-

ages those who are trying to find better ways? Are the salary schedules and other indices such that he can see a lifelong possibility for advancing in teaching? Are there assistants to relieve him of routine and custodial duties? Does he have time to plan his teaching, develop his teaching materials, and discuss and evaluate the results with his colleagues? Does he have opportunity to participate in meaningful conferences, training sessions, and workshops during the regular school year as well as in the summer so that he can remedy the gaps in his preservice preparation? Can he look forward to leaves of absence with pay so that he can keep up to date? Does he see his former teachers from the preparing college meeting with his senior colleagues in the schools as partners in improving education in the schools?

There are schools where new teachers can answer "yes" to many such questions. Each of us ought to ask, "Is mine one of them?" What is your prediction about whether new teachers in such schools will remain in teaching and develop a lifelong and full-career commitment to it?

Do the dropouts, the disillusionments, occur in schools where conditions are quite otherwise? Where the new teacher is assigned to the difficult school, given the odds and ends of the schedule, a preponderance of the "problem" classes; where he must sink or swim on his own initiative, without counsel or interest; where he is admonished to forget the highfalutin ideas he learned in college as soon as possible; where he sees the clock-watcher advance on the salary schedule as fast and as far as the dedicated professional; where the only visits and "ratings" he gets are from hurried and harassed administrators who are competent neither in the subject nor grade level observed and whose sole aim is to "rate" for tenure or dismissal?

There are schools where new teachers are confronted by these latter conditions. Why are there too few schools of the first type and too many of the second? To answer this question ought to be the main purpose of this conference.

### **The Place of Women in Teaching**

What about the respective status and role of men and women in teaching? Do they have equal opportunity? Are they treated the same? Should they be? Merely asking these questions evokes a host of conflicting answers. So much myth, emotion, controversy surround this subject that the veil is hard to penetrate. At the risk of unpopularity, I propose to offer some suggestions to remedy serious imbalances. We are losing talent that we need not lose and are not taking advantage of some that we could if we but altered policies and paid attention to realities. Needless discrimination against both men and women ought to be altered. My thesis is that needless discrimination should cease. Ward Mason and his colleagues, of the U.S. Office of Education, point the way:

It would appear that school administrators concerned with retaining their teaching staffs must seek in part different solutions for men and women teachers. For the men, they must find ways of making teaching a more rewarding and attractive occupation; for the women, they must search for social inventions which will reduce the conflict between occupation and family responsibility and making simultaneous performing in the two roles more feasible.<sup>5</sup>

The traditional claim that teaching is a woman's occupation surely needs qualification, if not denial. College teaching is a male stronghold in most parts of the world where women are seriously discriminated against. The picture is more balanced in the high schools, although males are in the majority in some countries. In elementary school, women predominate, although not in all parts of the world. In administration, the female finds herself discriminated against at all levels.

<sup>5</sup>Mason, Ward S.; Dressel, Robert J.; and Bain, Robert K. "Sex Role and the Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers." *Harvard Educational Review* 21:383; Fall 1959. Also in *Readings in the Social Psychology of Education*. (W. W. Charters and N. L. Gage, editors.) Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1963. pp. 276-86.

Often the unspoken but tacit assumption is that elementary schools, which have mostly women teachers, ought to have more men, and colleges, which have mostly men, ought to have more women. Is this valid and reasonable?

As far as I can discover in the case of men, they accept without complaint the discrimination in their favor in administration and in college teaching. In elementary and especially in secondary teaching they do complain, however, that the single salary schedule discriminates against them, the chief breadwinners for their families. They must resort to administration, to moonlighting, or move out of education. They complain that the single young woman, or the married woman who is merely supplementing the main family income, can with less commitment command a favored position. These circumstances, it is alleged, discourage young married men with families from remaining in teaching. Classrooms suffer. Partly to meet this problem, some communities have developed new provisions to recognize dependents and head-of-household status in their salary schedules.

In the case of women, the situation is more difficult and complicated — as is often the case with women! As with men, they do not complain when the discrimination is in their favor; for example, when they are permitted to go through an expensive preservice program, at small cost to themselves, with the foregone conclusion that they are seeking only an insurance policy and that the chances are better than even that they will not teach at all, or at best for only a year or two before marriage. The necessity to prepare two or three women teachers to get one for the classroom, and then not for long, is one of the most serious problems in teacher education today. And yet it is seldom even discussed. What would be the status of health care in this country today if the same situation prevailed in preparing doctors?

The wastage in initial preparation is a serious problem. Should we develop different kinds of initial programs for men and women,

one for those who are fully committed and another for those mildly interested? Could we make a valid distinction? Should we consider another, more far-reaching alternative: make all beginning teaching positions of such a junior-level responsibility that only a limited amount of preparation would qualify a person to enter, leaving much more of the demanding and extensive work for career teaching to take place after the first few years on the job? These and other alternatives ought to be debated seriously at this conference and in teacher education circles throughout the country.

Even though more women are finding their way into the labor market, substantial numbers are "idle," trying to find more constructive use of their talent than in the vast army of clubs and voluntary organizations. One of our most serious wastes is the failure fully to use the talents of women in this country. Here we are at serious disadvantage in comparison with the Soviets. If they ever bury us, this point may be decisive. My impression is that they are using their women much more extensively, productively, and without discrimination in all fields than we are.

Surely teaching, which suffers from serious talent shortages, might move forward rapidly if it tapped more fully this vast pool of ability. We ought at all levels and in all types of positions to be using women of all ages much more than we now do. We have made a very modest beginning with the employment of teacher aides, lay readers in English, and other part-time assistants. Regular teaching positions that take less than full-time career commitment could be devised so that women could more readily combine work with home responsibilities. More convenient hours, permitting them to come late and leave early or to work on certain days, would enable them to remain at work while their children were small and not force them out of the labor market for such long periods of time. For women who wish a full, demanding career, educational positions should be open with no discrimination.

### *Relating Theory and Practice*

The most pervasive and continuously vexing problem to all, but especially to the teacher during his formative years, is the one vaguely referred to as the relation between theory and practice. This category, which covers a multitude of sins, is not, I suggest, a problem of theory at all. The harsh truth is, as N. L. Gage points out in the *Handbook of Research on Teaching*,<sup>6</sup> that we have not yet developed a theory of teaching. Furthermore, an examination of teacher education programs finds them so crammed with matters of immediate concern that little of a theoretical nature is included. The root problem seems to be, on the one hand, the gap that exists between conditions in the colleges and the way college professors view education, and on the other, conditions in the schools and the way teachers view education.

Traditionally, the domains have been divided as follows: The colleges and universities discover new knowledge and give the initial training; the teachers apply the knowledge in teaching pupils in schools. In neither domain do we do as well as we should. Fortunately, the walls between the schools and the colleges are breaking down. Research and training are often better carried out in the schools, and the colleges are learning to apply the results in their own classrooms.

The necessity for tying together schools and colleges and theory and practice lies behind the research and development centers and the regional experimental educational laboratories which the U.S. Office of Education and the new federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act make possible. These new centers are to be fashioned on the model of the land-grant college agricultural experiment station which served agriculture so well. As men of thought and men of action populate both the schools and the colleges, they will look upon each other with less suspicion and distrust.

<sup>6</sup>Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963. 1218 pp.

It is possible that we may be on the verge of building a Great Educational System which is an essential of a Great Society. As Francis A. Ianni and Barbara D. McNeil of the U.S. Office of Education pointed out, "When President Johnson said that 'the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education,' he was expressing a growing popular belief as much as he was characterizing his own administration. Every society and every generation within that society produces forces that mold education in its time. What seems to be emerging in our society and within our generation is a widespread faith that if we can improve education, we might just produce that Great Society."<sup>7</sup>

Part of the problem in integrating theory and practice lies in the difficult transition of the trainee from student to teacher. Students entering teacher preparation have so thoroughly internalized their role as students over the years as to be scarcely aware of it. Their view of the schools is that of pupils, which naturally places pupils in a more favorable and teachers in a less favorable light. Teachers incline to the punitive and restrictive side. Pupils live more on the side of the angels, well-behaved, motivated, eager to learn. As trainees move into practice, this view is shattered. Their world is destroyed. Pupils, viewed now from the new vantage point, are no longer the angels they once seemed. They lack motivation, are difficult to control. Teachers are now more sinned against than sinning. "Why didn't you teach us," recent graduates complain, "what it was really like out in the schools?"—in the real world of the beginning teacher, as this conference puts it. Part of the reason, of course, is that we could not because they had not yet transferred far enough over from the role of student. Teachers in the schools and those in the preparing institutions need to understand this phenomenon.

Supervisors in the colleges and in the schools need to work closely together during the early

<sup>7</sup>"Organizing for Continuing Change." *Saturday Review* 48: 55; June 19, 1965.

stages of practice. This collaboration is being enhanced by some of the new technological developments, especially the portable video tape recorder. With this device, which we have been using for several years at Stanford, it is possible to move easily into a regular classroom to obtain a good audiovisual record of the teaching of a trainee, and then immediately—either in the school or back on the campus—play back the video tape recording. Thus, the college supervisors in the schools can separately or together criticize the trainee so that the next day he can try to do better. This procedure can also be used in a micro-teaching laboratory, where a trainee teaches a brief lesson to a few pupils, concentrating on a specific teaching skill, with immediate feedback, re-teach feedback, etc., until a satisfactory level of performance has been reached. Such day-by-day practice-critique-re-teach sequence, together with frequent observation of good models, in which college and school personnel collaborate, is forging a new, powerful concept in teacher education that may go far in bridging the gap that has separated the preparing institutions from the schools.

#### *A New Design*

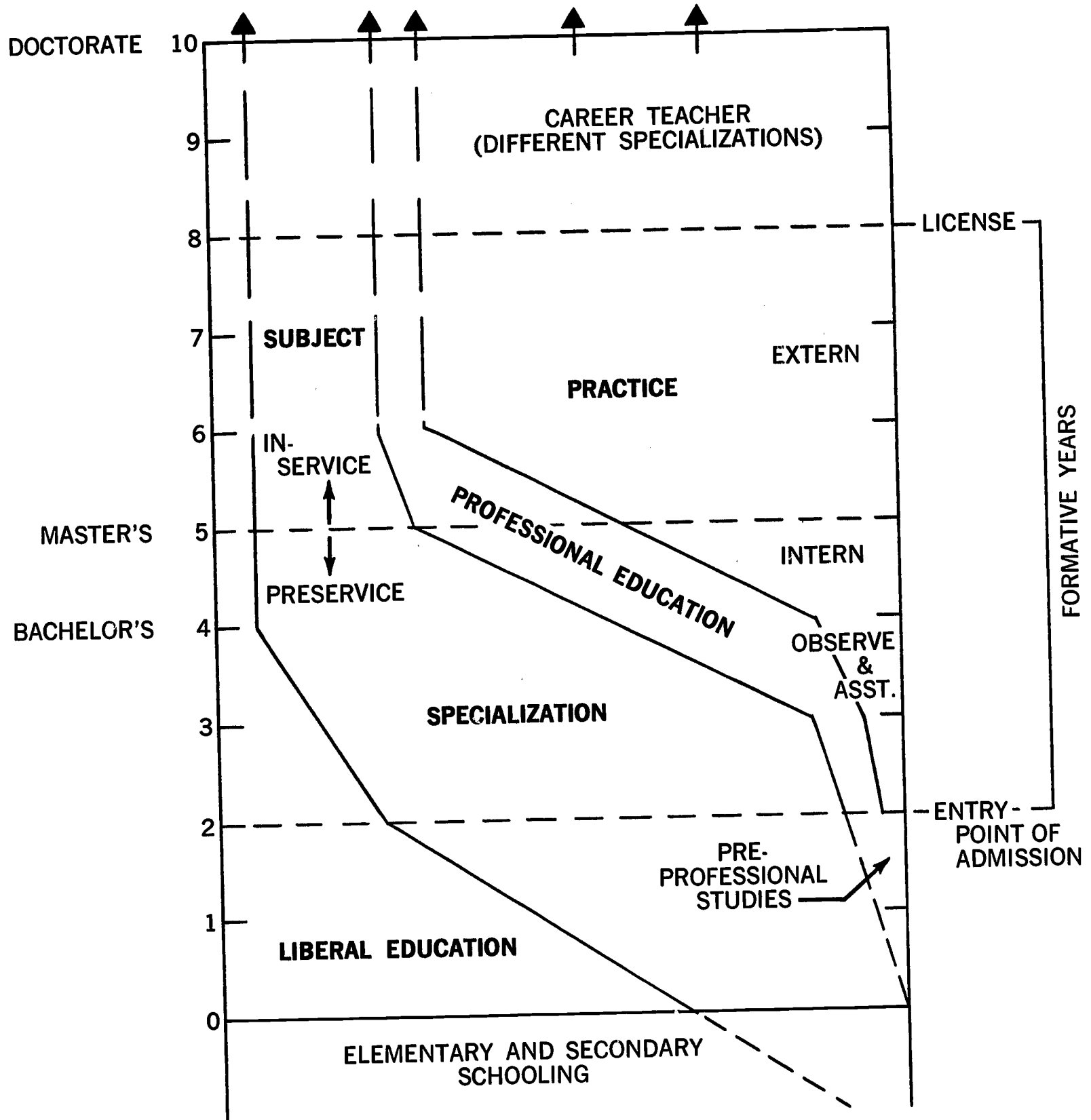
The time is past when requirements for the education of teachers can be formed in legislative halls by inept experts writing certification requirements. The time is past when whatever a college wants to offer, however meager, will be tolerated in teacher education. We must have national minimum standards, set and enforced by professionally competent persons. This is the essence of the NCATE fuss (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education). As John Mayor's impartial report, made for the National Commission on Accrediting and supported by the Carnegie Corporation, concludes, national accreditation is both necessary and desirable in teacher education.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>*Accreditation in Teacher Education: Its Influence on Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965. 311 pp. (Available from American Council on Education.)

The times demand and our knowledge and experience make possible the mapping of a new design for teacher education which consolidates the gains made over the past several decades, cuts out invalidated traditional prac-

tices, and steps boldly forward onto a new and higher level of achievement. I suggest that we are ready to move toward a new design along lines sketched in the following diagram:

### A DESIGN FOR TEACHER EDUCATION



Note the program's chief features:

1. A common point of formal entry into professional education, to occur at approximately the end of the second year of college. It will have been preceded by major attention to liberal education, a strong start on specialization, and some preprofessional requirements in the behavioral sciences and the humanities.

2. A seven-year-plus program, culminating in a life-license and probably in a doctoral degree, which features (a) continuous practice gradually extended, from observing and assisting to internship and externship; (b) preservice education merging into in-service education, so that continuing lifelong education becomes an integral part of practice, with emphasis upon both professional education and subject matter specialization; (c) liberal education studies that continue indefinitely as part of continuing education.

3. A design that fits the teacher of any subject, at any level, preschool through college, with a sufficiently high level of preparation to ensure the competence of the beginning teacher from the outset.

This new design for teacher education will be successfully implemented by following a few fundamental guidelines:

1. Observe the highest standards of excellence in all matters—in the students we permit to enter teacher education, in the standards of competence that we require to be reached in the preparation program, and in the manner in which we use teacher talent in the schools and colleges. The end runs by which anyone with any level of training can enter a career teaching position and become enmeshed in indefensible loads, misassignments, and other undesirable conditions must be stopped.

2. Be flexible, not rigid, in the application of high standards. Permit and encourage demonstration of competence by examination throughout. But do not permit flexibility to degenerate into a policy of "let anything go" merely because of pressure of persons who want to enter teaching by an easy route.

3. Provide for constant interaction of theoretical and practical considerations, for research and its application in the schools and the colleges.

4. Provide adequate time and resources for continuing study by the teacher, so that it becomes an integral part of practice in the schools.

5. Without destroying the integrity and competence of any single type of practitioner, move surely toward a team of specialists in the educational professions, a differentiated staff that will enable us to draw upon the total reservoir of talent that is present in our society.

I have avoided emphasis upon school buildings, finances, hours of credit, and administrative organization—all of importance. Rather, I have tried to dwell on problems of aim and content and their integration into a general design for teacher education. The reason has been to supply a corrective for a tendency in American life to concentrate on procedures and materialistic features—when the root of America's educational shortcomings in these times lies more in the philosophical, the esthetic, the intellectual—in the qualitative features—and by incorporating them into the practical workings of the schools.

As Lewis Mumford suggests, "Our goal is not increased consumption but a vital standard; less in the preparatory means, more in the ends, less in the mechanical apparatus, more in the organic fulfillment. When we have such a norm, our success in life," says Mumford—and I add, in education, too—"will not be judged by the size of the rubbish heaps we have produced: it will be judged by the immaterial and non-consumable goods we have learned to enjoy, and by our biological fulfillment as lovers, mates, parents and by our personal fulfillment as thinking, feeling men and women."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Mumford, Lewis. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1934, p. 399.

## A SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW STUDIES



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What kind of perceptions do beginning elementary and secondary school teachers have with respect to the value of their collegiate education, satisfactions and frustrations in their present jobs, and teaching as a career and a profession? What feelings do these teachers express toward administrators, fellow teachers, the communities in which they teach, and professional organizations? In order to get reactions to such questions, sixteen college instructors consented to participate in a TEPS-sponsored project of thirteen studies in which a sample of teachers within their first three years of practice would be selected and interviewed.<sup>1</sup>

In twelve different states from Maine to New Mexico, 312 beginning teachers were

<sup>1</sup>The NCTEPS is deeply indebted to the sixteen college instructors who were involved in conducting the thirteen interview studies and who reported on their findings at the conference. They are identified in Appendix A.

interviewed. The teachers were graduates of various types of institutions, ranging from large universities to small, private liberal arts colleges and state-supported teachers colleges. Assorted sizes and types of school systems, both rural and urban, and virtually all grade levels and subject fields of instruction were represented in the sampling of interviews. Despite the cross-sectional flavoring of the teachers interviewed, a coordinated random sampling process by the college instructors involved in the project was not attempted.

Although a general format of topics was utilized, diverse sampling and interview techniques were employed in the interview studies. Therefore, no uniformity of data collection, classification, analysis, and correction for error characterized the thirteen reports. In short, the studies were not designed to collect hard empirical data from which highly dependable inferences and generalizations might be made. Instead, they were directed toward capturing some of the subjective impressions of a heterogeneous group of beginning teachers. These

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# THE PLURALISTIC WORLD OF BEGINNING TEACHERS

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Professor of Education  
Illinois State University



impressions, in turn, were to be used at the national TEPS conference to precipitate some insight and discussion concerning problems of beginning teachers.

By intent, the multifarious, sometimes ambiguous, and often inconsistent world of the beginning teacher was to be explored. As was to be expected, the impressions collected from the teachers in the thirteen separate studies represent a potpourri. There are the shibboleths that one would anticipate, the standard gripes, the mass of contradictions, and the occasional area of agreement. The thirteen studies cumulatively offered 173 printed pages of material. The summary which follows can only highlight some of the diverse impressions of beginning teachers reported in the original studies.

#### *Reflections on Collegiate Education*

With a few interesting exceptions, the beginning teachers who were interviewed reflected upon their undergraduate general education with high regard or at least considered it adequate. However, one interviewer found that the elementary school teachers he interrogated had no understanding of what was meant by "general education." Before these teachers could respond to questions about this aspect of their preparation, they had to have the nature of general education explained to them.

Criticisms of general education were from a small minority of the teachers. The most common complaint was that the knowledge offered in general education programs was not relevant to application in, and understanding of, the contemporary world. Another criticism centered on the lack of available advisement for students in planning their program of general education. A few teachers complained that they had insufficient or no exposure to certain areas of knowledge. The harshest comment offered with respect to general education was, ". . . general education courses were



nothing more than fillers to complete degree requirements."

The majority of the teachers interviewed also offered favorable reactions to the amount and quality of their preparation in academic specialization. This was particularly true of secondary school teachers, who expressed positive identification with their areas of specialization. However, a few secondary teachers indicated that their fields of concentrated study in undergraduate school had little use in actual high school teaching. This criticism recurred among several of the beginning teachers of English, who complained about the lack of emphasis on grammar, composition, reading, and linguistics in their college preparation.

Another recurring complaint came from elementary school teachers, who indicated the need for more study in certain academic areas and in the teaching of reading. Some of these elementary teachers suggested the necessity of "at least a strong minor in a subject matter area."

Finally, one report offered the general commentary of several teachers that the courses in academic specialization stressed memorization, and despite being poorly taught, they were graded severely to convey illusions of intellectual respectability.

In contrast to general education and academic specialization, the majority of teachers interviewed expressed negative comments and reactions to courses in professional education. The most common criticism of such courses was that they were too theoretical, with little relevance to classroom practice. Many teachers felt that various direct experiences with teaching and students as extensions of such courses might help overcome some of this difficulty. The theory-practice dichotomy and other criticisms of education courses seemed to soften somewhat with the beginning teachers who had three years of experience as compared with those who had only one or two years of experience. However, general condemnation of all professional education was prevalent. Courses in the foundations of education (his-

tory, philosophy, and psychology) were said to have no bearing on teaching and education today. Education instructors were chastised for being too far removed from the realities of public school classrooms. Cries of excessive duplication of course content and even ridicule of education course content were issued by these beginning teachers.

On the other hand, one report indicated that a majority of twenty-five teachers interviewed were in favor of more preparation in professional education. Two other reports involving sixty-three teachers offered summary praise of the methods courses taken in professional education. In addition, occasional approbation of courses in educational psychology and developmental psychology was encountered.

Student teaching was unanimously approved by the beginning teachers, with some acclaiming their experience as the high point of their total undergraduate preparation. But even this unanimity was sprinkled with comments suggesting needed improvements in student teaching; for example, the practices were too conventional and conservative, not enough time was allowed to engage in actual teaching, there was little help from the college, the cooperating teacher did not offer sufficient assistance and criticism.

#### *Compatibility of Expectations with Experiences*

The 312 beginning teachers expressed mixed feelings as to whether their experiences in teaching matched their expectations. In some cases the teachers were hired to teach in the same schools where they did their student teaching. This arrangement alleviated much of the expectation-reality inconsistency for those teachers. However, roughly half of the beginning teachers indicated various incompatibilities between their expectations and the first year or years of actual teaching.

The experience-expectation inconsistencies were varied in nature, but the most common theme uncovered in the teachers' reactions

was their apparent lack of readiness to cope with the wide range of abilities and interests of their students. Many of the teachers expressed surprise and dismay at the poor level of enthusiasm for learning displayed by their students. Perhaps closely related to these concerns, the beginning teachers complained that classroom management and control problems were very difficult, that instructional materials and equipment were lacking, that time for planning their instruction was sparse, and that they did not expect to be assigned to unreasonable teaching situations in general.

Some teachers expressed surprise at the amount of paper work and "extracurricular tasks" imposed upon them. Occasionally the teachers indicated that they expected more help from administrators and supervisors than they had been offered. The regimentation of

children in school was another area of reality not anticipated by some teachers. And a few indicated that they were not prepared for the amount of gossip and alleged backbiting they encountered among their colleagues.

#### *Reactions to Orientation and In-Service Programs*

The majority of the beginning teachers interviewed felt that orientation and in-service education programs were highly desirable. However, most of these teachers also indicated that such programs were either non-existent or severely inadequate as now practiced. Teachers in small, rural school systems often claimed that they had no exposure to orientation or in-service programs. In contrast, most of the beginning teachers in urban school systems indicated participation in such



programs. Only a small minority of interviewees were pleased with the nature and quality of the in-service programs to which they had been exposed.

Most of the beginning teachers complained that preschool orientation programs were rather dull and not very useful. Such programs, according to the teachers, often were either too general in nature or devoted merely to a series of routine administrative announcements. Others complained that the programs were poorly timed since too many problems and tasks usually compete for the teacher's attention at the start of the school year. In addition, several teachers thought that very few positive outcomes could be expected since an inadequate amount of time was allocated to such preschool orientation programs. Very few of the teachers expected or received any major assistance from their college for an on-the-job orientation.

In general, these beginning teachers found much room for improvement in prevailing programs of continuing or in-service education within their school systems. A recurring criticism was that administrative and supervisory personnel offered very little assistance. Instead of turning to formal programs or to designated supervisory personnel, the beginning teachers generally relied upon their experienced fellow teachers for various kinds of help. Thus, an informal program of consultation between certain experienced teachers and the neophytes appeared to be the most prevalent, useful avenue of in-service education.

While there was no question among the teachers, as to the potential value of in-service education programs, various suggestions for their improvement were offered. For example:

1. The school system should provide released time to teachers for in-service education programs.
2. School systems should underwrite the expenses and perhaps provide scholarships for advanced study by their teachers.

3. More time within teaching schedules should be provided for organization of instructional materials and for lesson planning.
4. Clerical chores and other nonteaching responsibilities imposed upon teachers should be minimized.
5. In-service programs should carry academic or salary credit, or both.
6. More supervision and assistance with instructional problems should be given the beginning teacher.
7. More opportunity for observation of master teachers should be provided.
8. In-service programs should be organized to provide specific help to teachers with common concerns, e.g. teaching problems commonly identified in a particular subject matter field or on a particular grade level.

#### *Attitudes Toward Fellow Teachers and Administrators*

As mentioned previously, the beginning teachers relied primarily upon experienced fellow teachers for advice and assistance on various professional problems. Such reliance actually confirms their testimonials expressing respect and admiration for most of their colleagues. These beginning teachers felt that most of the veteran teachers were competent, effective, and conscientious in performing their instructional responsibilities. Negative comments about experienced teachers were rare, although a few beginning teachers complained about too many "home-towners" being on the teaching staff and the general parochialism which this condition seems to generate. A more common observation among the beginners was that groups or cliques existed within the ranks of the experienced teachers. Alleged criteria for the organization of such groups ranged from age and amount of experience to particular fields of specialization or even to a common alma mater. An apparent implication behind such comments is that beginning teachers often form their own groups, with membership criteria being youth and

limited teaching experience. However, the central impression remains that the younger, inexperienced teachers regarded the more experienced teachers with high professional esteem. When the inexperienced teachers sought help from their more experienced colleagues, the assistance was given generously.

Beginning teacher attitudes toward administrators, on the other hand, were different, most of them indicative of a cautious respect. Beginning teachers perceived administrators as operating in a different sphere and with different status not always complementary or supportive to the performance of the teachers' responsibilities. For example, many teachers complained about the lack of assistance and supervision offered by administrators. At the same time, they expressed the preference that administrators leave them alone. There seemed to be a recurring fear that administrators would confuse supervisory assistance with forms of threatening evaluation.

This type of role-status perception of administrators caused beginning teachers to use administrators' services cautiously so as to avoid the suggestion of weakness in their own professional competence. Although many teachers indicated the availability of administrative assistance with problems, they still relied primarily upon fellow teachers for such assistance.

Often the beginning teachers justified their lack of reliance upon administrative help by noting how busy administrators were. On the other hand, some of the secondary school teachers simply did not believe that administrators could offer much help to them in their specialized areas of instruction. As reported in one study, a common comment by secondary school teachers was, "He does his job, and I do mine." Elementary school teachers, in contrast, were somewhat more receptive to school principals and other administrators acting as instructional supervisors.

### Perceptions of School and Community Atmosphere

Positive although very general statements were offered by the majority of the beginning teachers in response to questions about their school atmosphere. The atmosphere was described with such expressions as "intellectually stimulating climate," "friendly and relaxed working conditions," "good school morale," and the like. However, a minority of teachers did express dissatisfactions with the school environment, and the more prominent criticisms were as follows: "The school is too big [or small] and has poor facilities." "There is inadequate communication between teachers and administrators, and the atmosphere is tense, autocratic." "Little or no individuality is allowed with respect to teaching procedures employed." "The school is tradition-oriented and unreceptive to change." "Informal discussions center almost exclusively upon petty local or educational problems, with no interests expressed in cultural matters."

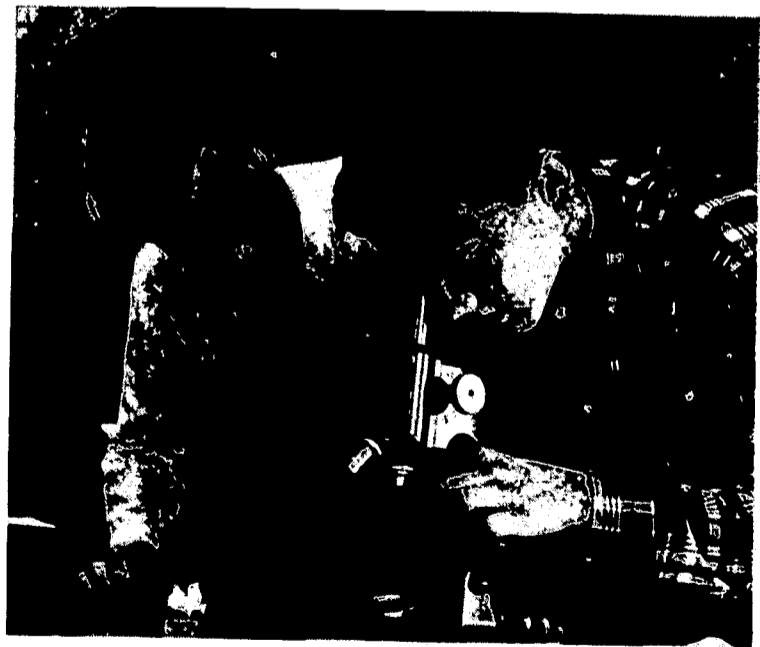
When asked about the community in which they teach and about the parents of their students, the majority of the beginning teachers again expressed positive reactions. Parents were described as interested, helpful, or cooperative, while the community was described as nice, pleasant, or supportive of the schools. The few beginning teachers who were critical of the community or parents were much more explicit in their complaints. A frequent concern expressed by these teachers was that parents and children from lower socioeconomic groups displayed apathy toward education. The teachers felt that a lack of encouragement and a lack of exposure to certain cultural experiences at home virtually nullified anything attempted in school. Furthermore, many of the teachers felt unable to understand or cope with educational problems stemming from socioeconomic conditions and backgrounds different from their own.

Middle-class communities and parents were generally regarded more favorably by the beginning teachers, apparently because of the compatibility of various values, including those involving formal education. But even the "good" or "nice" communities and parents received some criticism. Sometimes parents were criticized for exerting too much pressure on their children's productivity and grades in school, and sometimes they were criticized for a lack of interest in their children's efforts. Some communities, particularly rural areas and small towns, were criticized for the imposition of too many restrictions on the personal lives of teachers while maintaining different standards of conduct for other professional people in the community. In addition, some communities were said to be excessively backward, politically and economically conservative, and resistant to any kind of innovation.

#### *Initial Job Placement and Career Aspirations*

As expected, the beginning teachers reported little difficulty in securing initial teaching positions. The placement services offered by the colleges of these teachers were considered very helpful in providing leads to alternative jobs, distributing employment credentials, and arranging interviews with prospective employers. After the acquisition of the initial job, however, some teachers regarded the college placement offices merely as depositories for, and senders of, their employment credentials. Only one study, involving twenty-five teachers, expressed general dissatisfaction with college placement services. Poor organization of such services and inadequate dissemination of job opportunity information were the major criticisms in this particular study.

Despite the positive reflection upon the job placement services offered by colleges, some



complaints and suggestions for improving the rituals of candidate-employer reconnaissance were registered. A principal criticism made by the teachers related to the vague nature of job interviews. Some teachers complained that their teaching assignment never was made clear in the interview and that they were notified of the specific assignment without adequate time for preparation. Others said that the actual teaching assignment was different from the one expected or requested as a result of the interview. Still others suggested the need for greater specificity in the job interview with respect to school policies, community social-cultural attractions, nature of the instructional program, and community expectations of the teachers. On the positive side, the teachers appreciated opportunities to meet and talk with their prospective building principal and fellow teachers as part of the job exploration-interview procedure.

About two-thirds of the beginning teachers expressed a career commitment to classroom teaching. From the information reported in the studies, it can be assumed that such commitment was in the content field or grade level of the teachers' present positions. In other words, the mobility quest expressed by these teachers was in the form of obtaining advanced preparation and increased competence as the vehicles for teaching in the same or better schools for higher salaries. Oddly enough, most of the interviewees expressed satisfaction with their present salaries. Some complained about low salary incentives for their future in teaching, but only a few were terribly discontented about salaries or claimed that they were presently forced to moonlight with additional employment. The fundamental job satisfactions for most of these teachers apparently are sufficient for the acceptance of teaching as a long-term career.

Most of the remaining teachers expressed the desire to stay in some form of education, if not in the same type of teaching position, over the next twenty years. Some of them

viewed advanced formal study and experience as leading to administrative or supervisory jobs. A few teachers also expressed plans to become college teachers or to enter a field of specialization such as guidance or psychology. Even the majority of women teachers planning to leave teaching in order to raise a family indicated the desire to return to teaching after their own children had grown. Fewer than one out of every ten of the beginning teachers indicated an unequivocal plan to abandon teaching as a present or future career, and the majority of these were women who wanted to devote full attention to their home and family.

#### *Attitudes Toward Professional Organizations*

The vast majority of the teachers interviewed were members of the NEA, with only a few holding membership in a teachers union. But both the NEA and state education associations were viewed by most of the beginning teachers with a sort of discontented relativism. In the first place, many of them had very little understanding of the purposes, benefits, or functions of the national or state education associations. In the second place, most of the teachers could not seem to care less. They joined such organizations because, as they said, "It was generally expected of me." Knowledge of more specialized professional organizations—the National Council of Teachers of English, for example—was nonexistent among these teachers. And yet, many teachers expressed negative or at best neutral reactions when the NEA and other professional organizations were mentioned by the interviewers.

With only a few exceptions, the teachers were unenthusiastic, uninformed members of their professional organizations. Those who joined the NEA or state education association with some form of rationale did so because of vague notions that the organizations represented teachers in general, protected the rights of teachers, and kept teachers posted on recent

educational issues. Many of them, however, also felt that the organizations were ineffectual, too far removed from the individual teacher and his problems, and overly bureaucratized with administrator domination. Some teachers complained about the alleged "pressure" or "propaganda" utilized in having them join the NEA and a state association, while others insisted that their dues were inflated compared with the meager benefits received.

The few beginning teachers who were members of a union generally insisted that their organization was more militant and active in promoting teacher welfare than the NEA. However, even some of the teachers union members expressed a degree of reluctance about their membership. To these teachers, union membership was simply a harsh necessity to extract proper benefits from educational management which had become too impersonal and detached from problems of the instructional staff. The most common reaction from non-union teachers about union membership was that it was "unprofessional." The majority of teachers agreed that teaching was a profession, but they were not quite sure what conditions warranted or determined the professional status of teaching.

#### *Analysis of Unconscious Processes*

One of the thirteen studies conducted in the TEPS-sponsored project utilized an approach deviating from the approaches used in the other twelve studies already summarized. Essentially, the investigator in this study wanted to analyze some of the unconscious processes and identifications of beginning teachers that might have some influence on their professional behavior. Fifteen teachers were interviewed, with the interviews being taped and subsequently transcribed. Each teacher was involved in at least two interviews, one structured around a set of open-ended questions and the other completely unstructured to encourage the subject to say whatever came to mind. The transcribed interviews were evaluated by the investigator for possible patterns

of sex identification, aggression, relation to authority, and general competence as a functioning individual. The evaluations were then checked by a practicing psychoanalyst.

While realizing that his study was strictly exploratory in nature, the investigator offered some interesting hypotheses. For example, it was suggested that the quality of a teacher's sex identification as well as the elements of control used on the teacher as a child were significant in determining a teacher's use and perception of his own classroom control practices. Such hypotheses, the investigator submits, could have important implications for teacher education. The teacher who employs physical punishment to maintain classroom control probably did not learn such techniques in his teacher education program. But the prospective teacher is able to utilize only those aspects of professional preparation or fall back on others within his behavioral repertoire which conform to his unconscious needs, according to the investigator. Such factors, in turn, would also influence the way the teacher views his own professional competence and the value of his teacher education program.

The investigator in this final study suggests that other teacher perceptions would be similarly influenced. The relationship of a teacher to his supervisor or administrator could be significantly determined by the teacher's own childhood family pattern, for example. Or, it might be revealing to examine the relationship between the teacher's success at a particular instructional level and his sense of identification with the age level of youngsters of the grade being taught. At the heart of such hypotheses making is the investigator's contention that helping-teachers and prospective teachers gain insight into their own behavior which could lead to the improvement of their professional effectiveness.

#### *Conclusions*

While trying to explicate connecting threads from the diverse comments offered by the 312

interviewees, it must be recognized that the impressionistic world revealed by these beginning teachers is essentially pluralistic in nature. They came to their colleges and universities with different sets of expectations, behavior patterns, and as suggested in the last study, unconscious motivations. They brought a range of human variability that was, in many respects, as wide as or wider than that represented by the children they in turn were responsible for teaching—a range of variability that seemed to overwhelm the knowledge, imagination, and skill of so many of the beginning teachers. Furthermore, the colleges and universities preparing these teachers represent a pluralism of settings, goals, content, and instruction. Adding to this complexity, the status of higher education is such that we have not been able to determine with confidence what in the college environment — peer relations, particular instructors, informal activities, kinds of courses, and the like—has the most significant impact upon the knowledge and behavior of certain students and why.

The beginning teachers were willing and vocal self-critics and critics of the enterprise of education in general. While some of their criticisms were neither insightful nor imaginative, at least the teachers could not be accused of complacency. Much criticism directed at teachers, teaching, and education in general, however fashionable it may seem, has been

of such a poor, ax-grinding quality that it renders itself inconsequentially dull or intentionally destructive in nature. Some of the beginning teachers echoed conventional criticisms that were either dull or unconstructive. This is not to say that teachers should not serve as major sources of educational criticism. Undoubtedly, future progress in teaching and teacher education depends upon self-criticism as a necessary catalyst to self-improvement. Perhaps we can anticipate considerable future progress in education. The beginning teachers offered critical observations about teacher education programs, the communities in which they teach, the roles of administrative and supervisory personnel, and the values of professional organizations. Indeed, they tended to be much more explicit in offering negative reactions than they were in identifying positive features of the educational enterprise. Perhaps this is why the total effect in reviewing the studies leaves an erroneous impression of negativism. The dramatic rejoinder to such an impression is that a substantial majority of the teachers enjoyed their work, found it challenging, and identified with teaching as a life-long career. It was encouraging to sense that these beginning teachers tempered their self-criticism with fundamental appreciation of the importance of teaching and with a certain amount of self-pride in being a teacher.





**Bel Kaufman ■ Professor of English ■ Borough of Manhattan Community College ■ New York City<sup>1</sup>**

I have come a long way to talk to you today, literally through fourteen blocks of midtown traffic and figuratively from the day when I arrived in this country at the age of 12, armed with but one English sentence (I was a skinny little 12-year-old, and someone had taught me to say, "I am a large girl") to my having written a book with many English sentences in it.

I have come a long way—from the days when I kept flunking the orals for my license to teach English in New York City high schools to becoming an unofficial champion of teachers in this country, an educator (I don't know the difference between a teacher and an educator, but I'm told there is one). I spent five years flunking those orals because the examiners would say, justly, "You speak so carefully, were you born in this country?"

<sup>1</sup>Miss Kaufman is the author of the best seller, *Up the Down Staircase*, published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. ©1964 by Bel Kaufman.

"No," I would say.

A few days later a letter from the board would arrive:

**DEAR SIR OR MADAM:  
FAILED FOR FOREIGN MELODY.**

I took speech course after speech course, but each year it was the same thing: "Dear Sir or Madam. . . ." Finally I passed, not because my speech had become any less precise and subsequently less likely to corrupt the speech of those in my care, but because that was the year the examiners were concentrating on the sibilant "s." My open sesame to the teaching profession was the sentence, "He still insists he sees the ghost." I said it apparently to their satisfaction and I was in.

I was in the high school system of New York, and that's when my lifelong love affair with teaching began. I have run the gamut of schools here, from a classroom where in the middle of *Lady Macbeth* a cop, handcuffs out, would materialize and say, "Lady, that kid I gotta have," to one where we discussed the meaning of wit in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. I have been

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## UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE

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in classes where lessons were punctuated by the erratic ringing of bells and a series of directives from the giant maw of the mimeograph machine in the office:

**PLEASE DISREGARD BELLS.**

**DISREGARD PREVIOUS NOTICE ABOUT DISREGARDING BELLS.**

**BELLS WILL RING AT 3:05 SHARP. THIS HOWEVER IS UNCERTAIN.**

Some were in a kind of pedagese:

**LATENESS DUE TO ABSENCE.**

**TEACHERS MUST NOT PUNCH EACH OTHER OUT.**

**ANCILLARY CIVIL AGENCIES FOR SUPPORTIVE DISCIPLINE.** (Meaning call the cops.)

**LET IT BE A CHALLENGE TO YOU.** (Every teacher knows this means, "You're stuck with it.")

**PLEASE ADMIT BEARER TO CLASS. DETAINED BY ME FOR GOING UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE AND SUBSEQUENT INSOLENT.** (One can imagine what that subsequent insolence was.)

No matter what kind of students I have met, whether a youngster who reads nothing but the balloon coming out of the head of a character in a comic book or one who reads Spinoza and Spengler, whether a student who is a window-smasher or one who is an apple-polisher, I think they all in one way or another are saying—crying—the same thing, each in his own particular wilderness: "Pay attention. Here I am. Listen to me. Care about me." And so few of us can do that, conditions being as they are.

These prefatory remarks were made for two reasons. First, I wanted you to know that I know about schools. One of the characters in my book is a Puerto Rican boy who has no identity. He signs himself, "Me." He wishes himself a happy birthday in the suggestion box because no one else will. The teacher, by one

*Bel Kaufman*  
*Professor of English*  
*Borough of Manhattan Community College*



of those strokes of inspiration that teachers sometimes have, assigns to him the role of judge in a class courtroom playlet. The following day the boy appears in a gown and mortar board, a big hammer for a gavel, vested in such dignity that no one dares to laugh. He says quietly, "The clerk is supposed to say they've got to rise." And one by one the children rise. When he is challenged in court procedure, he says, "I ought to know. I've been."

Well, I know the school system. I've been.

The other reason for this introduction was to make you laugh. If one proselytizes at all it should be with humor. Sometimes it is the only weapon we have. A sense of humor is a sense of proportion, perspective, ability to see absurdities, to puncture pomposity and pretension. A student once wrote to me, "You have one of the best sense of humors I ever met. You made the lessons laughable."

So much for motivation. I was asked to speak about the beginning teacher and his problems. I feel that all teachers are beginning teachers each time a term begins or even each time we enter a classroom. There is a line in Saroyan I am very fond of; I don't remember whether it is in *The Human Comedy* or *My Name Is Aram*. A little boy finds himself in the public library for the first time. He looks around in awe and says, "All them books, and something written in each one." That's the feeling I still have each time I enter a classroom. All them students, and something written in each one, or better, something that might be written in each one.

The beginning teacher—let's call him a tyro or a novice—has certain advantages. That first fine careless rapture has not yet faded; he has not yet become tired, nursing his grievances and varicose veins; he has not yet learned to coast along or to repeat a lesson or to punch in with indifference or punch out with relief.

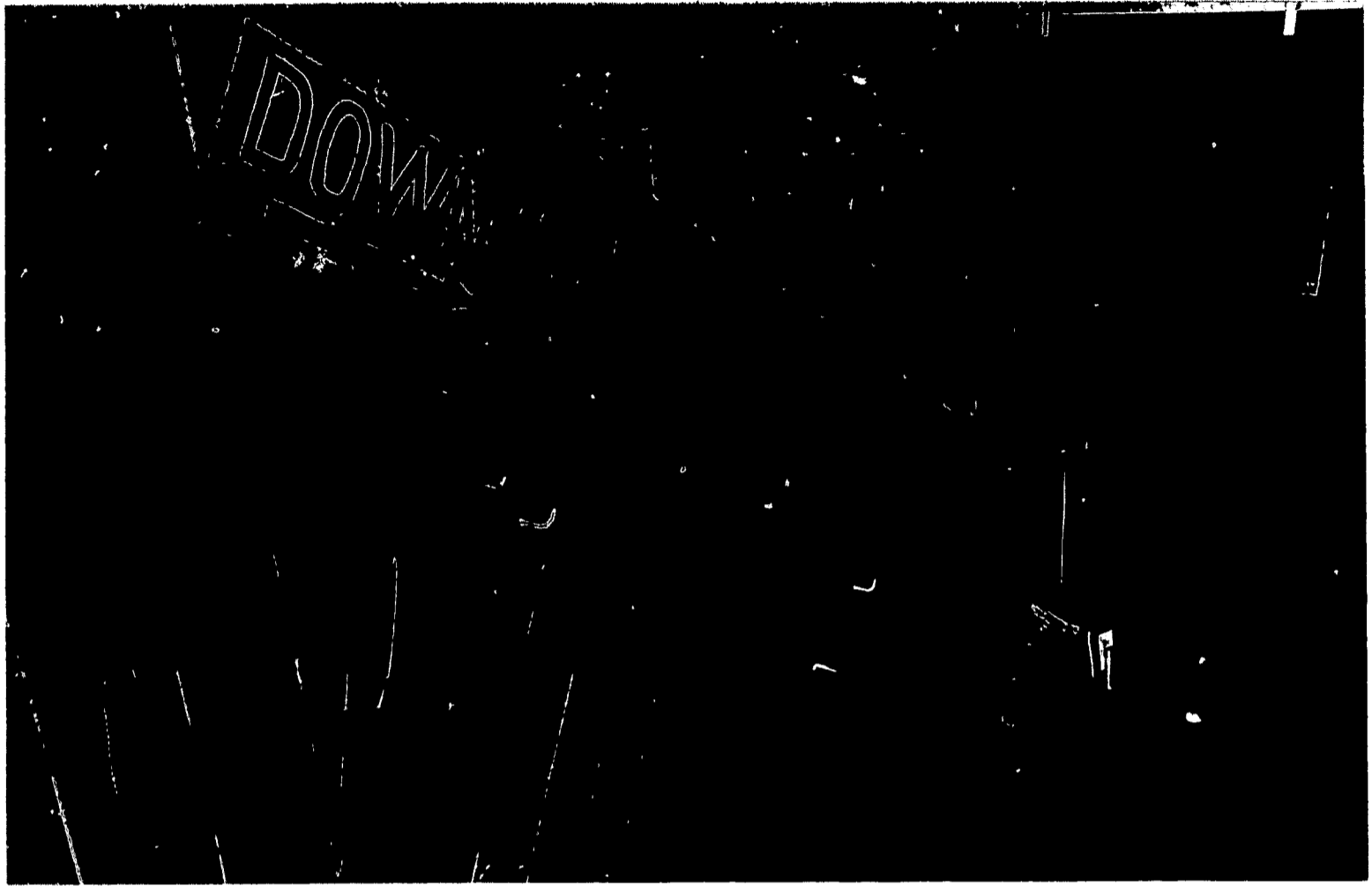
If I were asked to give advice to a beginning teacher about what to expect, I would tell him to expect the unexpected. The best laid plans of mice and teachers "gang aft agley." The most carefully prepared lesson plans are fre-

quently either discarded or changed because of the unexpected. The veteran teacher seizes the unexpected, uses it, weaves it into the fabric of the lesson. A janitor might come in to bang away at the radiator. None of the textbooks in teacher-training colleges prepare you for that. Or in the middle of a tender love poem, a boy in the back of the room is seized with hiccups. Or at the most exciting moment in a lesson there is a shelter-area drill and everyone goes down to the basement, safe for a moment from annihilation.

The most startling thing for the beginning teacher is to discover the discrepancy between theory and reality. A student once said to me, "School is supposed to help me in real life, but so far it didn't." There is quite a difference between ED. 114 or a course in psychology of the adolescent (whatever that may be) and real life in the classroom and real students with real problems.

A boy asks to be excused from homework. "I didn't do it," he says. "I had to go and get married. I got this girl into trouble and I had to marry her, but the thing is, I don't like her." This is real life impinging. It is much more than something called the pupil personality profile or a percentile curve or a statistic. The boy who falls asleep in class because he has worked all night, the girl who is on suspension because she has venereal disease—these are the real problems. Or the boy who says he has to drop out. "When I reach 17 my father says why should he have to feed another mouth. Ha, ha, that's me." This is the cut-up, the class comedian. At one point he says, "I laugh a lot, but mostly I don't mean it."

The teacher will find that in "real life" there are things not explained or touched upon in the textbooks on education. He will often find that he has no time to teach. He is strangled by red tape or overwhelmed by clerical work or buried under an avalanche of paper and overwhelmed by five classes, overcrowded homeroom, lunchroom patrol, and lobby duty. He frequently finds that he has no place to teach, and if he is a floater, a peripatetic,



unanchored teacher, he is without a room of his own. A student complained to me one day about having English in the gym "where we had to squat." He emphasized the point by spelling squat, s-q-u-a-t-t.

The teacher frequently finds that he has no equipment, no chalk, no drawers, no books. He may send to the book room for eighty copies of *Romeo and Juliet* and receive this answer:

**WE HAVE ONLY 8 ROMEOS DOWN HERE.  
WE HAVE 160 IVANHOES; CAN YOU USE  
THOSE INSTEAD?**

And often he does. That is "real life."

The teacher many times finds he has inherited the previous teacher's mistakes or omissions. How many of us have had to teach subjects and predicates in the eighth term of high school because no one before had done it?

Frequently the teacher is misled by enthusiasm in the class. A girl, waving her hand

frantically to answer a question, when called upon, says, "You wearing contact lens?"

Above all, there is a lack of communication between teacher and students and between parents and teacher, the parents who lost touch a long time ago. Those who come on open-school day often are hostile or belligerent, expecting the teacher or the school to do the job they failed to do. But at least they come. So many who should come never do. The father of one of the boys in my book writes an answer to an invitation to open-school day:

**THANK YOU FOR THE INVITE BUT I  
CAN'T COME, BEING I'M ON NIGHT  
SHIFT AS WELL AS MY DAY JOB IN THE  
FACTORY. HIS MOTHER CAN'T COME  
NEITHER, BEING DEAD. I HOPE YOU'LL  
EXCUSE US.**

Teachers are affected by the kind of administration too, with pressures from above and below and the side—administration that fre-

quently does not see the trees for the forest, the young trees, the saplings.

And the gobbledygook, the officialese, the language that clutters communication. Can you tell me what slow non-readers are and how they differ from fast non-readers? How fast do fast non-readers read? Or "enriched curriculum," which frequently means "teach who and whom."

Involvement is what keeps us all going and keeps the beginning teacher going, the caring, the different types of students who are real, not statistics. For example, the class politician, president of GO, has his finger in every school pie and writes patronizing notes to the teacher, such as "Keep up the good work!" or "I want to commend you for improving mine and the class as a whole's grammar." And there is a girl I call an overripe underachiever, bursting with hormones, who creates havoc in the class by wearing fuchsia stretch pants. There is the Negro boy with a chip on his shoulder, who signs himself Edward Williams, Esq., and who writes, "When Shakespeare wrote 'The fault, Dear Brutus, is not in our stars,' meaning we got only ourselves to blame, he wasn't a colored person." There is the boy no one can reach—the one with the ubiquitous toothpick in his mouth, rebelling against the adult world that has treated him so shabbily. And there is the girl, pale with love, nourished on the cinema and fan magazines, whose technicolor daydreams lead her to tragedy. These are real people.

The teacher will find real people among his colleagues, too. The matyr, cowed, bowed, overwhelmed by work. The traditionalist, giving zeros to kids who chew gum. The teacher who feels she should be a pal to her students and that lessons should be fun and games. She has grammar in teams, with a scorekeeper; teaches punctuation by traffic signals—stop, go, curves ahead; she even translates great poems into newspaper headlines—Man Reports Talking Raven, Woman Reveals All in

Portuguese Love Sonnets, Seaman Guilty of Shooting Bird.

Then there is the teacher who hates kids. I had such a colleague once. One school holiday, when the teachers were in school doing clerical work, he said to me gleefully, "Gee, isn't school great without kids? Kids don't belong in school." There is the librarian who hates to have kids messing around in her library, taking books out. And there is the school nurse who is not allowed to touch wounds or give aspirin.

Let us not forget, though, the few, the rare, the unsung heroes and heroines of our profession who work their magic behind the doors of the classrooms, climbing up that down staircase against insuperable odds.

Their rewards? Some day a former student may say, "I had a teacher once who. . . ." A child raises a faltering hand—a child who has been silent all term. A boy takes out a library card for the first time. A student says, "You're my favorite subject." Another student says, "Oh, I get it." It is an exciting moment when they get it. The rewards are immeasurable, and the people on the outside of our real world on the inside don't quite know why this is so exciting and satisfying to us.

It might be wise for the beginning teacher and the ending teacher, the new one and the old one, to listen to the children. In their own inarticulate way, in their own stumbling, ungrammatical, halting way, they are most eloquent as they discuss us and our problems and theirs. In my book I mentioned something called the Suggestion Box. I do not know any teacher intrepid enough to have one in his classroom, but I wanted the children to speak out in their own authentic voices, and they do. They speak about teachers. One says, "You gave me the courage to read a book." The Puerto Rican boy says, "You make me feel I'm real." Another says—and this is the greatest accolade of them all—"You're the only English teacher that ever learned me English real good."

They speak about homework. You know, you have seen so many excuses for their not

having brought their homework to class. "My sibling took it." "The dog chewed it up." "The page was missing from my book." The classic: "What homework?"

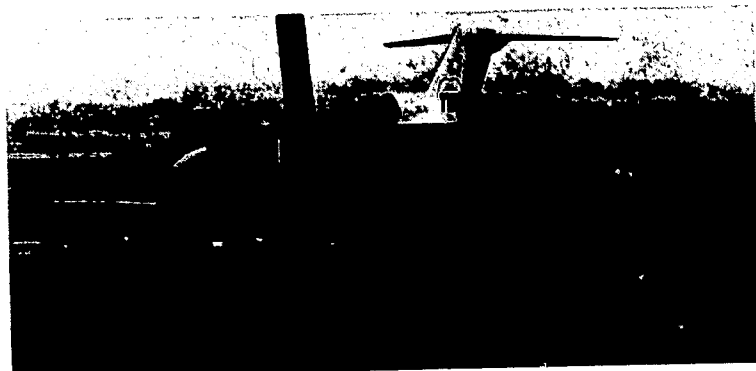
They speak about marks. "Due to marks," says a child, "you can't not cheat." This is it, the premium on the mighty mark. Another says, "Exams show more the paper, not the individual." Another, "The highest marks go to memorizers and parrots." Another, "I'm not cheating, I'm left-handed." Still another comes up with, "Cheat is teach backwards."

They speak about literature. Frequently the books they are reading are insufficiently motivated or have very little to do with their needs, backgrounds, or aims. One student writes, "My opinion of *The Odyssey* is ridiculous. I don't want to hear about someone's troubles." Or, "They shouldn't give *Silas Marner*s out. We'd prefer a teen-age book like *Lolita*." And this is the most succinct piece of literary criticism

embracing various forms of writing: "Ivanhoe is for the birds, essays are a lot of gossip, and George Eliot stinks even though he is a lady."

They speak about integration. "We had a knifing on this subject in my block," says one. Another, "I'm proud to be of African descent, but I can't stand the Puerto Ricans." And another, "Personally, I got integrated a long time ago by swapping homework with all the kids in my class." He signs, "Failing." Another, "Can you tell by my handwriting if I'm white or not?"

I am passionate about our profession and proportionately angry at the waste that goes on in a classroom. Out of a hundred children who begin school, only fifteen get college diplomas. This means that, for most, high school education is terminal. There is a teacher, presumably trained; there is a student, ten, a hundred; there is a classroom; and so often nothing happens, nothing exciting, dynamic,



mind pitted against mind, nothing but perhaps some rote memorizing. Marks go to memorizers and parrots, especially now in our culture ingestion, where so many of us sit back and allow information to pour over us like a tepid wave; intravenous information, capsule culture, pocket philosophy. A student of mine once wrote, when I asked him to write a composition on My Best Friend, "My best friend is a TV. I'm never lonely around the house with a TV. If it ever gets out of order, I don't know what to do with myself." That's very sad.

Most teachers are trying to offer children something that will forever beckon them when their TV set is broken and the movie is over and the classroom bell has rung for the last time. I am speaking not only of the financially underprivileged children; the ones who come from affluent homes are frequently equally underprivileged. They come to us so empty-

handed and we have so little time and elbow room in which to give them what they need.

What do they need? It must begin with the teacher, the best there is. We must lure the best people into our school systems. Once the teacher is in the system, if he doesn't drop out, he becomes resigned, he stops caring, and this perhaps is the greatest tragedy of all. All them hours—from 9:00 to 3:00. Something should be written on each one. It is a truism that education in the best sense, from beginning or any teacher, is stirring up the soup, getting the youngster to think an original thought, feel an honest emotion, listen, respond, arrive at his own conclusion. The enthusiasm, the excitement, the process of mutual discovery, like "Stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes he star'd at the Pacific. . . ." The English teachers here know, of course, that Keats made an immortal mistake; it wasn't Cortez, it was Balboa.



We must get the best teachers and train them. I was trained way back in 1936 when we had something called Teacher-in-Training Program. I was well trained. Each beginning teacher was assigned to a school for a year. Each had one class to teach under strict supervision, *real* supervision, by the chairman of her department. I was fortunate in having a brilliant chairman who felt that one of the most important duties he had was to train teachers. We would discuss lesson plans before we taught, the chairman would observe us, and we would discuss the lesson afterwards. The rest of the time we observed other teachers. Have you ever tried to ask a colleague, "Do you mind if I sit in and listen to your class?" You know the reponse.

When we get the good teachers and train them well, then we must give them fewer classes, fewer students, no nonsense to do outside of teaching. I teach in college now and am very happy there because I am required only to teach. I don't have to patrol the lunch-

room. I am making a plea for the dignity of our profession, and for the dignity of the students, too.

If I were to say which attributes are the most important, which qualities of mind and heart help the beginning teacher or the rest of us to cope, they would be, first, a sense of humor; next, stamina, physical, emotional, intellectual stamina; next, I go back to my sources, my children. One of my boys once wrote, "You have a touch of teacherly love." Very important, humor and a touch of love. You notice I said nothing about knowledge of subject. One understands that you know your subject.

I just looked at my watch because I was told I had about thirty-five minutes in which to talk, and I am reminded of a student whom I asked to write a composition of about one hundred words. He wrote two uneasy sentences, and at the bottom of the paper he put down frantically, "57 words so far, need 43 more." I don't think I need forty-three more. I think we have communicated with each other very well.





**Linda Bergthold ■ High School Teacher ■ Brookline, Massachusetts ■ (formerly in Washington, D. C., and the Peace Corps)**

In Bel Kaufman's book *Up the Down Staircase*, Sylvia Barrett, the young teacher, decided before the end of her first year not to stay at Calvin Coolidge High School. If the board of education had not sent her the wrong form, she would have quit and transferred to a suburban school. Why did she want to drop out? Why do so many young teachers drop out of urban teaching today? We talk a great deal about the high percentage of student dropouts. We should also talk about why teachers drop out and why they stay.

Miss Kaufman mentioned a few reasons why teachers get discouraged: not enough time to teach, not enough support from the administration, inadequate preparation, and unrealistic expectations. These are all very good reasons for getting discouraged. But I think Sylvia Barrett wanted to leave because she felt

that she had not contacted the students, she had not been able to "touch" the Joe Feronés who never came back. She forgot that for every Joe Ferone there was a Vivian Paine or a Jose Rodriguez who felt she had "helped me with better knowledge also respect."

Sometimes the frustration and difficulty of trying to reach across a cultural barrier is so great that you simply give up. I almost did. When I first reported for my job as a Peace Corps teacher in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, my headmaster took one look at me and said with a sigh, "Another woman. . . . Young lady, I hate to discourage you but you have four strikes against you. You're young, you're a woman, you're attractive, and you're a foreigner." It was probably a blessing that he didn't tell me more.

Immersing yourself in a totally different culture is sometimes nearer to drowning than swimming. It is difficult to explain how different Ethiopia was: the language, the food, the housing, the different faces and expressions. I

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## RESPONSE TO KAUFMAN

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had to learn to read faces as if I were learning another language. Just as an idiom in Amharic cannot be translated directly into English, neither can a facial expression. An inscrutable look might conceal great emotion or curiosity. I couldn't assume that the students were not interested because they didn't look interested. In Ethiopia I learned one very important thing about teaching students who were very different from me. I was as incomprehensible to them as they were to me. My combination of popular deodorant, toothpaste, soap, and hair spray scents was just as repulsive to the students as thirty-five pairs of old tennis shoes and thirty-five pairs of worn-a-week socks were to their teacher.

In both Ethiopia and Washington, D. C., I learned that there were also profound differences in attitude between my students and me. In Ethiopia I was shocked at the blatant "cooperation" of my students on examinations. To them such cooperation was logical; one helped a friend in time of need. It was a matter of loyalty. To me it was cheating. And in Washington, when I asked the students to turn in a paper on Friday, I didn't realize I had to compete with military drill after school, televisions blaring at home, and little value being put on getting things done on time. A word association test that I gave my Washington students shows how different our values were. What is the first word that comes into your mind when I say the word *policeman*? The first word my students associated with it was *run*.

If a teacher is not prepared for such differences in attitude and behavior he may eventually give up and leave. What makes teachers stay in such difficult situations? In Ethiopia I stayed partly because I had a big responsibility on my shoulders. I was not just representing myself, I was representing the U.S. Peace Corps. Some of our little neighbor children called the Peace Corps teachers "yinya ferenj," which means "our foreigner." We were the only Americans some of our students had ever known. Naturally we felt obligated to stay and

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do the best job we could. This might have implications for the NEA and some of the other teachers organizations in the United States. Can we make teachers so much a part of an organization or their profession that they feel an obligation to it and a love for it? Can we give them enough support and security so that they don't turn and run when things get tough?

Besides the support I received from the Peace Corps organization, I had the support of my fellow Peace Corps teachers. We could talk to each other about mutual problems. For instance, I remember asking a friend one day, "Why are those students so rude? One of them got up in class and said to me, 'Madam, it would be better if we read aloud today.'" I was very upset because I felt that the student was trying to tell me what to do.

"That sounds familiar," my friend replied. "Some of my students have been saying that, but I learned that it is a direct translation from

the Amharic. They mean to ask politely, 'Could we possibly read aloud in class?' and don't mean to be rude at all."

This kind of support and exchange between teachers was very helpful.

The excellent supervision and sympathetic guidance by a teacher who had been in Ethiopia for ten years also helped me in my first teaching experience. She led me over many rough spots. I am sorry to say that I did not find that kind of comradeship on my return to the United States (not until now, at least). Here there seems to be a subtle one-upmanship, a gamesmanship going on among teachers. There is very little sympathetic listening in the teachers' coffee rooms. Everyone is trying to tell something.

While in Ethiopia I was fortunate to have my own psychotherapist with me wherever I went—my husband. For those of you who are not fortunate enough to have spouses who



# Math



have also been teachers and who understand and can listen, there may be another way. Perhaps it would be a good idea for the teaching profession to bring outsiders into the schools, people who could listen to teachers without evaluating, who could understand but not rate, to whom we could tell our real fears without being put down. Beginning teachers might be more effective if they had someone who could listen to them and help them understand their own problems.

One of the things I enjoyed most about the Peace Corps experience was the freedom to experiment and develop new curricula. In Ethiopia I had very few books. I taught English as a foreign language for two years without texts and was forced to rely on other sources and to be imaginative. It was very good experience for me, although I'm not sure how good it was for the students! I came back to the United States eager to innovate and put my experience to work. But one school principal who interviewed me said, "This is not an experimental school. We cannot afford to experiment with the lives of these young children." I wanted to go back to Ethiopia.

Of all the reasons I stay in teaching, the most important by far are the students themselves and being able to "touch" them in a meaningful way. I have had some Joe Frones, but I have also had many Vivian Paines and Jose Rodriguezes. Two incidents may illustrate how much the students want to be touched, physically and psychologically.

One day after school last spring, in Washington, D. C., I was sitting at my desk and a few of the girls were milling around. Suddenly it got very quiet and I looked up. One girl pushed the next one and said, "You ask her."

This shy little tenth-grader came forward hesitantly and said, "Uh, can I ask you a personal question?"

"Surely," I replied.

"Uh, well," she said, "we've been wondering . . . what does your hair feel like?"

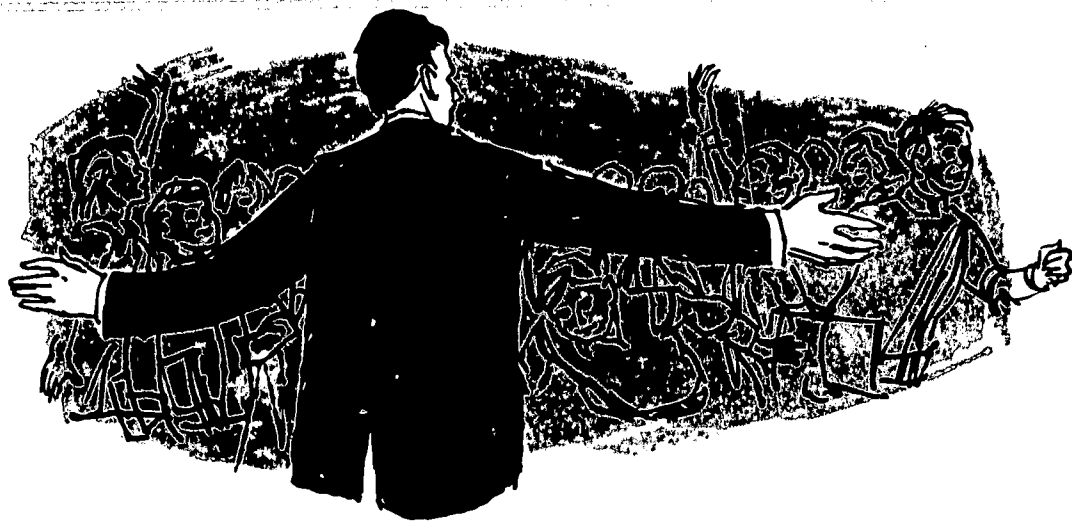
"Feel it," I said. "Go ahead."

The girl turned to the others and said with a giggle. "It feel like hair all right, mebbe a little like doll hair, but it feel like hair."

I couldn't tell this Negro girl how moved I was that she should have lived sixteen years without knowing a white person well enough to touch her, to feel her hair.

There was also a girl named Jessie, who was deaf but who would not wear a hearing aid. Jessie did not speak very well because she was deaf, and she did not participate in class. The

other teachers said, "She's sullen, she's withdrawn, give up on her. The best thing you can do is just keep her in the classroom until the time comes for her to drop out." The first day I was teaching I noticed that this girl wasn't listening. I looked down at a paper in front of her and saw that she was drawing a picture of two people—the profiles of two women facing each other with their noses touching. One face was black and the other face was white.



Robert St. Germain ■ Elementary School  
Teacher ■ White Plains, New York

This past year—my first year of teaching—has been one of the most stimulating and at times frustrating years of my life. I am privileged to teach in one of the finest school systems a new teacher could enter.

If I had been able to read *Up the Down Staircase* a year ago, before I began teaching, my class probably never would have had a certain vocabulary drill and I might have been spared a few bad moments.

As it happened, I opened my book to a spelling list and asked each child to volunteer to use one of the words in a sentence. Everything went fine until we reached the fifteenth word. The word was "bosom." I was shaken. About three-quarters of the students put up their hands.

I gazed around the room desperately and finally called on a boy whom I knew to be steady and reliable. I figured that if anyone could save me, he would be the one to do it. My confidence in him proved justified. He came through with, "The football player was

about to make a great catch, but the ball bounced off his bosom."

Nobody in my education courses had warned me to beware of getting in a fix like that. I had to learn the hard way.

Any teacher, beginning or experienced, can gain insight from reading Miss Kaufman's book. She has outlined, often in a humorous fashion, some serious problems for the teaching profession. Some of the annoyances she mentions may seem petty and trivial, but the accumulation of petty and trivial annoyances can overburden the teacher and lessen his effectiveness. A slight irritation in the morning, over a sign-in sheet, perhaps, or over numerous requests from the office, can affect a teacher's attitude and the way he approaches a particular day.

It is said about football and baseball that you have to be high for the game. To me, the best way of expressing the approach to a day of teaching is that you have to be high for teaching.

In a single year's experience in a single school, I have come face-to-face with several of the problems Miss Kaufman mentions.

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## RESPONSE TO KAUFMAN

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**Robert St. Germain**  
**Elementary School Teacher**  
**White Plains, New York**



Although much that I learned in education courses has proved valuable and meaningful, I think that in some way I might have been prepared for reality.

The new teacher also discovers a tremendous gap between policy and practice, and I wonder if many administrators and boards of education have not truly deceived themselves. There was a good example of this in my school system, where the concept of using a math-builder was introduced recently. (A math-builder is a filmstrip projector which can be set at various speeds according to the students' reading ability.) The machines were not accepted very enthusiastically by the teachers, but they were there anyway. At my school, several weeks passed with very few of the teachers attempting to find out how the machine operated. The situation was discovered by the supervisory staff, and subsequently we received a memorandum. (Ours don't say "Dear Sir or Madam," they just say, "Dear Madam." I'm the only male classroom teacher on the staff.) It was a long schedule we were supposed to follow, each teacher using the math-builder for at least one-half hour each week. The machine is still hardly ever used.

Time to teach. There are many interruptions, and those who are familiar with the area in which I teach know there are probably far more interruptions in our program than in many other parts of the country. One of my interruptions is the "Go Home Drill" (civil defense drill), where I take the children out into the hallway, spend 15 minutes getting them in line, take their names, make sure that every brother is with his younger sister and vice versa. Then I march them out into the open air and return to the building. Thus, at least 30 minutes of teaching time is lost.

I'm worried about the lack of frankness between members of the profession. Although I was somewhat concerned about what Miss Kaufman's book would do to our public image, I believe that within our own ranks we should be able to lay our cards on the table. In too



many schools the young teacher, when he makes suggestions, hears such pat phrases as "That's what the board requires," "It's been done for years," "That's state law," "The superintendent says it has to be that way." Responses like these take the starch out of a new teacher.

The assignment of teachers is a subject that has been worked over and over. I agree with Dr. Bush about the seniority system. Assignment should not be based on seniority but on qualifications to teach. The children who most need experienced teachers seldom seem to get them.

While the more experienced teachers in our system have been of tremendous assistance to me, I sometimes think that beginning teachers are wrongly influenced or discouraged by their experienced co-workers, just as freshmen are often wrongly influenced or discouraged by upperclassmen.

As a new teacher, I add an Amen to the words of those who say that new teachers need close supervision. If they are treading on perilous ground, they need to be warned. They should be observed several times before they are evaluated. If they are to be given a break, though, supervision should not be regarded as an opportunity for the supervisor to admonish, "Do it my way."

I think a slogan by a leading brewer expresses quite well the philosophy of beginning teachers: "We don't know what we're doing, but we must be doing something right."







**Arthur T. Jersild ■ Professor of Education and Psychology ■ Teachers College, Columbia University ■ New York City**

When I speak about the teacher who is new on the job I would like, with the Psalmist, to "sing a new song"—a song that expresses the beginner's freshness and anticipation as he ventures into the untried. I would of course have to include in it some old refrains, because the newcomer, in addition to his unique perplexities, shares some basic concerns with veteran teachers. But old or new, these concerns have a special urgency when the beginner puts himself on trial.

The beginning teacher sees himself as on trial before his pupils. When he discovers that the pupils respond eagerly to his teaching even though he feels somewhat uncertain about himself, the beginner samples a joy he will know often in the years ahead. In a typical class, however, he will face pupils who do not respond well to his teaching, pupils who are hurt and discouraged, and pupils who need

more intellectual stimulation and emotional support than any teacher can supply. He will meet such pupils again and again over the years, and if he retains some of the kindness which characterizes most beginners, he will wish again and again that he could give them more help than he is able to give.

The beginner also sees himself as on trial before his colleagues and supervisors. This trial will be stimulating if all goes reasonably well. It will be difficult if he sees others as being critical whether they are or not. A beginning teacher's perception of his elders, like a pupil's perception of his teacher, is for him a rock-like subjective reality whether or not the perception is correct when judged by objective standards.

The beginner is mostly on trial before himself, and this is likely to be the toughest trial of all.

Realistically, he is exposed to self-blame because as a beginner he is a learner and as a learner he is bound to make mistakes. But the sway of self-blame often goes farther and

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## BEHOLD THE BEGINNER

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Arthur T. Jersild  
Professor of Education and Psychology  
Teachers College, Columbia University



cuts deeper than a realistic appraisal of things would warrant.

Self-criticism becomes a scourge when a beginner, although his work satisfies others, can never satisfy himself. This happens when he imposes standards he cannot fulfill, seeks a degree of perfection he never can reach. A person who does this is a failure, or at least a partial failure, in his own eyes.

In what follows I wish to dwell a bit on two related themes.

One theme is that the main resources for gaining satisfaction, and the chief difficulties that beset teachers in general and beginning teachers in particular, lie not in the outer and academic dimensions but in the inner and personal dimensions of the teacher's life.

The second theme is that far more could be done than commonly is done in teacher preparation and in in-service activities to help teachers take stock of themselves, to get a thoughtful conception of their worth, and to overcome barriers within themselves.

The typical beginning teacher, like all teachers, has personal problems of various kinds. He has troubles that he openly admits to himself and sometimes to others. He also has conflicts that are not so openly revealed either to himself or to others.

In a recent study by my colleagues and me of teachers selected as reasonably representative, all the teachers except one reported a variety of problems. This one person, in responding to page after page of questions, said all was serene—he was not a bit anxious, he was never troubled by his anger, his love life was okay, as was his sex life, social life, and work life. Everything was okay except for one thing—he had ulcers.

In the same study we also obtained information, by interviews and questionnaires, from about two hundred teachers who had sought help in achieving self-understanding. They had sought not only to cope with difficulties that more or less beset all people but also to gain more freedom and spontaneity in their personal and professional lives. Many of these

teachers spoke of attitudes which had interfered with their effectiveness as beginning teachers and which had persisted even after they had finished their apprenticeship.

A large proportion of them named inability or difficulty in knowing their own minds and asserting their own rights as one condition interfering with effective teaching. I mention this first because, on the whole, teachers do not tend to be aggressively self-assertive. Many of the teachers in the study gave the impression of being rather gentle people. Even at the college level I sometimes marvel at the way veteran faculty members meekly accept extra assignments and chores and allow themselves to be harassed without openly protesting. Many, however, do mutter privately to themselves or complain to a trusted colleague.

Another condition widespread among beginning as well as experienced teachers is stored-up anger—not anger that comes to a head in a

quick surge of feeling and which a person handles as best he can, but anger that is muted when aroused, perhaps not even noticed, but which rankles later on.

Stored-up anger can come from many sources. Some tendencies that ultimately produce anger, as reported by a large proportion of the teachers studied, are the following: a tendency to place a difficult burden on oneself by going out of one's way to please people; a tendency to sacrifice one's right to express an opinion; a tendency to feel sensitive to criticism whether the criticism is intended or not. And of course, stored-up anger notably prevails when someone gives offense and the offended person, instead of snapping back, conceals his anger and even smiles and then perhaps a few hours or even days or months later thinks of a snappy comeback that would put the offending person in his place. Our wit



is sometimes most biting when the person we want to bite is no longer there.

Anger is one of the most common, pervasive, and difficult emotions in the teacher's life. From early childhood the restraints on showing anger, or even feeling it, are so powerful that many teachers, and other people as well, do not have the freedom to feel the full impact of anger. Many of them lose touch with their anger. Many of them do not feel their anger as forthright, red-blooded emotion but in disguised ways. Feelings of depression are frequently a form of camouflaged anger. One person in our study said it took her a long time to realize that when she had the blues she really was angry — her blues actually were black. The tears that flow in a weeping spell may be tears of wrath rather than grief. And there are other disguises for anger, such as unaccountable feelings of fatigue and headaches.

Anger sometimes springs from the great need a typical teacher has for being approved or liked. The need for approval is strong in everyone, but it is especially strong if a person is feeling his way a bit uncertainly and needs assurance from others concerning his worth. Anger flowing from real or imagined disapproval may not be felt as anger but experienced as failure or inadequacy.

Teachers in the study I have cited said that their need to be liked sometimes placed them at the mercy of their pupils. Some youngsters have an almost uncanny gift for showing dislike or what seems to be dislike in subtle ways. For example, in one of my studies I observed a pupil who had hit upon what seemed an innocent way of expressing disapproval of his present teacher. He would seize opportunities to smile at one of his former teachers in the hallway or to slip into her classroom for a brief meeting when he knew that his current teacher was looking on. The current teacher revealed that her feelings were hurt when the pupil did this.

The less assured the teacher is of his own worth, the more he is likely to depend on the approval of others, and the more vulnerable

he will be. The stronger the need, the deeper the frustration if the need is not fulfilled. But as I said, this frustration may not be experienced as a distinct feeling of anger but as a feeling of disappointment, inadequacy, or even sorrow.

Another condition that prevails frequently among teachers is anxiety, although teachers are not alone in being so afflicted. Anxiety may be mild or quite severe. Some are more aware of it than others. Some try to face it. Some try to smother it with defenses they build against feeling anxious or knowing they are anxious.

I do not belittle or condemn teachers for being anxious. Indeed, the more any person peers beneath the surface of his own inner life the more likely he is to realize that he is anxious—even though he may not want to face the fact at first.

I think it is not amiss to tell about an experience I had with my own anxiety. Many years ago, a colleague whom I respected very much became a specialist in administering the Rorschach Test. She prevailed upon me to take the test and some days later came with her interpretation. Among other things, she said some of my responses showed traces of anxiety. It annoyed me to hear this, but I couldn't very well direct my anger at my colleague so I felt angry at the test. Now I knew for sure, as I had long suspected, that that damned test was crazy. But the interpretation I had received created a ferment in my mind. I could not shake it off. I finally accepted the fact that I was anxious. Later I asked myself, "Why were you so arrogant that it was necessary to believe that you alone of all human beings are free of anxiety?"

The circumstances that produce anxiety are as numerous and varied as the predicaments and desires that arise in the course of human experience. The anxieties of teachers are as diverse as those of people in general, but some special conditions may in distinct ways cause anxiety in the teaching profession.

Wherever there is anxiety there is a condition of inner conflict. Some of the conditions

that produce anxiety are linked with the motives that lead a person into teaching and the motives that come into play in a teacher's dealings with pupils or colleagues.

A discrepancy between a teacher's avowed motives and the motives that actually impel him is especially likely to cause anxiety. When such a discrepancy occurs the teacher is in a sense acting in a devious fashion; he is pretending, playing false with others or with himself, or both.

He is devious if he is a soft disciplinarian—claiming that children learn best in a free and permissive atmosphere—when actually his softness springs from fear of giving offense by firm methods. He is devious if, on the other hand, he is very strict and even harsh—claiming that pupils learn more from a teacher who is tough—when his actual motivation is a need to dominate others.

Anxiety likely will prevail when a teacher uses the teaching situation for ulterior purposes of satisfying needs in his own life while trying to convince himself that everything he does is for the welfare of his pupils.

An example of this is in an account by a young teacher who made a radical change in her procedures after she had been teaching a few years. This teacher at the beginning encouraged pupils to be dependent on her, to view her as a precious person. On the last day of school she got great satisfaction from the fact that many pupils cried when they said goodbye. Then she began to examine her own motivation. Was she perhaps encouraging dependence to gratify her own need for power or her need to be assured of her own adequacy? She decided that her reasons for fostering dependence had been devious and that she really did not need this kind of assurance. So she changed her tactics, encouraging independence rather than dependence, and instead of the last day of school resembling a wake, it became a hilarious event. The young teacher ended her account by saying that she felt much happier and much more honest with her pupils

and herself when the kids laughingly said goodbye on the last day of school instead of walking away with tears in their eyes.

Conflict exists wherever there is hypocrisy or pretense and when the persons involved in it vaguely suspect that they are not being candid with themselves or others. A hypocrite is an unhappy person, for he can enjoy neither his virtues nor his vices.

And here I think you will agree with me that there is a great deal of pretense in the educational field.

There is pretense when, in the name of rigorous intellectual discipline, we inflict pain and failure on others.

From my talks with teachers I have the impression that some feel their sensitivity to what they regard as hurtful to pupils more keenly when they are beginners than they will as time passes. But a sensitive teacher can never achieve complete peace of mind if he feels that he is a partner in or a silent spectator of practices which he regards as wrong.

There is pretense when we pronounce one philosophy of education but practice another.

Such a disparity could be seen some years ago when, in the name of progressive education, there was a great emphasis on teaching the "whole" child, letting children learn by doing, gearing instruction to their needs, and above all, using democratic procedures in the classroom. In my opinion (and it may be wrong) the drift away from so-called progressive education in recent years has not come primarily from rational proof that it is good or bad or from giving it a fair trial. The drift has come, in part, because more and more people found that the anxiety arising from the conflict between the claims of progressive education and what actually transpired in the classroom was becoming increasingly intolerable.

The more idealistic the avowed aim in teaching, the more inevitable is a hiatus between what the educator claims and what he is able to do. He then is in a false position within himself, unless he can candidly and realistic-

ally accept himself as one who must compromise between what he can do and what he would like to do. If he cannot do this and has to convince himself that all is well, then the larger the pretense, the greater his anxiety is likely to be.

There is a current educational trend which may be a source of anxiety and which may also be used as a defense against anxiety. I have in mind the increasing emphasis on cognitive development, inspired to a large degree by Piaget's classic work on the development of children's thinking, and the emphasis on teaching basic concepts in the early grades in such subject matter areas as arithmetic and the natural and social sciences.

Obviously an effort to define basic concepts and to guide children toward grasping them is far better than requiring them to memorize a lot of subject matter. To do this will create some practical difficulties and frustrations, but these should be temporary. Many teachers and parents are now struggling, for example, to help their children learn a kind of arithmetic and mathematics which they never learned. But I see two deeper-lying dangers.

One danger is that there will be a hiatus between what the teacher is supposed to teach and what he can teach. Unless the teachers themselves have mastered the basic concepts and are wise to ways in which they can help pupils acquire them, their teaching will be lip service.

The second and even more serious danger is that of sacrificing the pupils' well-being by taking flight into cognitive and academic abstractions. One way of trying to escape anxieties that inevitably arise when we face our own humanity and the humanity of the students we teach is to take refuge in an ivory tower of intellectualism. But the tower is not a good hiding place. As a popular song has it, it's cold, so cold in that ivory tower. And the cry of humanity from which we are fleeing can still be heard through its walls.

The basic problems the beginning teacher faces are primarily subjective in nature—personal and psychological rather than strictly professional or academic. If teachers are to meet these problems, to realize their potentialities in working with pupils, it is essential for them to grow in self-understanding. But this aspect of preparation and growth is almost completely neglected in our teacher education programs and in the typical in-service program.

This is a paradoxical condition when viewed simply from a scholarly standpoint. One idea that has a high degree of scholarly recognition is expressed in the Delphic Oracle's admonition, "Know thyself." Another is that education should discipline the mind, cultivate intellectual excellence.

If we accept the second idea, we must also espouse the first. Nearly everyone thinks the schools should cultivate the properties of the mind. I believe that, if seriously applied, this must embrace an effort to understand the workings of the mind. Most persons also agree that schools should further learning of the fundamentals of knowledge. No knowledge is more fundamental than knowledge of self.

From a strictly academic standpoint, awareness of self is necessary if a person wishes to appreciate and to help his pupils appreciate the richness of many of the scholarly disciplines. Many truths cannot be learned unless they are lived. The truths embodied in history and literature, for example, are not really grasped unless we can appreciate them through awareness of how they relate to ourselves. Hamlet comes alive only when we realize a kinship between his doubts and conflicts and our own. Napoleon remains a wooden soldier unless we can perceive him in the light of Napoleonic tendencies within ourselves.

The need for infusing intellectual discipline with a search for knowledge of self is even more imperative from a humanitarian point of view.

Studies of children and mental health surveys of adults indicate that most persons move through childhood into the adult years with a burden of emotional problems such as fears, feelings of guilt, hostility, and inferiority, and attitudes of self-approach. A person thus afflicted has failed to come to grips with troubles that encumber his mind. Such a failure may be due to weakness in his nature, but it may also be due to a lack of proper nurture of his mind. Our culture and education evade, ignore, or resist the idea that the human mind, through self-inquiry, might come to grips with its own afflictions.

The staggering potentialities of the human intellect are directed primarily toward dealing with the properties of the external world in which man lives, or with impersonal ideas. Achievements in these areas contrast sharply with the limited efforts that are directed toward understanding man's own inner life.

I believe that human beings, from an early age, have resources for growth in self-knowledge. Unfortunately, these resources are usually untapped. One consequence of this for the beginning teacher is that he often struggles blindly and alone with conditions that burden his mind and impair his ability to deal realistically with his concerns. The barriers that have been raised against self-knowledge not only restrain a person from seeking to find out what his feelings are and what they might mean, but they also restrain him from revealing himself to others. One result is that many persons—teachers among them—are isolated from others in the sense that they reveal and share only the superficial aspects of their lives.

In our education, reflecting our culture, there often is a tragic separation of man from man, woman from woman, man from woman, and teachers from pupils. The pervasiveness of this separation was brought home to me a few years ago by a rather simple experiment. My colleagues and I prepared a list of states of mind that persons might discover when they look into themselves—pride, guilt, joy, self-

reproach, feelings of adequacy or inadequacy in relations with the opposite sex, competitive urges, fears, anxieties, grievances, feelings of loneliness, hopelessness, distrust of self and others, confidence, self-esteem, and many other conditions. We gave this test to two teachers who had known each other for many years and who regarded themselves as close friends. It would be difficult to find two people in the teaching profession who had been more frank, honest, and trusting in their relationships than these two. After marking the list in describing himself, each was asked to mark it as he thought the other one might. On item after item, each of the two teachers had to admit he did not know how the other would answer. The predictions each one made of how the other felt or had felt were a flop. They would have been very accurate, however, if in answering the questions each of the persons had asked himself, "Have I felt this way?" and then had marked his friend accordingly.

The best source of information about what lies hidden in the secret self of someone else is to inquire, "What lies hidden within me?" The more we inquire into ourselves, the more we will find psychological currents that flow through the lives of everyone else. If we would know the beginner, the best place to look is within ourselves.

But knowledge of self, and as an indispensable aid toward understanding others, does not flow through the channels of instruction we usually employ in the training of children or the preparation of teachers. It cannot be acquired secondhand. In most fields of scholarship the learner, if he has the interest and ability, can appropriate all that men's minds have wrought through generations of labor. In the cultural and technological sphere, a learner today leaps, as it were, over centuries of time; he is "the heir of all the ages." But in the sphere of the self, each person, almost from birth, is a pioneer; he begins where primitive man began. He alone, through personal experience, can shape the substance of the self. He

can know the limits of his powers only by trying them out; he can know the joy of mastery, self-help, and self-assurance only through putting himself to the test; he can savor the meaning of sorrow or fear or disappointment, hope, anger, pride, or shame only through firsthand experience.

These statements are axiomatic, but we need to be reminded of them when we try to understand the beginner—how he came to be the way he is—and ask what can be done for him or with him. We need to be reminded that the most intimate and decisive aspects of learning pertaining to the self are in the domain of attitudes and emotions. These cannot be reached by our usual kind of academic instruction, but to grow in self-understanding it is essential to examine them, to face them thoughtfully rather than blindly.

What are the resources that prospective and practicing teachers can draw upon to grow in self-knowledge? Currently, intensive psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, or group therapy under the guidance of a professionally trained person are the most systematic efforts in this area. These resources are now available to only a few, and there are many who do not want or need prolonged and costly therapy. However, those who do want it to promote their personal and professional growth should be encouraged in this direction. Some years ago I proposed that services of this kind, where available, should have an honored place in the education of teachers and that one way of encouraging the use of such services was to give a substantial but variable number of course credits to those who underwent some kind of therapy. The proposal has been taken seriously in some institutions, but not many.

There are, however, resources short of such intensive methods right at our doorstep which could be cultivated in every teacher education institution and in every sizable school faculty. I refer to work groups in which people might gain understanding through mutual self-help. To use this resource it would be necessary to establish a different climate and to seek out-





comes that differ from those sought in the usual type of academic discussion group or staff meeting or committee meeting. The typical academic discussion is geared to an exchange of ideas. It is logically structured, or at least it is supposed to be. It usually seeks answers on a purely intellectual level. But in a group in which the participants mutually seek to help one another, it is possible to invade and explore the realm of feeling.

In work that a colleague and I have done in connection with a research project on the ramifications of the search for self-knowledge, we have been struck by the capacity people have for plunging into a dimension of discourse that contrasts sharply with the usual kind of group discussion. Other persons who have worked in this area report similar observations. Moreover, persons who enter into this kind of mutual self-help almost unanimously report that they derive great benefit from it.

There are, of course, many practical considerations and psychological limitations connected with such group work. Membership must be voluntary. A certain amount of leadership is required, at least at the beginning. Members must be committed to the idea of examining their attitudes rather than trying to show how smart they are. They must have or gradually acquire courage and trust that enable them to share states of mind that ordinarily are not aired in the presence of others.

One of the fascinating features of this kind of group work is that such work almost inevitably taps facets of the mind that usually are ignored in the academic setting. Fantasies that ordinarily are unnoticed and unexpressed can be captured and brought out into the open. Trickle of anger, fear, tenderness, and other feelings that often are hardly noticed can be made articulate and can be examined. Dreams are likely to come into the picture, described



and explored, not as idle, illogical oddments, but as elements that arise within a spontaneous context of thought.

Although the idea of using such a flow of thought is a radical departure from our usual teaching and learning techniques, it has been tried in many places. In collaboration with a colleague, I myself have experimented with group procedures in a variety of settings involving teachers-on-the-job and teachers-in-training. My experience answers at least some questions and misgivings that I once would have raised, but I cannot claim that I or anyone else can supply others with a detailed blueprint for using this tool.

Persons who use the group approach to self-help, particularly for the first time, will have to do a good deal of groping and exploring. The arrangements should be made with a minimum of fanfare, without fancy promises, and without any pretension that this is the same as a professionally supervised therapy group. Participants should be allowed to move at their own pace, although I think most persons who are diffident eventually welcome an invitation to speak out. It should be understood that everything is confidential and that the participants are committed to the idea of seeking self-understanding—they are not there just as spectators. The convenors or leaders, whatever they might be called, should be participants also, and there should be a minimum of reference or attention to status, seniority, or rank. It is impressive how rank and status recede into the background when a group is functioning. I have heard it said that a person cannot participate as an equal within a group if he is in a position of authority outside the group. I don't believe this. Participation and sharing depend on the individual person, not his position.

Another interesting feature of effective group work is the spirit of trust, sympathy, and comradeship that gradually builds up. Sometimes strong bonds of affection are established between the very persons who had most annoyed one another.

In any group of ordinarily decent people there is a vast reservoir of friendliness and good will. But frequently feelings of kindness and compassion come to the fore only after a person has had an opportunity to voice his anger without being punished or rejected or to reveal his fears without being called a coward.

In a genuine search for self-understanding, the accounting methods differ from those we ordinarily apply in everyday life. Uncovering and sharing weakness often leads to previously unfound strength. The greatest kind of courage is not the courage to banish fear but the courage to acknowledge it.

Many of you have heard someone say, "You wouldn't like me if you knew me as I really am." If genuinely spoken this means, "There is a secret me that no one could admire or love." But when a person delves into himself he is likely to discover that the things which alienate him from others are outweighed by the worth of his own humanity and outbalanced by his kinship with others. So when he meets a companion in the search, he will not have to say, "You wouldn't like me if you knew me as I really am."

The greatest reward of knowledge of self is growth in compassion—compassion which does not just lead a person dutifully to say, "I am my brother's keeper," but enables him instead to feel, "I am my brother's brother." If we could help beginning teachers more fully to reap this reward, it would be a blessing for them and for all mankind.



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Few questions in public education are more significant than the one selected as the theme for this conference. As teachers stand at the heart of the American public school, so their early teaching experience lies at the core of their working careers. To join in this discussion is a choice opportunity to participate in an important issue in educational policy. I hope that the research findings and analysis which follow will genuinely add to your deliberations—deliberations which may exert influence for years to come. Sociological research, I believe, can assist in clarifying policy alternatives in education and other crucial sectors of our nation's life.

My comments rest on three major sources of data. The first is a study in which ninety-three long, tape-recorded interviews were conducted with elementary, junior, and senior high school teachers in five school systems around Boston.<sup>1</sup> The second derives from research on a large

metropolitan school district in the South where over sixty-five hundred teachers responded to self-administered questionnaires. The third source is a historical review of how professional education has developed in twenty occupations where vocational education takes place at the college or university level.

Data from all three sources are still being analyzed, so this presentation must be limited to general summaries rather than detailed statistical tables or minutely drawn chronologies. Be assured that any naïveté you may discover in my awareness of TEPS' official policies is intentional. I find that ignorance of official ideologies frees me from worrying about being controversial while allowing me to plead lack of knowledge where I appear to be ornery.

<sup>1</sup>The five school districts in the Boston area were selected to control for the socioeconomic level of students. One high school is in a high-income community, one in a low, and the same is true of the two elementary cells. The junior high school is in a middle-income community. Teachers were selected at random within each school system. In the low-income elementary district, however, the teachers represented schools whose neighborhoods were most ethnically diverse and least prosperous. This was done to ensure an adequate number of teachers working with students from genuinely low-income families.

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# TEACHER SOCIALIZATION

## THE ROBINSON CRUSOE MODEL

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My paper is divided into three parts. The first section deals with how beginners become teachers; in the language of sociology, I will emphasize the technical aspects of teacher work socialization. The second part summarizes similar socialization in three other professions. The concluding section examines the implications for teaching of a move toward the kind of initiation into work found in high-prestige professions.

### I.

The beginning teacher is fundamentally a learner. To understand him, we must find some way of depicting his learning of the teacher role—how he masters complex new duties, forms and sustains demanding human relationships, and seeks to resolve problems of identity-formation. We will not try to investigate here all that enters this basic transition from student to instructor, but we will construct a partial model to summarize the more important features in that movement.

Teachers work and live in a variety of settings—the classroom, the school, the profession-at-large, the family, the community. Of these settings, the classroom is paramount. Teachers are most concerned with events that occur in the classroom; they receive their greatest rewards and suffer strong pangs of frustration and remorse there. I shall review data on three questions which bear on this matter of how teachers come to operate in the classroom setting: (a) the experience teachers have with the teaching role before they begin preparation, (b) the skills and knowledge which teachers consider basic to their teaching, and (c) teachers' beliefs on how they have acquired the basic competencies of their craft.

The student who completes twelfth grade has spent ten thousand hours in direct contact with teachers; teaching is, therefore, the occupation whose tasks are best known to American adolescents. While over half of those entering law schools, for example, do so with a wildly romantic and inaccurate conception

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of a lawyer's work, teachers-to-be approach their education with a relatively accurate picture of what teachers do.<sup>2</sup> We can say that teachers start their professional preparation early in life—their entire school experience contributes to their work socialization.

The data obtained in the Boston-area interviews support the importance of this long exposure to teaching. Asked to recall an outstanding teacher they had as students, all respondents found it easy to describe at least one in detail, and many described one or two more. Furthermore, the respondents found it easier to describe a former teacher than to describe an outstanding contemporary.<sup>3</sup> The language they used in depicting their former teachers is, as we might expect, the language of students assessing instructors. But despite this perspective, some teachers volunteered that they currently employ techniques learned from former teachers. In an extreme case, a 69-year-old woman reported using methods she learned as a girl in grade school. If her teacher was, let us say, 50 years old at the time, the teacher used as a model for today was trained during the 1870's!

In another question, teachers reported that their own teachers and professors were an important influence in teaching them how to teach.<sup>4</sup> This flow of influence from generation to generation probably has not received sufficient attention in our study of schools and teaching; it may play an important part in bringing about the conservatism that many observers attribute to schools and to teachers.

<sup>2</sup>For further discussion, see Lortie, Dan C. "Laymen to Lawmen: Law School, Careers, and Professional Socialization." *Harvard Educational Review* 29:352-69; Fall 1959.

<sup>3</sup>These items are not yet fully analyzed, but where teachers do find it difficult to cite a specific contemporary, the major reason given is the limited opportunity they have to observe colleagues in action.

<sup>4</sup>The record base here is four rather than five cells, as this question was not asked in the high-income high school. The number of cases, with omissions, is 73, and since the answers could include more than one response, the total number of mentions is 107. Fourteen mentions went to "own teachers," a response which ranked third among specific responses, exceeded only by experience in teaching (27) and observation of colleagues (18).

Inasmuch as teachers working today model themselves on their teachers, we find continuity rather than discontinuity with educational tradition.

Long exposure to the teaching role does not mean that the move from pupil's desk to a position of authority near the chalkboard is smooth and effortless. In assuming responsibility, the beginner learns rapidly that teaching is, to understate, somewhat harder than it looked. Most of the teachers in the study apparently had idealized the role, for in reporting on how the work differed from their earlier expectations, they mention twice as many unfavorable differences.<sup>5</sup> The most frequently mentioned differences, however, are not in the actual tasks performed but in how teaching feels; for example, how hard it is to get and keep discipline or how complicated in-school relationships can be, or on the positive side, how good it is to see students learn. A primary school teacher who had just left work to care for a baby stated feelings which are rather general in the following words:

The children—they were just a joy. It's rewarding and it is a lot of responsibility. . . . I will say that it was a terrible pressure under the best circumstances or on the best day. . . . Your energy was spent when you got home because, even if it was quiet, you were on your feet all day; even without great problems, there is someone who falls off a swing. It's a great responsibility you have for twenty or thirty children, and I know that if anything happened to one of them I'd be as upset as the mother. That alone was exhausting—just knowing your role and how much mattered in your attitude and every word you said and anything that would happen between one child and another.

The manner in which one learns the core competencies—the key skills—of an occupation depends, in part, on the nature of those

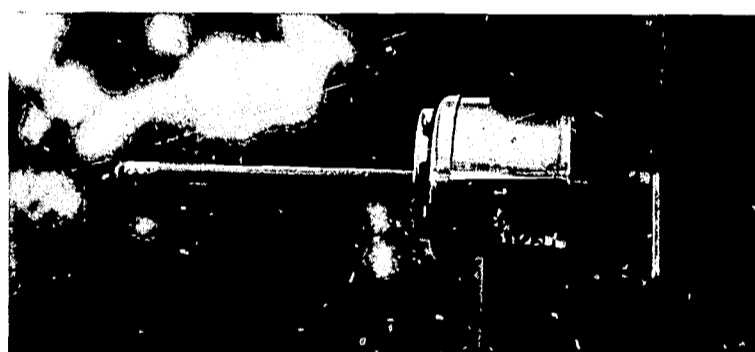
<sup>5</sup>Based on sixty cases from four cells. Thirteen stated there was no difference between their expectations and the reality of teaching.

competencies. Complex physical skills such as piloting aircraft depend on constant practice in gradually more demanding situations. Historians, on the other hand, seem to develop their specialized capacities sitting in library chairs examining old and often yellowed documents. We asked teachers to describe their core skills and crucial knowledge, and the answers given point to two clusters of abilities. First, there is the content of what is to be taught—the ideas teachers want to communicate to students. Second, there is a series of apparently interlocked capacities linked to teaching as an interpersonal transaction. Here we find teachers talking about understanding children and the bases of their behavior, the skills involved in communicating with young minds, the general ability to get along with people. Connected to these are such personal characteristics as warmth, affection for chil-

dren, and patience.<sup>6</sup> A fourth-grade teacher put it this way:

The teacher has to know all the material she is going to present to them and a little more material to go along with it. She has to know how to supplement it. I think she has to have a rather unusual disposition if she is to be a good teacher . . . she has to have patience and understanding. I think she has to possess kindness. She must be very adjustable. I think she has to understand the individual differences among children—their desire to learn. You have to create a purpose for them.

<sup>6</sup>In the four cells coded, the frequency of responses runs as follows: mastery of subject matter, 55 mentions; understanding of children, 46; ability to communicate, 27, and personal characteristics such as warmth, patience, etc., 27; interactive capacity, 26. Other mentions totaled 35, with 16, mostly given by elementary teachers, stressing general cultural background.



One learns the content one teaches in school, college, and private study. But how do teachers learn to master the interpersonal skills and understanding which they consider so important?

Teachers in our sample do not cite "official" sources—the arrangements specifically set up to prepare teachers—as the dominant ways in which they learn their core interpersonal capacities. Official sources include practice teaching, courses in education, school system in-service courses, and supervision of all kinds. They do cite, twice as frequently, such unofficial sources as actual teaching experience, observing others at their school, their own teachers while students as mentioned earlier, and out-of-school sources such as children in their families or work in recreation programs and the like.<sup>7</sup> Of the unofficial sources, experience in teaching accounts for the largest number of mentions. A man teaching junior high school courses stated it in a way which sums up the main viewpoint:

Education courses in and of themselves are quite theoretical. To be sure, they are helpful as far as background material goes, but there is no substitute for actual practical experience. I did my practice teaching . . . under the supervision of a regular teacher, and I learned a great deal about any shortcomings I may have had. My three-year stint of duty as a housemaster and teacher at a private school gave me a great deal of practical experience in learning more about young people and their problems and how to handle young people. . . . I think the first year in any new circumstance or situation is always the most difficult. It's kind of a testing period for teacher and students. However, I think that, as far as teaching goes, there is no substitute for experience, and with each succeeding year I think the teacher is always in the process of having more to learn and gaining new insights each day.

The importance of the early working years in socializing teachers into the technical as-

<sup>7</sup>See footnote 4.

pects of their work suggests that we should examine that period more closely. I shall raise two questions here: What formulations do teachers use in analyzing the experience they undergo; what concepts and frame of reference is reflected in their talk about learning from experience? What kinds of relationships with colleagues and others occur during this period and influence the beginning teacher?

The function of a specialized set of concepts is to help the professional to order his experience in some meaningful way and thus, through analysis, to make it more understandable and manageable to himself. My impression, after reading hundreds of pages of interview transcripts, is that teachers possess very little in the way of a set of shared terms or concepts about the subtleties of teaching as an interpersonal transaction. The language they use is the language of everyday speech, and the assumptions which underlie that rhetoric are the commonsense assumptions used by Americans generally of similar social class and education. Unlike actors in the professional theater, teachers have not developed special words (such as *timing* and *pacing*) to catch and hold some regularities in the flux of performer-audience interaction. Unlike clinical psychologists, they lack a common shorthand to describe individuals and to facilitate conversation with colleagues. Jargon is much maligned these days, especially by editorial writers who appeal solely to general audiences, but the existence of some set of shared and special terms is the mark of a specialized way of looking at things. The little jargon I do find in the teacher interviews seems very abstract and very idealistic. As one bright young high school teacher put it, she moved from college generalities hoping that faculty meetings would prove to be full of good, earthy shoptalk. She was rather disappointed to find co-workers engaged in lofty discussions of "democracy" and "growth."

Since the development of a shared technical vocabulary rests on continued interaction among members of a specialized group, we are brought to our second question—the relation-

ships of the beginning teacher. Contrasted to most occupations, teaching, by beginner and master alike, is largely a private affair. It is odd to so describe an activity in which one at times feels inundated by hordes of children. Yet, when we examine the relationships which teachers have with professional colleagues, we find that such relationships are both quantitatively minor and qualitatively marginal. Most teachers spend but a fraction of their working time in association with other teachers; occasions for teachers to observe the core activities of their fellows are limited. There are, of course, contacts over coffee or in the hall or during assembly, but the actions which teachers consider vital—the ones that take place in the classroom—are normally conducted in isolation from colleagues. You really don't need your colleagues to carry on the core activities, and only in places where a particular form of team teaching is used does the division of labor among teachers require cooperation. In the typical American school the teacher handles his class unaided, unvisited, and unobserved.

Isolation sets the context for the orientation of the beginning teacher; in fact, beginners are more likely to prize independence from others than are their senior colleagues.<sup>8</sup> Emil Haller, a University of Chicago Fellow who is assisting me in my research, hypothesizes three stages in the beginner's orientation. He notes that both the Boston and the Southern data point to a year, and possibly two, of day-to-day coping with immediate demands—a kind of struggle simply to get through without major damage to students or self. As the teacher gains some mastery over the demands of his role, he begins to branch out somewhat, to innovate, to try different approaches. (During this phase he may try practices which attract unfavorable attention from administrators, who may signal him to draw back to more conventional ways.)

<sup>8</sup>In responding to a question asking about "my conception of the ideal job in teaching," Southern system teachers chose, "I would be free to teach exactly the way I considered best without interference from anyone," in 15.9 percent of the cases. But those with one year or less of teaching experience selected that alternative in 20.2 percent of the cases.

A third stage—crystallization—occurs when the teacher settles into a more or less stable set of routines and practices. It seems that after five years teachers tend to become more conservative and more resistant to change. With each succeeding interval of experience, our Southern teachers show a higher percentage of opposition to system-induced change.<sup>9</sup> Although our analysis is still in its early stages, some questions can be raised at this point: Could it be that this socialization where one hacks out his style of work in confrontation with students contributes to later conservatism? Do practices worked out in this way gather more mass of psychological investment than those worked out in association with colleagues?

Despite our inability to supply all the answers, I perceive a provisional model of how beginning teachers move to stability in their classroom performance. With just a little license, we can call the dominant motif the "Robinson Crusoe syndrome." For our beginner, like Crusoe, assaults the challenge of survival alone. As with Defoe's hero, the beginning teacher may find that prior experience supplies him with some alternatives for action, but his crucial learning comes from his personal errors; he fits together specific solutions and specific problems into some kind of whole and at times finds leeway for the expression of personal tastes. Working largely alone, he cannot make the specifics of his working knowledge base explicit, nor need he, as his victories are private. Having laboriously found techniques for mastering his immediate environment, he may, like his predecessor, prove ambivalent when the chance for a big change looms on the horizon.

<sup>9</sup>On a question asking whether or not the school system should introduce new practices, those with one year of experience or less chose "more" in 24.9 percent of the cases; those with two to five years, 21.2 percent; those with six to ten years, 18.4 percent. The decrease in enthusiasm is steady with experience, and those with twenty-six or more years of experience favor new practices in only 10.8 percent of the cases.



## II.

At times it is instructive to compare the workings of one occupation with those of others. It is in comparison, after all, that we become most aware of the unique attributes of any given object. A discussion of the processes of technical socialization in three well-established professions—medicine, law, and architecture—may help us understand better the ways in which teacher initiation is special. It is possible, of course, to learn from other fields which have solved problems similar to ours, but I do not advocate the simple imitation of high-prestige professions. Some persons in all occupations of less-than-stellar status believe that this kind of aping will bring the golden wreath of professional position to their particular trade. Recent research on the astonishing stability of occupational prestige, however, makes it very doubtful that any of us, at least in the short run, can do much to increase the general standing of an entire occupation.<sup>10</sup> To learn from other fields is to select features found there which we cherish for ourselves on other grounds. But our first task here is to find some of the major ways in which young men become working physicians or lawyers or architects.

The schooling required for entrance to these three professions is complex and demanding. First, of course, there are the requirements for general education, and it is common knowledge that these have increased steadily over the years. When we look specifically at the courses of professional study, we find some variation but also some indications of a common pattern. Medicine and architecture require special work in science prior to more specific professional study—biological science in the former and physical science in the latter. Lawyers, perhaps argumentative by nature, have yet to agree what if any science undergirds their field.

<sup>10</sup>See Hodge, Robert W.; Siegel, Paul M.; and Rossi, Peter H. "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-63." *American Journal of Sociology* 70: 286-302; November 1964.

But it is in the specifically professional courses that we find the knowledge which is the unique possession of each of the professions. I refer to courses such as Torts or Internal Medicine or Principles of Design which are organized around the central functions of the practicing professional. Courses such as these contain the distillation of decades and even centuries of practical experience in contesting cases, treating the ill, and conceiving buildings. Today there is an ever-increasing scientific content in some of these courses, but recent events should not delude us. Such courses have their origins, not in the experiments of researchers, but in the problems of practitioners. The names of diseases, the curious Latin terms of law, the main principles of architectural design originated with working practitioners solving specific and immediate problems in their daily round; these concepts reflect the ideas, insights, and recorded experience of generations of thoughtful doctors, lawyers, and architects. University men have done much to organize and codify that knowledge, and through time, much of it has been rejected as faulty. But the important contributions of those who first identified and described the symptoms and course of pneumonia cannot be overlooked, for without them later scientists would have had little use for powerful antibiotics. Generations of lawyers established the broad outlines of what law could and could not achieve, while working architects dreamed of and found new ways of combining wood and stone and later steel and glass into esthetic, economical, and useful casings.

What these men learned by helping specific individuals get well or by working out specific contracts they recorded in medical records and written documents; architects recorded their solutions in stone. Today the young student of these professions can begin where his occupational ancestors left off, for in courses in professional training, he taps into a fund of recorded and organized experience and inherits their painfully found solutions. With the guidance of scholarly professors he examines

that experience and assesses it, storing some for later use, rejecting some as unfit. The beginner, then, is introduced to a rich culture which is the unique property of his profession.

The learning of the professional in any one of our fields, however, does not stop with graduation; doctors and lawyers and architects are not fully readied by formal university training. Although the process is more formalized in medicine with its internships and residencies, young architects and lawyers, in those sectors where most of the professional work is done, continue as paid students in the place of work. Apprenticeship is the rule rather than the exception among those who will come to perform the core duties of doctors, architects, and lawyers. In law especially, those who do not serve such an apprenticeship are likely to land in work which is primarily other than legal in nature.<sup>11</sup>

It is while serving as a resident or clerk or associate that the young person learns the actual skills of his profession—the implementation, in human and specific context, of ideas and techniques studied in the university. He learns to use those skills under the watchful eyes of seasoned men who have developed some balance between theory and practice, men familiar with the ways in which reality demands reformulation of general principles. These senior men screen as they guide, advancing the young man only as his demonstrated capacity warrants greater responsibility. Their caution is understandable, for they are not eager to alienate clients or patients by assigning them to men not ready to give effective service. Yet we must remember that some of these young professionals are impatient and convinced that the recency of their instruction makes them more up to date than their seniors. Thus, we have a productive tension between young men well informed on the latest theory and more experienced colleagues wiser in the ways of the world. Such a dynamic is the nat-

ural enemy of smugness and self-satisfaction and, where it occurs, does much to keep professionals alert in rendering service to the public.

The sequence of schooling and learning-in-practice described here depends on the mutual adjustment of educational arrangements to the career line of the professional. The work place must act as a receiving system, taking in the half-prepared and turning at least some of them into responsible practitioners. Such a system involves two sets of costs—those to the employers and those undergone by the young. Although full details of this system need not detain us here, it is important to note that it rests on stages in the career line of the professional. Older, established men have more clients than time to serve them and hire younger men to help, exchanging access to clients, instruction, and money for the services of the young. Younger men, on the other hand, accept relatively low incomes for current access and instructions and the hope of future gains; the ultimate rewards of specialized medical practice or partnership in a law or architectural firm are, in the eyes of many neophytes, well worth waiting for. The waiting period may be as long as, for example, in the case of the young lawyer who joins an illustrious firm. He may move through several statuses such as clerk, associate, senior associate, and junior partner before achieving full rank in the organization.

In medicine, law, and architecture, then, technical socialization is enmeshed in a complex sequence of university work and subsequent movement through stages monitored by senior colleagues who have undergone a similar testing in their youth. The practitioner-to-be must demonstrate his capacity to serve clients not only to their satisfaction but to the satisfaction of his colleagues as well. Professional standards are part of his progression from greenhorn to master practitioner, and those who have arrived can feel that their supervision of the young is a direct contribu-

<sup>11</sup>Carlin, Jerome E. *Lawyers on Their Own*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962. 234 pp.

tion to maintaining and strengthening the profession they have helped to build.

Perhaps some of you, as I reviewed the situation in these three professions, have indulged in mental comparisons between their organizations and the situation in teaching. You may have noted differences that exist in the state of practical knowledge and ways in which career lines differ between the three professions and teaching. A full comparison, tracing out all the differences and how they are influenced by such factors as public versus private employment and salary versus fee income, is impractical here, but a few comments may underscore some of the more significant differences.

As far as work techniques are concerned, teachers do not attribute the same importance to professional schooling as do those in the three fields under discussion. This may result, in part, from the long prior exposure teachers have to teaching. But I believe that some of the difference is due to the condition of practical knowledge in pedagogy itself. Modern pedagogy reflects contributions from philosophers, psychologists, and others, but we do not find it rich in contributions from working practitioners. For although hundreds of thousands of teachers have worked in schools and in the course of that work have learned much about teaching, the vast proportion of their learning is not available to beginners today. No regular arrangements have been developed to catch and record the many solutions which they have created to solve problems—solutions which, were they available, might prove useful to succeeding generations of beginners. Something of what teachers have learned is passed on informally and verbally where a kind senior will help a favored youngster, but no carefully worked out arrangements exist for the systematic recording of teacher practices and outcomes.

Since there is no written record, there is no usable body of general experience available to professors of education; to give reality to their teaching, they all too often resort to purely

personal experience. Teachers today do not use the language of everyday life from choice; there is simply no technical rhetoric, no codification of experience available to them. Since teachers have not reviewed a body of codified experience, they in turn teach without contributing to their successors' knowledge. For lacking a common frame of reference, they possess no specific principle to illustrate or revise in light of their experience. Thus does wave after wave of beginning teachers start, in professional terms, as if theirs was the first group to match its wits with the problems of teaching. To attribute this lack of codified practical experience to the fact that teaching is an art is to overlook the achievements of those who have advanced the arts of medicine, law, and architecture.

The teaching career shows radical differences from what we have found in the three professions, because teaching is almost without stages, save tenure and nontenure, and the duties of those occupying even those two stages may be identical. As Benson comments, we hardly can speak of career progression where, as in teaching, a brand new teacher can replace, without disruption, someone who has taught for forty years.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the critical point about teaching is that at any given moment the majority of those in the role will not stay in teaching for anything like a lifetime of service. Most young women leave for marriage and/or children, and one finds a limited number of men over age 40 in classrooms today. This characteristic of teaching—the short-run service of most of its incumbents—retards investment in advancing preparation programs and the kind of inquiry which produces codified, practical knowledge. Those planning to teach, usually seeing it as a short-run engagement, are loath to make a heavy investment in professional preparation in university or on the job. Those who govern schools understand this pattern and, unable to separate those who will serve

<sup>12</sup>Benson, Charles. *The Economics of Public Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. 580 pp.

long years from those who will not, are similarly reluctant to invest funds in professional training. Thus, neither aspirants nor employers have developed a rich and complex system for developing pedagogical knowledge and transmitting it to beginners.

The formula seems to run as follows: Since we cannot tell the short-termers from the career teachers, let us provide minimum preparation for all and perhaps occasional courses for those who stay. The outcome is a system of induction into teaching where the beginner, so to speak, begins at the top. Few school systems have poured resources into staging either beginning or senior careers. Given the limited rewards that can result, one wonders whether more demanding preparation programs would have any great appeal to beginners. The Robinson Crusoe syndrome, like most widespread patterns in society, is deeply rooted in our history and our economics.

### III.

I do not know whether the concept of "professionalization" held by the National Education Association matches that which I have put forth. But whatever we may call it, I think that most of us, given the alternative, are inclined to favor performance based on solid knowledge and careers which move forward steadily as capacity increases. Yet, such alternatives are not free, and any movement toward the kind of professionalization I have discussed will carry costs as well as benefits. The gains involved would probably more than offset the costs, but I cannot prove that point. Furthermore, social reorganization always involves more changes than anticipated when it is begun, and some changes may disturb precious values in ways impossible to predict. My position is not one of a convinced reformer selling a program of action; I have addressed you primarily in the hope of presenting a set of alternatives which I believe merit attention. The discussion may be advanced if I outline some of the implications involved in moving

closer to what is found in the three established professions. I shall conclude, therefore, by reviewing some possible actions under (a) the enrichment of practical knowledge, (b) the introduction of greater visibility in teaching, and (c) progression in the teaching career.

To construct an ever-accumulating body of practical knowledge in teaching would require a new zest for research—a new zest for new kinds of research. This gusto would have to be the property of teachers, principals, and professors and all those involved in teacher preparation and mobilization. There is some irony here, for it looks as if federal funds will flow so copiously that money will not be the usual bottleneck. We find a situation where funds exceed the capacity of persons in education to use them efficiently, for as yet neither schools nor universities have worked out ways of producing the knowledge teachers need most. Yet at the same time, it appears that we have overlooked resources of potential interest. In the Southern system we studied, teachers were asked their reaction to participating in research where opportunities present. Astonishingly, 67 percent expressed interest in such participation, yet to my knowledge, not one of those 4,277 teachers was engaged in research as part of his regular duties at the time of the study. To argue that few of those teachers possess research knowledge is to overlook potentialities for training and cooperation with experts; this pool of interest may represent a critical source of new knowledge that needs only mobilization to develop.

You may have wondered at the qualification, "new kinds" of research. I have in mind the possible need for redefining research to include new kinds of data and analyses which are linked to the teacher's role. Perhaps those of us working in universities have stressed detached, "outside" research to the exclusion of knowledge which is particularly apt for the practitioner engaged in "inside" practice. We have yet to find the equivalent for teaching of the court record or the clinical write-up of

the physician. What we need is some way of linking the actions of teachers, their effects on students, and scientific analysis and interpretation. Not knowing what that linkage is, I can say only that I think it will result from a broad and eclectic approach rather than a narrow and overly disciplined one.

We might do close analysis of how other professions build knowledge and make some adaptations to teaching. Certainly modern behavioral science contains leads which have not been fully used, for example, small-group analysis and psychological diagnosis. Perhaps we should try a diversity of training approaches with different groups of teachers, exposing some to rigorous quantitative techniques and others to more informal methods such as participant-observation recording, diary-keeping, and clinical write-ups. An exploratory period would be required, and only time and carefully reviewed experience would prove which strategies hold the greatest promise.

It would be naïve to expect that a majority of teachers would make the kind of contribution I have mentioned. In professions generally, as in universities and colleges, a creative minority produces the ideas which find their way into textbooks. It might be wise to give some research training to all, but scarce teaching resources probably indicate that the ablest should receive greater preparation for inquiry. For any such effort to result in demonstrable achievement, it would be absolutely essential for school systems to support it effectively with time, money, and recognition.

Although teachers frequently act as if their privacy was a precious right, the Boston data indicate that some find this isolation costly: some teachers complain of loneliness and express the wish for more adult contact during their working day. It might be, however, that this isolation is even more costly in terms of the full development of the beginning teacher. For although they report turning to colleagues for help, each teacher does this when he personally feels it necessary. One cannot help but

wonder whether beginning teachers differ in their sensitivity and standards of performance; it is theoretically possible that the abler ones, already possessing higher standards, are more ready to sense their own deficiencies while the mediocre ones are content with what is. The data I have reviewed do not suggest that supervisor or principal evaluations are major sources of teacher self-assessment. If this be so, what provisions exist for injecting higher standards of performance into our classrooms?

To talk of a professional conscience is to refer to the internalization of standards held by a professional colleague group. Yet, some teachers report that they cannot assess their colleagues because of the lack of opportunity to observe them, and others express frustration at this inability, stressing that watching others work is stimulating to their own performance.

We might facilitate greater visibility through a variety of means. Beginning teachers could be introduced a little more slowly by at least a one-term assignment to a senior teacher. Various kinds of teaming, formal and informal, could be encouraged, with teachers doing more switching of classes depending on their interests and capabilities and thereby ensuring periods free for observation. (One school system near Chicago hires substitutes to relieve beginning teachers for such visiting time.)

Whatever the mechanism employed, greater on-the-job interaction could have several useful effects: it could lead to greater teacher participation in tenure and other crucial instructional decisions, it could give new vitality to professional associations operated by teachers, and it could expose all teachers to usable or adaptable practices. Nor should we overlook the simple gains stemming from human vanity: public performances are likely to be more scrupulous than private ones, and high visibility is usually associated with superior performance in other fields. It is possible that some teachers could never accustom themselves to general visibility and openness, but if these arrangements were part of the begin-

ner's initiation, fewer and fewer teachers should find it burdensome.

To bring about greater investment in preparation and inquiry probably will require some stages in the teaching career, at least for a significant minority of career teachers. It seems unrealistic to expect senior teachers to give serious and sustained attention to younger teachers without granting them additional rewards of recognition and money. I think we could ask more young teachers to undergo continued observation and to await full responsibility if they saw the chance for greater ultimate responsibility and station. The resistance American teachers show to giving up equality in their ranks is difficult to explain, but some of it stems from a fear of greater administrative discretion and differential payment for similar work. Imaginatively designed programs for different careers and responsibilities probably would not encounter severe opposition from the majority of teachers, provided they continued an equitable relationship between investment and rewards and were at least partially administered by teaching colleagues.

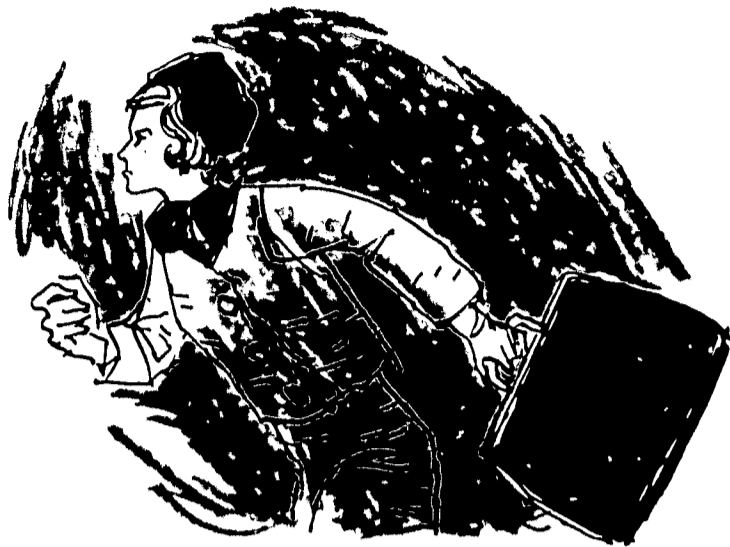
The development of progressive careers should be handled in a completely voluntary fashion and should probably assume the continued importance to teaching of persons with less than lifetime commitment. The Harvard Center for Field Studies plan, reported in Charles Benson's *Perspectives on the Economics of Education*,<sup>13</sup> provides for two career lines, one conventional and the other designed specifically for the career teacher. The latter includes provisions for sabbaticals, ever-in-

creasing responsibilities, and salaries which are very high by current standards. You are probably familiar with Lieberman's proposal to establish national specialty boards, a proposal which incorporates a critical ingredient of professionalization in granting genuine power to the colleague group.<sup>14</sup> I am interested in a kind of "double training" which seems to be emerging in various national programs for study in science and mathematics. These programs may point the way to a more general arrangement whereby all teachers begin with a more or less standard preparation, but those who remain in teaching for any length of time undertake additional, advanced preparation. Such an arrangement would necessarily have to be linked to greater responsibility for those who qualified for advanced preparation and performed satisfactorily within it. The specifics are less important here than the general principle; professionalization, as a career based on codified practical knowledge and protracted learning after graduation, demands stages in the career line itself.

I have not sought to advance any single or simple program of action, but I hope I have identified some of the implications and possible values connected with one model of professional socialization. To move to such a model would prove to be a complicated, taxing, and long-range process; it bears a price tag. Of course, I cannot predict whether American teachers will elect this particular route in the decades to come. Should they do so, TEPS has a critical role to play in helping those teachers with the difficult as well as the easy parts of the job.

<sup>13</sup>Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963. 477 pp.

<sup>14</sup>Lieberman, Myron. *The Future of Public Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. 294 pp.



Eugene Schipmann ■ Elementary School  
Teacher ■ Denver, Colorado

To actually summarize this conference would be an impossible task. So many things have been said and said well, so many problems identified, and so many excellent proposals for solutions offered that the time limit alone makes the task impossible. I have tried to select some of the problems and proposals that cropped up many times in the study groups I visited. To a degree, I used selective tuning, seeing and hearing what I wanted to see and hear through my eyes and ears as a classroom teacher.

I have learned that the participants in this conference seem sincerely to want action; they feel it is time for things to be done. One participant commented to her study group, "Let's go back home and holler." I hope that lady does go back home and holler. However, I hope she does more than make noise. I hope she

garners the support she needs, initiates some plans, and then actually gets some action.

The independence of the teaching profession is being threatened throughout this country, I believe, by organized business groups and by organized labor groups, both of whom want control. We have lost to organized labor in some areas and are greatly threatened in others. If the study group discussions are any indication, this loss is due largely to a lack of good professional action programs. True, teachers are interested in salaries, hospitalization, and other welfare items. We are concerned to a greater degree, however, about the professional areas of education which have been discussed here. There is a great imbalance in welfare programs which can be remedied by the types of activities we have been talking about.

There are two main reasons why I hope that lady goes back home and hollers. First, I think we have been nice to each other too long. We have not openly faced differences of opinion

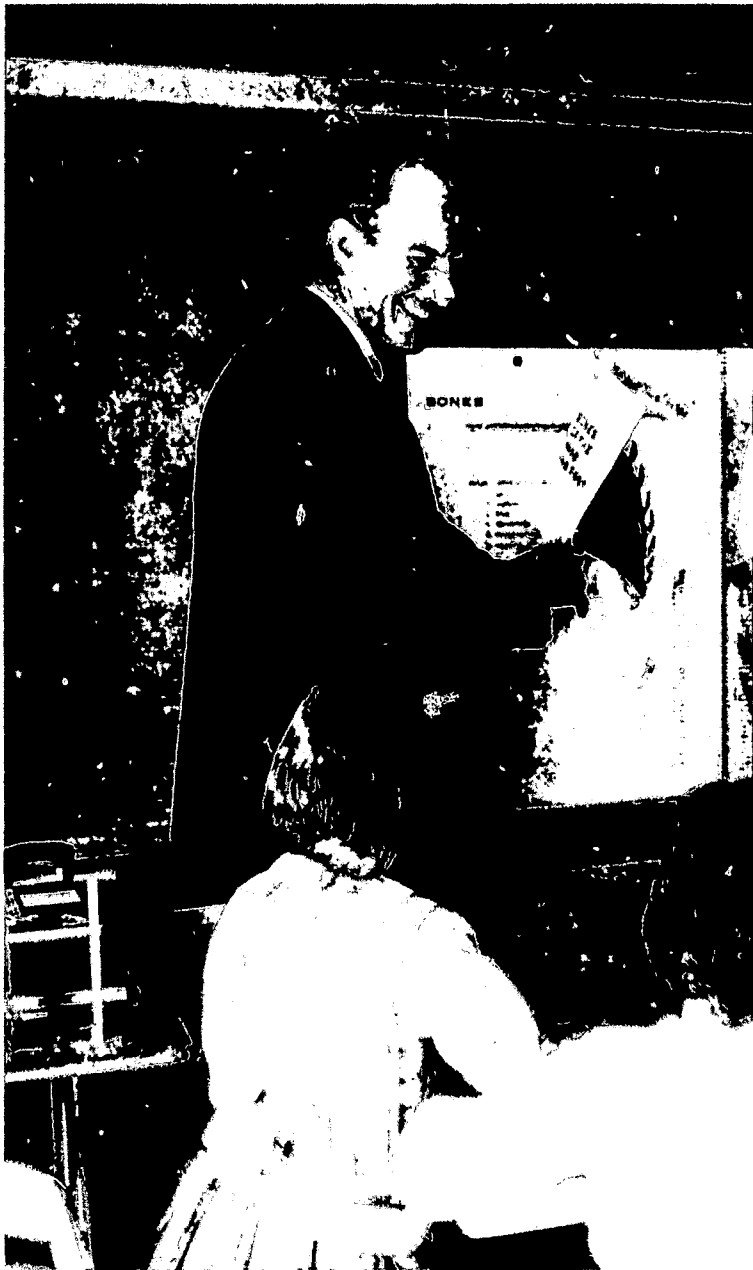
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## INTERPRETATION

### AND PERSPECTIVES

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**Eugene Schipmann**  
**Elementary School Teacher**  
**Denver, Colorado**



that exist among classroom teachers, administrators, and college educators. Much of how we look at things depends upon our background. Much of how we interpret what we see is based upon our position in the education profession, be it classroom teacher, administrator, or college professor. There are and should be differences of opinion, and from these, from the sincere intelligent thinking of committed educators, comes the educational progress we all desire.

The second reason I hope the lady goes back home and hollers is that progress in education seems not to be happening fast enough. Study group after study group in this conference mentioned that sometimes we study things to death but take little action. Technical, scientific, and social changes are still occurring much faster than educational change. We continue to lose ground. In one group we were said to be somewhat like the rockets and aircraft of today: by the time a new one gets off the drawing board and into production, it is obsolete.

The following are a few statements selected at random that I heard at this conference:

Give the beginning teacher time to teach.

Reduce the work load for the beginning teacher.

Provide a longer student-teaching period.

Provide better cooperating teachers.

So many things have been added to the curriculum that a beginning teacher cannot possibly do a good job.

Record-keeping and reports in large school systems are beyond the comprehension of the long-experienced teacher. How can the beginning teacher be anything but completely frustrated?

Beginning teachers are given the slow classes, the large classes, most of the disciplinary problems, the poorest rooms, the most unpleasant extra duties, the least and the oldest materials. . . .



Beginning teachers are the ones who are most often assigned outside their area of preparation.

These same concerns were expressed years ago in such reports as the NEA Research Bulletin entitled "First-Year Teachers, 1954-55," the U. S. Office of Education report of 1961 entitled *The Beginning Teacher*, and in other reports that are ten to twenty years old.

On the other hand, for some of the problems we face in education we reach solutions which seem too hasty. I am reminded of a report that the Colorado director of certification related to me. The annual report of the commissioner of education for the State of Nebraska in or around the year 1923 contained this statement: "I am very pleased to report that this year all the schools in Nebraska are graded. We finally got rid of the last of those unsatisfactory ungraded schools." Well, you know what we're trying for now.

While many of the study groups asked for more rapid change, I hope we do not advocate change just to have change.

Why do we still have the problems we had ten years ago for the beginning teacher? One reason may be that, although problems are easily identified, they are difficult to solve. We often are quick to blame others for the problems and look to others for solutions; we often try to lay problems in the lap of someone other than the classroom teacher. It is easy for an individual teacher to blame the lay public and the school board for not solving problems. "After all," we say, "they are the ones who establish policy, we just carry it out. The superintendent has the authority and responsibility to establish procedures and implement policy. Why doesn't he correct our ills?"

Study groups generally agreed that we cannot be a profession if we depend upon lay people for educational change. Neither can we



put this responsibility on the 5 percent or so who compose the administrative ranks. It is time for us to go back home and do something about our problems ourselves.

As you probably know by now, I am a strong believer in organized classroom teacher associations. However, with all the pressure groups operating today, we cannot attempt individually to solve major educational problems. Yet, if we are to remain an independent profession, we cannot align ourselves with other major segments of society either. I turn to one of these other segments of society for a little story at this point.

This is the story, told, I believe, by some of the early union organizers, of the old mule skinner who used to boast about his ability to flick a fly off the ear of his lead mule without disturbing the animal. When challenged one day to show his skill on a hornets nest hanging on the side of a barn, the old mule skinner replied, "No siree. Them hornets is organized!"

Today we have to be organized to get much done. One advantage teachers have to help identify major educational problems and to share proposals for solution among all segments of education is the TEPS movement. We do not have to work alone. We have state and national TEPS groups to assist our local TEPS committees, to give us the initiative to act.

Specifically, what can we as classroom teachers do when we get back home? In many groups thoughts were expressed that a reduced load could not be given to a beginning teacher, that scheduling was up to the administrator, that some administrators would not allow other teachers to assist beginners. Perhaps one thing we can do back home is to work on changing the role of the administrator. Some of the groups suggested that the organized teachers associations might assist in this change. Instead of the administrator's using the prerogatives he now has, perhaps some new ones should be established. Instead of policy and decisions coming down from the

top, perhaps they should come from the classroom teachers to the administrator.

In his concept of the role of the administrator, a professor of management at New York University included these thoughts that are pertinent to this changing role: (a) The administrator's job is to enable first-rate people to do a first-rate job *their way*. Teachers should not be forced constantly to do a job the way the administrator would do it. (b) The administrator is being paid to support teachers in every way he can. It is unfortunate that most administrators administer their schools in such a way that the teachers are continually called upon to support the administrator. (c) The teachers should make the decisions. Here again it seems to me that schools have reversed the process. Administrators announce decision after decision without even consulting the teachers who are directly concerned with the decision and who must make it work. (d) Teachers are not being paid to be pleasant to administrators. They are being paid to educate boys and girls. Yet, many teachers spend a goodly portion of their time making sure the administrator is happy, for if he is not, teaching that day can indeed be very, very miserable.

Improving the lot of the teacher, especially the beginning teacher, is one of the biggest and most important jobs facing the teaching profession. The plight of the beginner has been brought home to me personally in the past two years in several ways. First, as president of my local association, I was constantly confronted with problems of salary, teacher turnover, and misassignments.

Second, I have been assigned to a culturally deprived school for two years. (Actually, in Denver we don't call them culturally deprived, depressed, or disadvantaged schools any more. They are now "schools in need of supplemental materials and instruction.") The school has forty classrooms, and we have fifteen to twenty first-year teachers each year. We ran a survey which indicates that within three years 67 percent of the teachers new this

September will have left us. And most people seem to think Denver has a good school system.

Third, my own daughter was a beginning teacher this year, and I cringed when she told me about her job. She was teaching six classes a day, one each in grades 7, 9, 10, and 11, and two classes in grade 8. She taught history, civics, science, English, and physical education. She also sponsored three or four clubs. She had no room, no materials, and not a single planning period. For a father who has been rather vocal about this kind of thing and chairman of a state TEPS commission, I found myself in quite a spot. Fortunately, she survived. She must have been pretty well qualified since she wasn't thrown out by the kids or the parents by the end of the year. However, the sad part is that I'm not sure whether she will continue teaching next year or the next.

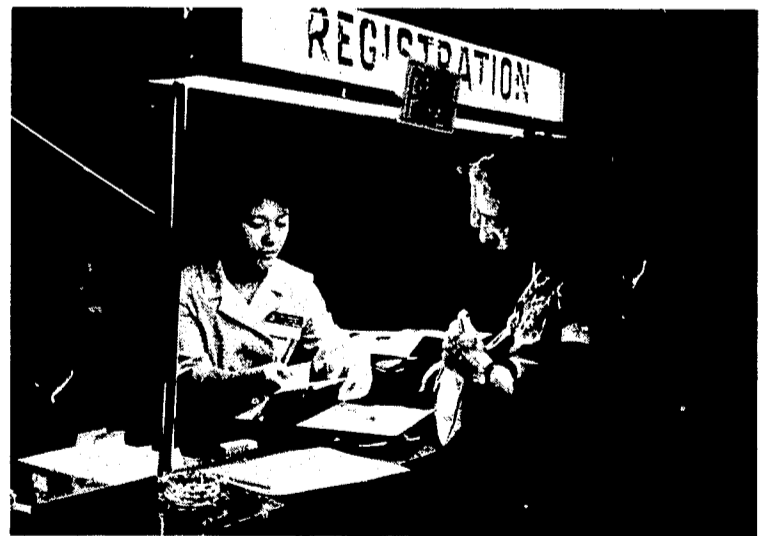
It seems imperative to me that we in teaching put priority on the beginning teacher and his orientation to the profession. As Dr. Bush pointed out in his opening address, we have to prepare two or three teachers to get one who will go into the classroom, and then he probably will not stay long. This is a terrible waste of time, effort, and money. One of our first jobs should be to eliminate this waste. These are valuable resources that we could better use to improve the quality rather than the quantity of teacher education.

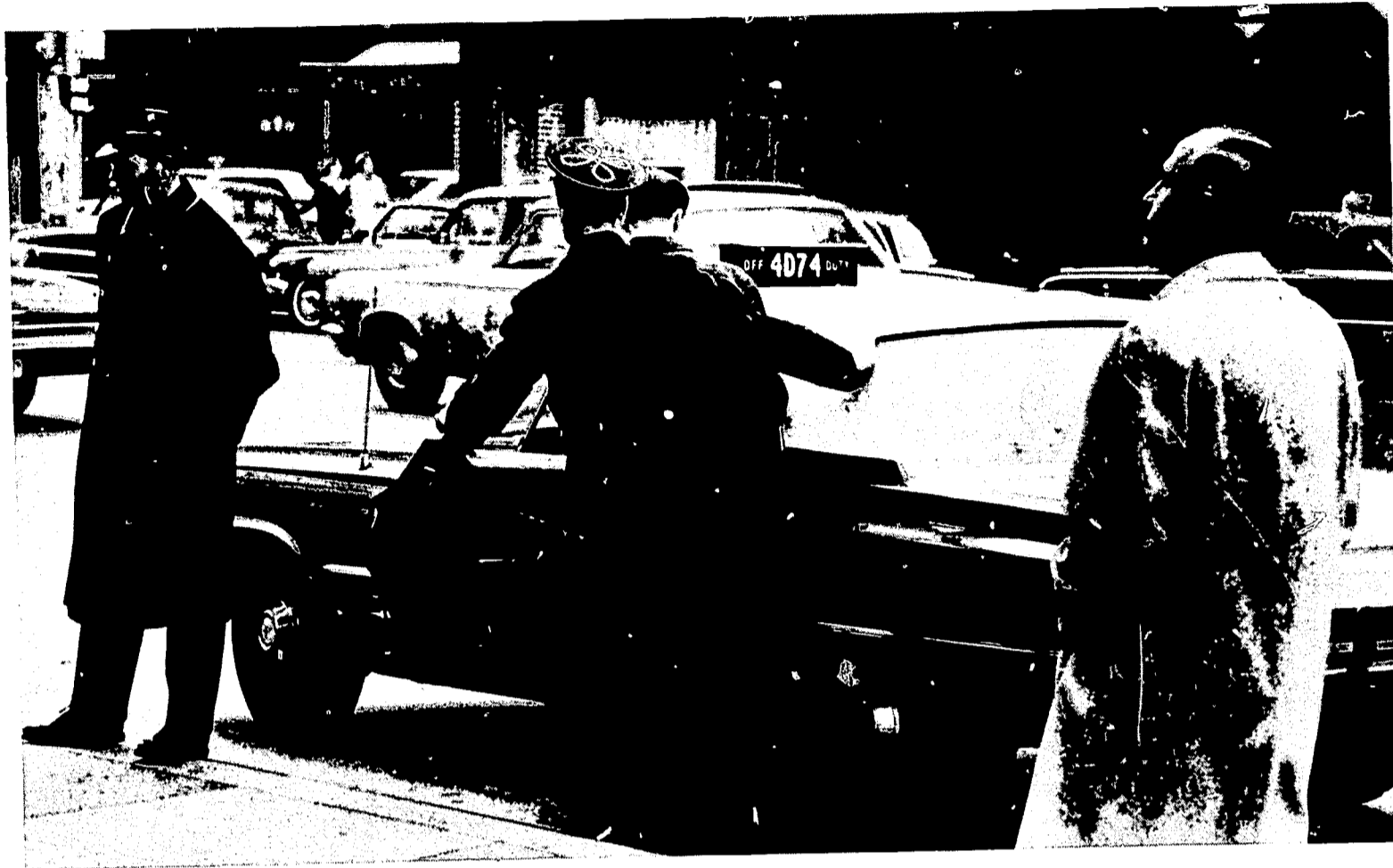
Several proposals that have been discussed in this conference and that deserve careful consideration center around the general idea of an internship program. The term needs careful clarification, because there are several kinds of programs that are given the name "internship": whether we mean a summer internship program, a fifth-year type college program, or what Dr. Bush called an externship, the first two or three years in the school system. We must define it clearly before we can go to work on it in a local or state situation.

I feel very strongly that local associations can hurry this type of action. We do not especially have to wait for state laws, certification

changes, or universities. We can put into the local system a type of internship program through in-service courses and through salary schedules. Several two- or three-year plans were suggested, one of them by freezing the beginning teacher's salary. The money saved could be used for reducing the beginning teacher's load, giving him time for better planning, preparation, perhaps smaller classes, free periods to visit outstanding experienced teachers, and so on. Or the money could be used to increase the salaries of those farther up on the salary schedule who have already proved their competence and qualifications. This type of program might fit well into the last three years of Dr. Bush's proposed teacher education program.

The conference discussions indicate that a close liaison between school systems and teacher education institutions is a must. Much of the teacher education program has been described here as irrelevant, unrealistic; methods courses have been indicted. Classroom teachers and people from teacher education institutions have indicated that the changes needed must grow out of this liaison. The people in the field know what is needed to begin teaching and to stay in it satisfactorily. Such a liaison probably can be arranged by most associations and most TEPS groups just for the asking. The university people indicated they were anxious to get such collaboration established; in many cases it is already under





way. There are many plans for school-college liaison: it could be an advisory committee; public school teachers could be on college faculties for a year or two; salaries and time could be shared; or classroom teachers could work beyond the regular school day on a college campus.

Although all these major activities will take time (I hope not ten years), new teachers will still be entering the classroom and the profession each September. Many times in the conference it has been said that local TEPS committees can make a great contribution here. A TEPS representative could be named for each building to the end that experienced teachers are made available to help each new teacher. New and experienced teachers might be paired or work in teams. Many studies and testimonies point out that the majority of new teachers need help with most of the activities they face. I believe such help can best be given by other classroom teachers. Study group after

study group, especially the ones which included beginning teachers, indicated that it was very difficult to find help in time of need or to find a supervisor to give help, but that fellow classroom teachers were readily available.

A recent occupational survey conducted by an outside agency in one of the larger school systems, concerning the duties of teachers, showed that a teacher can expect to put in about two thousand hours of work during a 38-week school year. This is equivalent to a 40-hour week for fifty weeks a year. The survey report listed over a hundred different duties that the teacher must perform in the course of his job, and these were only the duties most frequently mentioned. From such data it appears that we all need help, not just the beginning teacher. This type of survey might be one good way for teacher education institutions to discover the kinds of jobs the classroom teacher actually performs, the hours he will have to work, and how much effort he will have to put forth.

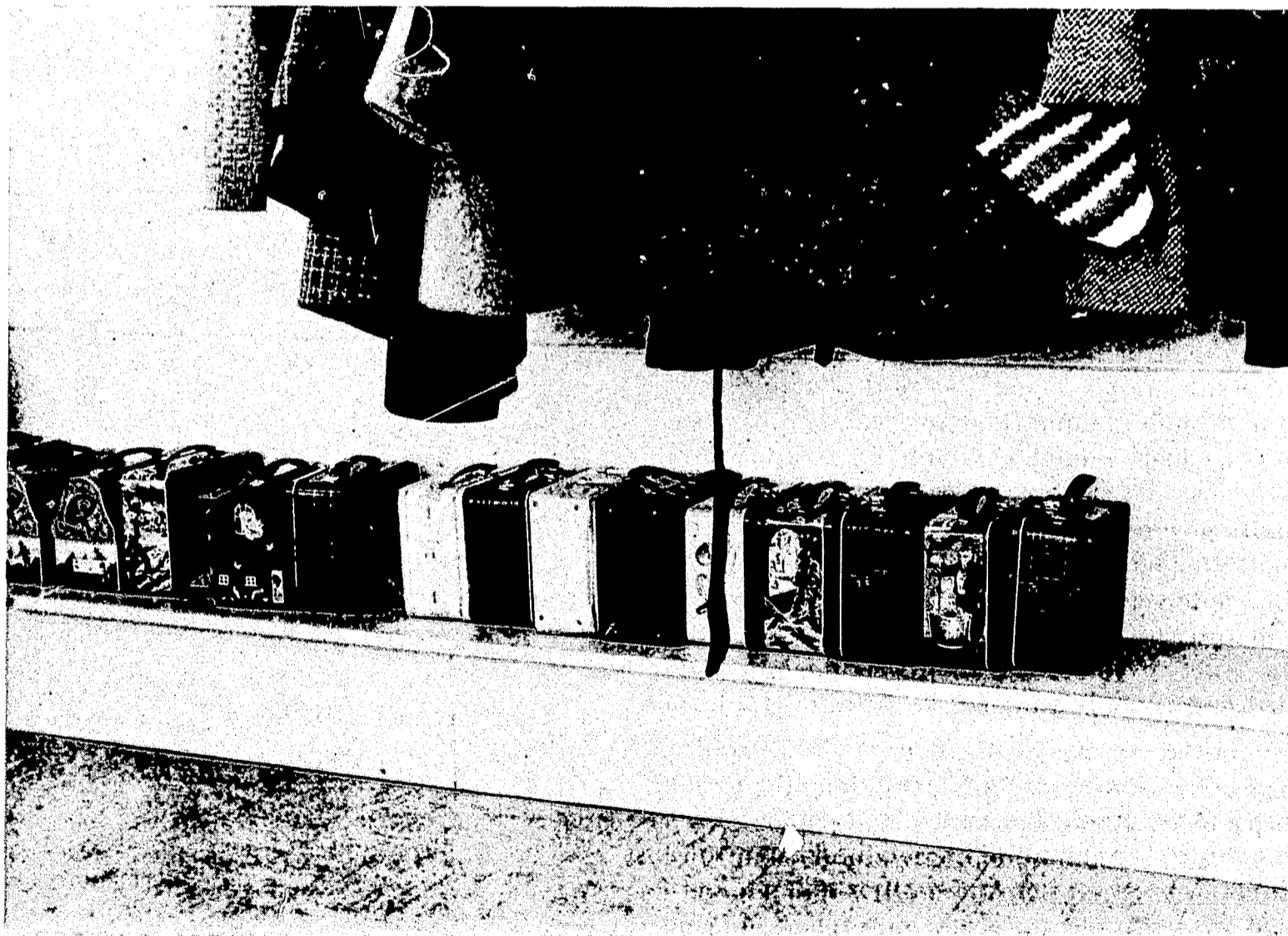
Most participants in the conference felt that TEPS could be an important vehicle for improving teacher education. It can also help to remove the threat of the welfare organizations that threaten in many places to take over the organized profession.

The beginning teacher seems to be interested in teaching, and it is up to us, the more experienced, the long-time teachers, to help him teach. Most of the things discussed at this conference have been tried somewhere. Perhaps through the TEPS organization, as was suggested, a handbook could be issued letting everyone know what has been tried to help the beginning teacher and how successful it has been, so that we don't all have to grope to find some of the answers.

We must face the fact, however, that all new programs that reduce loads and improve ef-

fectiveness are going to cost money. Unlimited funds probably will never be available. The moneys we do have must be put in the right place, even at the expense of salaries in some cases. Can we do the job at the expense of salaries? Such a proposal will undoubtedly get a lot of opposition from a lot of teachers. Will we be able to give the time and effort to get the money needed, whether through local mill levies, state legislatures, or some similar activity?

When we go back home we have a big job to do. I hope we find the money, I hope we find ways to help the beginning teacher, and I hope that we take it upon ourselves as classroom teachers to initiate action and not wait for the school boards and the superintendents to initiate it for us.





**Edward T. Ladd ■ Professor of Education ■  
Director, Agnes Scott-Emory University  
Teacher Education Program ■ Atlanta, Georgia**

I have been asked to offer for your acceptance or rejection one college person's impressions of what you have been saying to each other during the past three days and what it means for us all. Having heard only an infinitesimal fraction of what has been said and, like Mr. Schipmann, having filtered it through my selective mechanisms and biases, were I an angel I would fear to tread further. But my brave public school colleague has shown the way, so I shall proceed to rush in.

What have you said about the real world of the beginning teacher? Above all, that it is far from what it ought to be. Many of you have portrayed it as a rather terrible place, a sort of Lost World on an isolated plateau, populated, figuratively speaking, with dinosaurs, some of them hostile, many of them insensitive and unconcerned, only some of them friendly and desirous of helping. Over and over you portrayed

the beginning teacher as a magnificent person, a dedicated professional, coping or swimming as often as sinking, and surviving (these grim words fell frequently), carried along by a wonderful professional vision, by integrity, and by maturity. Clearly you know many, many beginning teachers who do "let it be a challenge" to them; indeed during some of our sessions we were privileged to meet such young colleagues.

In what ways is the real world of the beginning teacher a terrible place? There seem to be four main ones.

First, the beginning teacher's world is often very different from what he expected it to be. The confidence he has gained from ten thousand hours of watching other teachers at work must make this discrepancy between expectation and reality the more difficult to take. Mr. Jersild found the discrepancy particularly in the feeling aspects of teaching; the excellent interview studies made for this conference found it in many aspects. On all sides we have been told that beginners come to the schools unaware of the reality of the janitor banging

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## INTERPRETATION AND PERSPECTIVES

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Edward T. Ladd, Director  
Agnes Scott-Emory University Teacher  
Education Program



on the radiator or the shouting girl who frustrated one beginning teacher, the reality of teaching a subject that has been forgotten ever since the freshman year, the reality of writing a test at midnight when you are dead tired, the reality of the discombobulated bell schedule and of the down staircase.

Human beings of course can deal with radical discontinuities in their experience, but we survive such discontinuities best when we are helped across them by formal ceremonies and new rewards; by puberty rites, if you will, which say to the individual experiencing the wrench, "This is a big deal, and from now on you will be better off." No doubt the beginning teacher's misplaced expectations cause the least difficulty when his first year is a big deal, bringing many rewards. Apparently, however, this is too seldom the case.

A second contribution to the terribleness of the beginning teacher's world is the overwhelming nature of what is expected of him or—which has the same psychological effect—what he feels is expected of him. He has left our ivy-covered walls and broken the certification barrier, with or without a sonic boom. Now he is publicly defined—for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer—as a full-fledged teacher by his pupils and their parents, his colleagues, his administrative superordinates, the salary schedule, and the law. He is no longer a student, nor even an apprentice or an intern. Whatever his assignment or misassignment, he is expected to know his job, and judging from what he has been telling us in our group meetings, typically he is expected to have no professional problems or at least not to carry any such problems to his department chairman, supervisor, or principal. After all, it has been said, they will evaluate him and then rate him, and they will use essentially the same standard as they use for any other teacher. Now you and I know that no supervisory person worth his salt would use one standard for both the experienced professional and the beginner, or use it in the same way. But the fact remains

that this differential is neither explicit nor formal. And no beginning teacher at this meeting—to my knowledge—reported that, when he had omitted approaching his seniors about his difficulties or his failures, they had reproached him for not doing part of what they expected of him as a beginner.

Mr. Lortie pointed out that the beginner in other professions starts, not as a full-fledged practitioner, but as an intern or associate, and he learns the actual skills of his craft under the watchful, cold eyes of seasoned men. In our profession we at least purport to regard the beginner as knowing how to do what is expected of any teacher, and we put pressure on him to conceal the fact that he does not.

Third, you have said that too frequently the beginning teacher is the lowest hireling in a demeaning autocracy. Too often the same principal who usually expects from him the service of a full-fledged professional treats him, not as

a respected colleague, but as a hired hand. We heard overwhelming evidence that more than anyone else it is the principal—in Addis Ababa, the headmaster—who sets the climate in the school. On this subject I, as an administrator, listened carefully to make sure my understanding was correct. Again and again I heard reports which suggested that the climate set by many principals—most principals, perhaps?—is not collegial and professional but arbitrary and tyrannical. One administrator at this meeting illustrated the point when he referred to a certain teacher as “one I had teaching for me” rather than as a colleague. I wonder whether hospital directors speak of the doctors as working for them. I heard no principal refer to teachers as persons he worked for. Nor did I hear any teacher refer to an administrator as his colleague who sits on the hot seat.

There were reports of administrators strong-arming teachers into certain professional as-





sociations. There were reports of principals telling teachers what political candidates they must support. Since autocracy poisons human relations, it is not surprising that there were reports of teachers being treated by principals in ways that were insulting or downright dishonest. (Shades of Bel Kaufman's Admiral Ass!) We do not know how widespread these practices are. Perhaps the administrators or organizations will want to employ some independent researchers to find out. That they are widespread enough to come up over and over again as part of the real world of the beginning teacher is cause for the greatest concern. Few of the beginning teachers spoke as if their principals had helped them to feel that they were fellow members of a community of professionals. At least one reported having felt supported and made to feel important by her teaching colleagues. Did any of them report having been supported or made to feel important by their administrative superordinates, or consulted by them or anyone else on matters of professional policy or practice? I hope so.

Finally, we have heard much about the destructive professional loneliness of the beginning teacher. Mr. Lortie documented this anew. He might have pointed out that our Robinson Crusoe teachers have no Men Fridays to keep them company. Bel Kaufman heard the members of her class saying, "Pay attention. Here I am. Listen to me. Care about me." We have heard beginning teachers similarly saying desperately, "Here I am. Listen to me. Help me." Linda Bergthold couldn't get her older colleague to listen to her because she, poor colleague, needed to have Mrs. Bergthold listen to her! In the interview studies mention was made of other, kind senior teachers who, by good fortune, usually seem to be available to listen and talk with beginners. But in view of the absence of formal provisions for friendly dialogue, it is understandable that every single one of the beginning teachers involved in an experiment at Hunter College, as reported by Herbert Schueler of that institution, wanted to go on for at least an hour, pouring out his

experiences and feelings—to a tape recorder. And it is understandable that teachers bottle up anger, as Mr. Jersild reported, and fail to arrive at the self-understanding which is the precondition of developing style.

It all sounds perilously close to alienation from the school as a human institution. It is alienation for the high percentage who quit.

This, then, is the Pandora's box that the National TEPS Commission opened for us when it put us through this most realistic of conferences. What can we do about it?

It would be presumptuous for us on the platform to prescribe what you can do in your own school, college, office, or organization. It would be presumptuous, too, for us to try to make you feel guilty about the situation or to exhort you to greater effort to be more virtuous. We have been trying for years to solve educational problems this way, and the result has been to create guilt-ridden educators and greater emotional pressures which tend to worsen a situation, not make it better. It is as if we tried to unsnarl a traffic jam on 42nd Street by setting up a loudspeaker and exhorting all drivers to be better drivers and be on their way. I propose that, to straighten out the tangle we're in as regards the beginning teacher, we try coolly to analyze it and understand its dynamics and then see how in various situations we can redefine roles or redirect forces to bring about change. Join me in giving thought to the whys of these four situations, and as we do so, let me tentatively suggest a few possible ways of dealing with them, suggestions which have come out of our sessions.

#### 1. *Why are teachers' expectations still unrealistic?*

In the past decade or two we college people have been putting a lot of effort into improving our preservice programs. But apparently we still have not got them to the point where they give our students realistic expectations. In many of the interview reports education courses were characterized as too theoretical.

The meaning seems to be, not that they are too theoretical, but that they take too little account of reality. The fact is, as Mr. Bush, Mr. Lortie, and others have pointed out, that in education there is a regrettable dearth of theory.

I suggest that the trouble with education courses lies with those of us who teach them, and part of our trouble is that many of us are less interested in familiarizing our students with reality than in indoctrinating attitudes and propagating our notions about "best practice"—in other words, evangelizing. Several of you indeed made the accusation that some of us act as though we thought we could turn out more effective reformers if we shielded the young things from the awful truth. Look at the methods textbooks we write and adopt. If this is part of the cause, then it suggests that we rewrite our courses and reorder our books to put more emphasis on the cognitive, on information, analysis, and comparison. This in turn

seems to point to earlier, more systematic, and more tough-minded observation in schools. It also points to more use of case materials, both electronic ones of the sort mentioned by Mr. Bush and written ones. It means the use of social scientists and historians in some education courses.

Teacher preparation may be unrealistic partly because student teaching is so inadequate. Can we overhaul it? Can we make adequate, appropriate placements, getting students into classrooms where they can come to grips with tough teaching problems and learn about reality? Can we provide them with adequate supervision—one-twentieth or more of the full time of a supervisor? You will have to answer that, not I. Someone said yesterday that it could not be done and that student teaching must go, to be replaced by first-rate internships.



The suggestion was made several times that the sudden wrench which now takes place between teacher preparation and service as a teacher could be avoided if we merged pre-service education with in-service education. What does this mean in practice? It can mean any of several things. It can mean putting a school teacher or supervisor on the college faculty, to give some of the professional work. It can mean putting undergraduates into the schools as paid interns before they have completed their studies. It can mean requiring beginning teachers to be enrolled in college programs. It has been estimated that already 90 percent of America's school systems are within ten miles of a college. Merging preservice and in-service education may mean that some day every school system in America will have really close collaboration with a college or university.

In this connection internships of many different types have been suggested. Mr. Bush offered a clearly thought-out pattern for fairly general adoption. Others countered that we should have many patterns.

Many conference participants and interviewees suggested that the teacher could have more realistic expectations if at the beginning of his service he had a thorough, carefully thought-out orientation.

### 2. Why do we expect too much of our beginning teachers?

Is it because we do not really care whether we lose them, or whether the children are well taught? Or isn't it simply that our certification manuals, our tables of organization, and our salary schedules define beginners as full-fledged professionals and leave the principal no choice? Does this mean we should redraw our tables of organization and our salary schedules, defining the beginning teacher as less than a complete teacher, defining him as an intern or as an associate? This suggestion was made, not only by our own Mr. Bush, but implicitly by Mr. Lortie as well. No doubt it has been made by many others during the past three days.

One appealing aspect of this proposed set of changes is that it need not cost a penny. As a matter of fact, if a school district is concerned enough about the problem to spend a modest amount of its money on it, or of the increasing moneys it will get from the state and from Washington, it can employ about five new full-time teachers for every four positions, or four new full-time teachers and several part-time ones, and define a full load for each of the full-time beginners as consisting of teaching and learning.

If the beginner is defined as a learner and given time to learn, the next step would be to assign a master teacher, supervisor, principal, or college faculty member to assist him in his learning.

### 3. Why is there so much autocracy in our schools?

Is it because autocrats seek out the principalships? If so, we in the profession need to draw up and put into effect more explicit standards of selection and rejection. Or is it because power corrupts? If so, do we need some ground rules, a sort of code of ethics to govern principals in dealing with their faculties?

My hunch is that the autocratic ways of many principals come primarily from the autocratic ways of the superintendents, and that these in turn come from what Raymond Callahan calls "the cult of efficiency." The public, Callahan says, has come to judge superintendents mainly on the basis of their businesslike efficiency. Unfortunately, the profession, including the NEA of some years ago, contributed to the adoption of this standard. So today, to make use of a distinction drawn by the late, lamented Edward R. Murrow, the pressures on superintendents lead them to be so preoccupied with the urgent that they have no time for the important. Add to this what Callahan calls the "knife poised at the financial jugular vein

each year," i.e. the annual budget, and the ingredients for internal autocracy are present.<sup>1</sup>

If this hunch is correct, the colleges can help by propagating new, more educational standards for the judging of administrative leadership. All of us in the profession can help by educating the public on the nature of real educational leadership, by supporting administrators who provide such leadership, and by courageously exerting counterpressures on administrators who are inclined instead to dominate their professional colleagues who serve in the classrooms. Perhaps we could ask the American Association of School Administrators or local administrators associations to spend three days themselves exploring the world of the beginning teacher. Perhaps we should ask the teachers union to study ways of improving teacher-administrator relationships.

Does increasing the prerogatives of teachers necessarily mean diminishing those of principals? Yes, in the sense that teachers are to determine for themselves when they can come and go in the school building, or for whom they vote. No, in the sense that, insofar as a principal gives up the prerogatives of a petty dictator, he can have the time and energy to play a new role as supporter, stimulator, and general overseer of the real work of the school.

As a college administrator I look forward to the time when public school principals show that they understand their roles as executive officers for the faculties by proposing that some teachers be paid more than their principals.

#### 4. Why are teachers so isolated professionally?

First, as Mr. Lortie pointed out, they work in isolated rooms. (The term *egg-crate school* has been coined to suggest the separate little compartments into which the eggheads are placed.) Can we get several teachers working in the same room? This is at least one clear-cut virtue of team teaching. Second, teachers' schedules are filled with duties other than mu-

tual consultation or joint planning. One school superintendent reported that in his system the elementary school pupils are sent home at noon twice each week so that the teachers may have time for study and for other activities in common. Eugene Schipmann spoke of the use in Denver of numbers of professional consultants who come to the beginning teachers' classrooms to assist them with their work. Though obviously to help teachers inevitably means to evaluate their performance, these superiors appear as helpers rather than threats, because ratings are not passed on to administrators.

Perhaps every beginning teacher should be assigned a teacher aide to give him comfort and support and perhaps, incidentally, to allow him time for visiting other classes and conferring with colleagues.

Many of you have suggested that the professional associations help to provide out-of-school professional assistance. Insofar as they are not administrator-dominated but still professionally oriented, perhaps they can. Judging from the interview studies, there is something of a vacuum here into which the associations might move.

Just two more things, both having to do with the strategy of bringing about change.

First, we have learned a great deal in recent years about the relative ineffectiveness of most attempts to improve education across the board, across the state, or even across the school system. We Americans are all egalitarians at heart, and we do not like the idea of singling out certain schools or school systems for special attention. But often the best way to improve all schools is to start with one school or one teacher preparation program and make it into what is now being called an "island of change." Such an island would have a bigger population than Robinson Crusoe's. It is easier for a small group of concerned people to build one island of change than it is to improve the whole picture, and setbacks are less discouraging. Perhaps the traffic-jam analogy is apt: The wise policeman does not try to get all the cars and trucks squared away at once. He

<sup>1</sup>See Callahan, Raymond E. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. 273 pp.

starts with one little snarl, goes on to the next, and eventually the jam melts away by itself.

Second, whatever specific steps we should take in our islands of change, we can solve our problem only by continuing to work together, indeed by working together more closely. The TEPS conferences have done much to bring professional colleagues together across discipline lines, across the lines between faculty and administration, and across the lines between all the rest of us and our state departments of education, now on the brink of a great renaissance. In regard to both of these trends, by the way, the federal government is about to give us great new opportunities.

But if we are to deal with the really tough problems we have been talking about here this

week, we must move from cooperation to collaboration. This means not just talking with one another, though that is essential, but also sharing authority, conducting joint programs, sharing staff members, and sometimes sharing in the designing of budgets. If we can learn to share in these ways without glossing over our various unique missions and concerns and our productive tensions, we can help one another move ahead.

At this meeting we have explored together a touchy and embarrassing problem. Our uncommon success should encourage us all to believe that in our various roles we can work together to create islands on which we may solve it.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS**

In five different section meetings on Wednesday, June 23, the following persons reported on interview studies of beginning teachers which they conducted especially for the conference:

- James Ashe, Associate Professor of Education, State University College, Plattsburgh, New York
- Stanley Dropkin, Assistant Professor of Education, Queens College of the City University of New York
- Andrew V. Johnston, Director, Evening Division and Off-Campus Programs, University of Nevada
- Earl Harmer, Associate Professor of Education, University of Utah
- Philip L. Hosford, Associate Professor of Education and Mathematics, New Mexico State University
- Donald C. Richardson, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Kansas
- Bruce Riddle, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Missouri
- Leland Smith, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Kentucky
- John Starkey, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Wyoming
- Michael Stolee, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Miami, Florida
- Robert V. Supple, Professor of Education, University of Maine
- Evelyn Swartz, Instructor in Elementary Education, University of Kansas
- Marvin Taylor, Assistant Professor of Education, Queens College of the City University of New York
- Robert S. Thurman, Associate Professor of Education, University of Tennessee
- Richard L. Willey, Associate Professor of Secondary Education, University of Wyoming
- Israel Woronoff, Professor of Education, Eastern Michigan University

On Thursday, June 24, conference participants in section meetings heard presentations on "What Should Be Done," by:

- Charles E. Brown, Superintendent of Schools, Newton, Massachusetts

Clarice Kline, Teacher of Social Studies and Department Chairman,  
Waukesha High School, Wisconsin  
Howard Lee Nostrand, Professor of Romance Languages and Literature,  
University of Washington  
M. Karl Openshaw, Assistant Director, School of Education, The  
Ohio State University  
Herbert R. Schueler, Director of Teacher Education, Hunter College  
of the City University of New York

Section meetings on Friday, June 25, were devoted to "Interpre-  
tive Reports Based on Recommendations of Study Groups." The  
following persons reported:

Vernon Alleyne, Community Relations Coordinator, New York City  
Board of Education  
Alice Binger, Junior High School Teacher of Speech, Hopkins,  
Minnesota  
George W. Denemark, Dean, School of Education, University of  
Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
Miriam Heffernan, Associate Professor of English, Brooklyn College  
of the City University of New York  
Thomas C. Hunt, Professor of Philosophy, Mount San Antonio  
College, California  
Paul H. Masoner, Dean, College of Education, University of Pitts-  
burgh, Pennsylvania  
Natalie Mintz, Junior High School Teacher of Science, New York  
City  
Dorothy Soeberg, Professor of Elementary Education, California  
State College at Los Angeles  
Florence B. Stratemeyer, Professor of Education, Teachers College,  
Columbia University, New York City  
Wade Wilson, Director, Division of Industrial Arts, Cheyney State  
College, Pennsylvania

On Friday, June 25, a special session was devoted to reports on  
major TEPS activities in continuing education, student teaching,  
professional practices regulations, professional reference libraries,  
professional standards boards, and assignment and misassignment  
of teachers. In addition to NCTEPS staff members, the following  
persons reported:

Henry Bissex, High School Teacher, Newton, Massachusetts  
Beulah Fontaine, Consultant for Professional Services, Kentucky  
Education Association

Roy M. Hall, Dean, School of Education, University of Delaware  
Lawrence Lemons, Director of Instruction, Scotts bluff Public  
Schools, Nebraska  
Harold E. Mitzel, Assistant Dean for Research, College of Educa-  
tion, The Pennsylvania State University  
W. Burkhardt Turner, Director, NEA Project on Civil Rights and  
Continuing Education; Social Studies Teacher, Patchogue High  
School, Long Island, New York

At the banquet and final general session, conference participants  
heard addresses by Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of  
the National Urban League, and The Honorable Gaylord Nelson,  
United States Senator from Wisconsin.



## **APPENDIX B**

### **COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS**

Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.  
American Anthropological Association  
American Association for Health, Physical Education,  
and Recreation (NEA)  
American Association for Jewish Education  
American Association for the Advancement of Science  
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (NEA)  
American Association of Collegiate Registrars and  
Admissions Officers  
American Association of Physics Teachers  
American Association of School Administrators (NEA)  
American Association of School Librarians (NEA)  
American Association of School Personnel Administrators  
American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism  
American Association of Teacher Educators in Agriculture  
American Association of Teachers of French  
American Association of Teachers of German  
American Association of Teachers of Italian  
American Association of Teachers of Slavic and  
East European Languages  
American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese  
American Association of University Professors  
American Chemical Society  
American Economic Association  
American Geological Institute  
American Geophysical Union  
American Industrial Arts Association (NEA)  
American Institute of Biological Sciences  
American Institute of Physics  
American Library Association  
American Personnel and Guidance Association  
American Philological Association  
American Philosophical Association  
American Political Science Association  
American Psychological Association  
American Society for Engineering Education  
American Sociological Association  
American Speech and Hearing Association  
American Teachers Association  
American Vocational Association

Asia Society  
Association for Childhood Education International  
Association for Education in Journalism  
Association for Higher Education (NEA)  
Association for School, College and University Staffing  
Association for Student Teaching  
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (NEA)  
Association of American Colleges  
Center for the Study of Instruction (NEA)  
Citizenship Committee (NEA)  
College Art Association of America  
College English Association  
College Language Association  
Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities (NEA)  
Comparative Education Society  
Conference Board of the Mathematical Sciences  
Council for Basic Education  
Council for Exceptional Children (NEA)  
Delta Kappa Gamma Society  
Department of Audiovisual Instruction (NEA)  
Department of Classroom Teachers (NEA)  
Department of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Education (NEA)  
Department of Elementary School Principals (NEA)  
Department of Foreign Languages (NEA)  
Department of Home Economics (NEA)  
Department of Rural Education (NEA)  
General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists  
International Reading Association  
Linguistic Society of America  
Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Board of Higher Education  
Lutheran Education Association  
Mathematical Association of America  
Modern Language Association of America  
Music Educators National Conference (NEA)  
National Aerospace Education Council  
National Art Education Association (NEA)  
National Association for Public School Adult Education (NEA)  
National Association for Research in Science Teaching  
National Association of Biology Teachers  
National Association of Colleges and Teachers of Agriculture  
National Association of Geology Teachers  
National Association of Independent Schools  
National Association of Industrial Teacher Educators  
National Association of Journalism Directors  
National Association of Schools of Music  
National Association of Secondary School Principals (NEA)

National Business Education Association (NEA)  
National Catholic Educational Association  
National Commission on Safety Education (NEA)  
National Congress of Parents and Teachers  
National Council for the Social Studies (NEA)  
National Council of Teachers of English  
National Council of Geographic Education  
National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NEA)  
National School Boards Association  
National Science Foundation  
National Science Teachers Association (NEA)  
National Society for the Study of Education  
National Society of College Teachers of Education  
National Training Laboratories (NEA)  
Phi Delta Kappa  
Philosophy of Education Society  
Scientific Manpower Commission  
Sister Formation Conference  
Speech Association of America  
State Education Associations in all states  
Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education