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ABSTRACT

The effects of teaching on teachers was investigated. Interviews with female elementary school teachers were conducted on a bi-weekly basis during 2 years of data collection. An analysis was made of the relationship between teachers' work experiences over the course of their careers within specific institutional structures, and their perceptions of the meanings of these work experiences to their self-esteem, sense of job satisfaction, and sense of efficacy. Selected excerpts from the interviews reveal the teachers' attitudes, thinking, and perceptions about: (1) conflicts inherent in the accepted goals of public education and the reality of public schools as they operate on a daily basis; (2) conflicting standards teachers face and their recognition of their inabilities to meet societal expectations; (3) historical roots and continuing impact of conflicting demands on teachers; (4) divisions within the school staff which create an increasingly hierarchical and segmented working force; (5) pressures and expectations that lead to burnout; and (6) teachers' positions within the school system and institutional conflicts inherent in the teachers' roles. (JD)

THE EFFECTS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF SCHOOLS ON TEACHERS

FINAL REPORT
GRANT NO. NIE-G-81-0031

September 1, 1982

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INTRODUCTION

The research project "The Effects of the Institutional Structure of Schools on Teachers" (NIE-G-81-0031) investigates the effects of teaching on teachers, specifically women elementary school teachers. The project has been conducted in three stages. The first two stages, spanning the school years 1979-1980 and 1980-1981, were spent in data collection and preliminary data analysis. 178 hour-long interviews with women elementary school teachers were conducted on a bi-weekly basis during the two years of data collection. Thirty-seven hour-long bi-monthly interviews were completed in the second year, and five two-hour interviews were added to gain in-depth knowledge about specific teaching situations. Altogether, 219 hours of interviewing time were logged representing the views of thirty teachers. The third stage was devoted to data analysis and writing up the results of the project.

The research project began with one central question--"How do the structure of the elementary school and the experience of teaching within it affect the teacher over time?" The question was raised by a group of women teachers working within a variety of such institutions. In order to understand why we wanted to answer that particular question, and how we attempted to answer it, it is necessary to trace the initial impetus for the project as a whole.

When I was a kid in the 50's, I went to a strict, traditional school. The teachers were thirty and forty year veterans. They never varied from plans written many years ago. In September the same pictures were posted on the blackboard. The construction paper borders were replaced each year, but the paper faded early in November and was a dull sheen by March. I loved those teachers. They conformed to many of the stereotypes of long-time women schoolmarms--stern, swift in justice, unimaginative, inflexible, sure of their methods. They priased the docile, hard-working, quick-to-grasp pupil and were alternately punishing or neglectful of the silent majority. The wicked were quickly subdued.

In fifth grade a spate of male teachers arrived, returning GI's straight out of college who had a fertile field in the burgeoning school industry. They were different--young, creative, with lots of energy. They introduced SCIENCE, giant paper mache animals, and new seating patterns. We all wanted to be in their classrooms. Most of them soon moved to other positions in the quickly expanding system--principal, science coordinator, head of the creative arts department. The children were left with the old women teachers--and with a disdain of old women teachers.

When I began teaching ten years ago, I had a clear

image of the kind of teacher I wanted to be--Mr. Williams, the fifth grade teacher who had introduced the most daring educational experiments, worked tirelessly (coming to school on Saturday). He was the closest person I actually knew to the figures portrayed by Jonathan Kozol, Herb Kohl, and John Holt in those books coming out in the 60's. And I managed. I worked tirelessly, tried all kinds of experiments, came in on Saturdays. It was exhilarating--for the first few years. But as the years wore on and on, I began to notice that the drive was being replaced by myriad frustrations. Many teachers who had arrived with me on the crest of the 60's waves, felt tethered in place. We became less experimental, angrier, found it harder to give, more isolated. In my voice and face and walk I was watching a metamorphosis. I was turning into my present perception of one of them--those female teachers of long ago who worked year after year in a closed space, each class merging into the next, stale ideas, frayed construction paper. [1]

That beginning statement, written in January 1979, crystallized for our group both a recognition of the changing nature of our attitudes toward our careers and a commitment to understand the reasons for those changes. At that time, we had been functioning as a teacher support group for three years, meeting on a weekly basis. Initially, we came together with two purposes--to give each other support in the daily crises and aggravations of teaching, and to discuss teaching from a political perspective, trying to see our work against the larger fabric of economics, history, and schools as institutions of society. Throughout our meetings we were struck with how the two facets of our discussions played off each other: reading a theoretical article about schools and political economy or about women as workers illuminated experiences in our own teaching lives; and in sharing our personal concerns we repeatedly referred back to reading and more general discussions we had had. In this way we began to see ourselves not as isolated individuals in single classrooms, but as part of a group whose similarities were more pronounced than their differences.

We had become convinced through our years of sharing that the experiences we had assumed to be unique to each of us were often not ours alone. Yet each of us in her daily work continued to feel, to a greater or lesser extent, isolated. We knew that the topics we were discussing were important, at least to us. We also knew that our group was homogeneous in age, race, socio-economic status, and general teaching philosophy. We were not at all sure that our reactions and experiences would parallel other teachers' perceptions whose personal histories were very different

from our own.

It became clearer that without an understanding of how teaching had affected many teachers, as well as ourselves, we would be caught in an ever more isolating position. We could find no tools, no framework from educational literature, that would analyze how schools worked and how they had prevented us from reaching out to teachers who taught down the hall or behind the folding partition door. We began to recognize that part of the problem for our continued isolation rested in the model we were using for investigating and improving our own school experiences as teachers. This model, based on a number of influential books written in the late '60's, emphasized the individual contribution by caring teachers whose dedication could significantly alter and improve schools. These books had inspired us as we entered teaching and provided a standard by which we had been judging ourselves and our fellow-teachers. Nothing in these books mentioned the powerful influence of the structure of schools on the relationship between the teacher and the child, principal, parent, or specialist.

Several years later, the publication of many articles on teacher burnout reinforced this essentially individualistic point of view. Thus, the teacher literature that we read--the books that had influenced our decisions to enter the profession, and the articles suggesting that we leave--refrained from investigating the areas we had felt to be most painful in our teaching--our growing sense of isolation and alienation from all with whom we came into daily contact: our students, their parents, our fellow teachers, and administrators.

The publication of the articles on teacher burnout coincided with our realization that the teacher support group more frequently clarified our frustrations than it provided resources for alleviating them. We would speak, often with cynicism or bewilderment, of the teacher at the other end of the corridor; but talking to her, learning the background for her actions and beliefs, had been considered fruitless. Those books of the '60's had implied that we must maintain our distance from them if we wished to continue our "inspired work." The teacher's position within the school system as a whole was not seen as a "professional"concern. We were ill-prepared to handle the conflicts that arose from the nature of that institutional structure.

We increasingly recognized that no matter how supportive our teacher group was for us--all teaching in different school systems--the problems and their solutions were rooted in the working relationships in the school buildings and school systems within which we taught. In order to understand how teaching was affecting us and why, we had to know how and why it had affected others.

We therefore developed a research project that sought to analyze the relationship between teachers' work experiences over the course of their careers within specific institutional structures and their perceptions of the meanings of these work experiences to their self-esteem, sense of job satisfaction, and sense of efficacy. We know we have secured moving and important testimoney on teaching.

We have been able to elicit structural causes to teachers' dilemmas without trivializing personal achievements and frustrations. We also know we have an overwhelming mass of data whose contours and rough outlines are not easily discernible, nor are they verifiable by quantitative analysis. Interviews are not made for neat, clinical packages, and the insights are often buried amongst mounds of details spread out over weeks of discussion.

METHODOLOGY

The method used in gathering the data was the repeated return interview. We chose this method as our primary source of data on the basis of the goal we wished the project to accomplish--to discover through the concrete experiences of a diverse group of teachers how the structure of the elementary school and the experience of teaching within it affect teachers over time. We wanted to focus on the perceptions of the teachers themselves as they looked at the relationships between goals and deeds, dream and reality. In order to obtain this kind of reflection, the interviewer must develop a particular kind of rapport with the interviewee. An atmosphere of trust requiring time and shared experience which long-term interviewing makes possible is enhanced by the peer relationship of interviewer and interviewee. The interviews often took the form of dialogue, as we together discussed the implications of the school setting on those who worked within it. This sense of equality between researcher and subject helped prevent the interviewer from indulging in leading questions. And the extended time period covered by the interviews reduced the chance of either participant's being satisfied with pat, superficial answers. In subsequent meetings, the interviewer was able to probe discrepancies between philosophies and experiences previously related, between evolving thoughts and real classroom practices.

It is interesting to note that, in deciding upon our methodology, we unconsciously drew upon our experiences as teachers and our desire to re-create in the interview process the rhythm of the school year--the first tentative "testing out", the initial answers to standard questions, and the continual probing and deepening of the material being covered. This image of the way learning takes place--a move from one right answer to a complexity of answers evolving from a shared investigation--represented the ideal model of classroom interaction which we were not always able to practice in teaching our students. This type of teaching is in direct opposition to the structured survey of much of educational sociology which finds its analogy in the classroom in fill-in-the-blanks and once a year testing.

> *I'm looking for a kid who can use knowledge basically and a kid who knows how to go and find something when the kid doesn't know it. And I think when you are getting to an Iowa, you are asking them to show what they know, but in many cases you can't show what you know and I can't show what I know...I mean, what you know is basically how you put it all together. I think these Iowas are just a fake. I think it's very inhumane and I don't think you get from the kids what it is that you are looking for. I mean, you have some kids who*

can take a test really well and do well, but that's not a measure of their abiltty. Their ability is measured in the classroom every day--how well they communicate, how well they are able to get their point across, how well they're able to interact. And that's stuff you can't test. (AA, 1981) [2]

Overall, we feel our research method is more likely to produce candid, thoughtful replies than a one-time interview or a questionnaire. One's perceptions of the truth of a matter may well change as a result of probing questions and illuminated connections. In the initial interviews, the subjects often answered with stock replies and guarded statements. It is difficult to maintain a facade or false position over weeks of interviewing. The subject first had to feel that the person listening heard her words as she herself intended them to be heard and would relate them to others as she herself would wish to do. Only then did true reflection begin.

The data from bi-weekly repeated return interviews was supplemented by data obtained from a second series of interviews conducted on a bi-monthly basis with a separate group of teachers. These interviews were more tightly structured, with emphasis on collecting information on specific school policies and procedures that emerged from the bi-weekly interviews as critical determinants of teachers' sense of efficacy and self-esteem. We thus were able to assess how general and long-term these conditions are and to what extent their similarities and differences represent the particular nature of the school system, the school, or the individual teacher.

We restricted our choice of subjects to women elementary school teachers because the working conditions and role expectations of elementary teachers differ significantly from teachers of secondary students. We restricted our subjects to women because of the overwhelming representation of women within the occupation of elementary school teacher (87%),[3] and the equally skewed percentage of men in administrative positions in elementary schools (83%).[4]

Two interview groups were selected according to length of teaching career: half have taught under 15 years, half over 15 years. We chose to equalize these two groups in terms of the number of our subjects despite the fact that teachers in the under-15-years range of experience are statistically greater in number (52.2% of all teachers)[5] than those who have taught over 15 years (30%).[6] The teachers in the over-15-years-of-service group represent that group of teachers with which the stereotypes of female elementary school teacher are most associated. The

frequently negative nature of these stereotypes presents the kind of teacher with whom younger teachers are most afraid of being identified. This perception on the part of younger teachers represents a key element in their feelings toward the profession. In-depth interviewing of these older teachers ascertained to what extent they felt they have conformed to those stereotypes and what are the institutional influences for that conformity. Comparing the responses of the two groups of subjects illuminated how age and length of service within specific historical periods are reflected in teachers' experiences and perceptions.

In order to locate interviewees, we compiled a roster of informants drawn chiefly from professional consultants presently working in a range of school systems throughout the metropolitan Boston area. These consultants—staff developers from local colleges and universities, psychologists and psychiatrists from university-affiliated hospitals with education outreach services, and curriculum developers working in schools to refine and test materials--were familiar with a great diversity of school systems. They have worked closely with a large number of teachers and were not part of the vertical hierarchy of any one school system. We specifically did not ask principals or supervisory personnel for recommendations, for two reasons. First, we did not want to seem to be representatives of the school's authority structure, fearing that this would inhibit and shape subjects' responses to questions about controversial issues. Second, we did not want to be directed to those teachers considered "good examples" either for their classroom performance or for their attitudes. We were anxious not to interview only those teachers thought to be articulate and motivated, but to discover what "ordinary" teachers had to say about their situations.

We also sought suggestions for subjects from teachers we met at conferences and workshops. We were aware of the homogeneity within our own research group. We therefore asked all informants to think not only of those types of subjects who initially come to mind when such a project--with its emphasis on in-depth structural institutional analysis--is broached, but also of those people who at first would seem less obvious and less willing subjects.

From suggestions made by our roster of informants, we compiled a list of contacts who fit our criteria of targeted groups of teachers. We then telephoned those people, stated the nature of the study, and asked if they wished to participate. We also requested referrals from these teachers in order to have a wider group from which to select. In all such cases, we chose the person least known to the original contact. The initial phone conversation was followed by a personal interview by the interviewer with whom the subject would work. When interviewees were appraised of

all facets of the study they were asked to sign an Agreement Form and an Informed Consent Form, guaranteeing them complete confidentiality.

We were able to select 25 subjects who substantially matched the national teacher population in terms of socio-economic and racial background, marital status, educational attainment of parents, and father's occupation within the limitations imposed by such a small sample. (See Appendix B.) Their teaching situations also encompassed a variety of institutional configurations, from large urban inner-city systems to very small, affluent systems.

We had little trouble finding subjects willing to be interviewed. Though hesitant at first to ask for a commitment of fifteen hours of time, for which no payment, official recognition, or course credit could be offered, we soon discovered that we were offering something many teachers were anxious to take advantage of--a chance to talk seriously and on a regular basis about their work. This positive response both pleased us in connection with our own research, and dismayed us when we considered its implications for the working lives of our subjects.

The tool used in conducting our interviews was the Interview Guide (see Appendix A), developed from issues that emerged out of several months' reading and discussion. At the beginning of the project we identified the following areas of concern that would be explored with our subjects:

- How teachers are hired and evaluated, whose opinion of a teacher is most influential in hiring and in evaluations, what aspects of the job are taken into consideration in evaluations.

- How much control a teacher has over what is taught and how; what kinds of behavior are encouraged and allowed in classrooms; to whom is the teacher answerable and in what ways.

- How much leeway is allowed in choice of materials: what books a teacher uses, who controls the purchase of books and supplies, how much of the budget can be used by the teacher for discretionary funds and/or teacher-made materials.

- How the teacher's daily schedule is determined: by her own plan, by a school-wide agreement, by a bell system, by specialists' schedules.

- How much autonomy a teacher has over decisions about grades and retention.

- The lines of responsibility and allegiance for a teacher: do they encompass only the self-contained classroom or do they include other teachers, students, and the school itself?

- The kinds of services available as resources and support when dealing with the needs of students or parents.

- The amount of conflict that is allowed to surface among teachers or between teachers and administrators; how this conflict is resolved.

- Whose opinion--teachers, administrators, specialists, parents, students--is valued and listened to on questions of classroom size, class composition, appropriate student behavior and ability groupings.

- What policies encourage teachers to help and reinforce each other, to cooperate rather than to compete.

- The formalized ways of communicating with parents--report cards, conferences--and whether informal, spontaneous communications are encouraged or discouraged.

- What channels are established for approval of requests, and what kinds of requests necessitate approval.

- Who determines a teacher's access to the school building itself (after school, weekends, school vacations).

- How standardized tests are used; the importance they are accorded; their effects on teachers, children, and parents.

- How much money is allocated for staff development, the types and range of courses reimbursed by the school system to the individual teacher, the amount of input solicited for teachers in the determination of in-service courses.

- The information provided to teachers and the encouragement and support offered them in the pursuit of grants, seeking funds for programs of their own design.

The interview guide was developed from these variables. The "nuts and bolts" of classroom and school life were listed. For

example, the variable of:

> how teachers are hired and evaluated, whose opinion of a teacher is more influential in hiring and in evaluations, what aspects of the job are taken into consideration in evaluations

was expanded in the interview guide to include the following categories:

under the section of the guide titled "Relationships among School Population"--

- Principals' expectations of teachers
- Competition among teachers
- Relationships with specialists

under the section of the guide titled "Classroom Issues"--

- Rationales for nonachievement of children
- Teaching style

under the section titled "Work Conditions"--

- Security and steadiness of employment
- Tenure and job security
- Teacher evaluations.

Data collection was carried out in two segments, coinciding with the 1979-1980 and 1980-1981 school years. All interviews were tape recorded and, for the first half-year, complete transcripts were made after each interview. Midway in the first year, however, it became clear that complete transcrips were cumbersome to type and to read, and that a more useful method of preliminary analysis was needed. For subsequent material, the co-investigators made detailed notes on the content of each interview soon after it was conducted, summarizing and coding each section under the relevant sections of the interview guide. Each co-investigator also noted in this formal account her perceptions of how the data collected in this interview compared and contrasted with previous interviews with this and other subjects. This comparison data was coded under a series of emerging conceptual categories reflecting the underlying structure of the institution of schools. In addition to these memos, the investigator often developed new questions to be asked by all interviewers in order to zero in on specific practices in a variety of situations within the same theoretical framework of school life.

Those portions of the interview that contained specific and

concrete examples of the situational categories of the interview guide and the conceptual categories generated from them were transcribed verbatim and also coded and filed under the relevant portion of the interview guide and emerging conceptual framework. A copy of the complete transcript as well as a copy of the investigator's analytical notes are kept on file.

In addition, the co-investigators met on a weekly basis to discuss the data collected, to critique interviewing techniques, and to coordinate the topics covered. Interviewers' notes and transcripts were read by all the researchers as they were written so that each co-investigator was familiar with the experiences of a wide variety of teachers and could draw on those experiences when discussing topics with her subjects and in reviewing the material received. This method of data collection and preliminary analysis was used for the second half of the first year and for the second year of data collections.

The result of the first year was a refinement of our list of questions into an interview guide. During the summer months between the two school years, all the data was categorized and filed. New categories were added as they seemed needed, and a few categories were discarded. From this analysis we developed an interview guide, a detailed and structured "map" of the general types and specific items of information we were looking for.

The second year's subjects were both easier and harder to find. Assured by the initial agreement and year-long interest of our first year's subjects, we knew we were asking teachers to participate in a study that would prove interesting for them as well as for us. But we had to go further afield to find new subjects. We asked all of our first year's subjects for suggestions of teachers in systems other than their own. We returned to those people who had given us names earlier, asking for contacts in other school systems. We asked acquaintances for names of school contacts in their communities. We read teachers' newsletters for names and phone numbers. In a few cases, people who knew of our work called us with suggestions of friends they thought would like to be interviewed.

We reached contacts by phone as we had done the previous year, explained the project, and arranged initial meeting times. Again, almost all teachers contacted agreed to be interviewed, though with more interviews to schedule in, arranging times proved more difficult than the first year. We did not interview anyone who had taught or was teaching with another interviewee; and no teacher knew the identity or school system of others in the study. We settled on nine biweekly and ten bimonthly interviewees.

The interviews followed closely the format outlined in the grant proposal. Biweekly interviews began with a half hour of time devoted to the particular issues the subject wished to raise, as a means of ascertaining what concerns teachers themselves felt were relevant to their day-to-day situations. Many teachers came prepared with much to say at each session; others preferred to answer questions posed by the researcher from the start of each hour. A number of teachers began the year declaring, "I have nothing to say." As the process of being interviewed became a familiar one, these people frequently initiated discussions and would often "save up" information.

The close personal knowledge developed over the course of the year allowed us to broach with each of our interviewees what topics were particularly important to emphasize from her specific career history. Teachers answered frankly because the thrust of the project cooresponded to a felt need of their own that once articulated was acknowledged as a gnawing question and the source of unresolved tensions.

One technique used was to ask each interviewee to think of her work as occurring in a series of concentric circles--the classroom, the school and the school system--and to consider in the two weeks events and reactions occurring in each of those areas. Many interviews began with a "story" that continued until the interviewee felt satisfied that all the information relevant the issue had been conveyed. As the interview process progressed, these stories became at once more detailed and more comprehensive as the concerns raised over the course of the year created a network of interrelated events. Always, when a topic was introduced, the roots of the situation both historically and institutionally were probed so that the event of the day was set into a framework developed from the past.

The purpose of the second half of the interview was to make sure that topics included in the interview guide and emerging from interviews with other teachers were covered by each respondent. Generally, factual closed-ended questions began each topic and continued until a complete description of the event or issue was obtained. The same material was then retraced with a more open-ended approach to ascertain the perceptions and opinions of the teacher that the topic had elicited.

However, the means of obtaining the information was not uniform in each case. The same topic was handled differently within the context of each interview. The opening question was a standard one used by all the researchers, but subsequent questions were tailored to suit the direction of the particular interview.

An average of twelve interviews were held with each biweekly subjects. At the end of the school year, a concluding interview focused on evaluating the project. The topics covered were: how initial expectations of the interview process were confirmed or modified over the course of the year, criticism of the interviews including topics omitted and style of questioning, what the interviewees had learned or had clarified through the interview process and a joint summary of the major topics covered.

> *I think one of the things that teachers don't do enough is to look at the things that they do. And I have found myself over this year many times stumped when you've asked me questions because, 'No, wait a minute. I do this 180 days and I've been doing this for eleven years, how come I don't know what to do.' And then I actually remember at one point after you left sitting down and writing a list of all the things that I did during the day just to try to see if I could figure out what it was that I had done for one 5 1/2-hour day...that had to do with teaching because I never really thought about it and I think we don't have enough opportunities to think about what we do. I wish that there was a chance on a weekly basis for a group of teachers to get to sit down and respond to the same kinds of questions that you've asked over the year--setting aside an x amount of time per week to sit down and discuss by answering thoughtful questions like the ones that you've presented in the hopes of establishing a support group on an ongoing basis. (W, 1981)*

Two methods were used to faciliate follow-through on all topics. One was to immediately pursue the topic through a series of factual and open-ended probings. For example, one teacher mentioned budget as a major concern and source of uncertainty.

> *We already have begun to have some feelings about, 'My God, budgeting, we've been given money for 25 students but in reality we better do a book order for 30 or 35 students.' So now comes this very practical thing. 'What am I going to do with the money?' And we have to have the book order in by February 1st. And that's going to be a real headache. A real problem. I don't know what I'm going to do.*

A series of questions then continued the line of inquiry.

> *Let me ask you something about the budget. If you have $25 to spend, $25 x23 comes out to $575. How are you allowed to spend that money?*

Do you have to buy pencils, notebooks out of that?

Now, if you wanted to buy, instead of a basal reader series, let's say you didn't have one, you wanted to buy individual copies of books for kids, can you do that?

If you wanted to buy something at the supermarket, can you do that and how would you go about getting reimbursed?

Is the $25 the headmaster has for you discretionary, to be used for everything that you might possibly want?

Well, what can you use it for?

What do they consider instructional materials?

Are those all commercially prepared materials?

Does all the money that you have have to go on slips to the Central Office?

Why is that a bone of contention for you?

Why do you think you can only order through Hammet's and Mainco?

How do these obligations affect your teaching?

Is that something you'd like to see changed?

Another method of follow-up was to connect the topic of immediate concern with a similar or tangential issue developed in a previous interview. Typically, the discussion of one topic would present many other aspects of school organization both present and past. The organic nature of a teacher's role is richly portrayed in teachers' attempts to explain their perceptions. No answer was confined strictly to the subject at hand, and no unsolicited "story" could be defined by one category or area of administration. Each topic was embedded in a myriad of relationships to a variety of people and events. Over the course of the interviews, these separate strands, collected and abstracted from a variety of incidents, were brought up and discussed with each interviewee. The separate significance of each of these concerns was thus clarified, but the raising of one issue would again precipitate a new series of perceptions often accompanied by distinct histories of differing classroom compositions, new principals, and conflicting directives.

Therefore, we cannot say that 83% of the teachers described faculty meetings as forums for discussing relevant school issues, of that 57% of teachers who have taught for over 15 years view their teaching careers as contributing to an overall sense of self-esteem. What we can provide, for instance, is a descriptive analysis of the contribution of faculty meetings to overall school climate within specific school settings. We can also explain the factors that take place outside the formal setting of a staff gathering that significantly influence the tenor of such meetings, and what factors inhibit or enhance the sense of community within a school.

For example, in the first interview, a question about "Y's" own educational background brought a rich description of the small primary school she had attended. Conveying that experience highlighted for her the lack of intimacy she now feels in her own work situation, despite her recognition that her memory is perhaps based more on nostalgia than fact. She laments the anonymity of a large school in explaining an important goal of her own teaching.

> *That's my aim, is to make our room, with the 21 kids a little community where there's a little surcease and a little comfort and a little sense of affirmation.*

In interview no. 2, "Y" was asked to explain how she provides comfort. In her answer she describes the comfort she can provide for the children with her own classroom as a partial replacement for the isolation she senses in herself and the children from the school as a whole.

> *Teaching is certainly an isolated kind of thing. It's true that we deal with the children, but there is fairly limited contact professionally with our peers and, of course, it's true for the children, too. We're pretty much confined in there--we do go to other classes, we go to the music room, we go to the cafeteria, we go to recess where again they are pretty limited in whom they see...No interaction with the kindergarten, virtually no interaction with the bilingual classes although we're supposed to integrate these too. The same with the teachers except for those of us who have personal friendships outside of class and so on. It's all pretty much impersonal like that.*

Interview no. 13 again touches on this topic of community versus isolation. The structural reasons for this isolation are discussed, as well as its effects on "Y's" method of teaching and professional development and on her lack of involvement with

other teachers.

> *We discussed visiting other teachers' classrooms and what came out from the other faculty who were there was they felt that they never got to see even teachers in their own buildings. It was kind of a revelation to me that they really wanted to do this, not only in our building. I know I'm very strong about it--sharing ideas and feelings and so on among teachers and especially trying to break down the walls if not the physical ones, at least the emotional ones that get built. I feel for myself and others this kind of sense of deep ego involvement in your classroom so that you can't sort of break away and feel free to try new things and see things. You never get to see anybody except as you go in and out of the classroom. Mostly, it's your neighbor that you hear or you see in action for a few seconds at a time. But nobody ever gets to see an extended lesson or kind of a way of handling different situations, the way of developing ideas and concepts and maintaining interest--all those things that go into teaching.*

Despite this feeling of isolation, "Y" mentions that the teachers work closely on many issues, a seemingly contradictory remark. When probed, she enumerates these areas and explains the possibilities for cooperation and the real limitations for creating group cohesiveness.

Researchers had various ways of handling these somewhat conflicting remarks. One was to summarize the contradictions, present them to the interviewee, and ask for a possible clarification. Another was to accept the information received and, in our analysis, attempt to abstract from the totality of information received a set of connections that would together make whole the disparate statements. This proved critical for the link between teachers' perceptions and their specific school histories cannot be understood without a grasp of the whole of their experiences. This is true not only for each individual teacher but for the common definition of "school teacher" as well.

A further complication thus was added to the goal of the project--not to emphasize each teacher's separate evolution but to compare and contrast the institutional factors comprising one teacher's personal history with that of other teachers in order to understand the possibilities and constraints inherent in the role of classroom teacher.

In an attempt to break out of the isolation in their own schools which the interview process was making increasingly more

evident, interviewees wanted to know how other interviewees responded. For some subjects, the experience of considering how the functioning of school permits or inhibits her own activities led her to discuss these issues with fellow teachers. This was not the usual case. Many teachers expressed the belief that no one else in their schools could feel as they did about these subjects, or if others did share their dilemmas, it was assumed they would be unwilling to discuss these issues together and consider their importance. In this sense, interviewees were replicating our own teachers' group experience, in which examining school-related issues within a self-selected group increased the distance we maintained from others.

In January, "B", a recently hired third grade teacher, spoke about the teachers in her school system:

> *He said, 'Look around this room. Those over there and those over there are typical public school teachers.' He was stereotyping these people in their 30's and 40's but not 30's new but 30's old style. They tended to be overdressed, overweight lumps...They all looked rather vacant. I looked around and I saw some of these people and heard some of the questions they were asking. I wouldn't have anything to talk about with those people and I know that's important to me.*

In June, she sat next to a sixth grade teacher with whom she had had only brief contact. The previous week we had been dissecting an encounter she had experienced with her principal, encounters she habitually described as personality conflicts. Now she learned that many of the same experiences had been shared by other teachers along the path of their careers in the school.

> *I just said to Anne, 'I've been very lonely and unhappy at the same time having a class with kids and parents that I adore. I really wonder even if my job isn't cut, how long could I continue to grow?' She said, "Don't talk about growth here. You can't.' She said that every teacher has a story of how the principal has done them in in one way or another and it seems particularly prevelant in first year teachers...What I think happens from what I've been able to gather is that people come in and after a few years they just sort of pull in. The teacher next door says, 'I stay away from the office.' She really doesn't participate in anything outside her classroom...I was high about being able to talk to someone. Anne said, 'It's a crime that we're having this wonderful conversation and it's the end of the year.' Her feeling is that kind of thing should happen all the*

time, not necessarily about the principal, just kind of talking and sharing about school experience...I keep thinking, 'What if all these conversations had occurred at the beginning of the school year? How much better would I feel about the school?' My hunch is that I would feel that I had friends but I'm not sure it would change and I'm not sure I could be an instrument of change alone.

For "B", this chance conversation was fortuitous. For while the data teachers presented strongly supported the initial assumption that individual differences among teachers were not as important as the possibilities and constraints of their jobs over time, again and again teachers viewed such incidents as unique to their experience--the result of their own personalities, or the quirks of a saintly or peevish colleague.

One interviewee, "W", began the year questioning her commitment to teaching.

I really feel very strongly, one of the reasons, a justifiable criticism of public education is that there are so many people who ought not to be in it. I see so many not bad teachers just people who should not be teaching and it's important enough to me that if I thought I wasn't doing a good job at it, I wasn't helping the kids, I would get out of it right away. It's beginning to feel that way. I guess the term is burned out.

Her only explanation was a personal sense of depletion.

I'm always energetic and when I felt myself not being excited about coming to school every day and not being enthusiastic when I was with the kids I began to wonder what was going on with me and whether it might be time to think about doing something else...Towards the middle of last year I was beginning to feel dead. The ideas, the spontaneity wasn't coming, I wasn't feeling fresh or excited when I was coming into the classroom. I was beginning to feel frustrated and I was beginning to feel like this was a drudgery and I have never felt that way before. Classroom teaching was my thing. It was beginning to feel a little bit alleviated as I began to see the class come together as a group but still in the back of my mind I kept thinking, 'I'm not really, really happy with what's happening in this class and I wonder how much of it is my own fault.'

The job of the interviewer was thus to distinguish between personal circumstance and institutional barriers. This angle of vision is not the usual one for teachers who more typically attribute any dilemma or conflict that arises in their work to their lack of ability or inherent inadequacy.

In the above case, the interview did not attempt to directly link the teacher's present sense of inadequacy with her teaching experience. Instead, the teacher was questioned about the nuts and bolts of classroom life over a long and sustained career.

Q. *How did you get your first teaching position?*

A. *They had never had a black teacher on the faculty in this building and about one-quarter of the students in the building are black. So the parents got together, went to the School Committee, put some pressure on, said, 'The next available position, we want it filled by a black teacher.' I didn't know any of this. I did not know what had gone on before I got here. No one said a word. They had their black teacher in the building and they were happy and so they kind of backed off.'*

Q. *How do you order supplies?*

A. *The way the ordering works is that you fill out your book order and the master checks it and then the Business Office checks it. Very often, things disappear from the list. I ordered crayons for my kids. They're gone. 'What do fourth graders need crayons for?' Well, what can I say? I thought they needed crayons for various things in the classroom. 'What things?' Projects. Every kid needs a box of crayons. I ordered things like a roll of cellophane. I wanted to make, to be able to use workbooks over again and they could write on it and erase it. You know that stuff. And that was cut out because I ordered it out of instructional materials and it should have been out of art supplies. And then I couldn't get it because Hammets didn't make it in a quantity that was affordable to me. I could have gotten a ream for $80 and all I wanted was a little.*

Q. *What is the purpose of having standardized tests?*

A. *I think for one of the things, it gives the superintendents of schools a chance to see what's going on in his buildings. If he continuously sees a*

building with depressed reading scores, it might suggest to him that there is a problem in terms of curriculum or in terms of instruction in reading going on in that building, there is need to investigate that. I think another reason why they do the standardized testing is because in a small sense it's a kind of P.R. One of the things that happened is we were mandated to develop a program that within the building we had to use the same text. So we had to find a reading system, quote unquote, that met the needs of every kid in that building, kindergarten through eighth grade. Well, while we chose a textbook that was excellent for teaching skills in the primary grades, the text in that particular series was not a good transitional text...I developed a transitional reading program for my classroom, and I wasn't unique in that. Our kids weren't ready to begin that fourth grade reader. I wanted to order things that were not part of the prescribed basal reader package. And the answer was, 'Directive number such and such from the school department dictates that there must be one basal reading series in the building, so therefore you must order materials.' So I did order materials for Lippincott, but I just didn't use them.

Q. *What is the school system's policy on transfers among teachers?*

A. *I went to the district superintendent, who happened to be a minority himself, to ask for a transfer because after six years of being in that building, I felt the school had taken a toll on me. What he said to me in essence was, 'We need you there, so if there's any way that you can reconcile yourself to the difficulties on a personal basis, I really wish you would because at this time I would not consider your request for transfer from that particular building.' My feeling was when I left his office that whatever was to be done was to be done by me. I just really felt very locked in.*

Q. *Has your teaching style changed when you moved from first to fourth grade?*

A. *The kid who's not right in the middle of the road, you find you don't have time to reach out and meet his needs, his creativity, give him a chance to offer an alternative suggestion to the way that we*

are doing something. You just don't have time to do that. I felt a tremendous, tremendous time pressure, much different than in the first grade. These kids are great now and they love school and they love learning. I don't want to be the one responsible for turning them off. I think that and the fact that I was running on a pretty tight time schedule in terms of other people. You don't want to interfere with the fifth grade reading program or the third grade science program because my kids don't arrive at a place at a certain time.

We recognized that teachers often answered in ways that seemed to evade questions, misinterpret them, or bring in extraneous information from their personal lives. As the interviewing process and data analysis progressed, we sometimes uncovered frailities or beliefs that seemed to mar our initial enthusiasm or special warmth for that interviewee. Many times we were forced by the subject's own words or deeds to make connections we did not wish to make. In time, it was just those unexpected connections and extraneous details that proved the most illuminating for understanding the world of the teacher. A statement made in October would be radically altered by June. A teacher would describe another teacher's follies in terms she had unwittingly used to explicate her own position.

Perhaps the experience of being intensively probed about any subject would automatically cause a shift in emphasis and a new awareness that would not have occurred under "normal conditons." However, it was not generally the teachers themselves that recognized such conflicting opinions. They were not privy to their own words.

We were bothered, annoyed, sometimes ashamed of these glaring inconsistencies. It was upsetting to hear a teacher say:

We were all so very conscious of teaching subject matter that we were not teaching the children. We were just teaching the subject. I had made the determination, 'I'm not going to teach like that.' I almost don't care if a kid doesn't know to add if he knows how to be nice to another human being and if he respects himself. I think that's very important. (W, 1980)

one month only to state equally adamantly in a later interview:

I think the happiest day of my life was when I got back the reading tests and found out that the exact percentage

of kids in the other two first grades were all reading on the same level. They had 25% of the kids who were below grade level and so did I. (W, 1981)

Reading and rereading through each woman's experience we sought to find within her testimony as well as the data as a whole a series of connections, an internal logic that would clarify the teachers' thoughts so that neither they nor we would be embarrassed by their incongruities.

These inconsistencies seemed to confirm academic researchers' veiled disdain of teachers. Philip Jackson, in his book Life in Classrooms, offers this perspective.

If teachers sought a more thorough understanding of their world, insisted on greater rationality in their actions, were completely open-minded in their consideration of pedagogical choices, and profound in their view of the human condition, they might well receive greater applause from intellectuals, but is doubtful that they would perform with greater efficiency in the classroom. On the contrary, it is quite possible that such paragons of virtue, if they could be found to exist, would actually have a deuce of a time coping in any sustained way with a class of third graders in a playyard full of nursery tots.?

Jackson therefore justifies the division of labor which allocates to the academic the organizational analysis and to the teacher the responsibility for carrying out the implications of the policy makers' philosophies.

We were not at ease with this division of labor. Often when we wrestled with ill-fitting pieces of information and beliefs, we came to acknowledge within ourselves a similar unfolding of opposites. We began to requestion why and how we had entered teaching. We remembered incidents in our own early teaching careers we had somehow forgotten to tell each other in over five years together as a teacher support group.

We began to understand that the project itself was a means of talking about ourselves, our commitment to teaching and our fear of stereotypes through the words of others, our subjects, thus easing the pain of identifying our own needs. Although the project was propelled forward by a strong personal commitment to ourselves as teachers and our need to understand the pain and joy of that experience, the act of research itself easily creates a view of the

people as "subjects"--others. It was only when we were willing to identify with the teachers again, admitting our similarities and the reasons for our differences that we no longer pushed for logic within each person's testimony. By comparing the belief system of teachers with the nuts and bolts of classroom life over a long and sustained career we started to unmask the powerful sets of institutional structures and values that are ubiquitous to classroom and school life, and because of their very pervasiveness, difficult to perceive and abstract.

We returned to our transcripts, listening to the person's words, trying to hear them as she herself intended them to be heard. Now we were able to accept the ability of these teachers to hold opposing views and noted these clashes were especially strong when they spoke about the nature of teaching--what they wanted to do and were asked to do and what their work conditions permitted them to do.

For example, we noted a tension current among teacher surrounding that common definition of "school teacher." The tension is especially strong when teachers speak about their personal feelings of self-efficacy. Here following specific topics through a series of concentric circles--the classroom, the school and the school system--revealed that teachers can feel a general sense of efficacy in their classrooms, amply documented by anecdote and test score verification, that was lacking or allowed to go unnoticed in the areas beyond the classroom. In fact, for some teachers the more grounded and sure they are in classroom issues, the less they are assumed to contribute to or be valued by life outside the classroom.

> *I think by the nature of a teacher's work, you are confined to a room with little children. You aren't being fed information from sources that are as bright or brighter than you are. And so you begin to close into a little world. At the end of the day I'm saying, 'Two plus two equals four.' That has been my hangup all day. Does that make you any less of a bright person because your job focuses in on young children? (D, 1979)*

> *Teaching is such a compartmentalized kind of thing in a traditional school. I don't know about in an open school, but in a traditional school you are in your room and you close the door to your room and you sort of don't mingle with the rest of the school community at all. There are some things about it, if things aren't going too well, you feel terribly alone. Terribly responsible for every single thing that goes on. It's true that we deal with the children but there is*

fairly limited contact professionally with your peers and, of course, it's true for the children too. We're pretty much confined in there, we do to other classes, we go to the music room, we go to the cafeteria, we go to recess but the contact is pretty limited. When you read newspaper articles about education, you feel like a ghost really. You feel like you're not really there. That people aren't seeing you. I think a lot of my colleagues, many of whom are terrifically conservative in their outlook on life and politics do share this feeling of alienation--that you feel you don't belong, that somehow you're not there, everything you do is for nothing. (Y, 1981)

In this school all you are is a classroom teacher and nobody wants to know what you are other than for what you do in your room. They want to know that when they go into your classroom your kids are in their chairs doing what they're supposed to be doing. They don't want to know anything else. It is particularly difficult to accept this year because last summer I just got involved in a lot of different kinds of things that kind of opened up my horizons and made me see myself in a little bit different light. Not just a classroom teacher, 'just a classroom teacher' not just a teacher who can only relate to kids...So therefore, coming back to the classroom was a little bit of a letdown because all of a sudden I looked at my seven bulletin boards and got out my teachers'manual and I thought, 'Oh, shit, we're back to this again.' (W, 1981)

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

MAIN CONFLICTS INHERENT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Examples of the main conflicts inherent in public education are:

- Teachers work in an institution which supposedly prepares its clients for adulthood, but which views those entrusted with this task, the teachers themselves, as incapable of mature judgment.

- Education is an institution which holds that questioning and debating, risk and error develop one's thinking ability. But learning situations are structured to lead to one right answer, and both teachers and students are evaluated in ways that emphasize only quantifiable results.

- The schools have the responsibility of developing the whole child. But the structure of the institution constricts the types of behavior acceptable in teachers and students.

- Education is charged with the social task of providing equal opportunity for the school-age population of a pluralistic, multi-level society. But the structure of schools emphasizes comparative worth and increases competition not only among the pupils but also among parents, teachers, and administrators.

- Public education is charged with upholding democracy by developing an electorate capable of critical thinking and the intelligent balancing of alternatives but teachers are required to pursue this goal by increasingly mechanical, technical means.

TEACHERS WORK IN AN INSTITUTION WHICH SUPPOSEDLY PREPARES ITS CLIENTS FOR ADULTHOOD, BUT WHICH VIEWS THOSE ENTRUSTED WITH THIS TASK, THE TEACHERS THEMSELVES, AS INCAPABLE OF MATURE JUDGMENT.

> *When our principal is talking to a first, or second, or third grade teacher,...I find that she's repeating directions one, two, or three times, almost as you would to a first-, second-, or third-grader. When you get higher up, fourth, fifth, and sixth, the directions are not repeated as much, but they're more done in like an outline form as you would give to kids who are a little bit older. (AA,1980)*

Even when the teachers' work has created a major program their contribution appears publicly as negligible and secondary. Their

isolation from each other and the need to funnel any request and information up through the levels of the hierarchy and back down again rather than directly to each other prevents them from using their unique knowledge of classroom life, which they alone possess, as a basis for determining system-wide, or even school-wide policies.

> *After working for months on the fourth grade reading curriculum, we brought it up to the Assistant Superintendent. We had put a blanket statement at the beginning stating that we would assume that the teachers would be responsible by consulting the textbooks and other resource materials and their expertise and so and so forth...He made it quite clear that he didn't think they were capable of going over anything by themselves, finding the materials, using them appropriately...We're smart enough to do all the busy work but not smart enough to carry it out. I think this curriculum required a great deal of work that he didn't want to do and he gave it to the teachers. It's a kind of power thing. He can still get the gathered material and go before the school committee...All the teachers did all the work...I really haven't seen any published words of praise for teachers. (D, 1980)*

Professional development courses for teachers are frequently planned by others in the school hierarchy and dictated to the teacher whose concerns and opinions are disregarded. Faculty meetings, which could provide a forum for issues and ideas, a place where group discussion and decision-making might be encouraged, are more likely to be organized for the presentation of previously made decisions to the assembled teaching staff.

> *Every Tuesday is a half day for faculty meeting. The boss does all the talking. They are just sit-and-listen types of things...If he asks for suggestions on things, it usually is put like this, 'Now this is what I have planned. If there's anybody who wishes to disagree or there's anybody who doesn't care to go along with that...' That might not be his exact words, but he really doesn't care to open anything to discussion. People sit there deadpan because they don't want to commit themselves, you know, get themselves into any kind of hot water, a little afraid sometimes, depends on who the principal is. (E, 1979)*

> *But as far as most of the stuff we discuss at faculty meetings, it's all administrative stuff or stuff that comes down from the central office that is really*

somewhat apart from the actual core of teaching, you know. (M, 1981)

We don't have a lot of faculty meetings. When she [the principal] has faculty meetings she needs to give us information. They don't last very long. She gives us the information and that's that...At the school where I was last year, the principal there would have us attend these lengthly meetings where he would expound and he would ask for our input and then he'd make the decision and completely ignore any input that we might have given him. So we really felt like he was wasting our time in making us attend these meetings when he was making all the decisions anyway. (HH, 1981)

The faculty meetings are run, in my particular building, by the principal of the building, and that is his forum. It's his chance to talk about what's going on with him and what he wants to see happen in the building and his directives and the kinds of things that are essential for the running of the building for him. There is very little time left for anything else. (W, 1981)

Our faculty meetings are very pedantic from an administrator's point of view. Not very much go-between. Not a whole lot of soul-searching. Just let's get to the point and get out of here. (NN, 1981)

When the weekly faculty meeting is replaced or supplemented by a list of notices prepared and disseminated by the principal's office, the message is that teacher input is unnecessary, a discussion of issues is not called for--and the teacher's control of her work environment is further limited.

The principal has a cute little thing just to keep people in line. He sends around faculty notices all the time. One notice will be #39-80. This is year '80 and this is the 39th notice that he's sent around this year. Every once in a while will come around a message that says, 'Refer to office notation 40-80, Item 6. Be ready to give me your comments on it tomorrow morning.' Then, good God, where is notice 40? It better not be thrown out or hopefully somebody saved it. You can take your chances that he won't follow up on it. Probably more often than not he won't. But, good God, you stand there with egg in your face if he does. So you may as well keep the stupid notices. (R, 1980)

We don't have very many faculty meetings, about five a year. We get a bulletin every week that usually

says everything you need to know. At faculty meetings I often find myself taking a position and speaking up where other people don't. They don't because they're smarter. They know it does no good. (CC, 1981)

Anger and resentment build as the teacher realizes that the control she wields over her workplace and her working conditions is being sharply limited by restrictive administrative policies and practices.

That's the thing that really kind of aggravates me about education: we as educators are not treated as adults. I feel that administrators still look upon us as being one of the children. So you teach elementary education, so you have an elementary education mind, and we can tell you just about anything and you will believe us. And at this point I would like to get into a situation where...I would be respected for my thinking as a person, as an individual, and I find that in this particular field, I'm not always treated that way, and I resent it and I'm angered by it, too. (AA,1980)

They check up on you like you're children. They always treat you like they're the teacher and you're the child...They have to check your planbook. Matter of fact, we have a stamp, his initials are stamped on it. I've even known principals that have given stars to be funny...They would walk into your room and you have to be within minutes of where your program card says. We have to write a program card where we are going to be at a certain time. (D, 1980)

Fostering independence in children has always been an avowed goal of our education system.

The kids are becoming more independent. They're filling in their own work plans. One thing that I've always been very strong on is self-reliance. When they're little, it's getting their jackets on and going to the bathroom and getting materials and putting them away. When they're older it involves a lot more thought processes. And it's exciting to watch these kids begin to get it and which kids need help and what help they need. (B, 1979)

When we have our break in winter and we don't go out in the yard, the children have twenty minutes, and they become very, very social. I'm gone like five or six minutes and then I come in and I don't butt into

anything unless there's a problem. And they get very, very close to each other in that way. It really is the best thing for developing some sort of a social attitude. You're trying to develop some kind of independence and they really get it from each other. (E, 1979)

Too frequently, however, the teacher is told to encourage independent thought and action in her pupils, while at the same time being cautioned never to leave her charges unattended. The same lack of trust implied here is mirrored in the school's careful monitoring and control over the teacher within her classroom.

We have been told that we were never to leave our classrooms. We are never to leave those children for one moment unless we open our doors, go across the hall, and tell another teacher that we had left. And if something, God forbid, happened, it is our fault. That is insane. Children should be able to be left alone. By the time they are 12 and they cannot be left alone it is a tremendous failure of the educational institution. It sets up this dynamic between you and them that you can't trust them, you can't allow them to grow up because you're not allowed to grow. (G, 1981)

The intercom is something that many people have been paranoid about. There is a button on this that can be pushed to Privacy, which means the office can talk to you, but they can't hear you unless you press it onto Open...It has been rumored...I believe the rumor...that the principal can in fact override that and listen to anyone he chooses. And that's something that has upset people at different times. Yeah, I mean if you're a teacher who's having problems, that is definitely something that you're very aware of...(C,1980)

EDUCATION IS AN INSTITUTION WHICH HOLDS THAT QUESTIONING AND DEBATING, RISK AND ERROR DEVELOP ONE'S THINKING ABILITY. BUT LEARNING SITUATIONS ARE STRUCTURED TO LEAD TO ONE RIGHT ANSWER, AND BOTH TEACHERS AND STUDENTS ARE EVALUATED IN WAYS THAT EMPHASIZE ONLY QUANTIFIABLE RESULTS.

The principal was a marvelous person for handling the paper work, organizing the building, but when it came right down to the individual child, I think sometimes he missed the point a little. Once I remember he came into the classroom and said, 'Look at that, and that, and that.' He was pointing to the reading scores of three children. And these children were so, so unbelievably slow. I thought they were doing beautifully. They really sustained their interest to the end of the year and slow children don't do that. And I was enthusiastic. I was pushing a new program in reading for all it was worth. I can remember feeling awful, just awful when he said that. I felt I had been put down, a terrible put-down. I used to work like a son of a gun, always that push to do your best. And I felt awful. I don't think I dwelt on it forever, but I can remember getting feelings of like what a thankless job, you know. Really. (E,1980).

A teacher who works day by day alongside a youngster knows which words a child will more likely stumble over, what words must be introduced in several different contexts, which stories excite interest or increase the shuffling of feet and emergency trips to the bathroom.

I can learn something by the papers that a kid turns in but I learn more by watching them do it, and that's particularly useful with kids...When kids really know something, I know it. They have a confidence about it. When they do it, they make the comment, 'Oh boy, I love doing it,' or 'This is easy,'...I have to hear that or see that. (B, 1979)

In my own class, I mean, I get the response to the minute--to the second. I'm right on top of it from second to second...I know what's going on in my room With a small class, I'm getting to know them better and better, and I'm much more sensitive to them, it being a small class. And I've done it with bigger classes, too. I don't need a machine to tell me this child doesn't know this or doesn't understand that. (E,1979)

Parents, school committee members, researchers, and future employers would like to have the same information the teacher has without spending six hours every day in the classroom reading stories and teaching times tables. If the teacher's own description of the child'd progress is dismissed as too biased and personal, the only way to communicate what a child knows to those outside the classroom is to abstract that experience by quantifying the results.

The worst thing about the ICRT is that you get this printout and you're expected to find the profile of each individual child and then find material on those specific skills that they have to master or review and do that in your reading group. For example, I have twenty kids in my reading group. I have 12 in one book and 6 in another. Plus not all these kids are in my homeroom so I have to check over the printout of the other classes they come from. Then we are supposed to go to our files and find workbook pages or worksheets or games or whatever for each one of these skills and then you group the kids accordingly.

So if you have the kids who need to 'learn' the ing ending. Now the way they test the ing ending is, for example, there's a sentence with a word without the ending on it and there's a blank there and then there are three endings and then they have to choose a, b, or c. So if the ending is supposed to be ing, so and so is speaking, and there's an s ending, and an er ending and ing ending and so on. Well, the kid is going to look at that and as they always do when they fill in the blanks, they're just going to glance at it and figure out that one of those endings makes a pretty good ending for that word. They never read the whole sentence. They're used to a world of filling blanks without it meaning anything. I mean it's meaningless work. It really is. So they miss that and that means that they haven't mastered the ing suffix. Now, that's nonsense. (Y, 1981)

I like to figure out what is going on with a kid and possibly piece it back together again, but I'm bound in terms of the certain objectives that the kids have to meet and I have to see that they meet those specific objectives. If they don't meet them it falls on my shoulders. These objectives are judged by the school committee and by tests. Right now, I'm really putting up a real fight against these standardized tests that these kids are being subjected to. I dislike that

type of regimented testing. I think it is very cruel. I'd rather have curriculum that is based on the child's needs. I would not have curriculum imposed upon them [the tests] because I think certain kids are able to learn at certain times in their lives and other kids are able to learn at other times. (AA, 1981)

The teacher, who knows the children as idiosyncratic, highly individual people, must administer tests that yield quantifiable results easily transferrable to charts and tables. This involves distortion. The teacher cannot simply stop to share a child's joy over her accomplishments or commiserate with her in her problems. The teacher must first "translate" the pupil's progress as defined by testmakers and publishers. Only then can it be officially recorded that the pupil has learned a fact or is able to reach an opinion. The role of comforter and educator yields to that of recorder and judge.

We were all so very conscious of teaching subject matter that we were not teaching the children; we were just teaching the subject. I had made the determination, 'I'm not going to teach like that.' I almost don't care if a kid doesn't know how to add if he knows how to be nice to another human being and if he respects himself. I think that's very important. (W, 1980)

The same teacher in a later interview:

I think the happiest day of my life was when I got back the reading tests and found out that the exact percentage of kids in the other two first grades were all reading on the same level. They had 25% of the kids who were below grade level and so did I. (W, 1981)

Once she has entered the child's progress into her book or on the blackboard, both the teacher and her pupils are easily understood and evaluated. The desire to nurture and support students, a major reason for many to enter teaching, is transformed into the drive to keep each student on a predetermined grade level.

My principal gets upset because he doesn't see enough low science and social studies marks that should correlate well with reading...He complains about this in general...if they don't read well, how could they be doing well in science and social studies. He's also the same person who told us that...if they're in the 8th or 9th stanine that means they're an A or B student and their report card marks should reflect this. (C, 1980)

I think sometimes I get 'Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up', cramming work down their throats in an effort to get them up to grade level. I think that's one of the problems I have. I've got to complete all this work. There's so much talk about writing competency, reading competency, math that in order to get your reading scores up at the end of the year, a lot of the teachers just don't like to do special programs. (Z,1981)

Parents, particularly those of working class and minority children, know that rank order and grade level achievement will be used to justify the kind of treatment their child receives, from the welcome in the first grade to the expression on a personnel manager's face. When teachers and parents discuss a child's progress, they both understand that a careful fostering of a child's uniqueness will have no place in a bell curve of national test scores; nor will it accrue to the teacher's or parent's benefit. Both the mother and the teacher know that to a large extent their life's work is judged by the immediate performance of the child in quesiton.

I always got the feeling that a mother came up to kindergarten just looking at her child in a very, very, loving way. There's always this hope that this child may be somebody, you know, amount to something. And the minute you tag them in first grade as being top group, middle group, lower group, it took a little something from the child, it took a little spirit out of the mother. You know, they have a very positive approach to the child until he gets labeled as a G or an S. I think they get a little saddened by it. 'This is not my hope; this is not my great hope.' (E, 1979)

The teacher, under attack for failing to help children reach arbitrary grade level goals, accedes to the greater wisdom of the commercial test makers and the research academics. Once started on the road to quantification, the method becomes addictive, even for attributes other than achievement.

I went to a very exciting convention about learning style. They have been doing a lot of research on it and finally validated a reliable test so that you can give it to kids so that you can determine learning style...It's a multiple choice test of a hundred questions, just very simple questions...It's like the Stanford Diagnostic that tells you exactly what you need to know about a kid and all. Even if you did it yourself you wouldn't really figure it out--what the

computer can do, put all the little things together. (F, 1979)

Principals and school board members then use the same types of evaluation created by the researcher to evaluate teachers.

I just teach the things I want to teach. Last year, another teacher taught much more DMP (a mandated math program) and her class scored lower on the test. Teacher is checked against teacher. (PP,1981)

The new "objective" type of teacher evaluations that have recently been introduced into the schools are examples of such quantitative methods. They take great pains to code and enumerate the type, number and direction of the interactions of the teacher with her pupils within the classroom. She is not evaluated outside the classroom because presumably these contributions to the school as a whole, enhancing the sense of community of the school, are not properly considered her responsibility or more strongly, not really "her business."

I had been in the town only 2 years when our school was slated for closing. The principal called us in one by one to tell us what our assignments would be for the next year. I knew I would be vying for a spot with three other nontenured teachers. All of them had taught in the school more years than I had. One is a widow with five kids. She taught down the hall from me and was a good, decent, caring teacher. When it was my turn, I said, 'Please don't consider me. It will ruin the rest of my year to feel that everything I do will be toted up in consideration for that job. It would demoralize everyone and they would resent me. I just don't want to compete with Sue and her five kids.' The principal turned to me and snapped, 'That's what I get my green check for.' (G, 1979)

I think the merit evaluation is even worse than seniority. I mean you look at the person next door to you and you say, 'Gee, I wonder how many points they have. And I wonder how many points I have.' With the seniority, it's up front. Okay, you have eight years. I have seven years, that's it. There's nothing I can do about it. But the merit thing. Oh, my God. In this particular school it has destroyed any type of relations that any teachers want to have with any person in the building. So instead of encouraging teachers to be more open about what they're doing, they're forcing teachers to be more inward. There hasn't been one bit

of sharing in this school. When you're in a situation when you're in competition with another person for your job, that's not human. I think you're pitting one person against another. I think in this business you can't do that. Because we tell the kids that everybody is unique. Everybody learns at their own rate. Everybody performs in a different capacity. Yet, you're grouping all these teachers together and you're saying this is what we want you to do and this is what our standards are and if you don't don't meet them. That that doesn't constitute a good teacher, just because a teacher has 100 points. (AA, 1981)

When she helps a teacher reorganize her classroom, when she "takes in" a difficult child so that teacher and child can have a rest from each other, she is simply being nice. She is not being "professional" and no professional benefits will accrue.

What is left for the evaluator to write down are the concrete manifestations of the interactions of the teacher with her pupils that can be observed by the examiner himself. Only those moments become part of the meticulously documented, seemingly exhaustive evaluation of the teacher. It seems as though the examiner is riveted to the teacher, but it is actually the teacher who in a more important way is focused on the principal. What the principal does not see or is not done for his eyes becomes irrelevant, even counterproductive.

My principal says, you know, he could look in the room and in one second he knows everything that's going on. Well, heah, he might get an idea of what's going on, but that doesn't mean it's the right idea, and you know, sometimes it's not...One day...I came back to my room after dittoing off papers, and there I am sorting my papers out on the table, and all of a sudden I realize there's a presence in my room--my kids are all at art or music or something. And I look up, and there's the principal sitting in my room, with an evaluation sheet...writing down--he's looking at the questions on the board, he's looking at the bulletin boards I've got up, he's looking at everything around and he wrote me up a detailed evaluation based on what he saw in my classroom when my kids weren't there and I wasn't there. (C,1980)

The more quantitative measures and national exams are used to evaluate the teacher, the more she will feel the need to use such quantitative methods to judge her students and other teachers. She is now the in-class representative of the national norms and

country-wide bell curves. Once she has entered the child's progress into her books or on the blackboard, both she and her pupils are assumed to be easily understood and evaluated.

THE SCHOOLS HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING THE WHOLE CHILD. BUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE INSTITUTION CONSTRICTS THE TYPES OF BEHAVIOR ACCEPTABLE IN TEACHERS AND PUPILS.

Teachers, especially those in less affluent districts, often feel that they and their colleagues are encouraged to show only a few facets of their personalities within the confines of school.

> *I don't think that there are people who are really close. I can just not picture one teacher going to another one in tears. I really can't. There's no one to run to. Not just for me. People really just don't get that close. And I think part of it is working in an impersonal system. You do what the boss tells you. You don't have choices. You file at 10:10, whether you like it or not...Everything is impersonally handled--time, bells. (A, 1979)*

> *I think the principal is a very authoritarian type. His reaction is, 'Well, if you want the kid to be controlled, make them stay after school, make them do a written paper.' That's him. But on the other hand, he has good sides. You know, he can appreciate poetry, he likes beautiful things in nature, he could be really touched by things. So there's some other sides to his personality, but the one that comes out all the time is the authoritarian. And part of that I think is because of the job. It brings out that side of his personality because it's just hard for him to control and deal with such a large school. (C, 1979)*

The message quickly gets across that order and quiet are the primary goals, leaving teachers to stifle, in themselves and their students, any activities that might be disruptive.

Teachers of working class children are not surrounded by the many signs of their pupils' affluence--and probable future success--that bolster the teachers' and the students' sense of worth. It is difficult for such a teacher to justify "developing the whole child" when the local paper publishes yearly standardized test scores. The teacher's ability to identify with her job and with her students is threatened.

> *When I changed from kindergarten to first grade teaching, it was a whole new scene. I just seemed to take on a first-grade personality. I think you just become a different type of person because you're more instructor and you don't have time to develop their personalities. The whole point in kindergarten was to develop this child*

so he's happy and likes school. If he's uncomfortable about something in his life, you try to make him loved. You get to first grade, forget it. I haven't got time for you. You've got to learn to read. You've got to finish that book before the second grade teacher sees you...Somebody raises their hand, in kindergarten you would listen. You're hoping to develop their language, and you listen...You got to first grade, it was, 'Put your hand down. That's all the stories for now. Pay attention. Sit up.' And they go to talk to you, 'I don't want to hear your story. We're lining up. You have to go out. The clock doesn't wait for anybody. Be quiet. Be quiet. We have to leave the room.' A whole new emphasis. (E, 1980)

A retired friend of the principal's said last year that down at Central Administration they have a list and next to your name is how well your kids did on the ICRT. They're holding you accountable. So the pressure was on! You had to get these kids to pass the post-test. You just had to. When the kids turned in their test papers, I checked and if they had too many errors, I said, 'You go back and do these over again.' That's what boiled down to. We came out number one in the district. If you go down to the bulletin board in the main office you'll see the scores posted. (M, 1981)

The definition of "skills for life" varies according to the social class of the school and the teacher. Two teachers in middle class schools:

One part of it is that they have usable skills for this world, that they have an awareness of a lot of things both good and bad in the world, that there are problems, that there are people that think and that thinking counts when in fact it does not count, does not seem to count but it needs to be there...They need to know a lot of skills that I can teach them as well as 'Let's find out that. I don't know the answer.' I do that a lot. There are a hell of a lot of things I don't know, and I say so and we talk about ways we can find out whether by asking others or books or whatever, that kind of thing. To me education is not just accepting but questioning, enjoying, cooperating, all those kinds of stuff. To me that's what school's about. And it's not about right answers. (B, 1980)

Well, the basic schedule revolves around lunch and specialists. What time is lunch? What time is music? Then the daily schedule is flexible and I think it's important both to my teaching style and for kids to be flexible because if I spent 20 minutes solving problems with between two and three kids, then things have to obviously change. I have found that kids come into school with their own agenda, and no matter what I ask them to do, until they get their needs out, they're not going to function for me. They're not going to perform. (KK, 1981)

Two teachers in working class schools:

In my school it's a luxury to think about those things--interpersonal relationships, how to encourage spontaneity--we have to teach the basic skills for life. Basic skills, that's the most important thing I teach them. Reading and math because those are the tools to succeed in life, you know, to help you live. (H, 1980)

Caught between what she sees to be irreconcilable opposites, this middle class teacher in a working class school despairs of resolving the conflict:

I really feel that it's a total either/or, the way my current school sets it up. Either you're nice to the kids or you teach basic skills which I really feel is the bind that school puts me in...But I have trouble weighing time put into children versus time put into skills and I really do think those things come up against each other and I'm not strong enough to balance them on my own. (A, 1979)

Sometimes areas which a teacher might consider very important are dropped or ignored because they are not part of the mandated curriculum which takes up more and more of the day's schedule.

I've learned a lot about how scapegoating needs to be stopped at the first possible opportunity. My first instinct is to say, 'Stop the world, we're going to talk about this.' But in this school I can't suspend the schedule. So there's not any time for soul-searching, heart to heart. I could stick a little in that 25 minute math block. I could stick a little in that one-half hour when you get to passing papers. So I'm really stifled in handling things my way by that. Yet I'm not placing a whole lot of faith in traditional

discipline. So I'm in a real conflict--I'm doing what I feel is wrong. (A, 1980)

Ironically, those teachers who want to provide "enrichment activities"--creative writing, improvisational dramatics--must increase the pace and pressure of the classroom in order to cover the real work already established by the basal reader. The extras can be added only by a furious winding-up of prescribed work.

I worry because, for instance, the math program that I'm not particularly fond of, I work on that afternoons rather than let it take up my arithmetic time in the morning, and I find the more I buy into this arithmetic series, the less time for music, the less time for art, the less time for things that I think are a very important part of my grade level or any grade level. I think this kind of thing is coming in a lot more. And I get really nervous as I see myself playing the piano less and have them all run around the room--you know, the kind of thing I used to love to do. And yet I think, 'Come on, come on. It's time for this, we've got to do that, we've got to be here.' And I keep saying, 'You're getting old.' Then I hear younger teachers with some of the same concerns. (L, 1981)

EDUCATION IS CHARGED WITH THE SOCIAL TASK OF PROVIDING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION OF A PLURALISTIC, MULTI-LEVEL SOCIETY. BUT THE STRUCTURE OF SCHOOLS EMPHASIZES COMPARATIVE WORTH AND INCREASES COMPETITION NOT ONLY AMONG THE PUPILS BUT ALSO AMONG PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS.

We never had any administrative encouragement to work together. There was never any time, there was never any made, there were very few group decisions. It's a very individual thing, if you found someone you wanted to share materials with, you did it on your own. No, nobody has ever encouraged that route...It only comes from the individual teachers in our building. None of it is encouraged by the principal. (D, 1979)

The goal of the best education for each child is thwarted when feelings of envy and competition divide a school staff.

You're making yourself vulnerable by even appreciating somebody else's work. I find that a real problem that people tend not to adopt each other's ideas because they feel it reflects on them that they don't have their own ideas. It's courtesy when somebody does a bulletin board in the corridor to say, 'Isn't that nice' but as far as working together on something as far as learning from other teachers, we're much too threatened. (A, 1979)

The teacher in the room next to me seemed to be very friendly. I'd been in and out of her classroom, sort of looked around and made some nice comments about it. I asked her once if she would mind sharing a ditto sheet or something...I just wanted to see how she did it...She had a worksheet planned for her kids. It looked really good and I had been struggling to get one that looks decent...I asked her if she had any extra ones that I could have and she said, 'No!' And she said, 'I'm sick and tired of you asking!' Now I'd never asked for any equipment or anything. 'You come in here and you look around the room.' She was really, I mean I couldn't believe it...I don't know why she felt threatened. What was I going to do with this paper? Do one better? Put it up on the wall? I don't know. But it was a terrible, terrible feeling. (B, 1980)

Rather than working on problems together, teachers--and pupils--are labeled, categorized, and divided. Ironically, the desire to insure equal opportunity to what have been termed disadvantaged children has led in practical terms to an increasing

reliance on abstract quantifications that document inadequacy and focus the attention on what the child does not know.

> *If there's a kid in the classroom that a teacher is having a problem with, and it looks like there might be something the matter, they go through the core evaluation process, and they discover that he does, he has an auditory figure-ground problem, so automatically he's going to get picked up by the person in charge of auditory figure-ground problems. So now we've created a label for a kid and a person to deal with that label. There's a pattern and the pattern is they're minority kids, they are ESL kids, they are the kids who walk to the beat of a different drummer. (W, 1980)*

For teachers caught up in the demands of school there is no time to think about the divisions among the staff and how these divisions often undermine the school's atmosphere and educational effectiveness. Resentment and competition can split teachers along many lines--older vs. younger, traditional vs. innovative, classroom teacher vs. specialist, those whose jobs are "safe vs. those threatened by lay-offs, those teachers requested by parents vs. those who are not, those who are given aides vs. those who aren't.

> *We have to have kids till the last day of school. Why dooesn't everybody have to have kids? Now people who are specialists in tutoring kids have to do a lot of testing and writing of reports. We have to write reports four times a year. We have report cards. I have to write my core. I have three of those to write. I realized I was really pissed. (B, 1979)*

> *You get your class list, but beside it if for any reason a child is in your room for any reason other than it was the luck of the draw, the reason will be noted. It could be that this child, well, any problems with the child you will need to know about, special needs, or ED or anything like that. The code beside them also has an 'R' beside any that are requests. It's human nature to count up how many requests you get, for crying out loud. (R, 1981)*

> *A parent came to visit my room. Her child will be in my grade next year. When she left I went right down to the principal and said, 'No way.' He said, 'Don't worry. You'll be chosen.' But that was not the point. The point was, that wasn't what I was worried about at*

all. I've just been so against it ever since it started. I hate them shopping for teachers and that's what they do. They shopped from school to school when it was open enrollment in the town. (L, 1981)

He [the principal] has come into my classroom and said to me, 'How are you handling the reading?' I show him my plan. He said, 'Oh, good. I'm trying to get some ideas for another teacher. I don't think she's handling her reading well. I want to be able to say that this is what I've seen in other classrooms. Do you mind if I take this?' I say, 'Well, not really, if you feel that it's absolutely necessary, then go ahead.' He's taken my plans. (QQ, 1981)

The competition among children in the classroom and among teachers in the school building is often echoed in the antagonistic feelings fostered among schools in a district.

At our school the scores are low compared to much of the town. Our principal found out that at many of the other schools on the hill [the more affluent part of town] if they go to reading resource or if they're in 766, they do not test them. You see it's not a sampling of the whole school. It's a sampling of the children who do well. Now he has been checking and he has been really a thorn in the sides of the principals' meeting. (PP, 1981)

The superintendent made it very clear that the quote-unquote more aggressive schools would get funding and materials for the programs they wanted...He said, 'The more aggressive buildings will get the money. If there's something you want to do in your building and you can give us a good reason for it, then you'll get the money...If you really push for it, then we may be able to make it available to you.' Some schools took advantage of that, like the _____ School. They have a lot of parents who know how to write proposals and they always get their way. (W, 1981).

PUBLIC EDUCATION IS CHARGED WITH UPHOLDING DEMOCRACY BY DEVELOPING AN ELECTORATE CAPABLE OF CRITICAL THINKING AND THE INTELLIGENT BALANCING OF ALTERNATIVES: BUT TEACHERS ARE REQUIRED TO PURSUE THIS GOAL BY INCREASINGLY MECHANICAL, TECHNICAL MEANS.

Until recently the teacher's recommendation was all that was needed to get a child into the Gifted and Talented program. You had a form you had to fill out, but it was a pretty liberal form. It was all comments. And you could comment on the fact that the child was a plugger, and he didn't necessarily have to have a totally super high I.Q. But now they won't even let you recommend a kid if he hasn't done well on these stupid CTBS's. This kid has to have scored beyond a certain point before they'll even take him and test him. (R, 1980)

The principal started another program in kindergarten that he wanted to adopt, working with small groups, using electronic equipment like head sets and things, very carefully planned individualizing instruction with the children. He was structuring, planning 15 minute segments. He wanted to try something new. We would have a half-hour of concentrated teaching in small groups...So you worked on listening to sounds or you worked on your workbooks in small groups and then after 15 minutes it was (clap hands) change groups. And no matter what you had to stop at that point. There was one little girl who had had kidney surgery in my room who really wasn't learning and had a lot of problems and I felt couldn't sit and do the work like that. And I remember one day when I said, 'You know, she just had kidney surgery,' he said, 'I'm tired of hearing about her kidney surgery. I'm tired of hearing emotional things blamed for reading problems.' It's a very cut and dry thing. (H, 1981)

In poorer and working class schools, where standardized test scores provide the major indicator of how much a pupil has learned, the teaching of discrete mechanical skills takes on primary importance.

I think the tests are not valid because they give two examples typically for each skill and the skills are broken down into such discrete little components. I mean no human being ever learned anything that way. I believe in sequential teaching and so on but you don't learn the sh sound by simply having two examples

of it. That's the way it comes out on the computer printout.

Another thing that bothers me is that the test is just an extension ad nauseum of the workbooks with the little blanks that you fill in and the children have learned long since that you have a pretty good chance if you just sort of skim a page. You have a pretty good chance without ever reading it or learning anything from it of getting 50%-75% right by just filling in something you see on the page. They're right. They're absolutely right. (Y, 1981)

Expertise is seen to lie in the books, not in the teacher. These tools are seen as the crucial determining factor in the education or miseducation of the child. If the teacher adheres strictly to the text, the child should learn.

I know that I'm very program oriented, I think, and skill oriented maybe. What is this kid going to achieve that can be measured? Maybe it's because the principal's always talking about whether our scores went up or down. I told you about the Metropolitan Test. It's asinine. But I still have to deal with comments like that. I think there's a lot of that in teaching. What are you and the kids going to be measured against. So you've got to get going on the old treadmill and pump it into them. (Z, 1981)

We can't use any supplementary materials until we've finished all the textbook work...I can show you the memo. [The memo read: 'Teachers are reminded that only materials found in the adopted textbooks can be duplicated. Supplementary materials are not to be stenciled and duplicated. It is the feeling of the administration that materials in the textbooks are adequate and must be completed before other materials are to be introduced in the curriculum.'] Even the kids who are repeating go back through the same materials...Last week I was teaching a reading lesson and the story was about Galileo. Now I have a wonderful ditto about Galileo and telescopes. But it's from the science unit, so I couldn't use it. The administrator's aide controls the ditto machine and files all the dittos that are run off. If we have any supplementary dittos, they have to be cleared first. (McCutcheon, 1980) 8

Computers and other advanced technical equipment, supposedly designed to make the classroom a more productive place, reflect an assumption built into the newly acquired equipment of what is

considered "productive." By establishing a centralized control developed from abstractions of "real" students, helping a child become "productive" means asking the child to compete with a pre-set standard rather than developing the unique skills and qualities of each pupil. For the teacher, these types of equipment limit the teacher's control over the pace and manner in which the skills are presented far more narrowly than possible by using only the basal reader.

Teachers also recognize that this equipment is not introduced to enhance their capabilities, nor these of their pupils.

> *Richard Bueschel of Time Share Corporation which prepares materials for Houghton Mifflin said, 'The approach in the 60's was to replace the teacher. Technically it was correct...the computer can replace the teacher. But it missed the practicalities, missed the point that education is student interaction with the teacher... Besides, teachers weren't going to go for it.' J. Kenrich Noble, Jr., publishing analyst for Paine, Webber, Mitchell, Hutchins notes: 'Though student enrollments have dropped 5.5 percent since 1969, largely among elementary and high schools, there are segments, particularly in the earlier grades, that are flattening or rising. Several years from now declining numbers of teachers may cross rising student numbers, making any instructional tools that make the teacher more efficient high priorities.*[9]

Knowledge is seen as residing in the machine, not the person.

> *I think these diagnostic tests are another one of these things where somebody came up with the idea. Somebody who has a little empire to run sold somebody in the school department. Descriptively it sounds wonderful. You test each child and you know exactly what they need. It's a prescriptive thing. You look at their profile and you say, 'Oh good, this child needs to study this and this and this.' It sounds wonderful. Now that's*

based on two assumptions. One is that we don't know ourselves how the children are doing. Secondly, the other assumption is that the kinds of things that are being tested there are more important than the kinds of things such as general comprehension and following directions and understanding that the whole thing has to hang together to mean something. The tests simply don't test for that kind of general reading ability. (Y, 1981)

The director has sent word down to the building that everybody is supposed to be reading in _____ (a certain basal reading series) and if they're not, he wanted the names of the teachers and children sent tothe office. So he was keeping touch, I got into hell for saying some kids couldn't read it and I wanted to use the other one, that really worked. He kept saying, 'No, put 'em in _____.' He wanted them in _____ and that was the end of it...He doesn't take his own teachers' expertise in consideration at all. Maybe he really believes his own teachers don't have any expertise or at least he doesn't value it. (D, 1980)

Retaining teachers then becomes a question of [illegible] the person who will most strictly adhere to that mechanical solution, rather than the one who will weigh and discuss, choose and implement.

I'm realizing that the other third grade teacher who is my colleague, with whom I exchange children for reading, has what is presumably the middle group. I have presumably the top group and bottom group. I find out that her top group is almost where my top group is, and we've been on our book since the beginning of the year, and she didn't start it until just two months ago. It makes me feel that maybe I'm holding these kids back, but consensus is that these books are pretty hard. They've got some rather intriguing stories, ones that are not just run of the mill ordinary kind of stories, with a lot of metaphorical language and different kinds of fiction and fantasy. We do a lot with that sort of thing. I just feel really that I don't know if I'm doing the right thing in spending all that time on each story and having the children do a lot of things with each story. She's just obviously bombing through this book. A story a day, I guess. It makes me nervous that somebody is going to say I'm not a very good teacher. I really feel as though my kids are getting a great deal out of their reading. But it's one of those things that doesn't look good on paper (Y, 1980)

Everybody had a curriculum and there were certain things to be mastered and certain things to be introduced and a lot of times I didn't get to some of the things that had to be mastered let alone introduced because my kids simply could not do it and it made no sense to me to push through 27 chapters of a math book just because a curriculum says I have to. Some of the other teachers felt as I did that these were difficult things and it made no sense to push on whereas some of the teachers were really bound by the curriculum, felt obligated if it said by December you should have taught time, by December you taught time...For myself, I find on a day-to-day basis I get caught up in teaching these things and forget the people that you're teaching, so all that gets lost. So if you don't make a point to sort of stop and talk about feelings and talk about friendships and talk, it doesn't get done. You get too caught up in content. It's not spoken to or encouraged because there simply isn't enough time. The kid who's not right in the middle of the road, you find you don't have time to reach out and meet his needs, his creativity, give him a chance to offer an alternative suggestion. I felt a tremendous, tremendous time pressure. You just find task, task, task, and there's never enough time. (W, 1981)

These excerpts describe some of the conflicting standards many teachers face and the recognition by teachers of their inabilities to meet societal expectations. The resultant demoralization is currently labelled "burnout." "Burnout" is the result of working in a system where values and practice are at critical odds but in which the conflicts are denied, rather than articulated and debated.

These conflicts have been present since the educational system traditional to the United States was first established. Americans early recognized deep-rooted societal inequities and searched for a way to redress them. The conception of school was broadened from the colonial concept of privately funded academies responsible for the intellectual development of selected students to publicly supported institutions through which the government would provide opportunities to overcome socially inherited disadvantages. Education was to be the great equalizer. For example, it was in Massachusetts that Horace Mann developed the idea of universal education, the school common to all the people in which political control of the schools was vested in the people. The seeds of the struggle for control of the schools were planted in the debate over the purpose and design of public education. Mann recognized the dilemma of conflicting values when he acknowledged that by advocating the switch from tutorial education of the few to universal education of the many, he was introducing the problem of reconciling the values of the individual in a free society with the teaching of children in groups.

Philosophical debates, engaged in by academics and policy makers, such as Mann, must also be put into practice. And it is not generally those who debate the issues who also carry out the implications of the policy makers' philosophies, even as those philosophies are changed to accommodate various interest groups and garner public support.

> *In the red brick buildings of the cities, in the white frame schoolhouses of the countryside, and in the rough hewn cabins of the newly settled frontier, the teachers of the seventies and eighties sought to translate the mandate of universal education into real schooling for real children. Their work has not been well remembered, for histories in their zeal for crusading pioneers sometimes ignore the equally important, if less colorful, figures who succeed them.*[10]

One major goal of schools was thus to eqaulize opportunities for all children. But did that mean that each child was to be provided with an identical education so that there would be no

discrimination of service? Or did that mean that recognizing the disparate emotional, social and intellectual needs of children required providing a variety of opportunities needed by individual children to realize their potential? This controversy has never been resolved. The ambivalent position in which its lack of resolution places the teacher remains unacknowledged and unexamined even today.

Descriptions by our interviewees suggest that the attempts to solve the problems of schools today, as in the past, do not address this or major contradictions--which are the inherent barriers to the growth of teachers and students within the structure of the schools. Rather the solutions buttress the "blame the victim" approach. This approach defines the problem as an aggregate of disaffected or incapable teachers whose deficiencies are seen as personal rather than as a reflection of the failure of the educational system to grapple with and confront the contradictory demands made of teachers.

The roots of these contradictions have never been addressed within the context of analyzing classroom issues. Rather, attention has been focused on the failure of the individual--the teacher, the student, and the student's parent--and his or her inability to adjust to the established system. Understanding how life inside the classroom is crucially affected by the structure of the school system as a whole is considered counterproductive to a teacher's career.

> *I think I've thought a lot more about--in very depressing ways--about the roles of teachers in the whole process and how little say they have. What I realize is that, at least in the situations I've been in, that the teachers have very little control. It is not basically a cooperative effort. That maybe teachers are hired to do their thing in the classroom, but that's as far as they're supposed to go. They're not really part of policy or curriculum in very meaningful ways. I think that's what a lot of the isolation is about. I certainly have the feeling--I know I'm not alone in this--there's really nothing you can do about it over all, and there's a lot of futility in that, and frustration. I certainly feel it, and I also--at times I get very upset about it and I try to just put it out of my mind because all it's doing then is usurping my energy that I need for other things. And I don't like that feeling within me that I really can't do anything about it. (B, 1980)*

One may choose to ignore the evidence of the effects of these contradictions upon the sense of efficacy felt by teachers.

Indeed, many of the interviewees working in a wide-range of settings would chronicle detailed accounts of the constraints or opportunities linked to their specific work situations, while at the same time attributing their own and others' work as teachers, and their assessment as to whether or not to remain in teaching, to personality characteristics either inherent to the individual or fixed by their family situation and economic background.

> *A very good friend of mine said, 'Go with the heart.' You know, that's a very good phrase...I think that school is a very protective environment and that the people who teach in a school are also protective. I wish to protect kids. If the kid being picked on by another kid, you say, 'Shall I get involved, shall I not?' So you know, it's basically a tearing thing. And I think a lot of people who are thinking about leaving teaching, it's a tearing thing for them. You want to stay in. Yet you don't want to stay in. There are some days you could throw them out the window and say, 'Fly, you know, fly away, don't bother me.' So now I'm looking at different possibilities. I'm kind of looking for another area to get involved in. I think it has a lot to do with me. There's an inner desire of mine to do something else besides teaching. (AA, 1981)*

> *I grew up right here. I went to this school. I was in this room myself in the fifth grade. I'm very close to home type of person. I live around the corner from this school...I really enjoy kids coming back to school after they've graduated. A lot of kids come over to my house. I have time to give and I really enjoy them. A married person probably when they leave the school, if they're going to talk to kids, it might as well be their own, after school. I've never seen any married teachers who would devote much time or spend very much time with kids after school, outside of school. They haven't got the time to go to other kids' Little League games and things like that. I've done that for years. They can't leave their own children alone and go watch Johnny Jones when their kids are going to play somewhere else. (V, 1980)*

> *I don't see a whole lot of the married, family teachers being the ones that are not creative. But I see a lot of single teachers. I don't know whether they finally get just discouraged about their lives. They're not married and God that shouldn't make a difference, but I swear it broadens your outlook so much. I find that*

these single ladies who teach and go home and live with their mother that their interests are so narrow. (R, 1981)

Rather than seeing teaching as a dynamic activity shaped by many forces, these excerpts and school improvement projects in general accept the notion of teaching as a given which can be improved or degraded based on those who are selected to hold that position. This viewpoint implies an acceptance of the contradictions inherent in teaching, a lack of awareness concerning them, or views them as either inconsequential or best ignored by the "successful teacher." Their real search therefore is narrowed down to choosing those people who, at the moment of selection, seem best qualified to grapple with the consequences of such conflicts.

In other words, instead of asking "How does the structure of schools inhibit or advance the growth of teachers?" the question becomes "Who should teach?" on the policy level and "Should I teach?" or "Should I have that teacher teach my child?" on a personal level. These sorts of questions, obviously quite different from the ones we formulated at the outset of our own inquiry, have been provocatively posed in newspaper articles and debates surrounding teacher training and teacher layoffs.

In an article in the Boston Globe entitled "Choose the Best Teachers" Peter R. Greer states:

While the national debate rages over public school, it is increasingly clear that our students will continue to suffer if educational leaders cannot find the courage and good sense to keep only the best and qualified teachers in the nation's classroom: teachers who know their subjects, love children, are versatile, and from whom children are able to learn things that matter...

Of course teachers who are failing in their responsilities should be told so, worked with and given opportunities for improvement. But at the time of a reduction in staff, the primary question must be: 'Who is the best teacher?'

Unless we are willing to accept the responsibility for selecting and rewarding only the very best teachers, we can sit back and watch the inevitable destruction of the American system of public-school education and with it, the decline of public support and sympathy. (August 1, 1981)

The phrase "some people just shouldn't teach" is heard inside schools as frequently as it is bandied about outside of them. Since

many of our interviewees viewed the issue in this light, it may be instructive to use our data to look at the issue from that perspective--that there are certain people who are suited to teach and the best way of insuring that these people find their way into teaching and remain there is to carefully control the selection process and the RIF process--who gets in and who is weeded out.

This perspective broadens out to a series of questions. At what point in the teacher's career is the decision made that she should not teach--during that first year?

> *When you're new in a school, no one knows you and you don't know anybody. They don't know what you're like, they don't know if they like you, if you have any problems with their youngsters then you know perhaps right away they don't like it. (D, 1979)*

> *Many of the younger people come in and fail because there's so little, I mean, because they just can't handle it you know. It is just too ego destroying to walk into a school and find that there you are, faced with this and there's nobody around to give you a hand, you know, you have to learn everything the hard way from how to get your supplies to what to do about an unruly child to how often does the principal come in, what does she expect in terms of lesson plans, the whole thing...When I first started teaching with the expansion of this whole business in the '60's and we had a 50% turnover in our school every year. (Y, 1980)*

> *One thing I can say in all honesty--people who are not on tenure are much more careful about stepping on people's toes than people on tenure. It's really from two people that I thought were very confident people and wouldn't back down at all from an argument that I learened this. One was told, 'Be careful because you're not on tenure.' That was a threat that had come down from the assistant superintendent. (D, 1979)*

> *It seems to me that the pattern here is that it's sort of like swimming. Some people can be thrown into the water and swim naturally or they can look around and imitate other people so they can keep their heads above water. Other people can't swim that well naturally but given lessons they can learn to keep their heads above water. Maybe there'll always be some people that no matter how many lessons or feedback*

they're going to drown, but I really feel like here it's sort of like, here you go, those of you that surface fine, those of you that don't, out you go. There are no other efforts made. (J, 1979)

When things are settled and a bit of routine has been established?

My second year got better. I'd been there. I had familiar kids. Over a long period of time I got more feedback, being able to talk to them, being able to observe them, being able to see more of how parents dealt with children. (A, 1979)

The thing I am doing is giving myself permission to repeat curriculum. For some reason I have felt that I always had to come up with something new in curriculum. I don't know what, but it's ridiculous. And there is nothing wrong if something is interesting in doing it again, but I have to give myself permission to do it. (B, 1979)

When she tries a new technique?

I don't have any doubts about myself as a teacher and last year I had doubts. At times like that you remember the project that you didn't carry out well and I know that there are things that I could work on for another time which does not make me any less than a terrific teacher as far as I'm concerned. (B, 1979)

To tell you frankly I questioned my ability for many, many years. I think I still do. But certainly into the eighth year of teaching I'd be saying I don't know the answers to being a great teacher yet and I certainly expect that I should. (D, 2)

Does one suggest teachers think of new career opportunities just before they begin to grow stale and withdraw?

I've taught so long now that I've changed. I used to do my lesson plans Sunday night watching the Ed Sullivan

show and then I would go to whatever was on after that. And I'd have the plan book in my lap and I'd be half watching that and half doing my plans to kind of break the monotony. I wasn't happy Sunday night. But now to me, that's my life. I know it's my life. It isn't as though when you're younger when you think it's going to change tomorrow or the next day or the next day or the next year. I know it's my life and I'm resigned. I think there is no great excitement or enthusiasm like there used to be. I'm much more even in every way. And there are not terrible lows. There is no dreading. I can remember when I first started teaching, dreading getting up in the morning every morning. You didn't know if the kids were going to mind you. You didn't know if people in your class were going to be disruptive. Now that doesn't even occur to me. The only thing I worry about is, are they going to be good readers? That's all I worry about. (E, 1979)

Should the teacher be asked to leave when parents complain and RIF provides a viable excuse?

You have a lot of parents asking for very different things. One parent will call--this I think would be characteristic of the townspeople today as opposed to earlier--is that there are so many different things being asked and they're often contradictory. They want the school to do this and then don't do that. Somebody else says don't do that. And the principal goes along trying to meet everybody's demands, as we do, more or less. And you can't--you can't be liberal and you can't be strict all at the same time. You can't be a mother to this person and not indulge in the next minute, you know. They're asking unbelievably contradictory things. (BB, 1980)

Do the suggestions to leave teaching increase in intensity after 20 years when she's getting older?

Once you reach 50 you're kind of talked to--saying there's early retirement and would you really like to go. If you can get these people to retire early you get more money available. It's very subtle, subtle in the sense that theu think that they're doing something nice, or that's the way they approach it. My last evaluation was, 'Well, you know you were a good good teacher once but some of the things you're doing are old fashioned.' (F, 1979)

That year Margaret and I had the worst first grade in 27 years. We'd go into the teachers' room and sigh. I'd be hyperventilating. I'd be sitting there and the boss would come in and say sarcastically, 'Oh, my senior teachers. Look at my senior teachers!' I'd say, 'Oh, gee, that's not it.' He'd say, 'Oh, my senior teachers.' He made a big thing out of it. His senior teachers were practically passed out on the table. He looks for vulnerability. That's part for the course. (E, 1979)

At any point along a teacher's career line, there are minutes, weeks, even years when she is not perfect.

I think I went through a very traumatic time when I was getting the divorce and it may have had an effect on my teaching because it was a period...where I could not effectively do my job because there was just too much turmoil in my life and I felt it. I felt it. Every place was in turmoil--at home, in the classroom. I had no control over anything that was going on and for those two years, thank God that I had teachers' manuals and all those kinds of things that kind of direct me because I had a difficult time directing myself. But on the other hand if I had not had the kids, if I had not had their understanding and their warmth, it would have been even more difficult. Because if I didn't have anything else, I had their support...I really needed them and I really got from them what I needed... I don't know how much they got from me in terms of academics for that 18 months, but I got an awful lot from them. (W, 1980)

We began this section of the report with the above questions because they were, in fact, the kinds of questions we were asking ourselves in weighing our abilities as teachers and our commitment to the profession. They are the questions we were hearing all around us, in discussions with friends who are parents, in after school gathering with fellow teachers, and in newspaper articles on "The crisis in schools." It is impossible, however, for anyone engaged in the type of research we have conducted not to recognize that the types of questions being asked imply a point of view, an assumed response.

The one overall assumption that all these questions have in common is that there is a point in time when a teacher is clearly competent or incompetent. This point of view is essentially a static one in that once a person reaches that condition there is no turning back, that at each stage along the way we should look

at the teacher alone, without considering the influence of the setting in which she finds herself, or how the problems and solutions she encounters benefit or hinder other members of the school staff.

"Burnout" and "deadwood" are perfect metaphors for this point of view. Their use implies that at some point a finite amount of energy available to each individual has been internally consumed. The terms do not acknowledge the reservoirs of strength and the varied sources of that strength from which teachers draw in the continuous challenge to help children in their common day-to-day work. Nor does their use acknowledge that the sources of renewal and the causes of stagnation are often external to the person and cannot be explained by concentrating on any one individual.

We would like to go back and ask a series of questions about how teachers are suited to their task but this time, frame the questions, and analyze the answers in a somewhat different way, much as we were forced to do in going over our transcripts. For despite the fact that at the beginning of our research we rejected the viewpoint that personality differences among teachers were the main sources of their "success" or "failure", we also viewed each school as essentially similar in make-up, each teacher's problems as very much the same. We had begun our grant proposal stating:

> *We believe that the work situation of elementary school teachers intrinsically creates a culture whose aspects are overwhelmingly shared by all the teachers at this level, no matter what their present teaching situation nor what background they have brought to teaching. The superstars and the weary, the inquisitive and the smug--we all make up the image of the elementary school teacher. Every one of us shares basic concerns and problems and it is these common issues we are addressing.*

We held this belief because we knew so little about other teachers' career histories or school settings. Perhaps this ability to lump all teaching situations together viewing every elementary school as a common setting, also stemmed from the uniformity of our own backgrounds. All of us in the teacher support group are graduates of liberal arts universities. Few of us have taught for extended periods of time in inner-city schools. We were upset, we saw and read that other people were upset, and we assumed that the causes of tensions among teachers were shared by all even if they were unaware, unconscious, or unwilling to admit to them. We were quite unaware that precisely because teachers did not feel they shared similar concerns that they frequently seemed tense around their fellow teachers. We didn't realize that teachers at opposite ends of the corridor, or in two different school systmes

were questioning their expertise because each seemed so different from the others. In fact, a major source of tension among teachers is precisely the fact that all teachers do not work in similar settings, nor, even within those settings are they always asked to teach the same sorts of skills, nor are they and their students judged by the same sets of standards.

In asking the question--who should teach--we began to realize that that question is asked quite differently not only by teachers but more importantly by different groups within each community and that the question itself contains within it those groups' definitions of "good" and "bad." Thus, the definition of good teaching upheld by one group may be diametrically opposed to the conceptions held by other groups, either within a particular community or determined by forces that extended beyond the community. The influence of the dominant political philosophy controlling federal funds, the aspirations of various constituent groups such as minorities, women, or middle class professionals, and the demands of proportions for particular types of workers all shape schools in general and each school in particular ways. It may well be that a teacher is highly regarded in one community or one group within a community at least for a time, only to be considered the embodiment of a negative stereotype by another group.

A way of resolving these conflicting viewpoints has been to train one set of teacher candidates to teach a certain way to a group in one community of students, and a different set of candidates to teach a different way to another group of students. Certainly teachers themselves recognize these markedly different types of training. And while our evidence suggests that teachers do not adhere slavishly to a particular type of training, teachers frequently assume that those trained in different methods rigidly follow a particular teaching philosophy. The isolation and competitiveness of school generally precludes their learning otherwise. The problem intensifies when teachers, and administrators, trained in different methods find themselves in the same school or school system. School consolidation and RIF can cause these shakeups. Hiring a new breed of teacher who represents the current popular educational philosophy can also cause dissension. The resultant tensions were cited by our interviewees as major factors in estranging them from their fellow workers.

It was only when we learned the histories of other teachers with many different backgrounds and teaching in a variety of settings that we clearly recognized the influence not only of the backgrounds with which people entered teaching and the kind of training they had received but also how a specific teaching situation shaped each teacher's history, no matter what their past experiences had been.

We will now look at two aspects of teachers' experiences--the effects of their training and their motivation for entering the profession--and how these types of training were modified or reinforced in specific school settings. The two particular cuts into the material we will use for answering each question will be to note where the teacher was trained--roughly dividing our interviewees between state teachers college graduates and liberal arts graduates--and between where they spent the bulk of their career--Title 1 or non-Title 1 schools. These are two important variables but even they alone cannot begin to explain how the complex nature of schools affects not only the individual teacher, but the staff as a whole. And in thinking of the school or the school system as a whole, one must start asking the complex "hard questions," seeking the complex, yet ultimately more accurate replies.

Therefore, as we again ask questions designed to discover if the "good" and the "bad" teacher can be clearly designated and separated out, we will break down the previously asked questions into two parts, asking each from two different points of view just as two different groups within a community question veteran and prospective teachers.

To begin the questioning again, at what point in the teacher's career should the decision be made that she should or should not teach? During that period when she is poised at the edge of adulthood and/or is deciding what career to enter? Should one encourage those who accept the system or those who desire to improve it?

Teachers' college graduates:

My two sisters teach. By the time I was in second grade my oldest sister was a teacher, so that probably had a lot to do with my decision. I didn't want to go to college, but I couldn't think of anything better to do. It's turned out to be the best decision. (CC, 1980)

My father was a school principal and I supposed he sort of talked me into becomong a teacher. He thought it was a good job for a girl and in those days, there weren't a lot of other fields to go into. I just never thought of anything else. When we played school at home I was always the teacher, and I just sort of rolled from one in play time to the real thing. (PP, 1980)

When I was growing up, you know, the biggest thing was to be a teacher. I mean my parents were pushing teacher, teacher, teacher when I was very little. And even though I wanted to be a teacher, it was thought of then that a teacher is a very special person. You have to be

special to be a teacher. Maybe that was the thing I was hooked in on and I said, 'Well, gee, I am special so maybe I should be a teacher,' you know, that type of thing. (AA, 1981)

These teachers' answers reflect an acceptance of traditional roles for women, along with a strong identification with their chosen field, and with other teachers. Liberal arts graduates were more likely toacknowledge the influence of traditional values and constraints on their decision to enter teaching only if they coupled that decision with serving the greater good, rescuing the present system from the mistakes of the past.

The fact that I hadn't thought of anything besides teaching as a profession was in keeping with what a girl in my circumstances would be able to achieve. It wasn't likely that I would become a scientist or a doctor or something like that. Those fields didn't fit anyway with my interests which were social justice and social improvement and that sort of thing. (Y, 1980)

I had not really considered an elementary education. And no one in my family was in education, but about a month or so before I was to graduate, I went over to the Placement Office and was just sort of glancing around, and they had a catalogue for a teacher corps program, which is a federal program. I sent for an application and followed up on it. It captured me enough to decide I wanted to teach. One of the requirements at least at that time and I think still is one was that it had to be in a low income area and one of the arguments for keeping the funding going was that they would not take education majors, people who had had education courses. They were supposed to find people who would be trained for teaching the culturally deprived. (J, 1979)

Their replies frequently suggest a disdain of the veteran teacher and a desire to be disassociated from her.

One of the things that I used to tell people about why I wanted to be a teacher was that I had hated one of my own teachers so much. I was always at the top of my class and one year the teacher didn't know what to do with me so she sent me to copy the encyclopedia. That infuriated me so much and bored me so much that I used to tell people that was why I wanted to be a teacher so I could do better than that. (A, 1979)

My mother was an elementary school teacher, and although I always did very well in school no one ever suggested that I be anything else. I didn't know at the time that being an elementary school teacher meant you were really dumb and only supposed to be smart enough to go to a teachers' college. (G, 1979)

I see a lot of good people leaving who are leaving and that's okay. Get rid of all the ones that don't want to teach and are there 'cause it's a cushy job where you make a lot of money and you have the summers off and make room for those of us who want to work hard...The people I'm talking about, to put it in a stereotype, are basically parochial school kids who grew up in parochial schools and go back and are teaching the same way they were taught. They learned how they were supposed to teach. They go and the problems are all with the kids. It's that group of people who never should have been teachers in the first place. (B, 1979)

Should she enter a teacher training institute or seek selection to a liberal arts college? From the moment the selection was made, the educational system forced a choice between learning to teach others--training--and learning how to expand and value one's own education. Here teachers speak about their own educational backgrounds, a factor we were surprised to find provided a strong sense of identification among teachers as well as a defensive barrier to other teachers of differing college experiences.

State teachers college graduates:

It [a city-based state teachers college] took a different type of person than the others. I think the other schools took upper middle class or middle class people, and I think _____ State took a much lower class student although not a less bright student. Although there would be people who would argue with me. I couldn't believe it the first time I went there and met all these people who were smart and who could achieve in school and who couldn't speak. I mean their English was really terrible. You'd think they were dumb, and then they weren't dumb at all. They were very bright people and this was a city college. (CC, 1981)

It [state teachers college] was what we could afford. There just wasn't any choice. I think I would have been happier at a different type of school and then figuring out how to teach it or even taking a couple of summer courses on my own to learn how to teach once I

had a little bit better background. I will say I felt really prepared. I did. I have a friend whose dad is a professor at U. Mass. and he insisted that she not go to a teachers college because his argument was that teachers colleges teach you how to teach. Every other school teaches you what to teach. I can understand what he was saying. I was well prepared as far as how to teach, but I'm not sure if I was heading for grades higher than me how well prepared I would have been in the particular subject area. I have often wondered about that. (R, 1980)

Everything we took at the teachers college in liberal arts was survey courses. I mean, you'd start one semester with Beowolf and by the end of the second semester you'd done through the 20th century in English literature. So it gives you an idea of the kind of things you did. It was a smattering. I think really you got a little background so that in polite company you didn't feel ignorant. I knew a girl who was going to _____ [a liberal arts school] and she'd take somebody, one author, and they'd spend a semester on this author pulling him apart. And I thought, 'Gee, I envy her, she can really take the time and get to know something well.' We got to know nothing well, and yet so much of [illegible] stuck with me and it was such a good background [illegible] even though at the time I didn't think so. I envied the other girl that she could just sort of take one little segment and really get to know it well. I yearned for that, but as the years go by, I say, 'No, it was really something what they did for us. Really gave us a background.' (E, 1979)

I could have gotten a partial scholarship [to a liberal arts school]. One of the reasons I went to _____ State was because my mother was dying at the time and my father said, 'Do you want to be a teacher?' and I said, 'Yes,' and then he said, 'Well, there's no reason for you to go to a liberal arts school. You'd be better off to go to _____, be able to help your mother.' I know I never regretted going there. At least I realized later on that social position meant something, in those days, at some of these colleges, the clothes that you wore and that type of thing. That wasn't at all the way it was at _____ State. Everybody was just about the same. The fathers were moderate circumstances. There was no competition whatsoever in that way. We were all lucky if we had a quarter for a piece of pie and a cup of coffee after school. Of course, in those

days, _____ State wasn't competing with Harvard or Radcliffe or B.U. We weren't loaded with professors who were writing books, and none of our professors worked as consultants to the president or anything like that but if you wanted to be a teacher it was a good place to go. (V, 1980)

Liberal arts graduates:

I went to [a liberal arts college] and nobody ever discussed what you were going to do after college. It was a lovely time. We were all in liberal arts and we were all doing artsy craftsy things and enjoying college and the courses were hard. We were really expected to work and to work hard but no one came to suggest career options for us. (Z, 1981)

I saw a kid this morning and I remember listening to him when he talked about when he spent time in a castle in Austria with his father and mother. I know that's kind of way up there, but you meet them. Another child was going to be sent back to Norway to pick up the language for a year and then return. So I think a very important part of teaching now is that you do not go to a teachers college but you go to a liberal arts college so that you have a well rounded background in all kinds of areas rather than to know how to teach the linguistic way of reading and all these things they do in a lot of teachers colleges...Listen, if you can read, you can follow a teacher's manual and every series that you have provides you with a teacher's manual. They even provide you with the words that you can read to your children if you can't figure it out yourself. So as far as teaching skills, you have any number of aides. You can hold a book in front of you and read it. It says, 'Teacher says this' and 'the children will probably reply this.' It's dreadful. So I feel that anyone who can teach school can manage somehow to teach the skills, but the other areas I'm not so sure about, and I think they are very important these days. You are responding to children that have been all over the place and have a number of interests that you really feel you want to respond to and encourage. They just pull all sorts of things from you every day of your life, and if you don't have it there, you won't be able to respond to them. (L, 1981)

Can one spot a successful future teacher during the apprenticeship of student teaching? Should one favor those who quickly master

the proscribed methods of teaching or those who test out, with a great deal of trial and error, a variety of approaches? Here teachers speak about their own student teaching experiences. Teachers college graduates:

> *I thought it was great. They did a lot of methods courses and really prepared you. We had sort of like a seminar and you got all these little nitty-gritty things that were really very good because they come in handy knowing before you get out teaching how to do a register and planbook and how to meet parents. I don't think we got as much liberal arts, diversified subjects as we could have, but I thought for what you really need, it was great. We were in one class for five months, just didn't switch around. I thought it was really good training. The methods courses, for example. If you had a problem, you really got down to the nitty-gritty. It wasn't superficial. What if the child has this problem, how would you handle it? A lot of that work in the different subjects. This was done in the practice school where they would come out from the college and rate you. They do that now, but then it was more intensified--you know, it was just like five solid months of somebody coming up and observing you two or three times every week. And it just became natural to you. (PP, 1980)*

Liberal arts graduates:

> *I knew nothing except, I like kids! If I had walked into my own classroom, today, as a student teacher I would have been horrified, absolutely horrified. I didn't know to write lesson plans. I didn't know phonics, I had to sort of figure out how to do phonics all over again. I had no idea of how to read through a teachers' manual because I had never seen one in my life so I would have been a horrible, horrible student teacher probably unless a person again was willing to take me on bit by bit. (Z, 1982)*

> *They were all idealistic people in my teacher ed. program. I think we had a really good program and it was definitely an idealistic program and gave me a lot of different experiences of different classrooms. I never had any "Methods" per se course. In a way I'm glad I didn't have any of that stuff. It seems it could be a waste. Maybe others learned about registers and mark books and organizing, things I didn't know at all. (C, 1979)*

The most valuable thing I learned in my training was the philosophy of how you deal with children and how you look at children. You treated them as individuals. You looked at them as individual people rather than a class. And you tried to meet those various needs as you went along. I think that's about the biggest thing I learned at [a liberal arts school]. I think the other things were good, too--the music and arts and of course the liberal arts subjects we had. I think my philosophy is the biggest thing I got from there. It has stood me in good stead, but I think it's meant a lot of frustration to me, though, as the classes get larger. For instance, last year I had 29 and 30 kids in first grade and I was really frustrated in that I had to look at a mass of kids and say, 'Now, look, you can't look at them as individuals. You must be realistic in your approach.' (L, 1980)

At that time, they really were trying to purge us of all of the contaminating influences that we had been through in the course of our lifetime I developed such a prejudice against commercial materials that it has taken me a long, long time to get over the idea that I had to invent the wheel myself every time I ever did anything. And there really are a lot of good commercial materials that you don't have to use exactly like they are, but you can draw on as resource materials. (HH, 1981)

I think my biggest weakness was that I never really learned how to plan. I think I needed to be taught how to do that. It just didn't really come very easily to me. And that relates to the other thing which was the Teacher Corps program was highly experiential. Professors from the university would be told to teach Teacher Corps courses, but they were not supposed to assign papers. I think that part of my difficulty in planning and preparation was not knowing sort of how to structure an activity or knowing how to go about thinking about an activity would relate to just having that substance to work with. (J, 1979)

The following excerpts explain teachers' rationales for approving or disapproving the methods learned by their student teachers. Teachers generally felt most comfortable with those trained in settings simlar to their own. The only exceptions were made by liberal arts graduates, who admired the creativity offered by liberal arts students but recognized a preference for the more skill-oriented student teacher of the teachers college.

I've had three student teachers from state teachers colleges, three of the most excellent student teachers I would ever imagine. It was like another teacher in the room. You never have to criticize them. We've had student teachers who come from a liberal arts college and they don't have the methods and the training. And you know it's like you're starting from scratch. And we're really not equipped to train people to be teachers. I don't take them unless there's no other place to put them and then I'll take one. That's not what _____ is paying me for. They're paying me to teach. Their professor is more interested in having them take one child and do a whole thing on one child, you know, a whole case study. But that is not what they are supposed to be doing in the room. They are supposed to be taking a reading group and learning how to conduct a class. Those third grade teachers just went through everything with them. They weren't prepared to enter a classroom. (PP, 1981)

It was easier for me to work with someone who graduated from _____ State because I knew they knew how to do it. It was probably, it was harder for me to work with someone who didn't know the quote "techniques of teaching" but were willing to learn. Because I had to work as hard with them as I did with my own kids. It's easy to work with a student teacher who could come in and do this and this because I depend on them so much. Maybe it is some sort of a question of maturity or development in the teachers, that one program you have to go step by step by step, in the _____ State program. And you cannot--I know when I speak to a person from _____ State, they are expected to do specific lesson plans, and everything is making your objectives. They had I think a minimum of three lesson plans a day, two or three. They have to present them to their supervisors, so they have a lot of paper work. At [a liberal arts college] maybe their focus is different and that's why I'm seeing the different sort of product. There it's up to the cooperating teacher, it seems. You decide what the teacher needs. You're the one in the room with her, and you have to pick out her strengths and weaknesses and discuss it and go from there. The good word probably to use is [illegible] they sort of trust you. There is this [illegible] trust, she's yours. Make it or break it, which is great. Whereas _____ State, they are running maybe two different systems. Yes, the classroom teacher is doing this with you, but you have to do this and this and this for _____ State. (Z, 1981)

When she begins her first year sure of her teaching abilities, and being successful continues to use them--or when she is caught in the confusion of the first few years with few approved methods to fall back on but the willingness to try new techniques and strategies?

A teachers college graduate in a suburban school:

> *I just knew what to do, and I didn't even have any books at the beginning of the year. There were no globes, there was nothing. Things worked out. I was very fortunate in that first assignment. There were two other fifth grade teachers with me and they were both women in their late forties, around that time, and if there were any questions they could help. I always felt they were there. Also, the principal felt that I knew more about elementary education than he did. 'I respect any judgments that you make. If you have any real questions ask _____ and _____, the two other teachers.' It wasn't this pressure of, 'Am I pleasing him? Am I doing the right thing to please the principal?' He just felt, 'Hey, you are just out of college and you learned about this. I respect your ability.' (V, 1980)*

And when she speaks of her colleagues:

> *One of my friends was a Radcliffe girl, one a BU girl. Both went into teaching right out of those two colleges and they had a very hard time for a while. They knew their subjects beautifully. One of them had a very difficult time with the ordinary management of a school room and the way to handle children. She geared her assignments to the ideal student who was just dying to learn what she had learned. It just doesn't work that way. Of course, children are going to rebel against someone who really looks down on them and this girl did. She felt she knew so much and these little whippersnappers were not willing to listen to her. She didn't stay in teaching very long. (V, 1980)*

A teacher college graduate in a Title I school:

> *When you first start out, it's awful. You think, 'Are they gonna behave today? If they don't behave, what am I going to do? What if they don't act right today?' That's all you're worried about. Your stomach would be in an uproar, mine always would. My second year teaching I used to ride a bus, and I used to ride with another*

girl, and we both admitted that we were half sick all morning until we got to school worrying how we were going to be able to control the class today. But we had a lot of tricks we'd learned as seniors at _____ State. Our teacher said, 'I'm not going to teach you a bag of tricks,' but that's what her whole class was about. If this situation comes up, do this. If this happens, do this. (E, 1979)

Liberal arts graduates in a Title 1 school:

I came home and cried every night for three years, I think. If I hadn't had so much support from my family I think I would have just gone under. I was exhausted, I was very frustrated with the lack of assistance. It was sink or swim. They put you in a classroom and I learned later, if you're a new teacher they give you all the troublemakers. The teachers were pretty nice but they were teachers college graduates and they were much more into the system and I was sort of out of stop with the system. I felt as though I was fighting everything including the kids. That really upset me. I'm supposed to be there to help them in their horrible lives, blah, blah, blah, and I was fighting with them as well as with the principal as well as with myself. Oh, God, it was so awful. (Y, 1980)

I'm not really a very authoritarian person, but that's the model of success in this school, and although I was trained to more learning center, open classroom stuff, somehow, with the terrible experience I had feeling it was all my fault my first year, and the authoritarian models of success I was given to try to succeed, it kind of warped my mind such that I couldn't imagine how to do my teaching unless I did more authoritarian, teacher-at-the-front-of-the-class method of teaching. (C, 1979)

A liberal arts graduate in a non-Title 1 school:

My first year I was just amazed at how much I didn't know children. You know, I really had to learn a lot about just how they react and their expectations of me. I mean I really had this thing about I was going to be their chum and that kind of thing without realizing that more and more they wanted me to be a parent figure. I didn't even know what questions to ask. So that I remember one day when I had a note that I wanted to go home that I had ditto written but I hadn't run it off.

In order to run it off, I took my whole class down with me and stood outside because I knew you couldn't just walk out on them, but no one had told me, well it seems really silly now, but I had them wait down there while I ran it off and then packed them up and sent them home rather than saying, 'Look will you cover my class while I run down and run this off?' The other thing I remember is that the practice of the principal was totally hands off which in some ways I truly value; in other ways it made it really overwhelming. I think I've since learned that part of that is out of respect for teachers in that she doesn't think that teachers should have to have someone down their throat telling them what to do and what not to do. But part of it, I think, alleviates her responsibility for either support or feedback. So that I have seen new teachers come several times and they'll really be kind of dumbfounded because the master won't give any feedback whatsoever. The people that I ended up being able to ask for help from were specialists. And what I really needed help in was just running a classroom, not just one to one or one to five. So as far as really knowing what I was doing and being organized, this year [her fifth] was my better year. I would say that probably as far as spirit and really being willing to try things, to make an effort to do different things, almost my first year. I was willing to expend the most energy to try to do a greater variety of things, to do more and different things. (J, 1979)

Should she view her work as a job or as a calling? In general, for teachers college graduates teaching was a given. Those who did speak about their motivations saw teaching as connecting them to their home environments. It was not as much a means of widening their experiences to encompass those of other communities, as it was a way of expressing loyalty to a home base. Teaching's intrinsic rewards were described in terms of making children happy within the world in which they lived, and teachers expected that their sense of satisfaction would come from being appreciated by and being dedicated to that world.

It might seem corny but this is my town and I had grown up here and been educated here and wanted to give back to the town. That sounds very idealistic, I don't know. (V, 1980)

I took teaching very, very personally. Really, it was everything, it was everything. I did other things, but it was everything. I put an awful lot into it. I was home weekends doing school work. I wouldn't go out in

the middle of the week--garbage! Where was my head?... I always figured that you be nice and everything will work out all right. (E, 1979)

Liberal arts graduates, while aware they were choosing a profession, originally entered teaching with a desire to see their work as a political expression.

Education was a ticket out--a means to an end would be a better way to put it. I knew what I wanted to do. I know that the only way I was going to do it was to get an education, so that clearly was my ticket out of the situation I was in into the situation that I wanted to be in. I wanted to be a teacher and I wanted to be working with minority kids in a kind of urban setting. (W, 1981)

Money was not an overriding concern because to admit to that need would be to sacrifice the definition of teaching as a calling.

I think the money's good for women and this is probably my own problem with sexism. When I was first teaching, I thought the money was just great! I was like, "I can't believe I'm getting this money. $12,000 for doing this, I really love it, it's never boring.' Now I can still support a family of three on it, but I'd like more because I can't save any money. However, it's got to be sexist. (Z, 1981)

In seeing teaching as a calling, work was to have no set boundaries as it was tied to a larger definition of the world and a multi-leveled agenda.

I thought that one of the things I would do by teaching in the city was kind of a social activism thing. I was going to be a teacher, a dynamite teacher, a dynamite social activist, an educational activist. I was going to dig up a lot of dirt, really. That wasn't my intention, but what I mean is I felt though that was part of my job to equalize things and to find out about things. I could just barely manage to survive as a teacher. We did get some activity going. We finally got a faculty senate in that first school I was in and a parents' group started and I feel good about that. (Y, 1981)

What you do in this system is you go and apply for a job and at that time they were telling us it was not

professional to go out and solicit. You just put in your application, and if you got a job, you did and if you didn't, you didn't. They were really telling us that. I would have liked to have had a school fairly near my home for economical reasons and because I have kids and would rather have been close to them. That was supposed to be unprofessional, too, to ask for a certain area. You were in this because of dedication, right? You were supposed to go where you were put and do what you were asked to do. (HH, 1980)

Teachers, viewing their work as a "calling", worthy of endless time and unceasing effort to reach an essentially perfectionist goal, have looked to the family to mirror that devotion. A teacher often laments the lack of parent participation in the child's school work, commenting on the fact that many parents do not oversee the completing of homework or provide a conducive climate for finishing school related tasks. Teachers recommend a quiet space and time in the home set aside as a retreat for the child, an ideal echoing an ideal professional work setting far more than a crowded city classroom or a cacophonous factory floor.

They have a lot of responsibilities out of school and often the school responsibilities are low on the list, which is why some of my best students--my most responsible and hardest working kids--never, never bring their homework back. It's always because, well I get lots of excuses, but I expect that the real reason is that they get lost in the shuffle of a very busy, active household where nobody but them feels responsible about it and they have other responsibilities. They get lost and torn and they just never get done. Kids will do all the dinner dishes for a large family and take care of the littler children while mummy has to go to the clinic or the board of something or another for the day. Also, households were the T.V. is on as a babysitter. Well, I see these things as interventionist techniques that are opposed to the kind of intervention that teachers and students want to do. They work at cross purposes. (Y, 1981)

As these teachers came hard up against the realities of the work setting, they became less able to see themselves as answering a calling when they were angry at their students, harboring resentment towards others with secure positions, or concentrating more and more on test score results.

I went to college in an age where you were supposed--well, all of us are brought up to no matter what the

color, everyone is equal. The whole equal rights thing, the Equal Rights Amendment...I know the history and that in order for black people to get ahead, they came later on the scene and these are the first years that they have been allowed to gain strides. I guess I feel like I'm holding them back personally. I feel like, 'Yes, this is my seniority, but we all voted for seniority, and it is going to end up where it was ten years ago.' That is what I'm afraid of. I'm actively participating in this process. I know what I'm doing. I'm saving my own skin. I'm not saying want to keep you down or anything. I'm doing it to save my own neck. It sounds terrible. I guess if I saw a white person voting for affirmative action, I would say to myself, 'Oh, they couldn't be too worried about their job. Oh, they don't care what happens to them.' (Z, 1981)

Your rewards come in day-to-day contact with children. And a lot of people find that after ten years, the rewards aren't there anymore. They're just too tired to open their hearts to kids and so their rewards are in doing a good job, pouring in the reading and hoping some of it comes out. You have to remember reading scores go down. They don't go up, either. So if you're one of these reading technicians, if you're somebody who says, 'My job is to get as much reading into these kids as possible,' every spring when the scores come out, it's 'You goofed again lady.' (A, 1980)

As the jobs themselves were on the line, it became more obvious that these jobs were the means of support for teachers. A sense of themselves as workers emerged.

There are some nice things about being locked in and preserved. The fence is our shelter as well as confinement. The limits of my job protect me. I think about teaching as a female occupation, who aspires beyond it, who doesn't. I'm thinking about what an anomaly I am in terms of my educational background with a high priced education. A friend of mine from school has just come from Afghanistan where she was doing population work. And being in the hot beds of the world right now. And here I am--teaching elementary school in the blight of this city--and I'm not those people. They're my friends. I'm not intimidated by them. And for once I think I'm not questioning my decision to be a teacher. I'm not saying, 'Isn't this a waste of your intelligence?' Which I've never really said, but I've heard it said. (A, 1980)

Everybody knows now--and I think that's one dramatic way of changed aspect of our job--that if you leave the town of _____ you'll never teach again. You're finished. Nobody will hire you at that rate, with that many years experience. So you're stuck. You either stay in there for life or leave teaching period. I used to contemplate moving to other communities to teach, but no more. You're forever locked in now wherever you are. And that's true of any teacher who has tenure--even if you're only there for five years--you're there for life or forget teaching. It's a sense of imprisonment. (BB, 1980)

I feel kind of awful about what I mentioned about being with the kids. I feel like I owe them something. It's like I said, 'Thank God I have a student teacher because I wouldn't be able to give them everything I'm supposed to, when I just got a pink slip.' It makes me mad that being with them can't be a priority and it's supposed to be and it always has been. This is the first time in teaching that it hasn't been a priority. But I'm looking out for me, it's my job. I want a check on Friday and I've never had to think, 'Am I going to get my next paycheck? That's also a worry, too. (Z, 1981)

Few teachers could justify spending time on their own enrichment as that would be seen as time spent "not on task." This teacher's comment is the only one collected attesting to a teacher's own excitement about learning.

I've probably learned a heck of a lot more about these things that have interested me because I teach and I have a very acceptable way to save face and learn things. I can go to the library and read little kids books about things I don't know anything about...Once I'm filled up I can do the same thing with kids. So to me the stuff that I can give comes out of my own growth. A lot of it comes out of grabbing a book of 46 ideas and all that, sure, but if that's all I don't think I'm going to give much to the kids. (B, 1979)

Concurrently, a political shift in the role of schools in affecting change forced teachers to question their own priorities.

Core curriculum deals with content--short essays, Boston as the hub of the commonwealth, that type of thing. That's different from the kinds of things I thought were going on in my classroom that you just don't find

in curriculums--multicultural education. I spent a lot of time and a lot of energy getting kids to be good to each other and good to themselves. That's not in the curriculum. I would bet it's not part of the core curriculum because it's not something that you can write down and give back in a test. There's no way that you can empirically prove that a kid's attitude has changed, except that the kid seems to be a different kid than he was before. There isn't a test alive that's going to prove it. We as teachers get so caught up with producing something that proves that the kids scored one point on his reading test and that means that he's now reading four months above his grade level--that type of thing. We have to have some way almost of justifying what we've been doing in our classrooms. You can't justify an hour spent talking about why you feel the way you do because you can't empirically prove it later on a report card. So it denies an important part of who we are as people and when you come into the classroom and it gets constantly reinforced that you will not talk about these things, you begin to lose it and begin to lose sight of it. (W, 1981)

My philosophy changed to be more pragmatic. You can't always get every individual kid in a group, and therefore I've lowered my ideals to match more with reality. But still, you know, I feel a lot more idealistic than how I teach. I just have them in two separate compartments. (C, 1980)

They're getting rid of all the reading teachers, putting them back into the classrooms because the superintendent thinks it leads to lowered expectations from the teachers. He feels you just shuttle those kids off into special classrooms. A lot of people view this as the beginning of the end. What are they going to cut next year? Art? Music? Classroom teachers? Because if you can fit 25, maybe you can fit 26 and somewhere along the line you can drop a classroom. I think the reading teachers do a great job. Maybe I don't like the scheduling hassles, and there might be a better way to integrate them and the kids into the classrooms, but of course we never have any say in that kind of thing. And we as teachers don't have any say about keeping them at all. You put the bee in parents' ears and let them scream. If the parents complain, they've got a better chance. (B, 1980)

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Teachers, this teacher seems to be saying, are now seen as workers whose greatest interest is in their salary and job security. The carry-over from life outside the classroom affects the notion of who can speak in "the best interest of the child." Teachers are defined as educational workers, parents and their children as consumers. If teachers voice concern over educational issues, they are seen as duplicitous because these cannot be their real concerns.

> *Their mothers can't take care of the children in the same way because they have to go out to work or they want to go out to work. So stick them with this other woman. Don't give her three or seven, give her 25, give her enough of a salary that she can't complain because you're paying her for this, and say to her, 'This is your job, and you have no needs and you have no rights.' It's never seen as a total environment, it's never seen as what is good for you and the kids. What should be growth for everyone, including you, which they can do so well to women.(G, 1979)*

> *I really feel that a strong basis for the backlash against teachers is that now women are earning equal to men. How dare they? (J, 1981)*

In seeing themselves and being viewed as workers, teachers were joining the standard view of jobs in society in which work is viewed negatively, as something to be done to earn money so that life outside of work could be enjoyed. Now work was work and the job of educators was to prepare the pupils for it.

> *There's not a lot of upward mobility in that neighborhood. I'm not putting them down for that. I'm just saying that day-to-day existence is much more important than putting things off for deferred goals. You hear a kid say, for example, a fourth grader say that education for him means he's going to be an electrcian and he can't wait until he gets to occ. ed. I'm not saying that being an electrician is not a good profession. I'm just saying that for him that's what his education is going to get for him. By and large, the parents want them to get an education because an education is what they need, period. It's hard to explain, except when you talk to the parents, you clearly understand that education is not for them an elevating experience. Like they would sooner their kids take shop than French because shop is something you can do something with here and now. (W, 1981)*

Within the past few years, this viewpoint has spread to all schools, affecting parent-teacher relationships and course curriculum. Two teachers in affluent communities react to the changes:

Parents are quite a bit more demanding now--not to say just on me per se, but on the school system as a whole. Parents really feel extremely anxious that their children have to make it and they have to make it early, and we'll have parents putting a lot of pressure on us to move their child up to the next ability group in math or reading, even though nothing in the way of testing or daily work or teacher recommendation suggest that the child belongs there. But the parents will say things like, 'Doors will start closing when he gets to junior high. Doors will close and if he isn't in the top group now, he'll never get the chance.' So they see life as an increasingly narrow funnel and they've got to get their child into this track, if he's going to have this so-called life of success, whatever that's meant to be. (BB, 1980)

The freedom we had to teach what we want to teach is narrowing. We have what are called Green books. The green book has a course outline, basically the objectives for each of the subject areas. We are duty bound to follow those objectives. We have quite a little leeway in terms of materials that we use, but we have the basic text, we must use one in math and we have a basic text for reading which most kids use...I think they think that there is somehow assurance of accountability that way. I think it comes from the desire to have everything neat and tidy so you can show it to everybody, 'See we've got everything down on paper. Now we know exactly what we're doing.' (BB, 1981)

The changing concept of teaching from a calling to a job comes full circle when the teacher recognizes that both her work and the work of parents are integrally related.

Nobody wants to look at the custodial function of the schools. It's a real thing. I think it's really important. That's what we do. We babysit for those kids of poor and working parents. Why do we scoff at that? Why do we try to hide it under the table? It's there. When you threaten to close the schools, everybody talks about the calamity to education. But what about the calamity to the families whose kids are going to be on the streets or alone in houses? I don't mean that I look upon it as something where I sit there and just keep the kids from killing each other. It's a kind of a service and it's a regular thing. I mean if the parents weren't working or weren't that busy or were free once in a while, the school would

probably have a little more parental input into what we're actually doing in the academic part of it. That would be nice. But I think we have to face that fact that we are looking after the children in that specific sense as well as the others. (Y, 1981)

Should teachers judge students by what they can do today or allow for a degree of trial and error, believing that the failure of the moment will lead to an understanding in the future? This question is integrally linked to the means of evaluation employed by teachers in assessing pupils. Teachers of non-Title I schools stressed the expertise they had developed in evaluating pupil progress.

When I taught first grade initially way back when, that's when it really clicked for me, how kids learn and what they learn. I think teaching reading is an unusual experience because you can see so vividly the acquisition of skills because you teach kids to read. It gave me a great deal of confidence in my diagnostic abilities. (OO, 1981)

[In assessing them] I look at the kind of work they do. Can they accomplish a certain piece of work? Can they work independently? Is this too easy for them? Should they have more challenging work? Is he a good worker? General conversations with them. Do they show in their general conversation that they are a very bright child or do they not seem to understand some of the simpler things that we talk about? I do do testing in reading and phonics for my own use, so that when I'm doing my own planning of work, I won't give work to kids who really don't need it. But most of all it's observation--listening to them and watching them. But that's experience, too. (L, 1981)

Teachers in these schools feel encouraged to develop creative lessons that draw upon their own expertise and that of their students. These lessons cannot be hurried; in fact, they would hardly be considered lessons by more traditional, quantitative standards.

I think that it's very important that they have moments to just mess. I have a great group of block builders. They'll make a ramp where marbles run down on different levels, and they've done this all by themselves, a group of them. And this is real learning, you see. This is where I think it all comes together. I remember another year when it was K-1, when I had a lot of junk stuff around the classroom and we had a new playground made by the

parents way down there in the field, and the children were well aware of it. We had watched it going up. And two of my boys went over to the junk corner and very quietly made a model of that playground. I couldn't believe it. That's why it's so necessary that they not have to do arithmetic and reading all the time. They must have moments when they can just do what they want to do. (L, 1981).

The same "messing about" is provided to their teachers.

We've been going to these lectures and having some discussions with these experts as a whole group and then we go back to our school today, for instance, and spend about half the morning hearing this woman from Harvard whose specialty is the American Left. They talked for quite a while and then we plucked her brain as to what is important in American history as far as she is concerned and how might we try this and what's not worth doing. Then basically we write up some lesson plans. We're using some from a kit, but we're having to sort through materials. We still feel that we are badly informed basically on the subject we are now supposed to teach. But it's been a very good workshop for learning. (BB, 1981)

The year we did the math scope and sequence, there might be a 40 minute slot during several staff meetings where we develop the sequence. What do you do the first year? What do you do in second grade? What do you do in third grade? What are the development steps? If we're doing math, for example, this year we tried out different math curriculum pieces. For example, in September everyone did a unit on graphs. Then during staff meeting our staff developer taught a lesson on graphing and then everybody did their unit. We came and gave feedback about what were the good points. What were the low points? So that we're learning new information perhaps from our staff developer and we're learning from each other. And we also get graphic ideas about how to use information with hands on kinds of experiences with kids. (KK, 1981)

More frequently teachers are judged, and judge themselves, according to two opposing time frames. The first is the degree to which their students' test scores and reading levels are raised during the time they are in their classrooms. Reading on a 3.2 level in third grade is thus presumed to guarantee future prospects, and parents are urged to seek these reassurances despite many of the

odds and discriminatory practices with which they are familiar in their own lives.

I think sometimes I get, 'Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up,' cramming work down their throats in an effort to get them up to grade level. I think that I have to slow down and go at a slower pace and we'll still get to the same point. I think that's one of the problems I have. I've got to complete all this work. I do feel that their books have gotten harder. The basal uses language arts a lot. A lot of adjectives, synonyms, naming words, action words. They are very much concerned with the technicalities, with sentences, periods, question marks. I have to introduce the vocabulary from that book, so whatever I do with them whether it's in the basal reader or outside the basal reader I still have to make sure that they can pick up the green book in the next grade. If I don't some second grade teacher is going to say, 'Hey, they didn't get this specific skill. They can read any word in the book, but they don't know what a long and short vowel is.' I think they'd be able to tell. (Z, 1981)

I found that the middle fourth grade group...the children that are coming into the middle fourth grade group have finished the book that I finished with my top group three weeks before school ended. Two of the third grade teachers are in such a hurry that apparently quantity is good. That's all I can figure. They have shuffled those kids through such books that I can't believe. The subject matter in this book I feel is not appropriate for third grade. It deals with a lot of heavy stuff. But, for some reason this year they pushed these third graders. The thing that slays me is that it's the middle reading group in the third grade who have. I think some of the pressure probably came from the office because he was pressuring me a little bit to get them into the fifth grade book, my readers. I think he was trying to shake up the fifth grade teachers. I think maybe he saw somebody stuffing off somewhere along the line and his way of shaking them up is to have some of the incoming kids already gone through their portion of the series, so that they then have to get off their rear ends and start coming up with work. (R, 1981)

We're talking about a prescribed curriculum. The way the curriculum is written there are certain skills that are supposed to be mastered in the fourth grade.

If you spend maybe one half of the fourth grade time preparing for the fourth grade, you don't have a lot of time to teach those skills that are supposed to be mastered. You really get locked in. I don't know how oth r fourth grade teachers feel, but I always felt a sense of pressure and a sense of frustration that I ust get these things done because the fifth grade eacher expects that this will happen. (W, 1981)

This position assumes no residual effects that might flower in later years, nor does it admit to the deleterious effects of concentrating solely on material designed for a specific grade level.

I don't think phonics is the be all and end all. I just think it's a tool and it will help them. It will enable them to be better spellers and right away that is a nice confidence they have. I think it slows them down in reading, to be very honest. I think it takes them a couple of years to get over all this overlearning of rules. (CC, 1981)

It also discourages teachers from introducing any enrichment material that requires a period of latency.

It's sort of like this 'eureka' thing, wow, finally where you plod and plod and plod with a kid and sort of go over the same ground in as many ways as you can think of and then suddenly all of a sudden it takes hold and, that happens a lot in first grade especially where you're teaching the very basics and you go through all the sight words over and over and this way and that way and cut them out and fill them in and do all the things you can think of, do them in clay, do them in this way...do them in that way. Finally one day the kid is reading. I mean it just seems to happen almost overnight and it does. It's just an amazing thing. It's like it's sort of simmering like a stew in his head and then one day or one week it starts to be put together and then that's it. In third grade I have made a policy of saving their very first papers always and then saving papers throughout the year too and it is striking. It absolutely is striking that there's an improvement. That's always very ego gratifying, even the kid who has probably progressed least has progressed some...I think one thing I've learned to look for is those little smidges of progress and not always necessarily want our kids to end up third grade reading beginning r ing in the fourth grade reader.

That isn't usually the way it is because after all they might come to you reading in the first grade reader so how come, it's not likely that at your point he'll go and jump three years in one year. (Y, 1980)

This is the classroom. It's like we're teaching them that as long as you can pass the test, you'll do all right. But that's not the truth. We're concerned with you for this year, and then see you later. From what I'm thinking and talking to other teachers, probably we can see up to second grade and that's about it. I really think we're only pushing them onto the next grade. (Z, 1981)

I worked hard on conflict resolution and by the end of the year the class was really a cohesive, lovely group, but that involved many months of letting it out, taking risks, a willingness to confront conflict. It was very difficult for me because, although I believed in my methods, I was never sure I would see the results. And naturally I made mistakes, because I took risks. I simply felt that the alternative, repression, was too defeating. My principal was upset by any conflict in the room . She did not view the year as a process but expected every day to be calm and smooth. The only way you can have that in a class of kids with diverse personalities and many needs is through repression. If you actually want to try to resolve issues, you are going to have rocky periods. My principal acknowledged the progress made by the class by the end of the year, especially with the very difficult boys, but I don't think she saw it as a cumulative effect but I simply shaped up and shaped them up. (G, 1980)

In any case, few teachers down the line, also urged to stay with specific grade level tasks, have time or incentive to nurture this along. Further, the isolation of one teacher from another precludes their following up on these enrichment activities in order to bring them to flower.

We don't have any time at all to see other teachers. We don't. We very rarly see one another. But we used to do a lot of communal teaching. But we have so much curriculum to get through. You don't have a lot of spare time. (CC, 1981)

You need to go out and see what other people are doing and what other materials and methods are that they're using. But you just don't see anybody. You don't

have the time or the opportunity. You don't even talk to other people in the building. At 8:15 or when the bell rings, everyone is in her classroom. You only have 20 minutes at recess and sometimes you don't feel like talking about it. (M, 1981)

I don't know how much I agree with the teacher right next door to me. We teach very differently. I also literally know very little about the second grade teachers' program other than a few things I see up on the board. Very disjointed knowledge. I don't have a comprehensive view of what they are doing. All I know is that they're continuing along with the basal reader and the school math system. (Z, 1981)

At the same time that a teacher's worth is judged by a narrow time frame of nine months, she and all the other teachers working with a particular set of youngsters feel accountable for any future problems or triumphs students might have.

Roughly from their background you can tell what they're going to turn out to be. The parents will talk about it, and some of the more ambitious parents will go right straight through to graduate school. These are six year olds, and already the push is on. (L, 1981)

Yesterday we went to a teachers meeting and they had the CAT scores for the fourth and sixth grade. And that year of the real wild, wooly bunch, oh, if you could have seen! The boss had broken it down into a list of fourth graders who had done unusually well, 90 and above and a list of those who had done below the 30th percentile. It was something. It made me feel terrible. And I said to Joan, 'I feel terrible. I saw so many of my kids' names on there. I feel terrible.' You know, you don't know if it's your teaching or if it's the child. You always sort of wonder, how much could I have done for that child? (E, 1980)

I feel that I certainly have touched a lot of lives positively for a very short time and maybe very smally, very minutely but it has happened. I've had some feedback on that. People do remember me and talk to me and write me letters still and so on and that's very nice. I haven't had any kind of fulfillment in the sense that one of my former students, as a result of my model of teaching, has gone on to great academic glory. (Y, 1981)

Sometimes I think I pushed kids too hard. I was very, very demanding. I had a kid in my class who was from a very working class family and who was doing wonderfully, wonderfully well. But I think for him it was a question of what his real future was. Not that his parents would pull him back really, but there was a question that if he really went further ahead, would he become estranged from them? Would he fit into his neighborhood? All those kinds of things. (G, 1980)

Should teachers encourage parent participation or maintain a distanced approach? The relationship between parents and teachers was the most volatile subject discussed with the interviewees. It was the one issue which was voluntarily brought up by each teacher in the half hour of the bi-weekly interview devoted to exploring teachers' personal concerns.

Teachers of schools in more affluent neighborhoods were on the whole pleased with the day-to-day help they received from parents in running the classroom and correcting papers.

I feel that the parents are more involved than they used to be, that they're more interested in what's going on in the school. They want to be more a part of the school. I know one year I had thirty-odd in a K-1 and I knew I just, you know, to handle this would be pretty bad, so I told the parents, some of them, that I really needed some help, so every single day of the week I had a parent to help me, and if they weren't there they'd send in a substitute. So I consider the parents here extremely supportive, very understanding. (L, 1980)

A liberal arts teacher then teaching in an alternative public school:

One thing we had then which disappeared over the years was a lot of volunteers. We had a parent who was on the faculty of B.U. Ed. School. He and other faculty members had a course that was a practicum--three half days in the field and three half days learning methods. They field based it at our school, so we had people, people, people. At one point I had three people three half days. So that was nine half days of help. I had this wonderful volunteer who worked with me for six straight months who came in on those three half days. She was a grandmother to us all, mother to me. So there was support. You could individualize. (A, 1979)

Teachers in Title I schools were dismayed to realize that such help was not forthcoming from the parents of their students. They

recognized that this lack of participation was due to parents' own sense of intimidation and impotency. Schools intruded into their lives generally in negative ways, and to keep as far away from them as possible was the most prudent course.

> *I'm sure I've mentioned that we have very little parental input in our school. It's difficult for various reasons. But I would really like to give it a push and put a little money into it and see if we could get a paid parent coordinator as well as a teacher coordinator who would really get some interesting things going for the parents. And really try to involve them in the education of their children by showing them what we give them in school and the kind of work they do. The feeling among the other teachers was that it was not worth putting money into a parent component because after all we've tried everything to get the parents out. 'If they don't come to open house, how can you expect them to come to anything else?' The realization is not there that parents feel intimidated, ignorant, they feel as if they don't know what to look for or what to ask or what to say. They don't want to be told that their kid is dumb or poorly behaved. They don't get enough out of coming to open house. (Y, 1981)*

> *Here parent involvement is almost discouraged. It's hard to explain but it's like some kind of secret society whereby entry, you only get in there if you're a teacher and if you're a parent, well then you're already suspect. It's different at the _____. The personality of the _____ neighborhood is such that those parents are always in that school. They are educators, many of them are affiliated with [a prestigious university] and they spend a lot of time in the school. They are very much concerned with what's going on in the school in terms of their kids which is not to say that our parents aren't. Our parents want them to get a good education. They perceive education as a ticket out but they are not people who are going to come in here and say, 'I think they need to have a reading lab,' or 'I think they need to have this or that.' (W, 1980)*

These teachers are sensitive to the barriers placed in front of working class parents in developing a school community. The difficulty in overcoming these barriers is obvious in the next excerpt. While this teacher sincerely desires a closer relationship between teacher and parent, her remedy reinforces the educational disparity--putting the parents back into the school as

students rather than on the equal or more powerful footing of more affluent parents in those same communities or in the more affluent suburbs.

> *What I have in mind is bringing the parents into the education of their children, not just looking on as outsiders. For example, I would start with their very basic things--a little seminar on nutrition. Parents are interested in their kids' health. Yet, they often come to school with a lot of candy and junk and the wrong kind of snacks or no breakfast, even when there is a school breakfast. The effects of T.V. on kids. Is there some way that we can convince parents that it's not necessary to have the T.V. on all the time? If they realize that it really was affecting their children's academic performance badly, would they be willing to make some changes in their lives for the sake of their children? Sitting down with them for an evening and going through a math workbook, one of their kid's math workbooks, and saying, 'This is how we're teaching multiplication these days. It's probably different from when you were little. Let's go over this and see how things are now and see the kinds of things that I do with my classroom,' so that if I sent homework home or an unfinished paper, the parent doesn't have to say, 'Oh, I don't know how to do that.' Now that's a big program and I wouldn't expect a lot of response right away or a lot of change really. But it's never been tried. (Y, 1981)*

> *Parent Council is comprised of about 12 active mothers out of maybe 400 potential parents at that school. It's a tiny, tiny thing and it's a shame. They work awfully hard. They're really the core, they're the parents who get together, they put on a presentation at the last school committee meeting to help save the _____ School. I mean they really did their homework, you know, they're very hard workers. They're the ones that education means a lot to, the ones that I know and I'm friendly with. They're the white collar parents, they're the educated parents. One of this is the wife of the president of [a computer company], and there's a professor someplace in there. It turns out a couple of mothers have been teachers, or they were professionally employed before they got married. (R, 1981)*

> *I know there's another school [the school on the hill] that really is an ego deflator. Teachers just don't feel they do anything right. I think there's a lot of*

pressure on them. They come right into the classroom and sit and watch. There they come in to criticize and to see what they should be doing with their child. I think I'd get frustrated at that faster than working with kiddos that have a hard time getting it. You don't get any talk like that from people in the project. They don't even aim that high at all. It's more like, 'Gee, he's awful at the house. What do you do to make him behave?' It's almost like they tap on the door and are afraid to poke their head in. Every once in a while you'll hear a parent say, 'I want them to go to college' But that's very rare and those parents expect that they should really be above grade level. For the most part, though, it's 'Do they behave and can they read?' (PP, 1980)

I don't want to get involved with this particular group of aggressive, pushy parents. I know them all. I was not happy when I saw them on the principal selection committee. It was not a cross-section of parents. It was the very bright, the very capable, the very aggressive. I think that parents are ap. to look at people, for instance, a strong candidate wouldn't appeal to many parents because they'd think that they wouldn't be able to function in the school in maybe the way that they had been. They're firmly entrenched in the school and this would be a definite threat to them. I think they've got things--they're not running [the interim principal who was also a candidate] but at least they have worked their way through. With some of the candidates that we talked to, they were very leery of a couple of very capable women. I could see them and I watched them. They were not sure they wanted this. (L, 1981)

Moreover, the relationship between parent and teacher cannot be studied within the context of each individual school alone. Schools in which the parent population as a whole exercised political and economic clout were also the schools that invited more open parent participation. These parents were not reluctant to voice their opinion at school committee meetings, as their demands were seriously considered.

A number of parents in the town are pushing for special funds for a talented and gifted program. A good many of the teachers are perplexed in that it's being proposed at all at this time where this town voted next to the highest in the state for 2½ [a tax cutting bill] and yet there's a parent group that's coming along with

this proposal that obviously is going to cost some money. Primarily they're from _____ School and _____ School which is the school that represents the wealthiest district in town. They think the greatest proportion of the gifted will come from their area; I suppose they think that anyway. (V, 1981)

She's gotten pledges from parents in the _____ School who want to keep _____ School open. The reason the school committee thought the school should be closed is because the classrooms are small in the old wing and they don't have enough classrooms to make it a viable K-5 school. If they added two more classrooms to it, it would have the same number of classrooms we do. So this mother decided to raise money to build on two more classrooms over there. She's already raised $30,000 and she's sure that given another six months she can get another $60,000. (X, 1980)

A teacher in a non-Title I school:

This issue of school closing and what's going to happen has been talked about all year. There's been considerable discussion throughout the school among parents about the option of private schools as opposed to being bussed to another school. I think it's the neighborhood that they don't particularly like. They don't like their kids going there and that was it. I think it's a fear that perhaps the level of teaching, through necessity, will not be as high. We have a lot of professional people in this school and their kids are bright, and they take them everywhere. You know, they go on skiing weekends, trips to Bermuda, I mean they get around. Europe. Then they're tucked in with people--I'm glad this is confidential--they're tucked in with people who come from blue-collar workers and maybe even lower. They teach in groups, I'm sure, and would give them the same level of work that they'd be getting here, but I don't know that they would get the intellectual stimulation that they get from other kids. I think subconsciously that this is the type of thing they are worried about. (L, 1981) [Her school was not closed.]

Working with these parents enhanced the working conditions of the teachers in these schools, whereas identifying with the needs of a less advantaged community did not necessarily lead to greater professional recognition or a balanced use of resources.

I have 31 kids and the 3-4 combination next door has 24 kids. We have been begging the school committee to hire another teacher because there are enough fouth graders for a second fourth grade class. It falls on deaf ears. The _____ School goes to the school committee and says, 'We don't want a 4-5 combination because we think it's educationally unsound' and just like that [she snaps her fingers] they hire another teacher. Politically the school committee had to bow to the wishes of this vocal group. They're the country club school. They are the elitists and they get what they want. (W, 1980)

Our principal was persona non grata in another school. There was a lot of parent pressure and political pressure between the superintendent and the mayor, whose kids went to her old school, to get her out of there. So we were not allowed input into the process even though it's supposed to go through the full rating process with teacher and parent involvement. This was done on the basis that under the new powers and the reorganization the superintendent has the discretion to do anything he thinks is best for the school system as a whole. I think they picked on us because we are not a magnet school. We are not a very important school. We're certainly not well desegregated, either. We're sort of a little grundgy corner of this school system. The other schools that would have been possible that had acting principals were in districts with a little more political clout. (Y, 1981)

The pattern of individual negotiation, lobbying for the rights of one school to the exclusion of the needs of others, finds its parallel within each school in the issue of class placement. The one area that teacher after teacher, teacher college graduate and liberal arts alike in Title I and non-Title I schools, cited as a source of tension among school staffs was in the area of class placement--which children are placed with which teachers. It has always been a difficult issie in schools, and the rise of parent participation and community control has added to that difficulty as principals react to these new pressures. Many teachers described, how in attempting to balance classes, the final decision was the perogative of the principal who in this one area, was able to control both teachers and students, and their parents by honoring some requests and discouraging others. It was striking to read transcript after transcript in which the concern of a community for quality education has been narrowed to the concern of individual parents for individual teachers.

A non-Title I school:

A letter goes out from the superintendent to all the elementary school parents saying that placement is going to be done soon and that we try to balance homerooms according to boys versus girls and intellectual abilities and personalities and blending. If you have any input to this grouping, we'll be happy to have you send it to the principal in writing by such and such a date. So, of course, the letters start pouring in. The principal honors some parent requests, but never all of them, I believe. I know parents who have requested me and I've never had their kids, and I know of someone who requested me and I have. In the summer the principals start fiddling with the groups and rearrange them in such a way that they have gotten kids with the teachers that they want but their homerooms are no longer well balanced. In that way we have felt, we have complained about those times to the principals in the past. You know, 'Look at the homeroom that you put together. This is going to turn out to be a disaster.' But nothing is done about it. (BB, 1981)

A Title I school:

You've got to remember that another thing that happens with the masters of the schools is that they have their own little fiefdom. Their fiefdom is eroding but in the question of classroom placement, not yet. Class distribution is a function of the master of the building and he makes the decisions about who goes in what class. It's one of those those policies that masters have had over the years and it's just one of those perogatives that masters just will not give up. It's one of their little ways of having power in the building. It's one of their ways of rewarding people who are on their side and for punishing those people who are not...I over the years have had terrible classes. In the beginning, I know he put every minority kid in my classroom because he figured well, of course, I'm going to mother them all because I'll understand them and in some cases that's true. In other cases, I don't understand them any better than a non-minority teacher would. That was beside the point. The point was that over the years you could tell those people who were in his favor or those people who were not in his favor. (W, 1980)

Because of the isolation of one class from other, the question of class placement becomes paramount in deciding how the year will go for both student and teacher. Teachers are judged by how particular children in front of them progress each year in comparison to the children of other classes, a factor which inhibits cooperation among themselves in terms of helping each other develop creative curriculum or work with "difficult" children.

> *If a child comes that's a problem child or low academically any of the teachers in the grade are never brought together to discuss, 'Does anybody think they could handle this child? Would you be willing to take him or help?' There's never that kind of discussion...The cards are stacked, really. I get my token few good children, but I knew one of the other teachers was going to get the cream of the crop, her buddies were going to see to that. I can see the pattern. I'm going to be getting the tough ones every year because the guidance counselors also think I should have them. They're going to be in and out for services, you name it and they're out for something, which is making the scheduling very, very difficult. I could intimidate the principal if I wanted to. I've seen people do it. They yell at him, 'I don't want that child, take him out of my room! Today, this minute, I won't have him!' Out the kid goes. (D, 1979)*

The lack of community concern thus narrows the scope of a teacher's own concern in helping children. She cannot be helped or help other teachers develop in order that she and they may better teach them. Her only way of providing some control in insuring a good year for the children in her class is to try to get the "best class" she can. Parents, naturally wishing the best for their child, lobby for the "best teachers." Middle class parents hold an advantage in this area, for they are used to exercising <u>individual</u> clout.

A state teachers college graduate in a Title I school:

> *Our principal is very close to them, the ones that count, and he knows somehow he has this way of telling the parents that count. He's a public relations man, he's said that all along. He has a lot of coffee hours with these council parents. At least once a month, there's a coffee in the library for them and he sits in on this. He's very close to them. And they feel that they have his ear all the time. They staff the library. They are also the volunteers there. They get to really take a look at the teachers. We*

were surprised when we found out just the other day they do a lot of talking among themselves after sitting and observing the teachers who are down there with their different classes. Basically that's how some of them decide who they're going to request for their child the following year, this kind of observing. They do know, but they're also the parents who pick and choose the teachers. They are not the ones who let their kids in the classrooms they're not in favor of. At his office, they're the ones who get hustled right in, the red carpet is right out there. The ones who are there because he's had a lot of trouble with their kids or something like that, I must say, it's different. One father came in one time with his two big sons, grown men sons. He made them sit out there for a good long time. And finally when he opened the door to the father he said, 'You may come in, you may stay right there,' and he ushered the father into his office and he left the other two out there. But when I had this conference with this mother who wanted the older teacher, she was somebody who he felt really needed attention, so we got to confer in his office. He left, you know, 'Make yourself at home, have my office for as long as you want it.' He is definitely a PR man. (R, 1980)

One teacher can wind up with a room full of "requests", in which most of the children come from parents who are already informed, interested and with the time to visit the school and monitor their child's progress. Other teachers are left to cope with more "difficult" classes, and are then in turn found at fault when visited by the same group of parents when their next child reaches that grade level. Neither teacher may be happy with the kind of teaching that she has now been influenced to follow, but parental requests have become a crucial standard by which principals and personnel managers as well as the teachers themselves use to determine the adequacy of staff members.

A liberal arts graduate in a non-Title I school:

They have this system of requests in kindergarten. They may honor them a little bit in the grades, but not as much. But the parents know they can say, 'K-1, I want this teacher,' and have a good chance of getting her. Now, I get many requests. There are parents that do like me very much, but suddenly she's become very popular, and since she had only one session, you know, she had a class this year of all requests. Generally children who are requests might be better children because their parents are more interested, so this year I feel

like I have all the leftovers. One of my classes is very difficult and the other is pretty good. The other is pretty good because they're mostly people who just moved in or didn't know me. It's very good for my morale. (H, 1980)

A state teachers college graduate in a Title I school:

Out of my class of 24, 11 are requests. I suppose your first feeling is to be flattered, but you see, my first feeling, I don't think I'm that flattered. I think I feel a little put upon because along with this request technique comes the little unspoken contract you will be kind and loving with my child. Everything that I've built you up on that pedestal to be, you will be. With some of the requests, the children also have large problems that other teachers haven't tackled. They never requested the other teachers, but when they come to me, they thought, 'Okay, if we request _____, we know she'll straighten him out.' (QQ, 1981)

I think the principal accepts the requests because he doesn't want any problems with the parents, personally. But then it appears to me that it's become a little out of hand for the very simple reason that towards the end of the year, we had one teacher there that no one seemed to want. The list had to be rejuggled. The children that I had received not through requests, but that I had had previously and that I liked, happened to be from bilingual families--Portuguese, Italian--and these parents do not come to the school. They do not read or speak English. I don't even know if they read or speak Portuguese. These parents aren't aware of this wheeling and dealing that can be perpetrated upon the principal's office. So these children were hacked from the list and sent into the other room. It's unfair to the teacher and unfair to the kids, especially. It's a simple process. The people who work in the schools, of course, get their requests immediately because this is their reward for working in the school. (QQ, 1981)

She is then caught between fulfulling the demands of the more vocal parents, thus maintaining her popularity, and championing the needs of the less politically astute population. She thus distances herself from one set of parents while embracing another.

I've gotten a lot of requests in the past few years, too, and I think that helps when you begin to see parents

along. They are allowed to request in our town and they do it. Just the fact that I have the child of the superintendent and that was a request...Our principal I think makes a big mistake when he puts out a list of who's in whose class in June and also puts a little 'r' beside those that are requests, which I think is awful. It's human nature to count up how many requests you get, for crying out loud. I don't pay attention to it in any other grade. Of course, you pay attention to it in your own grade. If I hadn't been requested by the superintendent and knew that another teacher had been, I think that probably would have been the end of me because I'm very sensitive. I would not have been able to deal with that well...The whole issue is particularly bad in the third grade because the teacher with the alcohol problem is in the third grade and it's widely know. The parents who are in the know know it. This other teacher, it's not unusual for her to have 15 requests, a giant class compared to the other teachers. It isn't fair to her because she not only gets the requests from the parents who really care and thus would generally end up with a classroom of bright kids, but she gets all the hard to deal with kids because the other two aren't capable of dealing with them. The principal lets something like that go by. (R, 1981)

Framing the issue in terms of the question "Should that teacher teach in my school?" or "Should that teacher teach my child?" becomes moot when that teacher is no longer there or has, through numerous pressures on her or on other teachers, changed her teaching in a way that precludes any real selection.

I love kids just as much as I did when I first started teaching, which is the reason why I'm not teaching. Because I figured, well part of the reason why, I made myself a promise...That if I didn't feel really positive anymore I was going to get out, because the profession is full of people who should have gotten out. My personal philosophy is, I will never destroy a kid. And staying in teaching longer than I should can destroy kids and I just never would do that. I love kids too much and I love the teaching profession as a whole too much to do that. (W, 1980)

When I first started teaching 17 years ago, I believed in a very child-centered, developmental approach for kindergarten; I still do, but over the years my teaching style has changed because of feedback I've gotten from different principals, pushing me to rely more on

workbooks and things like that which I never would have done on my own...When this new reading coordinator came in one day, I was working with a group in workbooks and my aide was working with another group in the workbooks and everything was quiet, and we had exactly what my first principal would have loved. And she thought it was terrible. So what can I do. [laughs] Finally accomplished what they wanted me to do, and it's hard for me to change tools. It's not that easy because it's habits you've formed over the years, and I got to like the other way because that's the way I've been doing it. I wouldn't mind going back, but I'm not sure that that reading coordinator will stay very long and I'm not sure that even that superintendent will stay very long. (H, 1979)

What we are suggesting in this section is that there is no one definition of the "good" teacher--the teacher who should teach--, that differing definitions reflect the power relationships present in society as a whole and communities in particular at specific historical periods. If outside pressures and the amount of clout that various groups of parents, administrators, or business interests bring with them into schools continue to be denied and/or unchallenged, then efforts such as the currently labeled "school-based management" can easily become means of legitimizing those inequities rather than redressing them.

In fact, our study indicates that teacher training and staff development is shaped in such a way that the question of quality education is not asked uniformally and cannot be decided uniformly--that policy makers looking at inner city schools may pose the question in one way and ask it very differently when confronting the issue of their own child's education. This may not always be out of a sensitivity to each particular community but rather out of a sensitivity to the fact that one community is allowed a greater degree of control over their personal and political fortunes and encourages this philosophy among its teachers and students, while another community's school presents a more limited sphere of influence for both teacher and pupils.

A teacher in an affluent suburb:

Once in a while I'll take a course with somebody from the Boston Public Schools. I taught with a girl who came from the Boston Public Schools when I was in another school in town, and she just couldn't believe the freedom that she had here. She would tell us repeatedly, 'There, you enter with the children, you leave with the children, there's no time for preparation.

Look what you're allowed to do here, this is marvelous. I'm really enjoying myself.' And I felt that she was gradually opening up although, see, she only stayed two years so I really didn't see a complete change, but she felt it very strongly. (L, 1981)

A teacher in an affluent neighborhood.

I teach in a school where three out of four parents are professional people--college professors, economists, architects, lawyers. The children take the California Achievement test in second and in fourth grade. It's a good thing parents and administrators don't care much about the scores. The parents of the children I teach want them to learn a lot in my class--yes--but they want their children to enjoy school, too--to enjoy learning. It's not the reading and math that interests parents most--all my kids can read and most can do rather well in math. What interests the parents is how I'm challenging their children intellectually. I teach the children all about mosquitoes and monarch butterflies. That's the kind of thing the parents love. We take trips to the city. We go out and the children learn to interview shopkeepers, professional people, the people on the street--and the parents love it. All this keeps me going. If I had to teach the dry stuff only (like spelling and grammatical points like how to make kinds of plurals) I'd lose interest in this job. But because I can teach the children all about things that interest me--because I can actually teach the children how to think--it keeps me interested. And because I get the approval of parents, administrators, and the kids themselves, I love what I'm doing. (OO, 1981)

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF CONFLICTING DEMANDS ON TEACHERS

In our interviews we have emphasized the totality of the teachers' experiences, rather than concentrating solely on present performance and perception. We felt, and continue to feel, that this reconstruction is crucial to understanding the reasons why a particular teacher is willing or unwilling to teach specific lessons, to arrange her furniture in rows or at random, or to allow access to parents beyond the conventional yearly conference. Without this kind of probing--which uncovers complex and profound power relationships linked to a myriad of evolving social, economic, racial and gender related issues-- it is worse than disingeneous consider the question of how to improve schools, particularly as the easy and politically acceptable alternative is to blame the individual and justify her removal. Our data suggests that this "remedy" ignores and will not not eradicate for others the underlying causes that have led to a teacher's dedication and performance, or a school's overall standing in the community.

Complementary to documenting the career histories of individual teachers some grounding of their experiences in the history of teaching is necessary to complete the goal of setting individual teachers' situations into a larger societal framework. The present-day discovery of teacher dissatisfaction as a recently recognized phenomenon obscures the fact that the basic contradictory demands on teachers have been present since the doors of the brick grammar school first closed behind a staff of schoolmarms, a male principal, and a rush of youngsters. The emphasis on individual response, implicit in current discussions on teacher burnout, deadwood, professionalization, and effective schools, have had their ideological and structural counterparts from the inception of teaching in our public schools. For each new level of control that has been introduced--the switch from the model of the one-room school to a centralized urban bureaucracy, the introduction of intelligence tests and experts to interpret them, the present-day use of computers to diagnose and prescribe "enhanced individualized learning modes" to both teachers and students--a concomitant new ideology and rationale have been added to obscure the increased tensions that such divisions create.

We were, however, surprised to note the degree to which present day quotes illustrated historical experience. The strong legacy of the past is evidenced by how closely contemporary testimony demonstrates the tenacious influence of established practice and beliefs. While it may be argued that it is ahistorical to use quotations from teachers of today as testimony for past experiences, the very strong echo of those periods voiced by different groups of teachers reflects the fact that past ideologies in teaching have not been supplanted but were transplanted to future eras as

bulwarks for similar institutional conditions. As different teachers recounted their experiences in teacher training courses and early working years, it became obvious to us that different groups of people entered teaching, bringing with them the traditions of their training backgrounds. Today teachers prepared in the tradition of the normal school work next door to those recruited as Teacher Corps members specifically chosen because they had had no previous teacher training. Each group trained to think in evolving cultural idioms interacts in a common setting which adjusts beliefs to standard practice.

The basic work situation of the elementary school teacher was first established by the "common school" movement of the mid 1800's.

> *Women filled a desperate need created by the challenge of the common schools, the ever-increasing size of the student body, and the westward growth of the nation. America was committed to educating its children in public schools, but it was insistent on doing so as cheaply as possible. Women were available in great numbers, and they were willing to work cheaply. The result was another ideological adaptation: in the very period when the gospel of the home as woman's only proper sphere was preached most loudly, it was discovered that women were the natural teachers of youth, could do the job even better than men, and were to be preferred for such employment. This was always provided, of course, that they would work at the proper wage differential--30 to 50 percent of the wages paid male teachers was considered appropriate.*[11]

The common school movement broadened the conception of school from the colonial pattern of privately funded academies responsible for the intellectual development of selected students to publicly supported institutions through which the government would provide opportunities to overcome socially inherited disadvantages. Education was to be the great equalizer.

By declaring the goal of equal opportunity, society also recognized that children entered schools with a wide range of needs. While charged with promoting individual intellectual development of each child, the teacher took on the additional role of the soothing, regulating, and resolution of the frictions that developed when children became aware of these differences. The contradictory nature of these two roles was institutionally resolved by allocating to the master and the normal school dean the task of devising curriculum materials and establishing institutional procedures while delegating to the teacher the responsibility for reconciling children to their disparate needs.

Disciplining children to an acceptance of institutional roles and standards, always a problematic and tension ridden task, was one administrators willingly appropriated to the teacher on a daily, six-hour-a-day basis. Teachers were recruited to this essentially "disciplinarian" role by defining their sphere of influence not in the pejorative term of "discipline" but in the more positive sense of exercising their natural talents of empathy and nurturance. The administrative dichotomy masked teachers' lack of control over curriculum policies and management decisions. Teachers did not question the trade-off, accepting their lack of control over system-wide policies for the announced moral superiority inherent in their gender. Teaching was heralded as "woman's true profession", but not because teaching followed the classic definition of a profession whose members controlled a shared body of specialized knowledge. Instead, the claim to professionalism of a 19th century teacher rested on the ideology of women's birthright of maternal solicitude. Women were encouraged to believe that the management of schools was of a lower order.

> *From the beginning, sex segregation was part of the design of the urban graded school. Women's supposed comparative advantage in nurturance, patience and understanding of children led the architects of the urban school system to slot women in primary school teaching... By structuring jobs to take advantage of sex-role stereotypes about women's responsiveness to rules and male authority, and men's presumed ability to manage women, urban school boards were able to enhance their ability to control the curriculum, students and personnel. Male managers in the 19th century urban schools regulated the core activities of instruction through standardized promotional examinations on the content of the prescribed curriculum and strict supervision to ensure that teachers were following mandated techniques. Rules were highly prescriptive. Given this purpose of tight control, women were ideal employees. With few alternative occupations and accustomed to patriarchical authority, they mostly did what their male superiors ordered. Differences of gender provided an important form of social control.*[12]

Highly prescriptive methods were at the core of teacher training since it was in the area of curriculum that teachers presumably required careful guidance and monitoring.

> *What I mean is, you know, there's sort of a picture, sort of your old schoolmarm, old maid teacher. They're strict but they teach you so well. They know everything. They've been teaching for years. They know all the ropes.*

They know the technical part of teaching. They know to write a lesson plan. They know how to organize a room. They know phonics, in and out. They can give you any rule of phonics. There's some training there they can refer to. There's a lot of strength there. But sometimes I feel that they're one track. They all come along the same track and there's not a lot of creativity. In their training they have to go step by step. And you cannot jump from step two to step four. You have to go step two, three, four, five, and six. And that if they were allowed to feel their way along a little bit more, it would be more exciting. (Z, 1980)

They [state teachers colleges] only had one goal, and that was to turn out fellows and girls that would step right into a classroom and know what they were doing. They achieved that, they really did. Blackboard writing, attendance register. There was nothing about the running of the classroom that they hadn't covered, really. (V, 1980)

To question these methods would mean rebelling against accepted gender roles and the strongly socialized belief that those in positions of authority were inherently wiser. It would also mean losing the protection of following an approved model.

I used to have a much better tolerance for noise, but the principal has a very low tolerance and I sort of absorbed that. I can't tell you, all these years later, how very nervous it makes me when there's noise. So a lot of the time I can't allow a lot of things in the room to get used because they talk while they're using them. So I'm just a lot more directive and authoritarian. Once I asked a teacher, 'How do you keep your kids under control?' and she said, 'Well, you have to be a dictator.' And it took me about two or three years to understand what that meant. (C, 1980)

The structure of the school and school system are thus reflected in the structure of the individual classroom. Within the given of a carefully controlled set of work restrictions, the teacher's institutional style tended to become more authoritarian as she sought control over student behavior, the only task that was hers alone and the only means by which she was considered unique.

Any classroom tension that developed from such a rigidly predetermined system was to be eased by improving the teacher's ability to sooth children when their inability to meet standards caused

problems. Gaining collective control over curriculum decisions or system-wide policies, the basis of such competitive tensions, was discouraged.

> *We don't have any choice when they give you those books... They want everyone in this system to be in this...I felt you had to cover them by hook or by crook. It didn't mean everybody knew it or was able to learn it...We had only the hardest of books and workbooks to work with... We're practically killing ourselves trying to get enough reading into the low group...You get very frustrated trying to teach it...The expectations were absolutely way out of line. And that's why the frustration on our part, and the youngsters. (D, 1980)*

The highly prescriptive nature of teaching--in which neither teacher nor student could deviate from a set norm--exonerated both of them from responsibility for upgrading the education of pupils. The assumption by school boards that all "qualified" teachers would approach their classrooms in essentially the same manner, strengthened by the school board's knowledge that teachers had little selection of materials and texts, paradoxically freed teachers from competitive comparisons with their colleagues. If a student could not read in the fourth grade reader, it was simply accepted as an immutable fact that neither teacher nor pupil could change. As yet there was no finely graded system of specialists and curriculum advisors to interpret such deviations. Once a teacher finished the "basic subjects" each day, the less loosely defined attributes of nurturance for which she was hired could be exercised without fear of falling behind an adjusted norm. Teachers put on plays, directed marching bands, and spent whole afternoons with their classrooms drawing clouds or leading their pupils in Halloween parades through town.

> *I had a self-contained classroom. I just remember glorious afternoons where you would have like an hour and a half to do anything you wanted to do. I didn't have specialists. So we could meander through the day and if we wanted to do more reading we could do more reading. If we wanted to do a special project, we'd just kick math out. And you could make a huge mess of the room and invite people in...There was just more of a family feeling with your own class. (Z, 1981)*

In addition, teachers also regularly and creatively adjusted prescribed curriculum methods and school-wide policies to meet the needs of individual pupils. Many teachers knew that strict adherence to administrative fiat would create unbearable tensions and considerable boredom for both themselves and their pupils.

But they were careful to make sure that their own modifications were not seen as too original by their administrators, nor to give any signal that they considered their judgment to be equal to their superiors.

> *There is no facility for ever discussing anything. The former principal pretty much handled things his own way. If you knew how to handle him, you would go with whatever your problem was or whatever your suggestion was and be very clever about it and discuss it with him when he's in a very good mood and give him the answer and let him think that he solved the whole problem. And if you could do that, it worked out fine. If you just say, 'The children in the cafeteria are behaving terribly. Something has to be done, they just can't run any old place. Okay, Jim, I'll sit down and I'll draw a picture of the tables and I'll write down just how many children sit in each room and number the tables and then we'll have a diagram of just exactly where everybody goes.' 'Oh, that's a good idea'-- and then we'll have a meeting and he tells everybody of how he thought about this idea. (D, 1980)*

Ironically, combining the qualities of nurturance and self-sacrifice of woman's role in the home with the wage earning position forced women in many school districts to choose between the two life choices. If women were expected to be truly self-sacrificing, they could hardly be expected to serve two masters. Married women, and later women who married and became pregnant, were forced to leave the field. Men were not required to make such choices as they were not hired for the same reasons. A 50-year-old teacher speaking of her childhood aspirations:

> *I sort of always wanted to teach ever since I was a little girl and had any idea of the future. I always wanted very much to have children. When I was a little girl...if you were a teacher you sort of had to be an old maid. All of my teachers, they were all unmarried. I think, in fact, that if it wasn't an actual rule, that is, written in the contract, it was an unwritten rule that a woman had to be able to devote her whole self to the job. Otherwise, she could not possibly handle it, right? A man could be a provider and a husband and everything else and run a profession, but a woman couldn't possibly handle it. So I was really broken up about that when I was a young girl, a teenager and thinking of my future. And my career and my desire for children. (Y, 1980)*

As Lortie has pointed out, working in schools was a one step career, at least for women, and those men who chose to remain in such a woman-identified role. For most men, it was merely one step in a multi-leveled career as an educator, one that often expanded to include principal, district supervisor, and perhaps superintendent.

> *Men in elementary education back in the early, middle fifties were a rarity. Those fellows had been told they probably would be principals very quickly if they went into elementary...Most of the fellows had intended to be junior high teachers but they were told at that juncture that if they went into the elementary program they could practically guarantee them they would be principals within two or three years and they were. (V, 1981)*

What is not recognized is that the one dimensionality of teaching was the result of the 19th century structuring of the schools which separated the intellectual and managerial functions of the school as a whole--the pace and scope of curriculum, the allocation of budget, the hiring of staff--from the day-to-day running of individual classrooms.

> *You have to make yourself very well known to get any recognition in this system. I've decided that. You have to belong to the teachers' union and the negotiating team and negotiate with these people. Then I think they get a feeling of your strengths and weaknesses and get to know you...I was just thinking the other day, who are the busy little bees that do all the dirty work, put together minimum competency standards and tests, do all background work for curriculum decisions? Women. Who's on the negotiating team? Men. And I think if you don't do those things there is no other way they get to know you because they certainly don't go in classrooms. No one would ever recognize you for that. And that's what I've done all my life and I don't think they know me from a hole in the wall. Or if they did, it doesn't really count. (D, 1979)*

Dividing these functions in two allowed for a narrowing of the job description of the teacher with the result that following one's job description leads to feelings of stagnation.

Elementary school teachers, each working in a separate room, were told that they had an enormous impact on the life of each of their students. But working in such isolation prevents teachers from influencing adults and pupils outside the classroom.

It's a vacuum. It's a vacuum. You come in here and you close the door. And what goes on in here, goes on in here, and it doesn't in any way seem to affect anything that goes on outside the classroom. And I wish that it could. I really do. (W, 1981)

THE NEW IDEOLOGY OF PROFESSIONALISM

Within the working lives of today's teachers, the case histories of our interviewees indicate that a series of divisions within the school staff has created an increasingly hierarchical and segmented working force that has been added to the formal structure of the 19th century. The framework erected in the past provides the infrastructure of today.

A new type of teacher began entering the field in the 1950's when the postwar baby boom created an unprecedented strain on existing facilities and staff. While Rosie the Riverters were forced to relinquish positions they had attained in male dominated occupations in order to make way for returning GI's, married women were assured that teaching would be one field where they would not be accused of upsetting the division of sex roles. Many barriers to the profession were dropped, and a whole segment of potential teaching candidates who had previously been excluded from the profession were now encouraged to apply. The desire to perform a socially approved task appealed to many women who were entering the workforce in increasing numbers from liberal arts colleges. Unlike their normal school predecessors, they had not all originally conceived of themselves as teachers but often were unable to find work in other fields. The prohibition against hiring married women was dropped in an all out scramble to recruit large numbers to teaching. Thus, to the teacher college graduate was added a new group of teachers--those who had received their education in liberal arts colleges where teacher training was only a part of their degree seeking. Three out of five female employed university graduates of the 1950's entered teaching.[13] This figure reflects both discriminatory bias in other occupations and an intense ideological campaign to lure them to the field.

The ideology of a liberal arts background allowed teachers to resist seeing their education as a vocational training ground for a prescribed task. The prescriptive methods and specific classroom management techniques of the teacher colleges were not emphasized to liberal arts students. Instead, the education courses offered to liberal arts students underscored the importance of entering schools with a distinct philosophy of education that was not to be found in a static model of classroom life. The approach to understanding and handling the child was reformulated in terms of the new professional careers emerging from the rising sciences of psychology and sociology. Teachers were trained in analyzing the child as a distinct personality and developing curriculum that would be tailored to individual needs.

A lot was coming out at that time about how important it was, developmentally, for children to learn certain

things at certain phases of their growth. Otherwise, they would never learn them as well. I started thinking about it rationally and sort of professionally. So this sort of meshed with my own feelings and my love for children and that I was able to deal with them well. I felt that that was an accomplishment that I had. (Y, 1980)

When the liberal arts graduate began her career, she discovered that the position of teacher was not reformulated to accommodate her training. The structure of the school itself changed little, but the upgrading of the description lured middle class teachers into the field. Through the design of its courses, normal school had adjusted its graduates to the institutional constraints on teachers and pupils found in public schools. The training of liberal arts graduates did not prepare them for these constraints.

My first year I had the extra class. There were just too many kids which is why they hired me. I was isolated from other teachers, so I didn't have them for support. I didn't how I was supposed to know what to teach in the grade. I had very few books, and I was too embarrassed to ask anybody, 'What should I teach in the second grade?' I thought, 'What's wrong with me that I didn't learn this in college, what to teach in every grade?' And I was absolutely made to feel by the principal that it was my fault. Absolutely. And I'd say that has never stopped influencing me. (C, 1980)

A new philosophy of education which emphasized a more affective approach to cognitive development had come hard up against the inherent competitive nature of schooling and the structural barriers that emphasized relative worth for both teacher and pupil. Veteran teachers pulled new recruits through the first traumatic years by explaining the methods that were tailored to life inside the bureaucracy of schools.

I taught across the hall from someone who was a good disciplinarian, very well organized, and she took me by the hand. She knew I was young, the type of teacher who wasn't 'well-trained.' She wasn't saying, 'You're doing a crummy job,' but her attitude was, 'Well, why don't we do it this way, dear?' She would like team teach. 'This is how you teach second grade.' She gave me materials. She just set me up. She was wonderful. I just thought she was the most marvelous thing because she led me through my second year teaching. These people just took me under their wing and, you know, just lay it all out for me. (Z, 1980)

Others learned through the chaos and confusion of their first years when they struggled to adjust to the established order as the only way to provide evidence of competency.

> *I became really skills oriented. I really feel that is terribly, terribly important, and that every time I think of myself going off the track I have to remember, 'Well, look, what I can give these children. The best thing I can do for them is to provide them with skills that they are going to need to face a very difficult world.' That's technique, that's technology. That's all it is, but I can do that. The affection will come along with it, and the affirmation will come along with their feeling good about themselves and having success. So I think one thing that I was a little less muddy in my mind as I went along about what I really wanted to achieve. I went in. I wanted to change the world. Everybody does, I guess. Your own little world. Not only can you not do that, but it's not even desirable. (Y, 1980)*

Teachers were able to exchange techniques as long as the competency of one did not imply the failure of the other. During the 50's the liberal arts graduates recruited to teaching were not threatening to their colleagues nor threatened by them. Married women did not see their job as their major source of self-definition. They viewed themselves and were viewed primarily as wives and mothers.

> *I think that I went through a period of time where, the period we're talking about, I really didn't get that much, what I really would have liked to have gotten from my profession personally. I guess during those years as a typical female I sublimated that. I wasn't supposed to get that much. I had my kids at home to think about and that was paramount. And my job was really secondary, so I didn't really look to it to get the kind of stuff that I would perhaps expect from it. (00, 1980)*

The ability to find another teaching job easily or to leave for a socially approved feminine alternative, either in the home or the workplace, dissipated much of the teacher's anger or dissatisfaction.

> *I was in _____ only that year. Halfway through the year I was contacted by the assistant superintendent in another town who had my application, and, to make a long story short, he asked if I would come to his system right then and there, and I said I would not because*

I already had ths class and it was December. He said, 'I don't know what we can find in the spring. We may not have it.' But I took my chances and come spring there was still a job. So I came here. (BB, 1979)

Schools had solved the problem of finding people willing to teach the expanding school population of the '50's and '60's. But the international event--the launching of Sputnik--and the domestic issue--the demand for civil rights among minorities--were telling reminders that recruitment of large numbers of teachers alone would not insure theproper education of children. There was no discussion of substantive changes in the scope of teachers' responsibilities that might lead to a more effective staffing of schools. Instead, superintendents decreed the need to enlist a different type of personnel who viewed their job as one without set hours, who would take risks, whose allegiance to their pupils and a belief in their pupils' potential were paramount. Married women with children were no longer the ideal employees. A teacher in an alternative elementary school:

You have to be in there with those kids no matter what. Most of the teachers are single or divorced women. I think that the commitment you have to make to this school is such that it's easier if you're not married. You don't have a heavy family demand. (KK, 1980)

What was required was a redefinition of teaching as "women's true profession." The emphasis in that phrase was no longer on the word women, but on the word profession, which implies "special expertise based on broad theoretical knowledge and an extended training." The new definition did not discard the nurturance of women, for that quality was needed even more in schools that now were asked to rededicate themselves to facing racial and economic differences within a highly competitive society. The ideal professional teacher combined the previous role of nurturer with a new awareness of cognitive development and technique. This new emphasis permitted incorporating the older definition of women's true profession within the new. The two-pronged criticism of schooling--that it perpetuated societal inequities while deadening the minds of all--could be solved by recruiting teachers who viewed their task from a "professional" perspective. They could and would solve such issues through a combination of diligence and strength of personality along with adherence to scientifically derived sources of information.

The education department here had big illusions of changing the whole world. They told us that everything we ever knew about teaching and the experiences we had had as students were wrong. Everything was wrong. It

was pretty traumatic. Pretty soon, I was writing 20 lesson plans a night with behavioral objectives. I was also supposed to be writing manipulative materials for kids to use because books were out. I mean you were really supposed to turn up your nose at that. You were supposed to write your own things. It was supposed to come from within, based on the children's needs, based on what you felt would be valid for them to learn. This was expected of undergraduate teachers and we were expected to create from a vacuum. That's about what it amounted to. (HH, 1981)

Prospective teacheers were recruited with the image of teaching as a "calling", a view that implicitly disparaged those who had entered the field out of economic necessity or a lack of encouragement to pursue other fields.

In those days, one did not converse with one's parents. One was told what one was going to do. And that really was the way it was. I did not think, 'Oh, what fun it would be' or 'How awful it would be to be an elementary school teacher.' Once I was enrolled in school (a liberal arts college emphasizing teacher training) it automatically meant I would go into elementary education. (1980)

When my children were growing up, or when they had gotten into junior high school and high school it seemed as if it was going to be helpful to have some money for college. Plus the hours were good for a mother and I had my summers off. (X, 1980)

My mother made it for me (the decision to enter teaching). When I was in college, she always told me to take teaching courses. I said, 'No, no, no. I don't want to teach.' I had an English major at school and in my senior year I realized I was trained to do nothing. In the summer after my senior year of college I was hysterical because I had no job, no income so all of a sudden teaching looked good. (Z, 1980)

I just hated women who said, 'I'll be a teacher. Then I can be home when the kids get home.' I thought that was lousy motivation for teaching. And now I'm coming at it from a slightly different angle, saying that if that's part of your reason for job satisfaction you can still do a good job as a teacher, and there's nothing wrong with saying that you love the hours. (A, 1980)

A number of books written in the '60's had an enormous impact in advancing this new ideology. Many of the authors were new to teaching and maintained a psychological distance from the vast army of public school teachers. Each of these authors was determined not to become one of "them." Most of these critics were men, they were generally young, they were often educated at prestigious universities, and they had "chosen" teaching.

Their books expressed the paradoxical feelings of despair and hope. Despair was voiced in the descriptions of schools' mindlessness, their racism and class bias. The effects of the school's environment upon children were mercilessly exposed. Nothing was said about the school's effect on teachers or on the relationship between what happens to the child and what happens to the teacher.

Out of the despair of these authors, however, emerged a hope that the efforts of people such as themselves could create a humane enclave for children within a hostile environment.

> *In my training in Teacher Corps, I think there was a lot of energy there, a lot of excitement about what could be done, although I was never placed in a classroom that made me feel really good about what was going on there. I just remember at the time just wanting to read anything I could get my hands on in relation to teaching and learning and education. I went through a whole thing of reading Herbert Kohl and a whole rack of them that are very similar. And even up to this year that would be something that I would find really pleasurable to just read about things people had tried and that you could do and I'd sort of get a rush. (J, 1980)*

> *I always loved children. I was an only child but I come from a big extended family and we always had young ones in my early teens. I became sort of politicized and eager to change the world. I thought that that was the capacity in which I could do my best by educating young children to the glories of the world. (Y, 1980)*

The books gave hope to teachers--to new teachers the hope that they too could be forces of change; to veteran teachers the idea that while others surrounding them were easily identifiable as insensitive or unwilling to "give," those who were willing could maintain a higher degree of dedication and continue to find meaning in their field. It was up to the individual teacher.

> *There's a sixties urge toward social reform which I think is where I still am--I accepted the whole notion*

of pulling up the culturally deprived--getting the kids early enough, intervening in lives, cutting the cycle of failure. So that's one of the reasons I think I entered teaching. I have a gut commitment somewhere to working in a helping field. (A, 1979)

Staff development often meant hiring a new person who would "show" the old timers how it should be done. These new teachers expected that adherence to curriculum innovations and new teaching styles would gain them independence from the school system's hierarchy. The recruits were often dramatically different in class background and training from the other teachers, yet once placed found themselves no more powerful than their peers.

I took a classroom in a school where I had worked with the entire staff as a consultant. The principal said that if I was there, 'Maybe you'll be able to keep things going.' They gave me all the bad guys or at least it seemed that way. It was very frustrating because I knew too much. I expected way too much of myself. I expected to be able to go in there and do all these wonderful things all of a sudden. I also found a lot of things there that I hadn't been aware of as a consulting teacher the two previous years. What I found was that on the surface everything was cooperative and beautiful, but underneath there was a lot of grumbling and dissension about what he was doing. He would have us attend these lengthy meetings where he would expound and he would ask for our input and then he'd make the decision and would completely ignore any input that we might have given him. (HH, 1980)

For the children in those classes, school may have been a very different experience, but for the teachers it was much the same.

Teachers entered schools wanting to grapple with the effects of societal tensions as they affected the children in their classrooms, but the methods promoted by such books focused their efforts on individual solutions by individual teachers. A minority teacher:

I went to the district superintendent, who happened to be a minority himself, to ask for a transfer because after six years of being in that building, I felt the school had taken a toll on me. What he said to me in essence was, 'We need you there, so if there's any way that you can reconcile yourself to the difficulties on a personal basis, I really wish you would because at this time I would not consider your request for transfer from that building.' My feeling was when I left

his office that whatever was to be done was to be done by me. I just really felt very locked in. So, what is typical of my behavior, I just went back to my classroom and redoubled my efforts to deal with the kids, and I guess to a certain extent to isolate myself from some of the currents that existed in the building, so that I wouldn't constantly feel the undercurrent that did exist. But it didn't work. I mean you can't be in the building and not be a part of what's going on. (W, 1981)

There were attempts to "restructure" schools. The open space concept, generally introduced by administrative fiat as a way of "freeing teachers and pupils," frequently pitted teachers against each other for use of centralized resources. The openness of the space belied the fact that teachers were still placed in competition by the pace of workbooks and national norms.

I think you have to be so inflexible in an open space. It's like with a lot of people in the same bed. It's crowded. If you want to turn over, everybody has got to turn over. You can't do things that you feel you need to do spontaneously. If you feel like your kids need to do something active, it's going to disturb the other people in the open space. You've got to do this at this time because other people are doing this at this time. You can't just be spontaneous and change and so something else. (HH, 1981)

Teachers were often eager to apply new methods, but recognized that would require new resources if traditional standards were still to be met. A teacher in a working class district:

The building was specifically built for open classroom. All the teachers who were assigned to this building when it was opened opted for working in open space. They all took courses in it and were all told they would have learning resource centers, aides, a lot of equipment. They did get a lot of equipment ordered by central office. They never got the aides. I think after two or three years of going on the open space concept, they just said, 'It's not working. We never got aides. We can't do learning centers when we're the only adults in the classroom with kids zipping around us.' (Z, 1981)

Affluent districts provided such resources and encouraged teachers' creativity in implementing new programs. A teacher in an affluent suburb:

People believed in innovation, and one of the major changes I would say that's really come across to me in my years in education is that in those years we really believed that innovations could make a difference, that a new way of organzing ourselves and a new way of organizing children and a new way of teaching them this and a new book or a new machine to help them do this--it was going to make a difference. And all those problems, reading problems and behavior problems, would be helped and cured. (BB, 1980)

The classroom door closed when teachers realized they were being asked to react to school-wide policies, not create them.

What I think happens around here from what I've been able to gather asking people is that people come in and after a few years they just sort of pull in. I don't know how much I can keep growing in that atmosphere. It's too isolating. There is no flow. It's not that people are nasty cause they're not. They're nice people, and they're friendly, but one of the problems is the downstairs which is K through 2 and one third grade never sees the upstairs teachers. The most we ever have might be 15 minutes once a week. The secrecy is another thing. You go up to the office and you ask questions. 'It's okay. Don't worry about it.' 'Well, what about it?' 'Don't worry. Just go back to your room. We'll let you know.' My hunch is that the whole school system has the germs of it, and they filter down. So what do you do? You shut up and you run your own show. I just turn to my kids and that's great, that's fantastic, but for me that's not the whole picture. You miss out on the stuff that could be done with cooperation with other people at any level whether they're administrators or teachers. (B, 1980)

Again, teachers in more affluent areas were able to carve out greater structural changes, while those working in poorer sections had only the label of professional as reward.

In the past we have had $100,000 worth of summer work allotted for program planning and this is essential to carry on a cohesive program throughout the year. You can't do long-range planning when you're teaching... For instance, long range--if we're revising social studies in the elementary school, we'll have representation from each grade level. It might be that we are going to an electricity unit in science and that it really needs individual work projects for kids to

do. Teacher time will be given to plan out what those projects will be and to get the materials and the instructions, etc., etc. So, it's for really in-depth planning. Sometimes, it's for resolving issues that seem to be blocking us in some way. We've had a number of workshops on what is the relationship between the races--black and white kids, black and white teachers in the schools. What are the problems that come up? What are we doing to block solutions to these problems? What is the atmosphere? Quite intensive workshops. (BB, 1980)

A 29-year veteran of teaching equates the uncritical acceptance of changes in teaching to the pressure to appear as "professional" as the more affluent school systems, who readily yielded to the campaigns of textbook publishers. She speaks of her own community:

I really truly think that an awful lot of the fads came down to us through big businesses who wanted to sell books and sell kits and sell this and sell that and also from people who really, if you go right back to it, who wanted to make money on their ideas. like the publishers. You know if they could say everything in the old books was out-of-date and old hat and they could convince a few towns, the so-called leaders like Newton and Brookline and Lincoln, everyone followed suit. You didn't want to be considered old-fashioned. (V, 1979)

A teacher from a wealthy suburb concurs:

Administrators who are in curriculum positions, well some--I'm generalizing--are under pressure to produce and to show that curriculum and development is being done in the schools. They need something to run up the flagpole, to show the community that this is what we're doing. Some neat things might be happening next door with two teachers, but you can't sort of run this up - this is what we're doing for the whole school or the whole town -so it doesn't have as much value. So, they're under pressure to show the community that this is how we are handling curriculum development. The easiest way is to use commercial materials such as a beautiful SKIS kit, lovely, big expensive kits, and easier to do it like that. (OO, 1979)

The training of teachers as professionals, a term originally applied to private entrepeneurs who worked on a fee per client basis, also encouraged prospective teachers to see each pupil as a separate client whose needs and "problems" were to be intensively

and expertly analyzed using the newer, more specialized and up-to-date methods.

> *I've told my student teacher that some of the things that she has done, she would never be able to do if she were the only teacher in the classroom. She's only been able to do it because I've taken part of the class or because I've been there to help her. They require her to do work with an individual child and do individual assessment of that child. She is required to work with small groups. She is required to do a special unit with a whole class. She is required to do something in all these specific fields--in art, in language arts, in math and science and so on. But she isn't required to do the meat and potatoes of classroom teaching. (Y, 1981)*

The designation and training of teachers as professionals, a necessary lure for recruiting liberal arts graduates, thus served to confuse the label with the reality. Teachers were continually perplexed by the admonition to be "professional" while the area to which their expertise could be applied became narrower and narrower.

> *We're all professionals and our job is to educate children and it just seems to me that we ought not to exhaust any avenue that is available to us to get the quality education that the kids in our classroom deserve. I'll never understand whose idea it was, and maybe it wasn't anyone's idea, to set up a kind of adversary role between administrators and teachers, but it seems that every administrator has a vested interest in keeping his faculty at an arm's length, even the best administrators like to remind their faculty from time to time that they're the boss. And my attitude is that we're all in this together. So maybe you are the person in charge but do not let you in-chargeness stand in the way of your fairness so that the job that we're supposed to be doing can get done. That really bothers me. (W, 1981)*

Salary increments were tied to professional development as incentives to teachers to go back to school and earn Masters degrees in remedial reading and new math. Teachers were persuaded to use their new expertise by serving on curriculum committees which would decide system-wide policies. Yet case after case confirms the frustration of those prepared for added responsibilities, but prevented from realizing them.

> *There were two people in my school, myself and a sixth grade teacher, who piloted social studies texts. We*

were not the only teachers who piloted the texts. I'm sure several teachers in other schools did too. The teachers who piloted the different programs never met together. Now they go and say, 'We had this piloted and here is all the information and here is the text.' But you wonder whether the text had already been chosen and this rigamarole had to be gone through. I just wonder how much of that goes on ahead of time. They have to cover themselves. You get kind of jaded. You think why bother. It was the same with the report card committee. You knew in the end it was going to be the way the people in charge really wanted it although I was on that committee and it lasted two years. They took an afternoon of your time once a week for two years. They pretty much shot down what we did and it got revamped right back to what it had been in the first place except for a little philosophy that was on the front of the card, and I noticed on the new batch of cards that we got that that isn't even there anymore. (R, 1981)

As teachers' own education increased, the disparity between their professional attainment and the inability to translate that new expertise to a strong position with the school increased teacher alienation. There developed an inverse ratio between the level of education demanded to retain the job and the level of education needed to work well at the job. A teacher with a Master's in reading:

What I'm required to teach is predetermined. The equipment I use is predetermined, all the books are predetermined and we just get a certain series. Being able to order an extra workbook or two probably is as much extra anything that you can do or one of the decisions you make on your own or if your books fall apart you can make a decision on your own that you can order those same books. (D, 1979)

The term "professional" was used to encourage teachers to participate in the running of the school, now larger and increasingly more difficult to manage. In fact, teachers were generally given only those tasks which reinforced the teachers' position but did not challenge it.

As Chair of the Faculty Senate, I'm having a lot of responsibility for writing, for getting the proposals prepared and everything. Partly, it's because the faculty senate is being specifically asked to participate in all of these meetings and stuff. Of course, you understand that the faculty senate has no authority whatsoever.

I mean I can't initiate anything. I can't give out directives. We the faculty are advisory to the principal. Because she is pretty inefficient and pretty overwhelmed by everything and also isn't very enthusiastic about the job, so she's perfectly happy to let us handle a lot of these things because she feels as though, this is my own feeling, that she can't or she doesn't want to get into all that. (Y, 1981)

Minority teachers and parents found themselves caught between the desire to accept professional standards and the understanding that this perspective was often used to continue discriminatory treatment. A minority teacher speaks of her own ambivalence:

I think in terms of teachers we may have done ourselves once again a terrible disservice in that before 766 if there were children in your classroom that you had problems with, my God, you worked with them. You provided individualized instruction and you found the time to sit down and work with these kids who were not the middle-of-the-road average. And it was harder and it was frustrating, but you did make the time for it. Then came 766 and along came the opportunity for quote unquote specialists working with these kids, and all of a sudden there was a proliferation of kids with special needs...Minority parents for a while thought that the system worked for their kids because of so many 766 referrals. On the one hand, they are somewhat resentful that their kid is being singled out, but then on the other hand, they said, 'Well, at least someone has noticed my kid and he's getting this kind of help and that kind of special service.' (W, 1981)

As the system becomes more oriented to the individual client model of traditional private sector professions, teachers are pressured to use set curricula originally created by fellow teachers to suit a particular classroom. Now seen as "professionally" produced, these curricula can be taken as expert advice for meeting another classroom's needs. Administrative attempts to collect their work and display the "best results" are rejected by teachers who otherwise willingly shared resources and ideas.

I think teachers resent that administrators who are supposed to be helping us come in and ask us to give them copies of things we've done in our room. They want to see all the stuff that we've done and share it with other teachers. I think generally teachers would want to share with other teachers and feel good about and do. I think next door or even in another school somebody is

doing something, and they become very excited about it and that excitement is transmitted to another person, and I think they're very apt to try it. My own feeling is that when I get a pile of things that somebody else has made is that it's lovely and I may use some of it, but it's not mine. But their assumption is that now I'm going to become committed to it--the whole curriculum--that you will go and you will sit and you will listen and you'll learn and you'll go back to your classroom and you'll implement. (OO, 1980)

The sense of competition inherent in such appropriations robs the teacher of controlling the product of her labors. She may have created a game to help children learn, but it is now being used as a means of judging her among her fellow teachers. Others embrace such means, spurred by the knowledge that teacher evaluations often now include number of parental letters of praise and requests for class placement.

We got a teacher from an involuntary transfer a couple of years ago. She's been there six years now. She does marvelous things. I've never seen such big candy bars. She gives the kids tons of big candy bars. Everything they do, they get a prize and a party at least three times a week with a big cake and soda and everything. She puts ads in the papers to thank the parents for their children. On Valentine's Day she puts ads in the paper thanking the parents for letting her have their precious possessions. I showed it to the teacher who teaches beside me. She died and said, 'How can you compete with that?' (CC, 1979)

The acceptance of the term "professional" by the teacher includes the understanding that the more specifically trained one is in a particular field, the more highly regarded one's opinion should be. The desire by teachers themselves to be called professionals obscures the growing levels of control in schools by using one term to describe all teachers. The friction between specialists and classroom teachers is derived from the greater authority accorded the "true" professionals, the specialists, while the greater responsibility for each child is still charged to the classroom teacher.

I hate to have them get up and walk out of the room. They can't leave without missing something, and it's something you have to make up or you have to sit down specifically with them. The part that really annoys me is that in the very end of it all whether they do well or they don't do well on the achievement tests--and I

know that they shouldn't put so much stock in achievement tests but I'm sure they do, they being the administrators and the paretns too--in the end you're responsible for that child for his reading and his English and math and all that and yet if they haven't been there in front of you, how the heck can you really be responsible for them? How can you be held responsible for it? That does bother me. (V, 1981)

When the classroom teacher has less control over the educational program of an individual child than specialists or administrators, while still being held responsible for the general well-being and instruction of the child, the teacher experiences demoralization, a sense of impotency, and resentment when progress is ascribed to specialists. The practical results are an unwillingness to follow the program dictated by the specialists and a resentment toward the individual child who represents a mark of the teacher's professional inadequacy. The issue of scheduling becomes the locus for the anger of classroom teachers toward specialists.

One of the things that has bothered me about these constant interruptions and the pace of teaching today is that a lot of that is taken away from you--the creativeness, the feeling that I know what I'm doing, I'm going ahead and I'm going to do such and such, think of a new, fresh way to do it. There doesn't seem to be that kind of time anymore. This is not just a complaint of mine. I've heard it from other teachers. I know one teacher said the other day, 'I want to teach science tod today and I don't care who comes and asks for my kids, they're not going to get them.' I look back on the things that I used to do and I no longer have the time to do them anymore. The math program, for instance, took from 12:30 to 2:00 when they went to gym. They got back from gym at 2:30 and there goes the afternoon. I don't seem to paint anymore. I don't do music anymore. My science is hit or miss. I grabbed them when they came back from gym because we had the science teacher in to talk about vegetables. I grabbed them and I had bought garlic and onions and we jammed them in a pot. Literally. That's science. (L, 1980)

MODERN DAY "SOLUTIONS"

Today when teachers turn to educational literature for advice and explanations for dealing with intransigent problems, they discover meticulously documented studies of their own inabilities to cope with such concerns. Time and again studies and evaluaitons confirm that the individual teacher is not perfect.

> *This year my principal's evaluation said, 'Five kids looked up from their work and looked out of the window within a five minute period. Now if you multiply five kids and five minutes in a period and you place it in an hour, this percentage are not doing their work and are not involved.' (F, 1980)*

As remedies, these studies urge the teacher to study herself, to ceaselessly examine her faults in order to better serve her pupils. They zero in on the teacher and demand that the teacher do the same if she, and her pupils are to improve.

> *I usually have some behavior problems. Possibly I'm not structured enough, I don't know. My first principas used to say, 'Isn't it funny? The difficult children always seem to be in your class.' That's another thing--instead of the principal supporting us in our problems, they turn it right back and they say it's our fault. So that we're a little bit afraid to go to them for help because they say, 'Well, you're doing something wrong.' (H, 1979)*

The teacher discriminates, is consciously or unconsciously racist or sexist, more involved in the "here and now" than with global concerns. If she is indulgent to girls she retards their growth and accustoms them to unquestioningly respect authority; if she is demanding of boys she reinforces their importance and sense of rebelliousness.

If year after year she is unable to recreate the miraculous conversion of a depressed, poor AFDC child to a passionately curious, on-reading level plugger, she is not fulfilling every child's potential, is by definition failing--the child, the school, herself, and society's hopes for the future.

> *It's tempting to write that you had a bad class, or one could write that you had a very bad class and you handled it well.' But he said, 'Other people expect when you're looking for a job that you're a superteacher. They want to hire super teachers who never have any problems and that's not realistic. If anybody*

writes that she had a terrible class but she came through with flying colors, somebody could say, 'If she's such a super teacher, her class shouldn't be terrible.' (B, 1979)

The popular press increasingly reinforces these negative images of teachers. Two of the common stereotypes of veteran teachers described in the press and held by the public are: the lazy, superficial, tenured public servant, uninvolved in her work, getting away with as little as possible; and the embittered, rigidly inflexible battleax whose class resembles army bootcamp in atmosphere.

I have some very mixed feelings about the role or order in classrooms. There's a teacher at this school who I look at with a mixture of awe and contempt. She has absolute iron control over her class--control that is so good and so consistent that she very rarely raises her voice, she very rarely keeps anyone after school, but you don't move from your seat until you raise your hand and get permission. On the other hand, I have her with 32 kids on one side of me, and on the other side there's another teacher with 32 kids. This other teacher is screaming. The kids are screaming. And I started thinking, 'Is it better to be a kid in this class where the teacher is always at the end of her rope--yelling, screaming, or is it better to be this other teacher's kids--not allowed to get out of their chairs, but doing marvelous art projects, doing a lot of positive stuff?' She can do it because she has absolutely total control, and everybody does the same thing at the same time. (A, 1980)

Juxtaposed to these negative images is the ideal of the nurturant, understanding patient teacher to whom every child is entitled.

I think you have to be pretty kind of them yourself. I'm a head-patter. I stroke and I pat. Somebody fell down and I'd say, 'Are you all right, honey? You have to be kind, firm, and fair. You give a child what he needs when he needs it. (E, 1979)

If every teacher would only be perfect--responding fairly, efficiently, and effectively with infinite wisdom and tact to every child and exigency we would have the perfect system. Teachers know that they are incapable of such persistent perfection. They often react in ways that increase their sense of isolation and reinforce their powerlessness in the institution. When confronted with

stereotyped choices that deny or obscure the conflicting demands placed on teachers, teachers frequently lash out in angry denial while internalizing the negative message. They are told, and have come to believe, they have "burned out."

> *I had found that toward the middle of last year I was beginning to feel--dead. And I was beginning to feel frustrated and I was beginning to feel sort of like this was a drudgery. And I had never felt like that before--I mean, classroom teaching was my thing. I really loved it. Then this year coming into the situation and getting such a difficult class, I started off the year with a tremendous sense of frustration. I thought, 'My God, what am I going to do with these kids?' I kept thinking, 'I'm not really, really happy with what's happening in this class and I wonder how much of it is my own fault.' (W, 1981)*

BURNOUT - THE RESULT OF "PROFESSIONALISM"

What has been labelled "burnout" is, in fact, anger and frustration not easily or without fear of censure expressed in schools. The concept of "burnout" is the natural result of the ideology of professionalism which encourages teachers to see themselves as more powerful than they actually are and, therefore, more responsible alone to correct complex societal and institutional dilemmas. The coining of the term "burnout" at the same time that teachers are threatened with the loss of their jobs serves to direct the focus of each teacher's growing anger away from a critical analysis of schools as institutions to a preoccupation with her own failure. Curiously the preoccupation in describing teachers as burned out or deadwood has become a way of using these terms of deviance to represent the "true identity" of all teachers by which every dedicated teacher will eventually be defined. It emcompasses even those who haven't burned out because if burnout is the natural end to a dedicated teacher, those who have managed to survive are seen as callous, self-serving.

The two labels of "burnout" and "deadwood" further divide the teaching workforce. Younger teachers or those still with other career options are told they have worked too hard and have, therefore, "burned out." Older teachers are told they aren't working hard enough and have become "deadwood." The fact that both are demoralized points to similar concerns, but the labels obscure the commonalities.

Those people who are visibly upset, who are willing to go to battle for a child, still believe in the possibility of change within their work situation and in the value of education as a tool for achieving equal opportunity. They continue to believe in the system's ability to respond to logical, reasonable, and justified criticism.

> *They treat you at central office as though you don't know anything. You go down and you say, 'I'd like to discuss the 766 process because I don't understand it quite and I don't think the kids are getting serviced.' People give you all this runaround, rigamarole, and it becomes so complicated that you want to say, 'Okay, you do it.' But I'm not listening to that anymore. I've struggled through a lot my first four years and hell, now I'm a damn good teacher and I know what my kids need. What happens is that then they become kind of frightened of you, as the individual who is going after them and saying, 'Wait a minute, you're responsible for this.' It makes me angry because it's taking so much time, and I shouldn't have to do the pushing. (G, 1980)*

As long as influential segments of the community actively support efforts to improve the public school, the teacher feels some degree of comfort with her position of change-maker. If these groups no longer see teaching as politically correct, if they can no longer pressure the federal government or the school system for funds, or if they now see the role of the teacher as a glamorless role for women, the teacher is left extremely vulnerable. When and if these support groups withdraw, the teacher's attempts at change become more difficult, begin to appear useless, if not destructive to her own job security.

> *They [the school administration] go out of their way to sabotage their own affirmative action program...If they intend in good faith to make this thing work, then they have to find ways to do it so it's not going to make people feel, like the Bakkes. You don't want that kind of feeling, and it exists...People began to look to see who is disappearing and who's staying and I heard comments passed like, 'Well, you don't have anything to worry about. You can go any place you want.' Actually, I was thinking I probably do have something to worry about, plenty. Because if they do intend to let people go to make room for minorities, that means that all minority teachers in the system are going to have a pretty hard way, too, 'cause it's going to create a lot of feelings, hard feelings, and a lot of rancor that doesn't necessarily have to be there if it's done in a fair and equitable way. (W, 1981)*

The teacher cannot help noticing the areas she is not able to change, the emotions in her and her pupils she has difficulty controlling.

> *I've been thinking a lot about my own survival, how I can get through the year in a way that helps me keep my sanity and helps the kids learn and I think my priorities deal with (1) my own sanity, because without it there's nothing else; (2) the kids' learning; (3) the kids' heads and social change comes after all those things and I don't know when I'm going to get there. I would definitely like to leave my mark, but given my personality structure, it's hard. (A, 1980)*

The disturbing fact is that admitting her mistakes does not prevent her from continuing to make them. The school provides no constructive place for teachers' legitimate anger to be channeled. The anger turns inward or is directed at her fellow teachers who represent what she is fearful of becoming and feels helpless to prevent.

I guess what I'm saying is that sometimes I just feel aggravated by picky little things. I just feel like I'm a nag, not directly to the people maybe but just thinking, 'That bugs me and that bugged me and that bugged me,' which is not a healthy kind of way. The avenues for communication are just so nonexistent or so skewed, it's really hard to get above that. (J, 1981)

I think I tend to get angrier inside than I otherwise would because you really can't talk about things. They throw them right back at you. 'Well, that's the way it's always been...' In this place there is no outlet for anger and it's really been hard to know what to do with it. The whole business of having to psych things out, do I go to the office? Why can't this be straight? That doesn't bring out the best in me. I don't like the feelings I have when I'm acting that way. (B, 1980)

The teacher can either accept the label of burnout and leave, or she can retreat even further emotionally and physically. Experts on burnout and teacher effectiveness, by zeroing in on the individual teacher and her classroom to explain education's increasingly documented failures, have chosen to scrutinize the most vulnerable member of the school system's hierarchy--the classroom teacher, 87 percent of whom are women on the elementary school level. Those teachers are the people least critical of the investigators' findings because they confirm the teacher's own lack of self-esteem. Documentation of teachers' failures without linking individual problems to institutional roadblocks does not spur the teacher to rededicate herself to the profession. She has now become convinced of her own worthlessness and is sure she will simply continue to fail.

The funny thing is that I'm a good teacher and a good teacher can teach in almost intolerable situations... I see so many not bad teachers, just people who should not be teaching and it's important to me that if I thought I wasn't doing a good job at it, I wasn't helping the kids, I would get out of it right away. It's beginning to feel that way. I guess the term is burned out. The ideas, the spontaneity wasn't coming. I wasn't feeling fresh or excited when I was coming into the classroom. (W, 1981)

I assimilated into my surroundings. I'm a reasonably good mimic and I also needed models of success since I was getting poor feedback and I was isolated my first year, and I needed to succeed very badly. So that's what I did--I studied models of success and they were

authoritarian, and I learned...I recognized that I was somebody that I didn't want to be, and that--it just brought home to me a personal dissatisfaction that I hadn't stuck to my ideas, that I had given them up. (C, 1979)

Once the teacher is convinced that she has burned out she has admitted that she has used up her inner resources, that she is personally deficient, and that she must leave the occupation for her own good and that of her pupils.

Parents, many of whom have experienced bitter frustration and conflicts with individual teachers, accept the definitions of burnout and deadwood as labels easily affixed to troublesome teachers, much as teachers label parents as deficient or school phobic to explain a child's lack of progress or unruly behavior. Neither side is encouraged to look at the parallels between their situations and the institutional barriers that create and sustain these conflicts.

I always used to say, 'As a teacher I hate parents and as a parent I hate teachers.' I didn't want to go up to school if my kids were having problems. I think some teachers make you feel like an intruder and they probably are threatened by parents being around. At the end of the day you get very business-like and either the youngster reads or he doesn't, and when you say it to a parent that way, it doesn't always come across too well, you know. (D, 1980)

Today this mother came in. In the course of talking with her, I said, 'You know, I'm the teacher who called you the first day your son was here' because I wanted to find out if he was in Title 1 reading or any of these special programs. She said, 'Oh, yes. I remember.' After school the principal comes up to me and says, 'You know, I need to know whenever you make a telephone call to a parent.' I just looked at him and took a deep breath. I said, 'Any phone call?' And he said, 'Yes, just in case something comes up, so I'll know what's coming out of this school.' I swallowed what he said and I walked away. I wanted to tell somebody but I realized that all those people had probably been living under the same thing forever. I mean, this is their idea of the role of the principal, which is to control. (A, 1980)

The teacher begins to devalue and doubt the existence of those qualities in herself which were her reasons for entering

teaching. She is not sure they ever existed in her co-workers.

> *He said, 'Look around this room. Those over there and those over there are typical...public school teachers.' He was stereotyping these people in their 30's and 40's not 30's new but 30's old style. They tended to be overdressed, overweight lumps...They all looked rather vacant...I looked around and I saw some of these people and heard some of the questions they were asking. I wouldn't have anything to talk with those people about and I know that's important to me, that kind of sharing. (B, 1979)*

The teacher's own past accomplishments appear inconsequential.

> *I walked into a supermarket the other day and the boy who was checking out my groceries said, 'Hello, Mrs.____!' with such love. They recognize me. And he's 18 years old, and they remember me. A lot of the kids that I meet years later have wonderful memories...So I wonder, is it just--I feel that I give them a good start. I give them a belief in themselves...I make them think they can do it rather than my doing it for them. And I try to build up their self-image. I think I do it all right, and then all of a sudden, these people come in and say, 'You're no good.' So it's hard, you know, it's hard. So now I'm thinking already, you know, I could retire in about 2½ years, maybe I'll retire. I used to think I wouldn't want to retire so soon and I enjoyed my job...This fall I thought to myself, 'Maybe I'm really not such a good teacher, you know. Maybe I'm really not that good. Maybe I should never have gone into teaching.' (H, 1980)*

What continually strikes us as significant in the use of the term "burnout" to describe teacher discontent is the implicit assumption that teachers are responsible for their own departures, and that it is an act of benevolence on the part of school systems to let them go at the very time that Reduction in Force allows these teachers no choice in their departure from teaching. For those teachers who are being laid off, "burnout" encourages a teacher to feel grateful for losing her paycheck rather than directing her anger in a fight for an equitable system of RIF for all teachers and a healthier and more productive work environment for those who remain.

By concentrating criticism for classroom failures on individual performance, <u>all</u> teachers, including "superteachers", become timorous. They too refrain from taking risks.

My school is closing. There's a lot of tension over that. Plus the fact that they're getting rid of teachers now. Everything becomes magnified, everything is much more frightening, anything the child does is much more frightening, because somebody could come into your classroom at any moment and see that and that would be the reason--that would be seen as your evaluation. It distorts your relationship with children, with your peers. (G, 1981)

The self-hate and self-doubt that follow are the roots of an anxiety that is projected out as hating the people you are afraid of becoming. The teacher who had been hand-picked by one group of parents senses the pressure on all teachers and decides to leave.

I started looking at the other teachers I was teaching with and seeing myself retrenching, not taking the risks, the educational risks that I used to teach. I used to do all kinds of interesting things with my students, go places with them, get involved with all kinds of projects, build things all over the classroom. But every once in a while someone would notice that the classroom wasn't as neat as it should be or if that wasn't a factor with one principal then something else would be and since everything is cumulative and anything can be pointed to get rid of you now, you start to retrench and you start to become conservative. You feel a lack of growth and you look around. Everyone has a stereotype of those 30-year veterans and I found myself becoming exactly the same way and it really frightened me. (G, 1981)

The current debate over seniority versus merit in deciding layoffs rests on this assumption--that schools as institutions cannot and will not revitalize a teacher of several years' service. It is all too easily accepted by policymakers, as well as teachers, that the institutions will deaden those who work in them if they do not receive new infusions of energy--"new blood"--from some outside source. Further the debate over seniority versus merit is never discussed within the context of teaching as an occupation requiring less and less critical thinking, originality, and creativity. As more and more administrative decisions are made for the teacher by the school or the school system, the teacher's role is returned to that of dispenser of various prepackaged curriculum systems. "Merit" in such situations can only mean adherence to pre-established dicta.

A friend of mine went to teach in Baltimore. She had taught with me for five years. She's a wonderful teacher, super teacher, very conscientious and very organized. She lasted three months there. It was a disaster. For

one thing, the curriculum was deadly. 'Here is a book and teach it. You should be on page 200 by such and such a date.' It has nothing to do with your kids and nothing to do with whatever ideas you might want to bring in. Just do it and be on page 200 by such and such a date! That was their approach. Deadly. Secondly, she had a classroom with nine kids with hyperactivity. Very disruptive. No support from the principal, a sort of wishy-washy, incompetent man. She said it was a travesty of learning. Here she had probably 18 kids who to one degree or another were interested in learning, some very interested, and nine kids turned that class into total chaos. And she is no pushover as far as discipline goes. She is a very competent teacher. Well, she was getting an ulcer. She came to school nauseated every day and was throwing up before she left the house because it was such an uncontrolled situation. There was no one to turn to, no one. To her amazement, she ended up writing a letter of resignation, and she left after Thanksgiving. She felt really sick about it, but knew that her mental health would not take it. It was really sad because she was a super teacher.
(BB, 1979)

No group of parents, visiting classrooms for the purposes of selection, would now recognize her competency. After November, they would not even have the luxury of scrutinizing her capabilities.

THE NEED FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The books and magazine articles of today, unlike those in the '60's, now concentrate on shoring up the coping skills of isolated teachers. These writings consist of short articles addressed to the teacher as an individual citing specific ideas he or she can use to cope with the problems of teaching. Issues are discussed in terms of the individuals involved. Conflict is described in terms of the conflict between teacher and the parent, colleague, custodian, or secretary. The school environment is thus fragmented and the solutions suggested are often contradictory. The suggestions for improvement do not take into account how change in one sphere may affect relationships in another sphere. Teachers are never urged to look beyond the classroom, to search for similarities and differences between themselves and others, either within the structure of schools or in other institutions of society. Teachers who one by one enter the profession remain largely unaware of the institutional nature of school systems and are, therefore, ill-prepared to handle the conflicts that arise from the nature of that institutional structure. The teacher's position within the school system as a whole is not seen as a "professional" concern and the institutional conflicts inherent in the role of teacher remain unchallenged.

We have shown that the image of the "all powerful schoolmarm" is a myth. It is created by a system which has isolated individual teachers, granting each teacher autonomy to make and carry out the difficult decisions herself while the real agenda is determined outside the classroom.

> *You have a great deal of autonomy about what goes on in your classroom within those four walls, but at the same time you have to be sure that it looks a certain way, that it appears to be the way that it's supposed to be on the outside. In other words, you can't do anything that is too apparently outre without bumping up against things. So the fact that we quote unquote control 25 or so little people is a very small compensation for not feeling as though we can control the kind of books we can order, have the kinds of programs we want, the kind of feeling of friendliness throughout the school. Each classroom seems to be the kids' turf and there's a lot of competitiveness and aggressiveness about that. All those things that a teacher feels bad about and with no control over. (Y, 1981)*

Therefore, we are not arguing that each teacher would wish or would benefit from a reassertion of her role as the individual arbiter of children's lives within an isolated classroom. However,

without understanding how the structure of the school creates these tensions, a teacher may acquiesce to the demands to work ever harder while growing increasingly frustrated with her own efforts and those of her fellow teachers. She may become competitive with other teachers in lobbying her principal for favored pupils, preference in assignments, or more supplies. She may voluntarily seek autonomy and shut her door in the hopes that a rise in reading scores will be directly attributable to her abilities.

All of these individual attempts to ameliorate teachers' sense of frustration may well contribute to its increase. Solutions encouraging individual negotiation for control of greatly circumscribed, if not clearly articulated boundaries, neglect the area teachers consistently noted as helpful to their particular teaching situation. Many teachers reported that their most reliable source for new techniques and strategies, as well as feedback for confirmation of their own solutions, are the discussions they hold with other teachers during breaktime, between speakers at an in-service workshop, at crosstown meetings with teachers of the same grade level, or by a frank request for help in the teachers' room.

Our interviews revealed that these "hands on" discussions, while alleviating specific problem areas, were not the only type of discussions necessary to break the isolation and accompanying loss of self-esteem reported by many of them. It was in their attempt to extend the discussion into the areas outside the classroom walls that teachers experienced the greatest resistance--whether this referred to community meetings with parents, whole school discussions of school climate, or attempts to link one teacher's issues with another. Pressure from outside support groups, and federal and state programs mandating teacher involvement, afforded the few possibilities for leverage teachers experienced in confronting system-wide reform.

> *The school district was newly federally redeveloped so there have been a lot of changes...The point is that we really didn't know how to solve these problems. Teacher Corps became a vehicle to help us solve these problems by showing us unity as parents and teachers. The parent coordinator worked very hard to get good relationships between the parents and the teacher and we got to know*

each other as people and friends and not just in that relationship where it is so standoffish. 'Don't you attack my child or I'm going to attack you' bit...We went from talking to taking action. Parents and teachers began working with each other, learning how to go about problem solving, gathering the correct statistics and presenting them in a correct manner, not just going up to City Hall and yelling and screaming. (D, 1980)

These opportunities were not frequent and they were not encouraged. Involvement in community-wide efforts and programs to increase staff morale were necessary to engage both staff and parents in federal programs. Once these programs withdrew or became part of the general administrative structure, the roles of teacher and parent were relegated to carrying out the decisions mandated by the school hierarchy.

At the early release days when we had Teacher Corps we got to stay in our own building and work out issues. We had much more communication. We could stay in our building and talk over programs. You'd know an issue was coming up and it would be decided. Now that Teacher Corps is gone, all our early release days are taken up with superintendent's meetings. (D, 1980)

Communication among teachers and parents was modified from establishing a consensus of concerns in community-wide meetings to defining school-wide tensions as problems of specific individuals to be handled in isolation. The mass movments of the '60's that had propelled many teachers and parents to take a more activist stance in education were consistently translated by administrative design to programs in which individuals were pitted against each other--parent vs. parent, teacher vs. teacher, parent vs. teacher--for the right to participate in and control the few reforms allowed.

Our schools will not be served by counselling teachers to minimize or block our their frustrations. Nor will our schools be improved by a mass exodus of teachers, whether they leave as a result of reduction in force, a purging of the "deadwood", or their own personal considerations, and their replacement by a new batch of teachers who will inevitably face the same problems when they too have "burned out" or become desensitized.

What's so easy to fall into is to say, 'Oh, the primary team has been frustrating because of that personality or that style or whatever when I also at the same time have to sort of believe that there are certain things that at least could be tried to draw some of it out, to draw those people out. I really feel in a lot of ways

the staff is flat and yet I feel like there are dynamic natures sleeping there, just waiting to be tapped. (J, 1979)

Teachers sense that being a good "professional"--facing the issues alone--frequently ends in bitter self-recrimination or alienation from teachers, parents, and students. The crisis of declining enrollments and of reductions in force can be seen as a demoralizing period for teachers but also as an invigorating one, for it uncovers a latent anger and its resultant energy. It makes obvious the contradictions present for teachers that have been smoothed over in preceding eras of increased enrollments and flowing federal funds.

I think there is a responsibility for every teacher to be involved as greatly as they can in matters other than what's in the classroom. Very often when you are in the classroom with kids you do get sort of jaded and isolated from the mainstream of the world but if you at the same time are simultaneously working outside the classroom, still dealing with education but maybe talking about in a different light or working from the standpoint of teacher advocacy, you continue to grow and you don't get so stultified like you would if you just close your classroom door every day and spent 25 years in the classroom. (W, 1981)

Probably for the first time in my school we have not talked specifically about the kids and subject matter and school problems. We've been talking about political things and how it affects our personal life, too. I think it's taught me a lesson that you cannot hide your head in the sand. I'm not just fighting for my job, but I'm fighting for the kids, too. I think it's going to help my awareness of things and help me maybe stick through it a little bit. That I'm not alone in this and I've got other people to talk with and see how it is going to affect other people. I think it has already made me mentally and also just in action make more of a commitment to my work. (Z, 1981)

Teachers must now begin to turn the investigation of schools away from scapegoating individual teachers, students, parents and administrators toward a system-wide approach. Teachers must recognize how the structure of schools controls their work and deeply affects their relationships with their fellow teachers, their students, and their students' families. Teachers must feel free to express these insights and publicly voice their concerns. Only with this knowledge can they grow into wisdom and help others to grow.

FOOTNOTES

1. Freedman, Sara. Excerpt from personal journal, January, 1979.

2. Letters are used to indicate specific teachers interviewed by the Boston Women's Teachers' Group. Single letters indicate teachers interviewed bi-weekly over a year's teaching schedule. Double letters indicate teachers interviewed bi-monthly over a school year calendar.

3. National Education Assocation. Estimates of school statistics. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1978.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Jackson, Philip, Life in classrooms, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. New York, 1969. p.149.

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RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SCHOOL POPULATION

- Cooperation among teachers
  - in what areas
  - encouraged
  - discouraged
- Curriculum design
  - rationale
  - original or adapted
  - degree of control
  - changes
- Status and prestige
  - indicators
  - basis
  - who grants it
  - fixed or changing
- Bucking authority
  - examples
  - reasons
  - results
- Labelling of teachers
  - examples
  - effects
- Principals' expectations of teachers
  - examples
  - in classroom
  - in halls
  - before and after school
- Change in teaching assignment
  - from school to school
  - from grade to grade
  - teacher-initiated or not
  - reasons for (RIF, declining enrollment, change in teaching philosophy)
- Areas of sanctioned initiative
  - in curriculum
  - in support of other teachers
  - physical limitations
- Experimental programs administratively initiated
  - examples
  - opinion about
  - reason for change
  - effects
  - frequency of introduction of new programs
- School hierarchy
  - formal, informal examples
  - rationale

- who determines placement
- basis for class placement
- changes in class composition during career

- Policy on retention
  - who is retained
  - who decides
  - effect on teacher (past and present)
  - effect on student and parent

- Faculty meetings
  - topics on agenda
  - who speaks
  - pace
  - who sets agenda
  - frequency
  - attitude toward
  - purpose
  - what happens before or after

- Playground and recess
  - rules
  - how often
  - purpose
  - role of teacher

- Substitues
  - official policy toward
  - preparation for
  - reaction of class and teacher to them

- Support services
  - examples
  - job responsibilities
  - degreeof overlap with role of teacher
  - attitude toward
  - number in building

- Relationships with specialists
  - scheduling
  - mutual communication
  - effectiveness of specialist program

- Parent conferences and informal discussions
  - where
  - how often
  - who initiates
  - topics covered
  - feeling left with
  - formal
  - informal

- Participants' sex and its influence

- Participants' race and its influence

- Interruptions
  - who interrupts whom and for what

- Conflict
  - where it surfaces
  - is it sanctioned
  - how resolved
  - aftermath

- Information dissemination
  - who gets what kind of information
  - lines of information
  - censoring of information
  - where does dialogue occur
  - areas of denial or withholding of information

- Feedback
  - who gets it
  - who gives it
  - form it takes
  - what occasions it
  - degree of usefulness

- Controversy
  - examples
  - how resolved
  - deflected or acknowledged
  - who is allowed to be controversial,
  - changes of areas of controversy during career

- Responsibilities
  - physical boundaries
  - time boundaries
  - collective vs. individual

- Competition among teachers
  - where encouraged
  - where discouraged
  - effects

- School-wide policies
  - origin
  - avoidance
  - who initiates
  - who decides on them
  - attitude toward

- Access to building
  - times open
  - who determines its availability
  - what parts of building are open and to whom

- Supplies
  - type
  - system of allocation
  - system for ordering
  - effect on curriculum
- Class composition
  - social class of pupils
  - race of pupils
  - Chapter 766

- Opportunities for mobility and advancement
  - within teaching
  - vertical shifts

- Skill
  - how utilized in work
  - transferable to other kinds of work

- Marital status
  - effect on teaching

- Self-image
  - changes over time
  - factors in change
  - affect on self-image from formal and informal evaluations from administration, peers, parents, students

- "Professionalism"
  - meaning
  - use of term, by whom, when

WORK CONDITIONS - CONTRACTUAL AND SITUATIONAL

- Wages and benefits
  - how determined
  - effect on commitment
  - policy on leaves, sabbaticals, and pregnancy

- Security and steadiness of employment
  - changes over time

- Health and safety conditions of work
  - work related illnesses
  - policy on absences
  - vandalism
- Tenure and job security
  - policies, official and unofficial
  - purpose of tenure
  - changes in policy
  - basis for administrative decisions about tenure
  - examples of Reduction in Force
  - effect of declining enrollment

- Physical plant
  - size
  - maintenance
  - responsibility for
  - effect on learning
  - access to building

- Class size
  - contractual or informal agreement
  - effect on teaching and learning
  - changes over time

- which kinds of teachers have different class size

- Hiring and firing
  - criteria
  - procedures
  - degree of control over process by teacher

- Budget

- Size of school system
  - effect on degree of familiarity with administrators, their functions
  - comparison with other systems/ schools taught in

- Job descriptions

- Supervision-
  - who does it
  - its purpose
  - comparison with evaluations
  - comparison with supervision of children
  - changes over time

- Teacher evaluations
  - who evaluates
  - who is evaluated
  - purpose
  - design
  - comparison with evaluations of students
  - changes in criteria
  - effects on individual teachers
  -

- Grievances
  - procedures
  - topics
  - effects

SCHOOL'S RELATIONSHIP TO OUTSIDE WORLD

- Family life of children
  - access to information
  - support services for families
  - degree of knowledge about

- Single-parent families
  - percentage in class, school
  - effect on children's achievement, behavior
  - rationale

- Fiscal crisis
  - its manifestations
  - whom it affects
  - how it affects them
  - cyclical or new

- Stereotypes of teachers
  - examples
  - who believes in them
  - typologies
  - degree of identification with stereotype

- Contact with "outside world"
  - in curriculum
  - contact with media
  - political contacts with town or city
  - bracketing of knowledge or opinions about

- Socio-economics of school system
  - effects
  - comparison to other communities lived in, taught in

- Federal and state aid
  - what programs
  - when initiated
  - effectiveness, relation to rest of school
  - withdrawal
  - personnel

- Affiliation with outside institutions
  - benefits
  - disadvantages
  - change in teacher status or self-esteem as a result of such affiliation

- Projections about students' future lives
  - effects on pupil performance
  - effects on self esteem of teacher

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OVER COURSE OF TEACHING CAREER

- In-service courses
  - -topics
  - purpose
  - attitude
  - worth
  - control over content

- Staff development
  - meaning of "development" and its implications
  - who initiates and why
  - money allocated
  - topics
  - effect
  - composition of participants
  - does "development" include principal
  - when did term first appear

- University courses
  - funds: who pays
  - content
  - reason for taking them
  - applicability

- Burnout
  - definition
  - reasons
  - times of occurrance
  - who it effects and why

- Stress
  - sources
  - effects on teaching
  - when began

- New techniques or strategies
  - when initiates
  - why initiates(internal or external reason)
  - description of techniques or strategies
  - retained or discontinued- reasons
  - results of new stratagies
  - effects on other teachers or administration

- Effect of Aging on teachers
  - your changing attitudes toward "older" teachers
  - seniority clauses
  - "deadwood"

- Career ladder
  - number of steps
  - difference of each step
  - who is on each step

- Mentors
  - who they were
  - how they helped
  - why they helped

- Teachers' expectations of principals
  - ideal
  - reality
  - change over course of career

- Teahcers' room
  - how its used
  - who frequents it
  - its accessibility

- Parent-teacher relationships
  - changes over time
  - formal, informal
  - effect of age of teacher
  - effect of marital or parental status of teacher

CLASSROOM ISSUES

- Stereotyping of students
  - basis
  - by you or other teachers
  - by administrators
  - by students or parents
  - how issue is handled by teacher

- Sequence of learning
  - same or different for each child
  - change over time
  - what years, months or days do you learn most or least

- Worksheets
  - attitude toward
  - use
  - who corrects them
  - who makes them up

- Basic skills
  - definition
  - how they are taught
  - sequence of teaching
  - who learns them
  - basic skills for school staff

- Subject areas
  - relative importance of each subject
  - how often mentioned
  - who is responsible for teaching each subject

- Rationales for non-achievement of children
  - what's considered nonachievement
  - in which subjects
  - who considers it a problem

- Ability groups
  - rationale
  - rigidity or flexibility in theory and practice
  - in which subjects
  - how decided
  - effect on children

- Appropriate student behavior
  - note sex, race, class and age of child
  - who determines it
  - has it changed over time

- Favorite pupils
  - note who is mentioned (their sex, race, class)

- Classroom discussions
  - topics
  - when
  - purpose
  - obstacles to

- Minimum competency
  - defintion
  - what it tests
  - why now
  - attitude toward

- Structure of individual classroom
  - changes over time
  - influences on changes
  - comparison with other classrooms in building/system
  - does this structure coincide with sense of self

- Use of quantifiable measures to rank children and adults
  - reading scores
  - IQ - when conducted and for what purpose
  - family income
  - % of children tending to task

- Labelling of children
  - basis for labels
  - official and unofficial terms
  - purpose/function of label
  - do labels change

- Experimental programs
  - who initiates
  - purpose
  - degree of success
  - preparation for introduction

- Teaching style
  - authoritarian
  - open
  - (teachers defined)
  - system, school, teacher, pupil
  - fit with self-image or goals

- Teachers' expectations of children
  - changes over time
- Discipline
- Sense of loneliness or affinity
  - physical position of classroom
  - sense of differentness from other teachers
  - degree of contact with adults during school day
  -
- Machines/technology
  - how impinges on your teaching
  - advantages, disadvantages
- Planbooks
  - standards
  - who looks at them
  - usefulness
- Report cards
  - format
  - rationale
  - who decides format
  - attitude toward them
  - effect on relationship with pupil, parent
  - how closely they reflect classroom life
  - who looks at them
- Scheduling
  - who determines it
  - effect on classroom life
- Standardized tests
  - what tests
  - frequency
  - who knows results
  - how are results used
- Measures of achievement that do not use numbers
  - types
  - usefulness
  - freedom of choice for individual teacher
- Anger
  - where
  - topics or triggers of
  - others' view of it
  - who vents and who receives
  - resolution
  - legitimate and illegitimate areas

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF EACH RESPONDENT INTERVIEWED ON A BI-WEEKLY BASIS

Age	Race	Type of college attended	No. of years teaching	Grade Level	Teaching Experience	Socio-economic level of current school	Marital Status	No. of children	Native to area now teaching	Occupation of Father	Education of Mother
A--32	white	L.A.[1]	5	Primary[2]	urban*	Title I	married	1	no		
B--40	white	L.A.	4	Primary	suburban		married	3	yes	professional	high school
C--29	white	L.A.	5	Primary	urban*	Title I	single	0	no	self-employed	college
D--45	white	S.T.C.[3]	20	Primary	urban*	Title I	married	2	yes	professional	college
E--49	white	S.T.C.	27	Primary	suburban	Title I	single	0	yes	semi-skilled	jr. college
F--52	white	L.A.	30	Inter.	suburban		married	0	no	clerical	uneducated
L--55	white	L.A.	30	Primary	suburban*		single	0	yes	self-employed	high school
M--35	black	L.A.	11	Inter.[4]	urban	Title I	married	2	no	self-employed	college
R--45	white	S.T.C.	10	Inter.	suburban*	Title I	married	0	yes	armed forces	college
S--35	white	S.T.C.	10	Inter.	urban	Title I	single	0	yes	not available	high school
V--53	white	S.T.C.	29	Inter.	suburban*		single	0	yes	civil service	high school
W--34	black	L.A.	11	Inter.	urban*	Title I	divorced	0	no	teacher	college
X--60	white	L.A.	15	Inter.	suburban*		married	2	yes	semi-skilled	grammar school
Y--50	white	L.A.	15	Primary	urban*	Title I	married	3	yes	self-employed	college
Z--32	white	L.A.	11	Primary	urban*	Title I	married	1	yes	unskilled	grammar school
										self-employed	college

[1] Liberal Arts College

[2] Primary - Grades K-3

[3] State Teachers' College

[4] Inter. - Intermediate grades 4-6

*Indicates that the teacher has spent the great majority of her teaching career in one school system