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ABSTRACT

This interpretive study of a 22-year-old male student teacher in an elementary setting examines how he dealt with the contradictions inherent in the role of "student teacher" by making tacit "treaties" with the cooperating teacher. Data were collected through interviews and observations. Field notes taken during the 5th through the 9th week of the subject's 10-week training included interactions between the student teacher and the cooperating teachers as well as with the students. In-depth interviews occurred weekly. Five formal interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. The placement was a grade 3 classroom of 22 students in a rural small town. The subject had earlier failed a field experience, and this impelled him to do whatever it took to pass this student teaching assignment. In fact, observations revealed that the subject made "treaties" with the cooperating teacher on issues of curriculum development, autonomy, interpersonal relationships, and persona. These treaties were tacit, silent arrangements made between teacher and student and only vaguely understood by both parties. Because of the subject's compelling desire to "fit in" and have a "successful" experience, he was willing to sacrifice his own ideas, suppress his personality, and conform to the cooperating teacher's gender-expectations to win her favor. (Contains 26 references.) (JB)

ABSTRACT

Making Treaties: One Student's Experience with Role Socialization (An Exploratory Study of a Student Teacher)

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This paper presents an interpretive study of a 22 year old male student teacher in an elementary setting, who because of an earlier failed field experience, decides to do whatever it takes to pass student teaching. He deals with the contradictions inherent in the role of "student teacher" by making tacit "treaties" with the cooperating teacher. These treaties include issues of curriculum development, autonomy, interpersonal relationships and persona.

Some of the implications of this study are: 1) all placements need to be screened and reviewed periodically for their current value and authenticity in a student teaching program; 2) student teachers need to learn how to negotiate a role for themselves in the student teaching triad; and 3) colleges and universities should consider offering a communications course for education majors.

Some recommendations include: 1) the use of a "letter of expectation"[1] to clarify expectations within the student teaching triad; 2) the use of a dialogue journal between the student teacher and the cooperating teacher; and 3) the use of "letters of recommendations" in placement files rather than "final evaluation forms."

As student teachers find their voice and negotiate an appropriate role for themselves, they will become less willing to make treaties and more willing to initiate fresh ideas in the classroom.

[1]Grant, Carl. Student Teaching Handbook, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

MAKING TREATIES: ONE STUDENT'S EXPERIENCE WITH ROLE SOCIALIZATION

(An Exploratory Study of a Student Teacher)

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Making Treaties: One Student's Experience with Role Socialization (An Exploratory Study)

In a broad context, socialization refers to learning one's place in society, learning what the rules are, and then learning how to play by those rules so one "fits" comfortably into the existing culture.

For college students about to begin student teaching, the socialization process can be somewhat confusing. The university tells them they are now "professionals" and no longer students. They are to consider student teaching "a first job in their new profession." When they go into the public school system, they hear another message. The title of "teacher" will only come after they complete their apprenticeship satisfactorily. Regardless of the many hours of class and fieldwork behind them, it's "experience" that counts.

Could the term "student teacher" possibly be an oxymoron? Britzman (1991:13) catches the essence of this dilemma: "Marginally situated in two worlds, the student teacher as part student and part teacher has the dual struggle of educating others while being educated."

There has been some debate as to the role that student teaching plays in the socialization process of preservice teachers. Some researchers believe it has little impact. They argue that students have internalized the "role of teacher" by observing teachers for countless hours since childhood (Lortie, 1975; Pruitt & Lee, 1978; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). Others maintain that students are strongly influenced by those with the power to

evaluate them, i.e., cooperating teachers and others (Su, 1992; Karmos & Jacko, 1977; Yee, 1969). A third group credits the ecology of the classroom with significant influence (Goodman, 1985a; Copeland, 1980), while others believe the bureaucratic characteristics of schools have a strong influence on student teachers (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985; Hoy & Rees, 1977).

In a national research project, "The Study of the Education of Educators," conducted between 1985 and 1990, a survey pertaining to teacher socialization was given to all teacher candidates and teacher educators in 29 teacher training institutions across the United States. The researcher's findings (Su, 1992: 254) indicate:

> ... student teaching and cooperating teachers were the most powerful sources of influence on teacher candidates in their initial socialization experience.

The faculty who were interviewed for this study believed that teacher candidates often "...ended up teaching in the way their cooperating teachers taught" (250).

According to Popkewitz (1985:93), "Socialization is equated with the adopting of certain rules of the game." Many student teachers quickly learn to conform to their cooperating teacher's "rules of the game." They know hiring personnel will place considerable weight on their cooperating teacher's final evaluation (Knowles, et. al., 1994: 155) and a positive one will increase their chance of securing a teaching position (Zeichner & Liston, 1987; Pruitt & Lee, 1978). In the process of conforming, however, they may lose their "voice" and feel powerless (Giroux & McLaren, 1987). They may also find themselves having to conform to gender

stereotypes in order to win their cooperating teacher's approval.

In an effort to address the above issues and contribute to the growing body of literature in teacher socialization, this paper reports the findings of an exploratory study that involved the shadowing of a male student teacher during his student teaching semester. After a discussion of the methodology used, including a description of the site and the participants, the central theme of "treaties" between the student teacher and the cooperating teacher is explored. The results of these treaties are then examined in light of their implications for teacher education programs. Several recommendations are made to reduce the need for treaty-making; and finally, some conclusions are drawn.

Methodology

Data Sources:

At the beginning of spring semester, 1995, a university supervisor at a large midwestern university was contacted, and asked to find a student teacher willing to be interviewed and observed during student teaching. The 22-year old elementary education major who eventually agreed to participate in the study was a young man by the name of Ben Cook. (Pseudonyms are used for all participants in this study.) He came from a small midwestern town, and was one of four children.

Ben's cooperating teacher, Rita Hildreth, had taught for 30+ years in a public school system near the university, teaching third grade primarily. She regularly requested student teachers in her classroom and had trained over 50 of them during her career.

Ben's university supervisor, Susan Smith, was an associate instructor and doctoral student at Ben's university. She was a former elementary teacher with twelve years experience and had mentored a number of student teachers herself.

The Director of Student Teaching and two of Ben's professors were also interviewed during the course of the study. During the semester that Ben did his student teaching, the Director of Student Teaching was revising the Student Teaching Handbook, so all student teachers, cooperating teachers, and university supervisors, were given a six-page condensed version instead. Both the condensed version and the student teaching handbook were closely examined, along with student teaching evaluation forms, and some of Ben's lesson plans.

Data Collection and Analysis:

Interviews and observations were the primary source of data collection. Fieldnotes, taken during the 5th through the 9th week of Ben's ten-week student teaching experience, included interactions between the student teacher and the cooperating teacher as well as with the students. In-depth interviews, structured and unstructured, occurred weekly. Five formal interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. An additional half-dozen interviews were more informal and recorded as scratch notes. The student teacher was given an opportunity to respond to the study before a final draft was written. An experienced elementary teacher and supervisor of student teachers (other than Ben's cooperating teacher) was also asked to read and

react to the paper, providing additional insight.

The fieldnotes were intensively reviewed and analyzed for general categories related to student teaching. Later, specific themes emerged which centered on: 1) frustrations; 2) the division of teacher-role and responsibilities; and 3) the tacit "treaties" that took place between the student teacher and cooperating teacher. Additional confirming and disconfirming information was sought in the field once these themes emerged.

Setting:

Ben was placed in a 3rd grade classroom at Edgeville Elementary School, located in a small rural town near his university. The K-3 school had 350 students and a teaching staff of 14, including one male. There were 22 children in Ben's classroom, 12 girls and 10 boys, all Caucasian and, for the most part, from middle-class homes.

Ben's classroom was bright and spacious. Everywhere one looked, there was something to see -- posters, games, science projects, handwriting charts, alphabet letters and class rules. The children's desks were arranged in groups of four and there were two large horseshoe-shaped tables, one in the front and one in the back of the room. The floor was covered with an orange tweed rug and eye-catching mobiles hung from the ceiling. Plants were everywhere, giving the room the appearance of being alive, even when the children were not present.

Two features in particular bear mentioning. The first was piles and piles of workbooks that lined the bookshelves at the back

of the room. Some were opened and stacked in a pile while others were stored in a half-dozen plastic storage bins in front of the teacher's desk.

Another item of interest was the child-size desk abutting the teacher's desk. One might have thought it was for a child who needed to be kept on task and watched closely by the teacher. Instead it was placed there by the cooperating teacher for the student teacher.

Limitations of the Study

This study should be considered an exploratory one for the following reasons. It was my first time in the field as a researcher, although I was an experienced teacher (K-12) and had worked a year as a Director of Student Teaching and university supervisor for a midwestern university with 600 education majors. I spent a limited amount of time in the classroom (five weeks) because the process of finding a student teacher and cooperating teacher willing to participate took longer than anticipated. As a result of this delay, I relied upon Ben's recollections of his first four weeks of student teaching. Only one informant was used in this study, although Goodman (1985:46) states: "... close examination of a singular setting can yield insights into the subtleties of social reality often missed in more generalized, quantitative research." Due to these limitations, this paper should be considered an exploratory study.

Treaties of Student Teaching'

In the Shopping Mall High School, Powell, Farrar, and Cohen

(1985) refer to the "treaties" that students make with their teachers and vice versa. For example, a teacher may give a passing grade to a student who attends class, but does little work; or students may be given less work to do as long as they stay reasonably quiet. The authors note:

> Agreement [between teachers and students] is far more common than antagonism .... peaceful coexistence seems preferable to outright conflict....Teachers and students have more subtle ways of accommodating either differences or similarities; they arrange deals or treaties that promote mutual goals or that keep the peace (69-69).

The authors believe these "tacit" treaties are silent arrangements made between teachers and students, and are vaguely understood by both parties.

In a similar vein, I began to notice several unspoken treaties going on between Ben and his cooperating teacher. Unlike formal negotiations where give and take occurs, these educational treaties happened silently and without negotiation: They were based more on presumption rather than on overt feelings, and governed Ben's actions but not his thoughts. The predominant treaty looked like this:

> **.Ben will do whatever it takes to pass student teaching and his cooperating teacher will give him a positive, final evaluation.**

It's difficult to imagine a student teacher this subservient, but Ben had his reasons. He had gone through a devastating earlier field experience in which he was evicted from a classroom by a teacher. He found the experience particularly humiliating because it occurred in front of the children. According to Ben, he was unavoidably delayed in reaching the school three times in a row.

As he entered the superivising teacher's classroom for his third visit, she screamed at him: "Get out of here! You've done this to me too many times. I don't want you in here!"

Neither Ben nor his supervisor were able to repair the damage, so Ben had to re-take the course. After this experience, he refused to take any risks during student teaching, especially since he had already switched majors once and was heavily in debt.

This overarching treaty covered several sub-treaties as well. One sub-treaty could be stated like this:

Curriculum Development:

> .The cooperating teacher makes all the major curriculum decisions; the student teacher designs learning games and creates bulletin boards.

Ben's cooperating teacher gave the children daily assignments from several workbooks, plus written assignments. She had established a daily routine at the beginning of the school year and wanted Ben to follow it. Ben described his initial reaction:

> The first day I was stumped as I watched Mrs. Hildreth put the children through their paces. First they had spelling and an assignment. Then they opened their phonics workbook and were assigned a few pages. Next came math and an assignment and finally an assignment in their English skillbook. All this was done in about 30 minutes and then the children had the rest of the morning before recess to get their assignments done. Bang, bang, bang. I was like, my God, what is she doing to these kids? She's loading them down, not even giving them time to get all their work done.

Even though he had some misgivings about what was going on, Ben presumed that her routine was "set in stone," and that he should wait before asking to make any changes.

Mrs. Hildreth stated that she was willing to let Ben

experiment as long as he told her his plans ahead of time. Ben disagreed with this:

> We got some tadpole eggs in the mail. She whipped out this unit on living things for me to do. That was nice of her but I had some ideas of my own. I shared my ideas with her; however, she still wanted me to follow the format of her unit.

When I asked if he had had any opportunity to give his input into other curricula decisions, he replied in a somewhat contradictory nature:

> Yes, I do -- actually she pretty much has in mind what she wants to do and what she wants me to do. She'll ask me, for example what pages I think we should cover in each workbook. So I get to give my input.

Although he had little control over the curriculum, he was given free rein when it came to designing the numerous bulletin boards in the room. He also made learning games that supported Mrs. Hildreth's regular lesson plans. When Mrs. Hildreth asked him to put together a social studies unit, she gave him the material she wanted used.

A second sub-treaty could be stated like this:

Autonomy:

> .The cooperating teacher stays in the classroom and grades workbooks; the student teacher gains free time but gives up some of his autonomy.

Mrs. Hildreth preferred staying in the classroom where she could keep an eye on things. Occasionally she would leave the room to take a phone call from a parent, go to the copier, or run a brief errand, but other than that, she stayed in the back of the classroom and continued to grade papers and workbooks. Her

philosophy for doing this was simple:

> I want to see where Ben is making mistakes so that I can help him and I can't do that if I'm not in the room. You have two teachers in the classroom, and you want to take advantage of having a student teacher. I thought the children got more individual attention with both of us in the classroom.

Ben reacted differently to her presence:

> Last week I said something funny in my reading group and the kids all laughed. I noticed that Mrs. Hildreth didn't seemed too pleased with this-- in fact, she told them to get back to work. I felt like I had to be gruff with them after that.

He found he couldn't be his usual good-humored self with the children or the teacher would "jump all over them." So he altered his personality to fit the role of "teacher" as Mrs. Hildreth defined it. Britzman (1991:4) makes the point that student teachers are surprised when they realize "... taking up an identity means suppressing aspects of the self..." and "...becoming a teacher may mean becoming someone you are not."

Mrs. Hildreth also let him know when children were off-task and would give him a signal from the back of the room so he could quickly get students back to work. After one such situation, he described his thought-processes during the event:

> I could see her in the back of the room shifting and looking at the students. I see her eyes on a certain student who may be playing with a pencil. I think to myself-- how would she handle this? I know I have to correct this right now. So I do, but then I lose my attention on what I'm doing and stumble.

Even though Ben "loved it" when she left the room, he also realized how much she helped him by grading over 125 workbooks a day, and other miscellaneous papers. Her assistance made it

possible for him to hold a part-time job in the late afternoons and evenings. Even though he knew working outside of school was strongly discouraged by the Director of Student Teaching, he felt he had no other choice due to debts accrued during college.

According to the Director of Student Teaching, cooperating teachers were expected to leave the student teacher in charge of the classroom for a minimum of four weeks during a ten-week placement. This allowed the student teacher to have full responsibility and work through various challenges without immediate rescuing. I asked Susan Smith, Ben's university supervisor, if she had been surprised by Mrs. Hildreth's continual presence in the classroom. She responded:

> No, not really. I leave that up to the cooperating teacher. She probably thought he was teaching on his own. It was probably just her habit to stay in the room, and she probably thought, "Why should I drag all my workbooks down to the teachers' lounge and grade them there?"

Since Ben and Mrs. Hildreth appeared to get on well, she saw no reason to bring it up.

Because of Mrs. Hildreth's continual presence in the room, two other related sub-treaties became evident:

Interpersonal Relationships:

- The cooperating teacher interrupts and disciplines the students whenever she feels it's necessary, but the student teacher gets backed up by the teacher when he needs it.
- The cooperating teacher handles the emotional needs of the children while the student teacher handles the simpler day-to-day routines.

Issues of discipline quite often come to the forefront once the cooperating teacher leaves the room. When the cooperating teacher stays in the classroom and maintains control of the children, the student teacher rarely has to confront situations of this sort on his own.

Mrs. Hildreth felt free to interrupt Ben's teaching when a child misbehaved or when she felt the whole class needed reprimanding. Ben put up with these interruptions because Mrs. Hildreth backed him up when he needed it. Two separate observations illustrated this point:

> After a few minutes, two boys started fidgeting and whispering. Even though Ben cautioned the two boys to stop, they didn't so Mrs. Hildreth looked up from grading workbooks and said, "Stop it now! Pay attention to Mr. Cook." The two boys quieted down immediately. (Fieldnote observation 2/23/95)

> Another time, after Ben had carefully explained to the children why they needed to behave for a special library program, Mrs. Hildreth must have thought his admonitions were not enough because she added: "Children, look at me! You acted so nicely for our last guest speaker. It's important that you act the same way this time, too. I'm expecting you all to behave yourself." Once inside the library, Ben reprimanded a small number of girls who were acting silly. They calmed down for awhile, but began acting silly again. This time Mrs. Hildreth told the girls to comply with Mr. Cook's earlier directions which they did right away. (Fieldnote observation 3/7/95)

Ben had hoped to learn how to handle emotional children while student teaching. He found that whenever a child cried or was upset, Mrs. Hildreth quickly stepped into the breach, leaving him to deal with the daily, routine matters such as collecting lunch money and "rotating" the workbooks. After one such trauma involving a young boy who cried because of a failing grade on a

spelling test and was then comforted by Mrs. Hildreth, Ben remarked:

> That's what I thought student teaching would be about- learning how to deal with emergencies. I especially wanted to learn how to handle emotional children but Mrs. Hildreth always took care of those types of things.

On another occasion, he had the following experience:

> Ben called on a young girl named Amanda to read. When she didn't speak loudly enough, the teacher interjected from the back of the room: "Sit up straight and speak louder!" The child responded by reading a little louder, but not enough to please the teacher who looked angry. After a while, Amanda, with tears in her eyes, left her seat and went to the teacher. Mrs. Hildreth picked up and put her arm around her. They talked quietly and then Amanda went back to her seat. Ben continued to explain the workbook assignments to the rest of the class while observing Mrs. Hildreth comfort Amanda. (Fieldnote observations, 3/10/95).

One element of student teaching that surprised Ben and brought about a more subtle treaty had to do with issue of gender stereotyping in a predominantly female-run elementary school. This subtreaty could be stated like this:

Persona:

> **Ben conforms to his cooperating teacher's image of what a male student teacher should be, and she tells him how to succeed in predominately female-run elementary schools.**

Because of the "feminization" of teaching which is often looked at as "women's work" particularly at the elementary level, males confront gender-linked contradictions in the role of teacher as Ben did (Apple, 1987:58; Ginzburg, 1988:11). A number of studies discuss the special challenges males face during student teaching, especially in elementary school settings (Goodman, 1987; Barrows, 1978). Because men are often socialized to show no emotion or

discuss their feelings, this may have had something to do with Ben's inability to communicate his frustrations (Goodman, 1987).

Mrs. Hildreth had little ways of letting Ben know his place as a male student teacher in an elementary school. For example, she asked him to move some larger desks from another wing of the school and exchange them with some smaller desks in her classroom. She also volunteered his services when the librarian requested some help in moving tables.

At one point Mrs. Hildreth reminded Ben that once he became a teacher "even though he was a male" he would be responsible for decorating his classroom, especially at the elementary level.

Ben noticed a difference in how he was treated by the female teachers in the school and remarked:

> The younger teachers talk about men teachers as positive role models; father figures. They're thinking on the lines of the children's needs vs. the older teachers who are thinking more of their own needs. They want men teachers to help them by moving furniture or checking the boys' bathroom. Some of them see me as part hall monitor and part janitor.

The one male teacher in the school greeted Ben one day in the teachers' lounge but never initiated any contact after that, even though Ben would like to have been invited into the teacher's classroom to observe.

Mrs. Hildreth gave him a couple of tips about how to act around the children. Instead of hugging them or putting his arm around them, he should "high-five" them as they left the classroom. She also recommended that he not let the students hug him out on the playground. Some boys had earlier accused a previous male

teacher of sexual molestation, and she didn't want this to happen to him.

Results of Treaties: The Lessons Ben Didn't Learn

Ben never learned how to handle emotional children or emergencies, nor did he have an opportunity to relate to parents in meaningful ways. He had little time to "read" the kids because his first priority was to "read" the teacher. He never learned how to learn from failing, nor did he learn the joy of succeeding on his own. He never had to make any major decisions so he never learned the consequences of his actions. There was little need for him to innovate because nearly everything was given to him. He was never fully tested by the children so he never learned if he had what it takes to discipline a class. He never learned to set his own pace because he marched to the beat of his cooperating teacher.

If Ben had been allowed to teach on his own, he would have learned more about the inner resources he possessed or lacked and would have learned if he had what it takes to teach. As it was, he learned to adapt to a cooperating teacher who didn't want to let go. He learned that to get a positive evaluation, he needed to play the role of a student instead of a teacher.

Near the end of Ben's student teaching experience, I asked him what the rules of the real student teaching game are -- the rules he and his fellow student teachers talked about. He listed them fairly quickly:

1) Do things right the first time because you may not get a second chance.
2) Be personable but don't gossip.
3) Be apolitical; be neutral regarding school politics.

4) Be responsible and show initiative.

When I asked Ben how he had shown initiative, he replied:

> I did a lot of little things for Mrs. Hildreth. She would either drop hints or say, "I wish ...." I'd pick up on those cues. If she mentioned she wanted some texts for a particular unit, I got them together. She needed a new book report form and I did that. She needed filmstrips about simple machines and I got those. One time a mobile fell down from the ceiling and I got a stepladder from the custodian and fixed it during my lunchtime. She went on a trip over Spring vacation and hinted that it would be nice if someone would come in and take care of the plants and science projects. I volunteered and also agreed to wash out some dirty containers at the same time.

At this point, I asked him to define success in student teaching. He responded:

> To have most of your curiosities satisfied and to learn new techniques and develop your own. For instance, I wanted to know how to handle children who were emotional; how to pace my lessons; how to get to every subject.

When I asked if he felt like he had missed out on any of those things, he mentioned feeling a "little gypped."

Discussion

Ben very much wanted to "fit in" and was therefore willing to sacrifice his own ideas, suppress his personality, and conform to the cooperating teacher's gender-expectations to win her favor. His earlier failed field experience accounted for his cautious attitude in dealing with Mrs. Hildreth, and why he didn't question her decisions, such as staying in the classroom.

Mrs. Hildreth's division of the teaching-role and its responsibilities (See Table 1) left Ben with little power or authority of his own, especially when it came to discipline. The children were quick to realize who was really in charge of the

classroom, so there was little need for Ben to assert himself. This proved true in other situations as well. For example, if a parent walked into the room, Ben would greet the visitor, but Mrs. Hildreth took charge of the conversation.

Not all experiences are like Ben's. Not all students feel as though they have to wholly conform to the cooperating teacher's wishes, but many do, especially since their final evaluation may greatly influence whether or not they eventually find a teaching position.

Implications and Recommendations

How might future student teachers' placements be looked at differently in light of Ben's experience? How could student teachers be made to feel less vulnerable? How can the relationships among the triad (i.e., the student teacher, the cooperating teacher and the university supervisor) be clarified and improved? This section will attempt to address these questions in light of the study's findings, as well as offer some possible recommendations.

Director of Student Teaching:

The findings in this study suggest all placements need to be screened and reviewed periodically for their current value and authenticity in a student teaching program. Directors of Student Teaching who place students in common school systems need to share information about inappropriate placements. Back-up placements can be kept in reserve should a quick switch become necessary.

When holding training sessions for university supervisors,

Directors of Student Teaching can include discussion related to "signs of trouble" within a placement. In this study, Ben's small desk and its location next to the teacher's desk spoke "volumes" regarding his status in Mrs. Hildreth's classroom.

Teacher Educators:

The way in which cooperating teachers are selected, as well as the issue of placement sites, is one area where teacher education researchers urge "drastic measures" (Knowles, et.al., 1994: 156). Goodman (1986:351) recommends that faculty help with the development of placements so more placements that encourage innovation and experimentation are available. Faculty and the Director of Student Teaching need to explore ways of exchanging information about placements.

Student teachers need to learn how to negotiate a role for themselves so that the student teaching experience isn't trivialized. Knowles, et.al., (1994:158) forewarns student teachers: "Negotiating a role with your cooperating teacher may be the most important act associated with your beginning work in schools." In order to negotiate an appropriate role, student teachers need to learn how to find their own "voice" in the student teaching triad.

Some teacher education programs provide a course for this purpose. One institution, Principia College in Elsah, Illinois, has a "Counseling and Communication" course in which all education majors study "... the interrelationships between learning about discussion, conversation, thinking, listening, writing, questioning

and sending and receiving messages effectively" (catalog, 1993-95, p. 73). Students discuss readings, presentations by outside speakers, videos, etc., -- all focused on educational/political issues. Discussions occur first in pairs, then triads, small groups, and finally in one large group.

Based on Paulo Freire's method of teaching, the instructor doesn't lecture but gives directions at the beginning of each class before students begin discussions. At the end of the class, the students are given feedback notes in which further questions are raised. Students are shown how to probe and paraphrase in this manner. The conversation techniques learned in this foundational course are integrated and woven throughout all subsequent education and content courses so that students feel confident in their ability to safely and effectively communicate with others before going out to field experiences.

Koerner (1992: 54) asserts that student teachers need to be taught how to be problem-solvers and "skillful change agents" so that they can modify their experience as needed. Obviously, teacher educators and university supervisors have a role to play in these areas of discussion.

University Supervisors:

One way of negotiating roles and facilitating communication about expectations is through a formal "letter of expectation" (Grant, 1975: 4). As Director of Student Teaching at the University of Wisconsin, Grant states the "letter of expectation" would:

1) serve as a vehicle for meaningful dialogue for members of the triad throughout the semester;
2) enable each member of the triad to think through and express in an organized way his/her initial expectations;
3) serve as a guide for planning the semester experience;
4) serve as a point of reference in evaluation of the experience.

While leaving the format of the "letter" to the discretion of the student teaching triad, expectations can cover general teaching areas and at the same time be tailored to meet more specific requirements such as the amount of time the student teacher needs to be left alone in the classroom with the children (see Appendix A). The "letter" is drafted early during the student teaching experience by the university supervisor, and can be reviewed and/or modified throughout the experience as needed. The letter gives everyone involved in the triad an opportunity to discuss beforehand what the individual expectations are and misunderstandings can be clarified or rectified immediately.

Another method of facilitating communication between the student teacher and the cooperating teacher is to suggest that they keep a journal, reflecting on each other's teaching practice. While one is teaching, the other can write comments or ask questions in the journal. Then they can switch places and respond to what the other has written. This practice works especially well with shy student teachers who have lots of questions but little courage to ask them face-to-face. The journal helps to keep the lines of communication open; shows the growth of the student teacher; and serves as documentation.

Teacher Placement Offices:

Some universities (other than Ben's) have lessened the power-relationship between cooperating teachers and student teachers by differentiating between a "final evaluation form" and a "letter of recommendation." The final evaluation form is no longer sent to prospective employees but is left in the student teacher's (personal) university file. Instead, letters of recommendation are placed in the placement file and sent to hiring personnel. (Letters of recommendation can be written by the cooperating teacher, the university supervisor, faculty and others.) The student teacher, while recognizing the importance of the final evaluation, no longer feels held captive by it. At the same time, the cooperating teacher can safely evaluate the student teacher without fear of reprisal from the student.

Conclusion

As stated earlier, this study should be considered an exploratory one as it was my first experience in the field as a researcher, was based on a limited amount of time in the field, and involved only one informant. However, as an experienced educator, I believe it is an accurate representation of what can occur in some student teaching experiences.

At the beginning of this paper I discussed the ambiguous nature of the student teacher role, as well as the current debate over the significance of the student teaching experience. The findings of this study suggest that some student teachers will conform to their cooperating teacher's expectations and engage in

treaty-making rather than in risk-taking to succeed. Assuming that we all want more for student teachers then what Ben experienced, those most directly involved with the student teaching experience should reconsider what students should learn and what needs to be done to make this learning possible. Cowen (63) stated as far back as 1884:

> Unless a young man has an object in life beyond the mere name of having passed through his apprenticeship, or attained his diploma, the time spent in college or shop is largely wasted. He must be able to realize that there is a great, busy, struggling world outside of the college and shop, into which he will one day be tossed to struggle with the rest, and that unless he is thoroughly equipped for the strife, he will go down in the first skirmish.

The student teaching experience needs to represent more than just "one more hoop" for students to jump through in their quest for a teaching certificate. We need to make sure that student teachers are given authentic field experiences in preparation for their first year of teaching and all the challenges that will confront them at that time. As student teachers find their voice and negotiate an appropriate role for themselves, they will become less willing to make treaties and more willing to initiate fresh ideas in the classroom.

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Table I

Role and Division of Teacher Responsibilities

Mrs. Hildreth: (The Cooperating Teacher)	*Ben: (The Student Teacher)*
Does overall planning.	Has input into what pages are covered in skillbooks.
Directs Ben as to what and how to teach.	Implements teacher's directions.
Grades daily work and does the report cards.	Grades some daily work and fills out "copies" of report cards for teacher to see.
Handles emotional children.	Takes care of routine chores; attendance; lunch money, etc.
Orders science kits. Has Ben use her science unit.	Implements science kits; takes care of clean-up.
Directs a h.s. student aide	
Attends day meetings and night meetings; excuses Ben from night meetings.	Attends day meetings.
Disciplines class and backs up student teacher with disciplining.	Disciplines students.
Works with high reading grp.	Works with medium reading grp.
Stays with children in library during presentations by outside speakers.	Walks children to special subjects/recess/lunch/bathroom.
Makes curricula decisions.	Makes bulletin boards; designs a learning game; creates social studies and science units using teacher's materials.
Handles parent interactions.	Move furniture when requested.
	Monitors boys' bathroom.

Appendix A

From the student teaching handbook at the University of Wisconsin:

"The student teacher will participate with her or his cooperating teacher and the University supervisor in the writing of a Statement of Expectations. As part of this goal-setting process, the student teacher will work with the supervisor and cooperating teacher in setting up a program for the student's gradual assumption of classroom responsibilities..." (11).

And from the same handbook, a sample Statement of Expectations:

Expectations of myself (student teacher)

*To gain experience in all subject areas, using a variety of instructional approaches.
*To positively reinforce good behavior.
*To grow as a teacher, a student, and a colleague.
*To learn about how to evaluate students and develop a grading system.
*To find my strengths and weaknesses as a teacher.
*To plan fun, purposeful lessons.
*To keep the students' education as a number one priority.
*To be involved in lesson and unit planning.
*To participate in staff meetings and conferences.

Expectations of Cooperating Teacher:

*To be honest and open in my feedback.
*To be available to talk over concerns.
*To feel comfortable expressing my perspective on situations.
*To share suggestions and ideas.

Expectations of University Supervisor:

*To be honest and open in evaluations.
*To be available for talk over concerns.
*To share experiences, suggestions, and different teaching methods.

Expectations of everyone in the triad:

*To be open in communicating and to follow the guidelines in the student teaching handbook.
*To reflect together about teaching.
*To grow from our experience together.