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ABSTRACT

This study used a naturalistic, qualitative design to investigate 12 preservice teachers' views toward urban education during a two-week experience in an urban high school. In-depth case studies to two of the subjects were constructed using data sources consisting of essays and interviews (pre- and post-experience), student journals, and researchers' observation notes. The two students were a non-traditional returning female student from a rural area, and a single urban male. The female participant's pre-experience data focused on security, plant deterioration, and student needs. Her post-experience remarks appeared to confirm her pre-experience perceptions with some shifts. Issues of security, fear and safety were replaced with discussions of academics, socialization, and comfort, and she began to see the urban school as similar to all schools. The male student's pre-experience responses focused on external neighborhood security issues, support and development of teaching staff, and student needs. His post-experience perspective showed shifts in experience, awareness, feelings, and decisions moving from cynicism to optimism, from a passive to an active view of the role of the teacher, and from a stereotyped image of urban schools as largely uniraical to a view of them as a blend of races and cultures. (Contains 13 references.) (JB)

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Changes in preservice teacher attitudes concerning urban teaching: a case study

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"Changes in preservice teacher attitudes concerning urban teaching"

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

According to a recent study by the Carnegie Foundation (1988), there is a crisis in the urban schools of our country.

"America must confront, with urgency, the crisis in urban schools. Bold, aggressive action is needed to avoid leaving a huge and growing segment of the nation's youth civically unprepared and economically unempowered. This nation must see the urban school crisis for what it is: a major failure of social policy, a piecemeal approach to a problem that requires a unified response" (xiv-xv).

The urban school crisis is portrayed as a portion of a total social policy failure impacting our urban areas. Urban schools cannot do the job alone. They must be linked into a network of supportive, comprehensive strategies.

The list of problems facing urban schools includes, but is not limited to: inequities in funding, inefficient bureaucracy, deteriorating physical plants, security issues, physical and emotional needs of the student population, as well as support and development of an adequate teaching staff. Numerous reports in urban areas across the country confirm that these problems are not limited in location or scope (Kozol, 1991; Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988). For the purposes of this study, however, we have chosen to concentrate on the area of pedagogy and the development of effective urban teachers.

In the area of urban pedagogy, Haberman (1991) has detailed the overwhelming presence of what he labels the "pedagogy of poverty." This pedagogy of poverty is one that says that teachers teach, while students learn. Two distinct and irreconcilable tasks. Teachers are directly in charge of giving information and settling disputes, asking questions and giving tests, assigning homework and giving grades. These are not in and of themselves negative actions. But used on a day to day, month to month basis, a very paternalistic and even bigoted approach to education develops. These actions have developed into what is seen as the pedagogy of poverty "not merely what teachers do and what youngsters expect but, for different reasons, what parents, the community, and the general public assume teaching to be" (306).

This form of pedagogy appeals to those who have low expectations for minorities and the poor. "People with limited visions frequently see value in limited and limiting forms of pedagogy. They believe that at-risk students are served best by a directive, controlling pedagogy" (Haberman, 307). Further, improving the quality of urban teaching is low on the list of research interests (Houston, 1991). To provide a quality education for the students of urban areas (that resists this pedagogy of poverty) demands the input of our best, most knowledgeable

teachers.

The possibility of teaching in urban areas is a topic that must be nurtured and developed in our teacher education programs. Current programs generally contain little or no reference to this area of potential employment (Haberman, 1988). Urban teachers are in many ways different (as well as similar) to teachers in rural and suburban areas. Researchers have identified specific characteristics that highlight the effective and ineffective urban teacher (Haberman, 1988; Lemlech, 1984; Parkay, 1983; Payne, 1984; Rothstein, 1993). Haberman (1988), in his list of positive attributes lists such things as persistence, ability to work within and around bureaucracy, ability to apply theory and principle to the classroom, acceptance of student differences, self motivation and direction. A successful urban teacher is one who can say, "I defy you to prevent me from coming up with activities at which you will be successful" (34).

Other characteristics include such aspects as reflectivity, involvement, curiosity, group identity, and expectations. Competent teachers (urban or nonurban) expect their students to learn. According to Lemlech (1994), teachers' self-perceptions become their perceptions of their students. Teachers who are strong and self confident accept others and seem to relate positively with students in their classes. Traits and skills such as these can and must be developed in our preservice teacher education programs.

It has long been known that hands-on active involvement is the best tool for learning. In survey after survey, student teaching and participation are listed as the most influential and beneficial part of any teacher preparation program. Though the actual research to support the efficacy of placements other than student teaching is limited (Houston, 1990), it may be inferred that the more time spent in the actual classroom situation, the better. Teacher education programs that combine this active learning in an urban setting have been called for in several reports (Haberman, 1988; Lemlech, 1984; Grant, 1994) and serve to overcome some of the roadblocks to getting the best teachers into urban schools.

These roadblocks manifest themselves in statements from preservice teacher education students as fear and a low opinion of the quality of education in city schools (not from personal experience, but media coverage.) These future teachers plan to pursue jobs in rural or suburban environments. Urban (in this case, NYC) teaching is low on their priority list. In many cases, we may be seeing the ultimate outgrowth of the pedagogy of poverty that these students experienced over their careers as students.

These students are confirming what Haberman (1988) lists as the stated and unstated reasons for the shortage of quality urban teachers. He includes fear of the urban school setting, the need to spend too much time on discipline, the bureaucracy, a sense of efficacy, and the locations of our major teacher preparation institutions. Nothing can replace personal experience in overcoming these concerns. Placing a prospective teacher in a situation where they can experience these concerns and see the realities and possibilities for overcoming them, can serve to turn a negative

into a positive. A program that is beginning to address this situation has been developed at the State University of New York College at Oneonta.

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM

The State University of New York College at Oneonta is located in a small rural community on the western edge of the Catskill Mountains in central New York State. The college has an enrollment of approximately 5000, the town a population of approximately 10000. The student body comes from all over, but the majority are from Long Island, NYC, and surrounding suburban counties. The college is about 150 miles from the heart of Manhattan.

Over the last four years, SUNY-Oneonta has been involved in the SUNY's Best Academic Alliance program which matches SUNY rural campuses with NYC high schools (in this case, SUNY-Oneonta is matched with Edward R. Murrow High School, Brooklyn). Murrow is an exemplary high school of approximately 3500 students. Nationally recognized, it is fighting the battle against the low standards of much urban education particularly in the area of faculty.

Murrow is an educational option school in that students from all over the borough of Brooklyn may apply for admission. A combination of selection and lottery is used to determine who is admitted. To insure a diversity of student abilities, reading test scores are used. An attempt is made to insure that 16% of students will score above grade level, 16% below grade level, and 68% at grade level. At Murrow students are given freedom (within restrictions) to pick their own class schedules. They must meet high academic requirements, but may do so in a variety of manners. Classes meet in a form of rotating schedule, four times a week. When students have a period free, they are at liberty to fill the time as they see fit...studying with a teacher, working in the library, or just hanging out in the halls. Too much of the latter will lead to problems for some students, but also firmly establishes the school philosophy of student control over many of the educational decisions.

Murrow has been under the leadership of the same principal (Saul Bruckner) for its twenty year existence and mirrors his personal philosophy of education. He expects all teachers to use what is called the "developmental lesson" or the "socialized recitation." Students listen, speak out, think, disagree with each other, change their minds, make judgments. The teacher must be well prepared with an "aim" or problem to be solved, with pivotal questions to provoke student discussion and with materials to stimulate new lines of inquiry. Students must bring something to the lesson in the way of reading or homework (Ravitch, 1985).

Diane Ravitch uses Murrow as an example of an effective school in her book The Schools We Deserve (1985). The school possesses the characteristics she sees as necessary for any school to be effective:

a strong academic curriculum, a principal with a vision and the courage to work for it, dedicated teachers, a commitment

to learning, a mix of students from different backgrounds, and high expectations for all children (294).

Initially, the sole function of the high school/college partnership was to bring students from the high school to visit on the Oneonta campus. This trip served to dispel their misconceptions about life in a rural environment. After several years of such visits, we felt that the reverse might also be true. Education students at Oneonta were acting under similar misconceptions, this time in regard to life in the urban school environment.

Using the work of Haberman (1994) and Grant (1994) on transforming urban education through teacher preparation and practice, we developed an opportunity for these education students to experience being a teacher in an urban school. Grant stresses the importance of the mentoring relationship between the veteran and novice urban teachers. Haberman attacks the state of current pedagogy in the urban schools, but acknowledges the presence of master teachers within the system. The course we developed is based on the idea that direct experience leads to leads to increased information, which can lead to the development of new or revised ways of thinking and feeling about urban education. If we can increase positive experiences, we can increase positive attitudes and, thereby, increase decisions toward urban education. Positive experiences do not hide the negative, but let it be seen in context, discussed, and critiqued. Students must see that the negative is not inevitable, but avoidable. Having preservice teachers observe and interact with the most effective and expert veteran teachers and their students (as well as those who are more stereotypic) provides them the opportunity to socially construct their own understanding of urban education.

Using this perspective, we developed a course for SUNY-Oneonta students that is taught in residence at the high school over the college January intersession. Having attended a pre-experience session, done some reading, and completed a written assignment; the students arrive at Murrow with the beginnings of an attitude toward urban education. For two weeks the college students work side by side with the high school teachers and students in observing and assisting in a variety of classes and programs. Realizing that short term experiences in unfamiliar settings will usually do little more than reaffirm existing stereotypes (Grant & Sleeter, 1986), the program sought to add reflection and debriefing as an integral component.

Coincident with the classroom practicum, the college students participate in a series of seminars with school and community leaders to learn the pros and cons, the ins and outs of urban teaching. They are also required to read and respond to articles on appropriate topics. This seminar as well as the practicum experiences are organized and supervised by Dr. Dennis Banks, an assistant professor in the Social Science Education program and coordinator of the partnership program. The complexity of the urban environment is outlined and experienced. The pros and cons of teaching in an urban school are discussed by exemplary teachers

(both veteran and novice), as well as administrators. Maintaining one's sense of self in such a large building is discussed. Field trips to other school sites are planned.

The school we used was not typical. Murrow is not a stereotypic inner city school. As Principal Bruckner is proud to say "It is urban, but not city." At the conclusion of the two weeks, students are already commenting on the fact that they never felt unsafe and are amazed at the quality education offered in this and other city schools--showing that their initial qualms are being addressed. Student journal entries and papers indicate that working in an urban school is now not only a possibility, but a probability.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

We designed this study to identify what happens to preservice teachers' views toward urban education during a two week experience in an urban high school. Realizing that the process was holistic and context driven, we chose a naturalistic, qualitative design.

METHODOLOGY

The intersession program discussed in this study took place from January 2-12, 1994. Students registered for this course as part of their spring schedule, so it carried no additional cost (for tuition). Participating in the Murrow program were twelve students (4 male, 8 female), nine were Secondary Education majors, three were majoring in Speech/Communications. Ten were undergraduates with at least junior status, two were taking the course for graduate credit. Ages ranged from 20-45.

Students were responsible for their own housing and expenses. Of the twelve, two (a husband and wife) were staying in a rented apartment. The rest were staying either at home or with friends and commuting to the school site. Four were graduates of Murrow and lived within fifteen minutes of the campus. Others were spread around the NYC metropolitan area with commutes of anywhere from thirty to ninety minutes (in good weather). Because of the January dates of the course, weather was a major factor in disrupting many plans. The eastern seaboard was hit with a major blizzard during the first week of January, resulting in major ice hazards on most roads. Even the subways were not running in parts of Brooklyn. This added confusion to the program, but school was never canceled, and students were expected to arrive when and if possible.

Students self-selected to participate in this program. The only requirements were junior status and an interest in learning more about urban education. Priority was given to secondary education majors, but several non majors were allowed to participate as well. In each case, the non majors were from the Speech and Communications program and were interested in careers in journalism or speech therapy, with the distinct possibility of working within the school system.

A meeting was held in mid December to acquaint students with

the course requirements and other necessary information. A reading and writing assignment was given to be completed before the first day of the course. Students were assigned to specific writing tasks which included reflection journals of significant events during their weeks at Murrow, pre and post reflection essays, and interviews with an outside researcher before and after the experience (a selected subset of the participants). The essays dealt with pre-experience attitudes toward urban schools. Questions such as "What do you know about urban schools? How did you obtain this information" were aimed at determining the past experiences of the students within the urban setting. "What do you feel about urban schools: as a student, as a potential teacher, as a parent or taxpayer?" took the previous context and expanded it to get at attitudes and opinions about urban education. Similar questions were addressed in the post experience essays but with the added benefit of the two week experience at Murrow to compare with their preexisting ideas about urban education.

These same issues were explored in depth within the context of the oral interviews. Dr. Anna Stave, assistant professor of English Education and co-designer of this study, selected four students to interview before and after the course. She explored the same questions as the essays and probed further to get as much information as possible. The four students were chosen to reflect the greatest diversity of the participants. They represented four different locales and backgrounds (Brooklyn, Staten Island, suburban Long Island, rural upstate New York), ages (20-45), content specialties (English, Mathematics, Social Studies), and gender (1 male, 3 female)

Observation of the students during the two week period was conducted by Dr. Banks as part of his responsibilities as course professor. These observations were generally unannounced and informal. Dr. Stave joined for several days of observation and participation during the second week of the course.

DATA SOURCES

Data was collected in a variety of formats:

- essays (pre and post experience)
- interviews (pre and post experience)
- student journals (during experience)
- researchers' observation notes.

As discussed previously, students were asked to address specific questions that allowed the researcher to ascertain their attitudes toward urban education (and the foundation for those attitudes) and any change that might have occurred as a result of the project. Observations from Drs. Banks and Stave during the experience are also used.

For the purposes of this paper, two students (rural female and urban male) are highlighted. Drawing on all the data mentioned previously, case studies are presented to illustrate the changes that occurred over the period of the intersession course on urban education.

Through exploration of themes within pre and post experience essays and interviews, we developed the following categories. Using this framework, the subjects' responses are broken down into *experience, awareness, feelings, and decisions*.

Experience includes information gathered about the urban school environment and the persons in it. *Awareness* includes explanations of information gathered and/or connections of that information to previous knowledge. *Feelings* are emotional responses to experience and/or awareness. *Decisions* are choices and/or mindsets which specifically determine actions. Each category can be further subdivided as follows:

Environment

- Total picture (place and participants)
- Climate (emotional tone)
- Physical plant
- Programs (academic and support)
- Intersession program
- Bureaucracy

Persons

- Students (attitudes and behaviors)
- Teachers (attitudes and behaviors)
- Administrators (attitudes and behaviors).

CASE STUDY #1

Dot is a 45 year old, married, Caucasian woman. She is a licensed massage therapist who lives in rural upstate New York in a 200 year old house that at one point was a stage coach tavern. Both she and her husband have returned to college to finish degrees begun years earlier. She is a secondary social studies education major taking courses on a part time basis, while continuing to work full time. She is at the early stages of her degree, but has taken a variety of courses in both basic curriculum and education. As of the spring term, 1994 her grade point average was 3.5 on a four point scale.

Dot is a life long resident of the rural areas of central/upstate New York. As she describes it:

I went to Schenevus (New York), K-12, and I graduated with 26 students...most of whom I attended Kindergarten through 12th grade with. In a rural setting, you've got a completely different atmosphere than you do even with rural schools locally who have an elementary school, a middle school and a high school...In the community we live in now, it's a K-12 school. So it'll be, kindergartners are riding the busses with the seniors, spending the day with them in school...it's a different concept.

Pre-experience Responses

Experience

Dot's exposure to the environment of urban education comes from a variety of sources including friends, clients, media, coursework, as well as her limited personal experiences. We will

describe them using the outline described previously (the total picture, climate, plant, programs, intersession program, and bureaucracy).

Environment

Total picture.

"Everyone I have spoken with about the urban school course I will be attending in Brooklyn has either rolled their eyes in amazement or advised me to purchase a gun and bulletproof vest. They appear to believe that all New York city schools are poorly maintained warehouses filled with illiterate gang members and uncaring teachers and principals."

Another view was offered by a friend who was a retired New York City police officer. When asked, he told her about the demographics of Murrow and its neighborhood. "He found a high level of community involvement and committed, cooperative teachers. Much to my surprise, he indicated that the school is in relatively good condition and repairs are made as needed."

When working on a massage client who was a former high school student in Brooklyn, Dot heard the story of his involvement in a "riot in his school," and he "had been quite injured from it" and had "a lot of knife slashes to his body." "That's the only time I've ever talked to someone who's gone to an urban school."

From the media, Dot had developed one picture of urban schools. "I have seen movies and read books that have usually depicted large city schools in negative ways." From her reading and viewing Dot also felt that "like rural schools, they (urban schools) are a microcosm of society at large; a society within a society."

Dot's personal experiences with the urban environment included brief stays in greater metropolitan Los Angeles, CA and Albany, NY, as well as a memorable trip to "the City."

We went to the city to do something, I can't even remember what we went down for. And we stopped close to the city for lunch. We went to Red Lobster, and there were, like all of these people, that, if you ever put them in Oneonta, half of Oneonta would just die of shock, because it just was so different to be around people speaking different languages, and it was different for me to just see all different kinds of people. You don't realize when, I don't realize when I live in an area like this, just how narrow things can become.

Climate.

In her pre-experience essay, she posed the question "Would there be weapons, gangs, 'out of control' behavior permeating the school?" In her interview, she stated that "the violence and security is a concern for me." She elaborated violence as "so prevalent in our society that it's now carried into the schools and it's being projected not only against peers but against authority figures." Regarding security, she talked about "weapons" and "metal

detectors at doors."

On a more positive note, she remarked that "high energy always permeates schools."

Plant.

Dot's exposure to the physical plant issues within urban schools was limited to the issue of size. "It shocks me to think that there would be 3000 students in one building."

Programs.

Her coursework provided Dot with a picture of the urban school program that seemed to her to be contradictory.

In the Foundations of Education class that I completed last semester, it was taught that students in lower economic areas benefit most from a highly structured environment. The course I took in Multicultural Education indicated that the high structure, rote memorization format only perpetuates lowered expectations from both the students and the teachers. Schools that challenge students and encourage them to develop analytical and problem solving skills better prepare them for the work force.

She further described this contrast as on the one hand more strong teacher-based information. Not a lot of group setting, more rote memorization, that type of setting rather than a lot of giving the students an opportunity to do more intense, analytical thinking through group settings, or problem-solving experience.

Intersession program.

During the orientation session for the intersession course, Dot was surprised to meet four students who were graduates of Murrow. These students were all Caucasian. This made Dot reassess her preconceived notion of what the racial demographics of an urban school would be. "Initially I thought that I would be going into a predominantly Black and Hispanic school..." After meeting the white students, she questioned the possibility of a "predominantly white school down there...because the city isn't like that, and cities nowadays are a blend of population..." This prompted the phone call to the retired police officer friend mentioned previously who confirmed the racial breakdown of the area and school as approximately 50:50 (white/non-white). [Note: This information was not totally accurate. The actual breakdown of the school is more 47:24:29 (white/black/asian-latino)].

Bureaucracy.

Not actually addressed in pre-experience data except in the form of questions about how authorities are dealing with the problems stated earlier.

Persons

Dot introduced the topic of "people" under the guise of what she calls "culture shock." "I'm always culturally shocked when I go to an area where there are more people of darker skin than lighter skin, or there are more people that just...I'm not used to." "I expect to be totally shocked at the way people are dressing....I love the whole city atmosphere and the way people dress and project themselves..."

It's like...you put me in a flannel shirt and blue jeans, and a pair of sneakers, and then you put someone in New York, from New York, in a flannel shirt and blue jeans and sneakers, and we don't look the same. I look like I'm from the country and they look like they're from the City. They might add something that is very...it's just a hard thing to describe. It's an ambience or something..."

Students.

Specific references to fashion regarding students were also mentioned. "Kids in high school are just so faddy and it's interesting to see what's going on there."

Students were seen as more than just clothes hangers. She also displayed an interest in how the schools deal with exceptional students. She anticipated tracking of the brightest, but was unsure of how it would all work within this setting. Her previous experience was not adequate to cover this area.

Drawing on previous comments regarding security issues in the schools, she described:

this picture that I may walk into a school that's, you know, just wild in the halls, or it may not be. I mean, that, I have this one camera over here, and it could be this way, and the other camera over here, and it could be something else.

When asked to elaborate on the expression "wild in the halls," she added:

It's great! Hundreds of kids, and music, and everybody walking and laughing and partying, and not partying, you know what I mean. But, you know, in between classes, and just a lot of action, and people running and you just don't get that in smaller schools. It's, you know, there aren't as many people in the halls. You could put all of the kids in Franklin School (the school in her town) in the hall, and it would like half a hall!

Teachers and administrators.

Other than including these groups in questions (addressed later), there was little pre-experience mention of teachers and/or administrators.

Awareness

Environment

Total picture.

Dot made a direct connection with what she knows (rural schools) and what she doesn't know (urban schools); she placed them both in a larger frame (society) about which she felt she has some information. "I assume that, like rural schools, they are a microcosm of society at large; a society within a society."

Her awareness was also demonstrated when she explained that: as a lifelong resident of a rural area, I have had little contact with racial and ethnic diversity. I see myself as a progressive thinker but I continue to have to work at improving my values with relation to diversity.

Climate.

Returning to the issue of security, she connected the unknown with the known, remarking that "since society isn't going to take care of gun control, schools, are going to have to. The weapons thing is the issue for me."

Program.

The programmatic contradictions discussed in the experience section produced "mixed ideas."

Schools that challenge students and encourage them to develop analytical and problem solving skills better prepare them for the work force. I am aware that this may not be a realistic view of an urban school, particularly when there may be a large number of non-English speaking students, a high poverty level and high drop out rates.

Persons

Teachers.

I would expect that they would be very highly qualified people and that you would have differences in abilities as you would in any other school. Some teachers have taught a long time and are very experienced in some ways and use very old styles of teaching, more traditional styles, and then I would expect that there would be other teachers who are more innovative and, that there'll be a real mixed bag of everything, the same as you would in any school.

Feelings

Dot's pre-experience feelings can be seen in the recurrence of specific words or phrases throughout the essay and interview documents. Her feelings, as one might expect, were positive and negative, concrete and amorphous, developed and developing.

She was "interested," "excited," and "looking forward to" the Murrow experience. She was "hopeful" about both the education being provided at Murrow and her upcoming intersession experience. "I hope I will keep an open mind towards what I will be observing and that I will leave Murrow filled with enthusiasm and innovative ideas."

"Surprise" captured her feelings when her preconceived notions about demographics and physical plant were not supported by the information supplied by her experience and the conversation with the retired police officer. She further noted her feelings about visiting schools in her area.

It's always surprising for me to go into a school. It's like nostalgia when I go into these little rural schools. It feels like one of these "deja vu" experiences, and I do not expect a deja vu experience in New York, so that's going to be interesting for me, too.

"Trust" and "relief" were two emotions that are related to the lessening of her concerns for personal safety.

At this stage, Dot was prepared to be "shocked" by any number of things she encountered. Her use of the word "shock" could, in some instances, be seen as an indication of interest while in other cases it was more a reflection of disbelief. She was "shocked" to hear that there are over 3000 students in one building, but also prepared to be "shocked" by the fads and apparel being worn. These are obviously two different levels of the same emotion. Her existing comfort level was going to be challenged.

Other less positive emotions included "fear" and "sadness." "Initially I was afraid of what I might encounter at Murrow." Sadness came from her reaction to the comments about urban schools made by acquaintances when they heard of her plans to participate in the intersession program. "This is a very sad commentary about our urban schools and the children who attend them."

Decisions

The first choice evident in Dot's writing was the decision to resolve her fear(s) and address her questions about Murrow by placing the call to her police officer friend. Along with this she made the decision to

not jump to any conclusions about what I may encounter at Murrow...I will try to approach the experience with an open mind. I will try to fully experience it all and then form my conclusions.

She referred to herself as going into the whole experience with "as clean a slate as possible and just experiencing what you can experience."

Dot was already making decisions about her personal teaching goals. She hoped to find that Murrow was challenging its students to think and excel. "This is my goal for every student."

Students were asked within their pre-experience essays to list any questions they might have about urban schools. This can be seen to represent their decisions as to focus or framework for their

upcoming visit. In the case of Dot, these questions established the areas of her greatest concern and concentration.

1. Do the teachers have the authority to choose their textbooks, set their own curriculum and teacher according to their own philosophy? Do they have enough textbooks, materials, and access to copy machines? What do they see as the future for their students and the direction the school should take?
2. How modern is the media center and the library? Does the school have modern equipment? Does the school provide access to a wide variety of up-to-date and multicultural materials?
3. How does the school administration deal with security, discipline, and other administrative problems?
4. What issues do the students believe are most important?
5. What do the New York City School authorities view as the problems related to their schools? What are they doing about them? How do they incorporate local and state mandates?

These questions and concerns are, in reality, beyond the scope of any one course or program, particularly one that is only two weeks in length. Dot was the first to admit this fact. But this did not concern her. She was "really prepared to not know." The Murrow experience would serve to test that preparation.

Discussion

Dot may be seen in her pre-experience data to be reflecting many of the issues brought forward by Haberman, Kozol, the Carnegie Foundation and others (as discussed in the Introduction to this paper). Her emphasis on security issues, plant deterioration, and student needs show a concern for the state of urban education similar to that espoused by these researchers. Like Haberman, she recognizes the fact that there are many highly qualified teachers within the urban educational spectrum. She also confirms his "pedagogy of poverty" discussions when she ponders the contradictions of expectations that were presented in her undergraduate coursework.

Post Experience Responses

(In looking at Dot's post experience essay and interview, her remarks can be classified as confirming her pre-experience perceptions, shifting from them, or adding information not previously provided. For the purposes of this paper, we have chosen to highlight only those elements that reveal shifts in her experience, awareness, feelings, and/or decisions.)

Experience

Environment

Total picture.

Whereas Dot's initial view of the urban school environment was nonacademic and threatening in nature, her post experience writing indicates that "this public school has filled its classrooms, and hallways, with students who are considered the 'cream of the crop.'

It is a school administrator's panacea and a classroom teacher's dream come true." She describes classes as creating an "intense learning environment" and "expectation of high student academic excellence" where the "teacher asks a lot of why's and how's instead of who's and what's...with lots of reinforcers."

Dot now sees the school as reflecting the principal's vision of a "safe haven; a home away from home where kids can be themselves." Even the hallway policy is seen by Dot as creating "a relaxed atmosphere mimicking an out of school setting."

Climate.

Her pre-experience concerns with security issues have been replaced with a sense of the possibilities for socialization that permeate the atmosphere. "I was expecting to go into a school that had a lot more problems, discipline wise and violence wise and drug wise." As mentioned above, she sees the hallway behavior as a positive social interaction rather than a place of menace and harassment.

Plant.

Size was Dot's only pre-experience concern. This did not change. What did shift was her reaction to the size issue. Where previously she was "shocked" to even consider it, now she had more practical concerns. "There may just not be enough room to accommodate all 3500 students at once in classrooms."

Program.

While at Murrow, Dot viewed the full range of classes offered within the social studies department, concentrating but not limited to the ninth grade. She saw nine different teachers at Murrow as well as classes at a neighboring middle school (on a day long field trip). The high structure debate that infused her pre-experience writing gives way to discussion of the developmental lesson format espoused within the school.

In the AP and honors class, there was a lot of interaction, a lot of questioning, the kids were really enthusiastic...In the skills class, I saw a little bit less of that, but some of that...the classes really moved with that whole style of questioning.

Prior to the experience, Dot questioned how teacher philosophies of education interacted with the school program. She now is able to remark that the school philosophy asks:

teachers to consider all students as college bound. Students are put on an 'academic track.' The Murrow administration treats all students this way. No one discourages a motivated student from trying a higher level class if they wish.

Dot also discovered that the Murrow philosophy extends beyond academics to encompass all curricular decisions. Murrow has "chosen not to have competitive sports at the school." Instead, they

"provide a humanities program of art, music, and theater."

She also encountered some of the negatives attached to schools with tight budgets. Specifically she wondered about the adequacy of textbooks, materials, copying machines and other equipment. This speculation now is able to shift to knowledge. During her observations in classrooms she notes that "in many of those classes, it is near the end of the cycle and students still have not received their textbooks."

Persons

Students.

Earlier references to fashion disappear. Actual exposure to urban high school students replaces the shallower concerns with appearance with more emphasis on learning. She finds that students at Murrow must apply for admission and once enrolled have the "flexibility to choose the classes they wish to take." She views a key part of the school philosophy as encouragement of students to "become more independent and in charge of their own education."

Reflecting her earlier surprise that there were any Caucasian students at Murrow, she now notes that "there are as many as sixty different nationalities. There are numerous Chinese, Russian, and Latin American students. Enough, in fact, that they teacher Chinese, Russian, and Spanish in their English as a Second Language Program."

Concerns about students being "wild in the halls" from the pre-experience data gives way to comments about the Murrow student habit of "hanging in the halls."

This policy is supposed to encourage socialization between students and allow them some freedom at school...one sees students socializing, studying, eating, necking, and sleeping in the hallways.

Dot also shows awareness of the issues surrounding the hallway policy...noise and class cutting. She explored this in a discussion with the Student Alliance President who stated, "Murrow has a bad reputation for being an easy school--a cutter's school."

Teachers.

The school wide emphasis on a particular style of lesson planning--the developmental lesson--was of great interest to Dot. She observes that new teachers are "instructed" in this style, while veteran teachers use it to varying degrees of success.

The teachers have the right to use anything they want to in the classroom, and so they would come in with literature and art and poems and letters, that, I mean, just all kinds of things...I didn't see a teacher open up a textbook and read out of it...

Addressing Dot's initial question about teacher authority to choose in curriculum decisions, one social studies teacher remarked that

one of the things she likes best about Murrow is the academic

freedom she has in the classroom. The school administration allows teachers to teach their own lesson plans even though they have a specific, predetermined Aim questions that must be answered for that lesson.

The same teacher also remarked that she "enjoys the diversity of the student population in urban schools."

Dot was able to observe a variety of teacher attitudes toward many topics, including the hallway policy, classroom management issues. Regarding the hallway policy, several teachers complained to Dot, "that students hanging around in the hallway miss a lot of classes if they are unmotivated."

In the area of classroom management, she reports student-teacher interactions in two different classrooms. In one instance, Dot was impressed with the fact that the teacher "didn't belittle students when they were doing things that she needed to correct...no big point was ever made out of any of the discipline things." In the other instance, she saw the opposite occurring. The teacher in this case berated the student for the particular behavior. This bothered Dot greatly.

Administrator.

In her pre-experience questions, Dot saw administrators as only dealing with problems. Her post-experience interview and essay both indicate that she perceives Saul Bruckner, Murrow principal, as a major overarching influence on everything that happens at the school. To Dot, he is "energetic" and "dedicated." His personal philosophy of education has become the school philosophy. He is "what makes Murrow so special" and serves as the structural framework for Dot's post experience writing...she views the school and her experience through Bruckner's philosophy.

Awareness

Environment

Total picture.

Prior to the experience at Murrow, Dot explained the environment of urban schools within a frame of reference totally grounded in rural educational systems. Now Dot is able to explain the environment she experienced at Murrow by referring to both the school philosophy and admissions policy. She feels that the selection process in admissions serves to eliminate students with severe problems and "it makes me realize, as Dr. Bruckner would say, we were in an urban school, but not a City school." Dot further examines the results of this policy.

But then you look at the flip side of that coin, in that Murrow took only predominantly children that aren't having major problems. They screened out all of the kids that have problems, out of the school system that's basically comprised of children that really want to learn.

Her new awareness generated the following personal reflections:

-What happens to the other kids?

-What do you do with that other group of kids who have all those other issues in the school and out of school, that really affect their learning and how they interact in the world?

-Do you separate those from kids who want to learn?

-Who does it hurt the most, the kids who want to learn, or the kids who don't?

As in her earlier pre-experience work, she also makes connections between what she knows (rural schools) and what she doesn't know as well (urban schools). She compares Murrow with the student teaching experience of her husband in a small rural central school and finds similar situations, particularly regarding motivation of students and discipline problems. She comes to the conclusion that

I don't really understand the answer...I think the problem exists in urban schools as it exists in rural schools. What do you do with this faction of kids? Somehow it just doesn't seem right to just swallow them all together in a situation and say 'well, learn if you can, and if you can't, too bad, that's just the way it is.' But yet, I can't see penalizing kids that really want to learn, too.

Program.

Where previously Dot was concerned with high versus low structure issues, she now questions the validity of the whole Murrow college bound academic program for students (at other schools) who

can't even see jobs in their future, much less college. Many of them are working part-time, stealing, or dealing drug to help support their own families. Wide range education programs would be necessary to help these students and their parents to see the benefits of a college education.

She is grappling with the problem of generalizability. Is Murrow a unique situation or is it typical of many urban schools?

On the other hand, she sees the developmental lesson as being effective in a wide range of grade levels. She observed this type of lesson being used in a middle school setting. "It showed me that this form of lesson can be done with all ages of kids," if the teacher is "enthusiastic and skilled."

Persons

Administrator.

Initially, Dot was uncertain what to expect in an administrator and dealt with them mainly as regards security and discipline issues. After the Murrow experience, the administrator (or Bruckner, in particular) is seen more as the guiding philosophical center of the school, responsible for educating both teachers and students.

Feelings

The words and phrases that appear in Dot's post experience writing highlight some definite shifts in her feelings toward Murrow and urban education overall. Recurring are forms of the words "interested" and "hopeful" within both pre and post data.

After two weeks at Murrow, more positive, energized words appear. She refers to some of the classes observed as "just wonderful to watch, it made me very enthusiastic." Some teachers were referred to as "outrageous" in the best sense of the word. The hall policy is "nice" but that doesn't mean she has no questions about it. The experience was positive but even a month after the course, she states that "I don't feel like I was in an urban school." By breaking previously held stereotypes, a new term was needed to describe the school. In spite of this (or because of it) she states that "one cannot help but be impressed with Murrow."

Dot is no Pollyanna. She also encountered people and events that brought out negative feelings. Even weeks after the incident, during her interview, discussing the teacher who berated the student produces strong statements such as "I didn't like (the way he handle the situation)" and "this teacher really pissed me off." She further recalls a discussion with colleagues who had also observed the same teacher, where she "didn't agree with them at all."

Decisions

There are no decisions apparent in the data; however, a year after the experience, there was a brief conversation about Murrow between Dot and Dr. Stave. When asked directly if she would teach at Murrow, Dot replied "absolutely. I hope I can student teach there." Based on her experiences, Dot has decided that a Murrow (or an urban school like Murrow) would be a desirable teaching environment.

Discussion

Both Drs. Stave and Banks were able to observe Dot during the intersession program at Murrow, in both formal and informal situations. Our observations confirmed that Dot was "open-minded" and "purposeful." We noted that she was "willing to try everything" and displayed "enthusiasm" toward all portions of the experience. The fact that her previous visits to NYC were limited (or non-existent) made her seem "like a kid in a candy store" particularly with regard to life in the big city. Her initial fears about the city itself and its subways dissolved within 24 hours as what had been nightmares became "adventures." By the end of the first week she was planning excursions all over Manhattan for anyone who was willing to go with her. This acquires additional importance when one considers the weather during the first two weeks of January, 1994. "Miserable... icy... threatening... hazardous!"

Every day was bright and sunny for Dot, even if the weather

(and her husband) were not. She wanted to relive every moment and examine all the implications of every word said during every class she observed. This penchant for reflection, while laudable, drained everyone around her and tested their patience. Unfortunately, her written journals do not reveal the same depth as her conversation. Dot is someone who should use a tape recorder rather than a pen in recording her ideas and questions.

She came to the program with a clearly defined agenda and allowed nothing to stand in her way. This agenda flourished and grew over the two weeks as she collected information and developed more questions. Dot is not a woman to accept the easy answers to her questions nor will bureaucracy prevent her access to information. Dot could be the model for the wife in John Mortimer's Rumpole stories, whom he describes as: "she who must be obeyed."

Considerations

Even though the experience was only two weeks in duration, definite changes in perspective can be seen in this case study. These shifts appear in all four areas: experience, awareness, feelings, and decisions. Because shifts repeat within the four areas, they are best described as follows:

--Issues of security, fear, and safety were replaced with discussions of academics, socialization, and comfort.

--Visceral reactions were replaced with more cerebral reactions

--Questions of high structure versus challenging curriculum became questions of teacher skill and enthusiasm in the implementation of that challenging curriculum

--From superficial questions to understanding to thought-provoking and challenging questions

--From concern with the externals (student appearance) to the internals (student learning and self-image)

--A shift in the image of the administrator from policeman to philosopher

--Viewing the urban school as a distinct entity to more similar to all schools (rural, suburban, urban)

--Personally from a sense of fear and dread to one of confidence and enthusiasm

--From distance (I can't imagine myself in this setting) to complete engagement (I would like to work/student teach in this setting).

CASE STUDY #2

Bob is an unmarried, Caucasian man in his early twenties. He is a lifelong resident of New York City, growing up in the Sheepshead Bay section of Brooklyn. Coming to Oneonta was Bob's first extended exposure to a rural environment. He is a secondary social studies education major taking courses on a full time basis. He is at the final stages of his degree, with student teaching to take place immediately following the Murrow experience and graduation in May of 1994. Bob is an average student. As of the spring term, his grade point average was 2.6 on a four point scale.

His school experiences can be summarized in the following excerpt:

"As a youngster growing up in Brooklyn, I have had a great deal of personal experience with urban schools. ... Going through an urban school system from K through 12 has left many lasting impressions on me. Unfortunately few of these memories were of the type that educators hope for. "

Pre-experience Responses
Experience

Bob's exposure to the environment of urban education comes from a variety of sources, his personal experience as a student, experiences of his friend, and his reading for the course. We will describe them using the same format and headings used for the description of Case Study #1.

EnvironmentTotal picture.

The high school Bob attended was large (373 in graduating class); his junior high about 2000 students. Both schools were within a four block radius of his home. Most of Bob's comments refer to his high school experience. "My school supposedly had a lot of problems...gun problems...drug problems...I never saw heard...never heard about it." There was a newspaper account of one incident, but it concerned a "kid who didn't even go to school there anymore." Based on his personal experiences, he sees urban schools as large and "a high percentage of Black students."

Bob's interactions with the school were confined to the normal school day. "I'd go to school and I'd leave, and that would be the extent of it. You didn't want to go around the school at night 'cause it was in the middle of a housing project, which was right across from my house." He describes the neighborhood around the school as poor and threatening. Stores were closed. Security patrolled the grounds around the school.

Unlike most students participating in the intersession program, Bob came with a knowledge base about Murrow based on the fact that his girlfriend attended the school. "Murrow is supposed to be a very good school...more lenient school...you could sit in the hallway." He suspects that students will have "skills a little

above par...maybe not." Because Murrow is "considered a pretty good district," he expects to see "some pretty good teachers." He explains that the location of the school in a "white area" is a draw for teachers even though he expects a large black population in the school. He also expects to find an experienced teaching staff.

From reading he has done within his academic program, Bob describes the problems in urban schools as "low expectations, school board restrictions, bureaucratic systems that stall development." He further indicates that the New York State reforms have "moved slowly" in urban schools.

Climate.

Bob has a very negative view of the atmosphere within urban schools. He sees it as "unrewarding, unsupported, unencouraging." Resources do not seem to be an issue for him because he relates "basically as a student I had the resources and materials, but not the guidance." He further amplifies this picture with references to the work of Kozol, whose image of schools is a "nightmare...where no one cares."

Plant.

The overall poor and crowded conditions of the physical plants of urban schools discussed in the books that Bob read for the course were not part of his personal experience.

Programs.

In addition to the reading mentioned previously, Bob's academic program included a social studies methods course where he was required to teach several lessons to eighth and ninth graders at a rural central school. It was during his preparation for these lessons that he confronted the debate over skills versus content, depth versus breadth, and classroom management.

Bureaucracy.

Bob knows enough about the bureaucracy of urban schools (particularly in the area of teacher assignments) to be cynical. "Part of the problem with the city system, it's all politics. If you know somebody, you'll get in. If you don't, you'll teach in the South Bronx."

As previously discussed, his reading has led him to a rather low opinion of bureaucrats who have "low expectations ... restrictions, and...stall development."

PersonsStudents.

Bob describes himself as a student in an urban setting: I don't remember wanting to learn...I remember lectures...but I don't remember what they were about. I remember, probably most vividly, preparing for Regent's examinations. I remember the students who caused commotions and were discipline problems getting lots of attention. As a student I never gave much thought about my school or other schools. All I knew was that certain requirements had to be met in order to get out, and I was going to do it with as little effort as was required.

Bob perceives that other students in his school "didn't care about school...had no desire to be in school." He does, however, expect "to see a better attitude" at Murrow. Although he imagines that students wonder "why are we learning this...why are we wasting our time?"

Teachers.

Bob's pre-experience exposure to urban teachers is negative. "I don't remember any quality teaching...or being encouraged by my teachers to do well." He does expect to find at Murrow "teachers who could be bad...but I expect to see good teachers there." He further expects a positive attitude because of the scheduling of the intersession course right after the Christmas break.

AwarenessEnvironmentTotal picture.

"I feel urban schools, like all schools, are stuck in deadlock. They have been teaching the same way for the past 100 years...change comes slowly." This idea of change is also seen in the neighborhood of his high school. He describes it as physically and economically deteriorating. He is not sure if this deterioration is caused by the quality of the school, the neighborhood, or the businesses themselves.

PersonsStudents.

Bob, like many students, avoided honors classes when in high school, because he thought they would be too hard. Eventually he did go into honors classes and found them to actually be easier because the teachers "just assumed you were a smart child so they gave you higher grades." He further reflects on this by saying, "I just may be stereotyping my own school, or may be stereotyping Murrow."

He views the large school as providing more opportunity for one to "get lost in the shuffle." Many teachers have no idea who

you are. In a big school you are not able to get "one-on-one," which is possible in a smaller school.

Having lived in both an urban and rural environment, Bob is able to see the similarities and differences in students from the two areas. The only difference he relates is "street knowledge." He finds no real differences as far as academic skills. From his reading, he understands that "students are able to graduate high school (who) haven't mastered many basic skills such as reading." He elaborates on this from his own experience in an Economics class in which he got a 90 and doesn't remember "learning a thing."

In terms of Murrow, Bob is aware of the "hall policy." His reaction: "Wow, that wouldn't work for me, because I would never go to class." He does see, however, how it was "kinda like getting you ready for college."

Teachers.

Teachers will be returning from their Christmas break when the intersession course takes place. Bob sees this as working in two possible directions: "With half the year gone, they should be in a good attitude...or they could resent mostly coming back because they like their week and a half off."

Bob views differences in teacher responses to students as a factor of school size. In a large school, students are "just a number on your card...a person on the seating chart." In a small school, "teachers know you for years...probably had that teacher three times."

From his limited experience, Bob realizes that teaching is a complex activity. You not only have to know your material and how to communicate it to students, but also be able to respond to a wide variety of situations as they occur.

Feelings

Bob's pre-experience feeling can be seen in the recurrence of specific words or phrases throughout the essay and interview documents.

On a positive note, he is hopeful about many issues. These include teaching in the city, student abilities, and his ability to "make a difference." He is "looking forward" to teaching. "I just hope I am allowed to do it."

On a more negative note, he repeatedly "wishes" that events in his past might have happened differently. In most cases, these events have to do with a failure to understand the bureaucracy or school policies and how they impacted on his education. He "wishes" that his relationships with teachers and administrators had involved more caring (Bob caring about his academic progress, teachers caring about Bob).

From his past Bob remarks about the need to "worry" with regard to security issues, but is nonetheless glad to "get back to it (urban school)." [This last quote came with "a huge grin."]

With regard to the intersession course, he has high

expectations combined with a bit of nervousness. "Maybe somebody will like me...just a fantasy though...I don't really expect that."

Decisions

"I look forward to teaching in an urban school."

Bob has made decisions about what he wants to do in that teaching position. He calls for an end to the domination of the Regent's examination. "They are like handcuffs on learning." Their elimination will end the long debate over content versus skills. He also expresses views on multicultural education. He sees it as "important" but only within a "universal curriculum." "Black history should be incorporated into the regular curriculum, but should not be the main theme in black schools."

Students were asked within their pre-experience essays to list any questions they might have about urban schools. This can be seen to represent their decisions as to focus or framework for their upcoming visit. In the case of Bob, these questions established the areas of his greatest concern and concentration.

1. How and when will the new social studies curriculum be oriented, and how will it affect the regents?
2. What is the NYC Board of Education reply to the Carnegie report?
3. How do you balance content learning and skill learning?
4. How does one apply to teach in a specific school?

Discussion

Bob may be seen in his pre-experience data to be reflecting many of the issues brought forward by Haberman, Kozol, the Carnegie Foundation and others (as discussed in the Introduction to this paper). His emphasis on external neighborhood security issues, support and development of teaching staff, and the emotional needs of the students show a concern for the state of urban education similar to that espoused by these researchers. Like Haberman, he recognizes the fact that the bureaucracy is the key reason for the shortage of qualified teachers within the urban educational spectrum. The concept of the "pedagogy of poverty" is one that Bob relates to and confirms from his own experience as a student in urban schools.

Post Experience Responses

(As in Case Study #1, post experience data can be classified as confirming pre-experience perceptions, shifting from them, or adding information not previously provided. For the purposes of this paper, we have chosen to highlight only those elements that reveal shifts in experience, awareness, feelings, and/or decisions.)

Experience

Environment

Total picture.

Whereas Bob's initial view of the urban school environment was emotional and laced with cynicism, his post experience writing shows much more optimism. In discussing the atmosphere of the classroom, he calls it "great...like all the kids were ready to learn."

Program.

His pre-experience desire to further explore the strategies used by teachers was fulfilled. He observed different teachers using a variety of techniques; the same lesson taught to different classes; the same class for an extended period.

Bureaucracy.

In this area, Bob moves from stoicism to activism. No longer is he concentrating on his low opinion of bureaucrats, but what teachers can do. "They (teachers) make it sound like it is a real trial, but it's a real battle, like you're going into battle, and you've got to be ready for it..."

From the idea of who you know being more important than what you know, he moves to action. To get a job, "I was told repeatedly to try to make contacts...to go knock on doors and introduce myself..." Through the course, he was able to identify the steps required to obtain NYC licensure.

Persons

Students.

From Bob's own experience, students basically didn't care. His Murrow experience shows him that..."more kids than usual were just ready to learn..." Through personal interviews with students, he discovers that they don't see themselves as special and praise their school. He is concerned, however, that they may be failing to see the "weak points" of the system.

For example, in one class, he "noticed that there were a lot of kids that were afraid to raise their hands...it's like the kid would be talking...and he (the teacher) would make fun of them."

Teachers.

In his pre-experience writing, Bob discussed his expectations of finding both good and bad teaching at Murrow. He did encounter both, but also an unanticipated category. A new teacher was "more worried about (keeping) her job than teaching."

Awareness

Environment

Total picture.

While experience led him to believe that most urban schools have predominantly Black student population, he finds Murrow to have a "well balanced range of ethnic and cultural diversity... Murrow blends the city together."

Climate.

From a total emphasis on the urban environment, Bob is now examining drugs and violence as concerns across all schools--suburban, rural, and urban.

Persons

Teachers.

From concern that students would be no more than a number, Bob finds classes with enthusiastic teaching, lots of movements, kids eating, joking, and working cooperatively on an assignment. In the other extreme, he observed a teacher also using humor who borders on insulting the kids and "making them scared to raise their hands."

Overall he is able to pinpoint enthusiasm as the key to effective urban teaching. "You could have the best books, the best materials in the world, you could know everything, you could be a great guy the kids love, but if you're not enthusiastic when you are teaching them, they are not going to be, because they don't want to be there...You've got to make them want to learn."

Feelings

Bob is still hopeful. He still wants to be working in an urban school. He is now "afraid about my job." The idea of being observed and facing the pressure to "make kids perform" add a degree of concern to his hope. "I would like to be able to teach and not worry about being kicked out of school."

His previous concerns about being nervous and unsure about the intersession course are dispelled by the fact that on the day of the ice storm, he was able to take action and help out the school. The teacher he was observing was unable to get to school. Bob took over the class and went over classwork with them. "I figured it was better than just having them sit there doing nothing..."

His overall feelings about the experience can be summed up:

"It was weird being on the other side of the shirt and tie, eating in the cafeteria, the teachers' cafeteria."

Decisions

"I will hopefully be working in a school in the same district (Murrow)."

Bob's decision to be a teacher has not shifted. What has changed is in the details:

"Unfortunately as a teacher it (security) would be my primary concern (in picking where to teach)."

"I would have to learn how to relax."

"(As a reaction to the red tape of city licensure) I will also apply for employment in Long Island as well as Upstate."

At the one year update point, Bob successfully completed student teaching, graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree, and is working as a junior high social studies teacher in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn. He has begun classes toward his master's degree at Brooklyn College.

Discussion

Bob is typical of preservice teacher education students--eager, concerned, and determined to become the best teacher he can. He is seen as pleasant, enthusiastic, and energetic. His determination was taxed to its fullest during this experience as he had to fight the elements each morning to leave his home and traverse the streets of Brooklyn. He was never even late to school in the morning...a fact that could not be matched by most of the Murrow administration and faculty, much less his fellow intersession students. This ability to prevail over the weather is a trait he says he picked up while in school in Oneonta. It continues to be an identifying characteristic in his work as a junior high teacher. He is determined to be a good teacher...and never misses a day due to weather.

Considerations

It is possible to see definite changes in perspective within this case study. These shifts appear in all four areas: experience, awareness, feelings, and decisions. Because shifts repeat within the four areas, they are best described as follows:

- From cynicism to optimism
- From passive to active view of the role of teacher
- A shift in the perception of teacher/student relationships as non-caring to interactive
- From a stereotyped image of urban schools as largely unracial to a blend of races and cultures
- His view of the job market for teachers changes from naive to a more informed and realistic perception
- His view of himself as a teacher changes from idealistic and simple to more self reflective and complex.

Implications for Teacher Education

To be an effective teacher in any setting demands a grounding in both content and pedagogy. Urban teaching is no different. To be an effective urban teacher also demands a special enthusiasm and commitment. The list of attributes of an effective urban teacher developed by Haberman (1988) and Lemlech (1994) is a comprehensive one. As demonstrated by these case studies, even a two week experience (if well structured) can provide opportunities to observe and develop qualities such as persistence, ability to work within and around bureaucracy, ability to apply theory and principle to the classroom, reflectivity, involvement, acceptance of student differences, self motivation, and positive expectations. The shifts we detected in the experiences, awareness, feelings, and decisions of our subjects seem to indicate that the limited two week experience has produced the beginnings of these qualities.

If we want the best and brightest of our teacher education graduates to go into urban education, we cannot depend on urban colleges and universities to do all the work. It is possible for a rural-based college to provide the foundation and experience to inspire a new generation of excellence in urban educators.

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