COMPETENCE AND ITS

ASSESSMENT IN A PROFESSIONAL

TRAINING SITUATION

by

ROBERT RUSSELL HALL

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY
1978
The following thesis is my own work
and all sources have been fully
acknowledged.

R.R. Hall
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PREFACE

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in a New Zealand primary school. It is normally the case that in fieldwork, much more so than in survey research, the researcher obtains material that is of a highly personalised nature, and for this reason above all others, the primary school and the teachers and students who were part of its functioning during April-May 1977, have been fictionalised. To the Associates of Totara primary, and to the students who were working with them in April-May 1977, I owe a special debt of gratitude. The extent of this debt is discernable from the amount of detail that I have been able to include in the thesis concerning their perceptions and activities. I also owe a debt of gratitude to City Teachers College for agreeing to cooperate in the project, and to The Education Board for giving the initial approval to proceed with the project. My hope is that the Teachers College will be able to extract some material of value from the thesis that will be of benefit at some future stage to other Associates and their students.

I must also record expressions of thanks to: my supervisor, Dr Jim Lally for his moral support and help throughout the project, and for allowing me to make my own mistakes and learn from them; to Dr Cora Baldock, for her scholarly inspiration; and to Bob Gidlow, a colleague and
friend, who took the time to listen while I talked.

My wife Nancy aided the research process through sharing in discussion of many of the issues as well as by the transcription of interview tapes, but above all she contributed by sharing the strains and stresses that have been our lot since undertaking this project. She shares my sense of relief now that it is completed.

Lastly, I must express my thanks to my typist, Mrs Margaret Rowan, who brought the project to completion in a most accomplished and careful manner.
CHAPTER ONE
THE PROBLEM

Competence as a Routinized Feature of Everyday Life

1. The anti-positivistic nature of phenomenological sociology is particularly explicit in Clore's "Method and Measurement in Sociology" (1964), in Douglas's "Social Meaning and Suicide" (1967) and also in Schutz's essay "Concepts and Theory Formation in the Social Science" (1962b). It is also apparent, however, in a range of material published subsequent to these earlier works. See Peter McHugh "On the Failure of Positivism" in Douglas (1970); David Welsh "Varieties of Positivism" and David Silverman "Methodology and Meaning", both in P. Flannery et al. (1972); Eden Bittoner "Objectivity and Relativism in Sociology" in C. Feetham (1975). The "emergent" nature of the school has been amply addressed from the fact that the first formal workshop devoted to phenomenological sociology was an A.J. A conference was only held as recently as 1971, and E. Pan-ka (1974) for an account of these sessions. The development of the tradition in Australian sociology is even further recorded but there are some hopeful signs for the future; see contributions in Dan Edger (1974a and 1974b), and J. Lebl and G. Precourt (1979).
Introduction

Despite its roots in the writings of the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), and secondarily in the work of Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), a phenomenologically-based sociology has only come to prominence in the English-speaking world within the last decade and a half. The publication within a few years of each other of the three volumes of Alfred Schutz's "Collected Papers" (1962a, 1964a, 1966), Aaron Cicourel's "Method and Measurement in Sociology" (1964), Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's "The Social Construction of Reality" (1966), Harold Garfinkel's "Studies in Ethnomethodology" (1967), and Jack Douglas's "Social Meaning and Suicide" (1967), brought to the attention of English-speaking sociologists - many of them for the first time - the existence, or the possibility of the existence, of yet another alternative paradigm to positivism. This thesis represents an attempt to work within this phenomenological tradition by focusing analytic attention on "competence" as a routinized feature of everyday life.

1. The anti-positivistic nature of phenomenological sociology is particularly explicit in Cicourel's "Method and Measurement in Sociology" (1964), in Douglas's "Social Meaning and Suicide" (1967) and also in Schutz's essay "Concept and Theory Formation in the Social Sciences" (1962b). It is also apparent, however, in a range of material published subsequent to these earlier works; See Peter McHugh "On the Failure of Positivism" in Douglas (1970); David Walsh "Varieties of Positivism" and David Silverman "Methodology and Meaning", both in P. Filmer et al (1972); Egon Bittner "Objectivity and Realism in Sociology" in G. Psathas (1974). The "emergent" nature of the school can be further adduced from the fact that the first formal sessions devoted to phenomenological sociology at an A. S. A. conference were only held as recently as 1971; see G. Psathas (1974) for an account of these sessions. The development of the tradition in Australasian sociology is even further retarded but there are some hopeful signs for the future: See contributions in Don Edgar (1974a and 1974c); and J. Lally and D. Preston, (1973).
It will be the purpose of this introductory chapter to identify competence in everyday affairs as being a significant phenomenological "problem" and to explore some of the methodological problems involved in studying such a phenomenon. The resolution of these methodological problems will, in turn, provide the justification for focusing on a case study of competence and its assessment in a particular professional training situation. But first, we should highlight the significance of the concept of competence to phenomenological sociology.

Phenomenological conceptions of Competence:

Phenomenological sociology locates the essence of human nature in Man's need for meaning, and for meaning to exist, the world must have the following characteristics ([Fuller and Jacobs, 1973:172]):

1. The world must have value, in other words it must be able to create both pleasant and unpleasant stimulations;

2. The world must be predictable - but not too predictable. Man must be able to recognise patterns and see the world as sensible and familiar, but too high a predictability will lead to boredom;

3. The world must be "manipulatable" if Man is to achieve goals and effect changes in the world around him;

4. Following from these three conditions, Man must be able to create a world within which he has self-esteem.

Phenomenological sociology recognises, however, that the
world is "absurd" that is, that the world is essentially without meaning\(^2\). If Man is to experience the world as meaningful, he must create the meaning himself. A basic premise, therefore, of phenomenological sociology is that members of society are continuously engaged, without hope of relief, in creating and maintaining the social and natural world, so that it continues to give the appearance of always having been there, independent of human activity [Berger and Luckmann, 1966]. It is in this vein that David Silverman (1970:126) asserts that:

"... the manner in which the everyday world is socially constructed yet perceived as real and routine becomes a crucial concern of sociological analysis."

From the phenomenological point of view, however, the objective is not to affirm or deny this assumption of an independently existing world, but to focus attention on the ways in which interpretive processes are used by social actors to produce the sense of a shared, orderly social world [Zimmerman and Weider, 1970:288]. An important consequence of seeing social interaction as an interpretive process is that the process itself then becomes a phenomenon for investigation in its own right\(^3\). Within phenomenological

\(^2\) The use of the word "absurd" is not meant to imply that men experience the world as meaningless or absurd. It is merely meant to suggest that the world does not create meaning for man, but that man must create the meaning himself [Lyman and Scott, 1970].

\(^3\) This is a basic and important point because it distinguishes ethnomethodology from symbolic interactionism. For a discussion of this point see Denzin (1969), Zimmerman and Weider (1970) and also Silverman (1973).
sociology this is a particular concern of ethnomethodology. Aaron Cicourel, for example, defines ethnomethodology as "... the study of interpretive procedures and surface rules in everyday social practices" [1973: 51]. Accordingly, the ethnomethodologist should concern himself with studying how members employ interpretive procedures to recognise the relevance of surface rules and convert these into practiced and enforced behaviour. In a later context he says [1973:100]:

"Ethnomethodology emphasises the interpretive work required to recognise that an abstract rule exists which could fit a particular occasion."

In seeing social interaction as an interpretive process, the ethnomethodologist's attention is directed not towards the actions of the participants per se, but instead, attention is focused on how interpretive procedures are used by the participants to produce the sense of an inter-subjectively shared, orderly social world. The ethnomethodologist's concern, therefore, is not with providing causal explanations of observably regular, patterned, repetitive action by some kind of analysis of

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4 It will be appreciated that this differs in emphasis from Garfinkel's definition of ethnomethodology as "... the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent, ongoing accomplishments of artful practices of everyday life" [1967:11]. Since the thesis has been influenced in its analytic development by Cicourel's work, much more so than Garfinkel's, it seemed more appropriate to follow the emphasis of Cicourel's interpretation and avoid becoming embroiled in Garfinkel's "dense and elephantine formulations" [Gouldner, 1970:394]. We will leave a discussion of what is involved in Cicourel's notions of "interpretive procedures" and "surface rules" until chapter 3.
the actor's point of view - using the social world as a "resource" - but instead is directed towards how members of a society go about the task of seeing, describing and explaining order in the world in which they live - using the social world as a "topic" (Zimmerman and Weider, 1970). Thus, for the phenomenological sociologist, some kind of fundamental, constitutive social activity is happening all the time in everyday social interaction and Schutz in his studies of the constitutive phenomenology of the world of everyday life (1964a) suggested that part of the key to understanding this activity lies in the background expectancies and shared common knowledge of the social actors - what he referred to as the "attitudes of daily life" which were appropriate to "the world known in common and taken for granted". The ethnomethodologists go some way beyond Schutz's analysis, however, by focusing on the interpretive processes by which this shared common knowledge is "used" in everyday life.

Ethnomethodology continually asks the technical question "How is it that social activity is done?". Harvey Sacks,  

5 This again relates to the differentiation of ethnomethodology from symbolic interactionism (Zimmerman and Weider, 1970) where it is argued that the symbolic interactionists are content to use the social world as a "resource" but stop short of turning their analytic attention to the interpretive processes that are a necessary and fundamental part of social interaction.

6 This is consistent with Garfinkel's statement (1967:vii) that ethnomethodology is "... directed to the tasks of learning how members' actual, ordinary activities consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, commonsense knowledge of social structures... analyzeable; and of discovering the formal properties of commonplace, practical commonsense actions, "from within" actual settings, as ongoing accomplishments of those settings."
for example, kept this question in mind by using the verb "to do" when thinking about social activities: thus "arguing" becomes "doing arguing", "being embarrassed" becomes "doing embarrassment", "questioning" becomes "doing questioning" and so on. In this way Sacks hoped to maintain a focus on the methodical ways in which social activities are produced and made intelligible by members of the society.

We can illustrate this briefly by referring to two sentences that Sacks used from a child's story (1972):

"The baby cried. The mommy picked it up".

It has been a common practice in social science to assume that social norms exist somewhere outside of communicative acts. Many social scientists tend to accept social norms as given, and consider social action merely from the standpoint of whether the content of the action conforms to or deviates from these independently given norms. From this point of view, Sack's choice of data here appears to be trivial. If it is a social norm that mothers should pick up babies when they are crying, then there is nothing remarkable in a mother who does just that. Sacks, however, was not concerned with the "why" of the action in question, but with how the action was made intelligible and interpretable in the first place. Most social scientists would probably accept without question that these two sentences would be understood in the same way by everybody who hears/reads them, but Sacks starts from the premise
that these processes of comprehension are problematical. He argues that it is our knowledge of social structure which makes them intelligible. The task of the sociologist, as seen by Sacks, is to attempt an explanation of how these fragments of a "story" can be heard in the way in which they are heard by focusing on the interpretive processes that are involved. Thus, to Sacks, social norms are part of the communicative code which governs our perception of events in much the same way as grammar governs our perception of language.

In maintaining that a social activity such as "arguing" or "questioning" can be conceived of as possessing a grammar,

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7 Sacks notes that on hearing these two sentences, an English-speaking hearer is likely to make a number of intuitive observations about what is going on: (1) that the mother who picks up the baby is the mother of the child - despite the absence of a genitive in the second sentence; (2) that there is a fair probability that this understanding of the action will be shared by at least some others in the listening/reading group; (3) that the picking up of the baby follows in time from the baby's crying; and indeed (4) is caused by the crying. Sacks further notes that all of this can take place without the hearer/reader knowing the specific identity of the mother or the baby.

8 A central notion in Sacks's analysis in this regard is a "membership categorisation device". These devices consist of various categories, or a collection of categories, plus rules of application. Categories are seen by members as being "acceptable referents" for the device, and the general idea is to pair a device (containing at least one category) with a population (containing at least one member). An example of a device would be "sex", consisting of the categories male and female. A collection of categories is said to "go together" when members "recognise" them as such, basing their evaluation on "what everyone knows" (Schutz's "socially distributed common knowledge").
just as language does, then an obvious analogy can be traced to linguistic work. The ethnomethodologist's task at this level is to propose categories and rules for these grammars. In linguistics a major test of the adequacy of a grammar is whether or not a person trained to use it can converse intelligently with natives in the language, and, in contrast to replication rules which normally apply in sociology, this reproduction criterion of linguistic adequacy applies also in ethnomethodology.

Ethnomethodology is much more, however, than the extension to linguistics sketched above. A further level can be identified by referring to the distinction in linguistics between linguistic competence and performance. The distinction is largely drawn from Chomsky's work on generative grammar (1965). Linguistic competence is Chomsky's term for the mastery of an abstract system of rules of grammar based on an innate language apparatus. Linguistic competence is thus the ability to produce and understand an infinite number of sentences from a finite number of words, rules and sounds. Linguistic competence is located in what Chomsky calls the "deep structure" - the innate language apparatus that we use but are unaware of. What we are aware of is the produced sentence, or what Chomsky calls the "surface structure". The surface structure is generated by the deep structure. Languages differ in their surface structure but the innovative aspect of Chomsky's work is his insistence that

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all languages are generated from the same competencies and therefore have the same deep structure. Chomsky distinguished linguistic competence, however, from "performance" which is the actual speech produced. Performance may or may not reflect competence since, for example, children can produce speech without necessarily knowing what they are saying. Similarly, otherwise competent adults can make errors in speech due to lapses in memory or attention. For the linguist, performance is thus almost a residual category of interest, representing as it does an "adulteration" of ideal competence [Katz, 1967:144; see also Chomsky, 1965:31].

This focus of interest is reversed in ethnomethodology, however, as it is also, for example, in Hymes' discussion of "communicative competence" [1972]. For the ethnomethodologist, the more important question is how members of a collectivity interpretively use the rules and categories of a "grammar" to produce a given social activity and to render it intelligible and interpretable. Simply laying out a grammar is not enough, the ethnomethodologist has to deal with "rules-in-use" or "performance" [Pollner, 1970; Sudnow, 1965; Zimmerman, 1969].

10 In an effort to extend some of the general principles of formal grammatical analysis to the study of speech as a form of social interaction, some socio-linguists have advanced the concept of "communicative" competence [Hymes, 1972; see also Habermas, 1970]. Whereas linguistic competence deals with the speaker's ability to produce grammatically correct sentences, communicative competence describes the ability to select from the totality of grammatically correct expressions that are available, forms which will appropriately reflect the social rules governing behaviour in specific encounters. In these terms, then, communicative competence assumes that the competency of users of a language entails abilities and judgements that are relative to as well as interdependent with features of the social and cultural environment of the user.
It is essential, however, that we clarify the nature of these rules that govern interaction in everyday life. In our earlier discussion of Harvey Sacks' work we put forward the proposition that many social scientists would tend to accept social norms as "given" and would therefore analyse social action merely from the standpoint of whether the content of the action conformed to or deviated from these independently given norms. Wilson (1970) has identified this perspective as being representative of what he refers to as the "normative" paradigm in Sociology, a paradigm that is exemplified in the work of Linton (1936), Parsons (1951, 1961, 1969), Parsons and Shils (1951), Merton (1968) and Homans (1961). In using the term "normative" here, Wilson is not suggesting that the perspective is prescriptive insofar as it specifies ideal norms of conduct to which social actors should aspire, rather he is drawing attention to the strategic role that the concept of "norms" occupies in conventional sociological explanation. We will develop the point in greater detail later in the thesis, but for the moment we will assert that according to the "normative" paradigm, the rules that govern everyday interaction (norms) are assumed to be "transsituational" and "non-problematic" for the individual actor insofar as they are linked to "individual dispositions" (acquired during socialisation) and "role expectations" (established through a process of institutionalisation) and operate against a background of "cognitive consensus" in relation to shared symbols and meanings.

In contrast to this, phenomenological sociology asserts that the rules which govern any form of social behaviour are
not irresolvably pre-given but, on the contrary, are abstract instructions that have to be specified in each situation of their use.

"Normative rules ... like syntactic, phonological or semantic rules based on a dictionary, are divorced from occasions of practical use, and the members of a collectivity do not have ready access to lists of rules with which they evaluate each other's performance." (Cicourel, 1973:80)

In this view, rules have to be adapted or "ad-hoced" in order to actually produce a piece of appropriate conduct in a given situation. Thus, all norms, rules, instructions and the like - Cicourel refers to these as "surface rules" - are essentially vague because they all possess a partially open character in every situation of their use.

"Surface rules ... always require some recognition and cognition about the particulars which would render given rules as appropriate and useful for understanding and dealing with actual behavioural displays. Hence all surface rules carry an open structure or horizon vis-a-vis some boundable collection of meanings until they are linked to particular cases by interpretive procedures." (Cicourel, 1973:52)

It is in this sense, then, that we would suggest that a crucial dimension to a social actor's competence within a collectivity will be related to the actor's ability to "ad hoc" or successfully apply appropriate surface rules in particular situations. A measure of the actor's success in achieving this will be the extent to which the individual is allowed to manage his everyday affairs without interference from others (Garfinkel, 1967:57). Given this background, we can perhaps appreciate why Cicourel states that "competent members" are "those who can expect to manage their affairs without interference and be treated as acceptable types" (1973:54).
He goes on to state further that this involves recognising and employing "normal forms" of acceptable talk and appearance in daily interaction on the assumption that all communication between members is embedded within a body of common knowledge or, in Garfinkel's terms, "what everyone knows" (1967:237).

Given then the "emergent" nature of the rules that govern interaction in everyday life, a phenomenological conception of competence stresses the interpretive work that must be done to recognise the contextual relevance of a system of normative rules and to convert these into practiced and enforced behaviour that is consistent with normal forms of talk, action and appearance in the situation at hand. It is interesting to note, however, that both as concept and process, competence and its assessment in everyday life has been largely ignored or neglected to date as an area for sociological analysis. It could be argued that a contributing factor in this regard may have been the fact that for some time now it has been extensively marked out as an area of psychological interest.

**Psychological conceptions of Competence**

**Competence as the "Achieving Self"**

Analytic consideration of the concept of "competence" has, for some time now, been a concern of psychologists, particularly in the areas of Developmental Psychology, (White, 1959, 1960, 1971; Lane, 1955; Zern, 1973) and Cognitive Psychology (Pylyshyn, 1972, 1973). The concept has also featured prominently in psychiatric considerations
of schizophrenia (Zigler and Phillips, 1961, 1962; Turner and Zabo, 1968; Wagener and Hartsough, 1974; McCreary, 1974). \(^{11}\)

Much of this literature has affinities with psychological conceptions of "mental health" in the shape of an "adequate" or "achieving" self (see particularly Rae-Grant et al, 1966; Gladwin, 1967; and Brewster Smith, 1968 and 1974). Rae-Grant et al, for example state that social competence is "... the ability to participate effectively in the legitimate activities of the society" (1966:651) and they equate social competence with an assortment of attitudes and skills that are "shared by practically all successful middle class adults" (1966:658). The socially effective individual, they claim, is not merely the person who "knows where he is going and how to get there" but is also the one who has "the strength and

\(^{11}\) The term is also used by jurists and criminologists in connection with the issue of "competency to stand trial" (Cooke, Johnston and Pogany, 1973; Robey, 1965; Elzenstat, 1968; Hess and Thomas, 1963). This largely hinges, though on psychiatric interpretations of "competency".

\(^{12}\) These skills and attitudes include: an orientation to the future and the ability to plan effectively; a belief that one can control one's own destiny so that planning is worthwhile; an ability to defer gratification in order to attain a future goal; some perception of how one relates to the larger social system; an ability to formulate problems in an abstract fashion; the flexibility to perceive alternative solutions to important problems; and finally, acceptance of the fact that hard and often dull work is necessary and perhaps desirable to achieve future goals. They subsequently bemoan the fact that this list is often overlooked by those who are training "lower class people" to assume new vocational roles (Rae-Grant et al 1966:658).
motivation to last the course" (1966:659).13

This identification of attitudinal or skill components that go to make up "the competent individual" is a fairly common theme in this psychological literature. Zigler and Phillips (1961) are concerned with social competence of schizophrenics; Peters and Hoekelman (1973) attempted to measure maternal competence; Lanyon (1967) was concerned with measuring social competence in college males; Anderson and Messick (1974) were concerned with social competency in young children; Bledsoe (1973) was concerned with the prediction of teacher competence; Goldfried and D'Zurilla (1973) attempted to predict academic competence among college students; and Korman, et al (1973) were concerned with perceived characteristics of "competent people". Early work in this regard was carried out by Foote and Cottrell (1955) who identified six core characteristics of the competent person, these being health, intelligence, empathy, autonomy, judgement and creativity (1955:32). They took the concept of competence to mean "... a satisfactory degree of ability for performing

13 One could suggest that in these terms Don Corleone (The Godfather) was without doubt a "socially effective individual" but the discussion has been limited to effective participation in the "legitimate" activities of the society. This is much too restrictive and short-sighted and seems to reflect the middle-class value position from which much of this literature has been written. For example, having mirrored exactly Rae-Grant et al's definition of social competence, Gladwin (1967) also concludes that "lower class people" should be taught "those middle class skills and perceptions which are essential to the opening up of avenues of opportunity and choice" (1967:31). It can hardly be argued that this reveals any deep understanding or appreciation of the structural dimensions of social inequality. Competence, in these terms, is being evaluated in terms of one social role only, that of the "successful middle class American", and this is much too restrictive and sterile a line of analysis.
certain implied kinds of tasks" (1955:36) and they later extended this by suggesting that competence denotes capabilities to meet and deal with a changing world, to formulate ends and implement them (1955:49). This is similar in many respects to Robert White's (1959, 1960) conception of competence as a fitness or ability to carry on those transactions with the environment which result in the individual's maintenance or growth. Following on from the work of psychologists such as Harlow (1953), Berlyne (1950, 1958) and Myers and Miller (1954) which indicated that animals show persistent tendencies towards activity and exploration even when all known primary drives have been satiated, White defined competence as a fitness or ability to carry on those transactions with the environment which result in the individual organism's maintenance and growth (1960:100). White's work has been extremely influential in guiding much of the subsequent research in the area. It is questionable, though, the extent to which these psychologists have been successful in operationalising the concept of competence (Turner and Zabo, 1968) and much of this work is tangential to the phenomenological approach to the concept that we want to take in this thesis.

The sociological use that has been made of the concept of "competence" has been influenced to some extent by these psychological conceptions and, reflecting the "normative" perspective that we discussed earlier, it has conceptualised competence as "effective role performance".
**Sociological conceptions of Competence:**

**Competence as "effective role performance"**

Inkeles (1966:265) has pointed out that the concepts of "socialisation" and "competence" are intimately linked in the sense that the objective of socialisation is normally to produce competent social actors. Much of the literature linking the concepts (Inkeles, 1966; Smith, 1965, 1966, 1968) has been considerably influenced by the work of Robert White (1959, 1960) and is mainly concerned with exploring the "effectiveness" dimension of the relationship between self and society.

According to Smith (1968:276), competence involves effective role performance - for self as well as for society. By presenting competence as a matter of "capacities for role performance" (Smith, 1968:275), the implicit suggestion is being made that there is somehow a listing of attributes that must be shown in sufficient degree by any individual occupying a specific "role", if that individual is to be judged either by peers, superiors, an observing social scientist, or whatever, as being competent in filling that role.

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14 Smith maintains that competence has a coherent core of common psychological attributes which he identifies as autonomy, an active orientation towards the surrounding environment, and trust (1968:285). He recognises, however, that other items might be more relevant to particular roles - see Smith (1966).
Smith's emphasis on competence as effective role performance is shared by Inkeles (1966) and also by Foote and Cottrell (1955)\(^{15}\).

In contrast to the concept of "socialisation", however, the concept of "competence", as defined by Inkeles (1966:265) stresses the end-product, the person after socialisation, rather than the formative process itself. Inkeles maintains that this conception is much broader than that of socialisation because the latter is usually defined with reference to a fixed repertoire of roles provided by a given socio-cultural system, whereas competence is defined to include an individual's capacity to move to new statuses and to elaborate new roles. He defines competence as (1966:265):

"... the ability effectively to attain and perform in three sets of statuses: those which one's society will normally assign one, those in the repertoire of one's social system one may appropriately aspire to, and those which one might reasonably invent or elaborate for oneself" \(^{15}\).

\(^{15}\) What differentiates the two, however, is the framework within which role performance is conceived. Inkeles takes a structural view in the tradition of functionalist theory, whereas Foote and Cottrell are more symbolic interactionist in their conception of competence as skill or ability in controlling the outcome of episodes of interaction (1955:36).

\(^{16}\) There is a degree of congruence here between Inkeles' formulation and that put forward by Gladwin (1967) when he suggests that competence develops along three major axes, all closely interrelated. First is the ability to learn or to use a variety of alternative pathways in order to reach a given goal. Second, the competent individual comprehends and is able to use a variety of social systems within the society. Third, competence depends upon effective reality testing which involves a broad and sophisticated understanding of the world (Gladwin, 1967:32). Unfortunately, Inkeles' work is also marked by the middle class value position which we earlier identified in the work of Rae-Grant et al and Gladwin. To his credit, however, Inkeles acknowledges that this is so (1966:282).
The list of these skills and abilities that have to be acquired to attain and perform in these three sets of statuses is fairly long - and is restricted in application to effective participation in a modern industrial and urban society - but it mirrors to a reasonable extent the comments we made earlier about psychological conceptions of "mental health".

We mentioned earlier that a possible reason for the relative neglect by sociologists to date of the concept of "competence" may have been due to the fact that it was largely seen as a psychological concept. While accepting the possible validity of this, we would nevertheless be concerned to argue that this neglect can, to a large extent, be attributed to the dominating influence within sociology of this "normative" paradigm to which rule-use is non-problematic. Implicit in this line of argument is the suggestion that any emergence of sociological interest in the assessment of competence and other similar but here-to-fore neglected social processes, reflects in turn an important stage in the development of an alternative theoretical perspective which draws its roots from Alfred Schutz's phenomenological sociology.

A methodological problem that we still have to face up to, though, develops from the taken-for-grantedness of competence in everyday life. In an earlier context we drew attention to the strategic place that "rule use" had in relation to phenomenological conceptions of "competence", but we still have the problem of making this rule-use "available-for-view".
Investigating the
Taken-for-Grantedness
of Everyday Life

Gustav Ichheiser (1970:7) expressed the problem in the following terms:

"Nothing evades our attention so persistently as that which is taken for granted. As a rule, we notice explicitly only those features of our total experience which strike our attention by their not being obvious. This state of affairs is again obvious, but it and its far reaching implications are easily overlooked. We are unaware of even very striking features of our own culture."

This is so because, in the world of everyday life, we adopt what Douglas (1970) calls the "natural stance" to social events that take place around us. Let's amplify on this.

Implicit in the notion of the "natural stance" is the suggestion that "as a matter of course" we take the world of everyday life for granted. We are not concerned to raise serious and persistent questions concerning the nature of our everyday experiences but instead take that experience for granted as a "fact". Schutz refers to this as existing within "the attitude of everyday life". The person who exists within "the attitude of everyday life" - and this includes all of us during most of our waking lives - is content to live in his world and is not concerned to study it. What we might refer to as his "beam of consciousness" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) is relatively unfocused and is broad in sweep depending on whatever practical concern (pragmatic motive) is structuring his system of relevance at any particular moment. Living in the world of the natural attitude - the world of everyday life - we have of necessity, and for reasons of efficiency, to rely on interpretive
procedures and our "common stock of knowledge" to "get us by". Things aren't normally questioned. Sharing an intersubjective world of meaning with our fellow social actors, we don't have to stop and attempt to "understand" each situation or social encounter before progressing "through" it. The typification schemes that are at the base of our shared common stock of knowledge allow situations to be presented to us in sufficient clarity to allow us to proceed. It is the emergence of an anomaly in the situation that forces us to "see" the situation - "for the first time" as it were. We have to convince ourselves that we can "explain" the anomaly before we can resort to our old "thinking as usual" patterns.

In order to study everyday life then, we have to change

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17 Garfinkel (1967) provides us with an interesting set of examples which demonstrate the disruption that can occur in everyday life when these taken-for-granted features are questioned. As part of a series of "demonstrations", students were requested to conduct their everyday affairs "as if" they didn't have access to a common stock of knowledge with which to "guide" their interactions, and the following "incident" was one of those on which Garfinkel reported:

S Hi Ray. How is your girlfriend feeling?
E What do you mean "How is she feeling?" Do you mean physical or mental?
S I mean, how is she feeling? What's the matter with you?
E Nothing. Just explain a little clearer what you mean.
S Skip it. How are your medical school applications coming?
E What do you mean "How are they?"
S You know what I mean.
E I really don't.
S What's the matter with you? Are you sick?
our perspective from that of the "natural attitude" to
what Douglas (1970) refers to as the "theoretic stance"
whereby the "obvious" is treated as "problematic" in
order thereby to study it. In commenting on his
"studies in ethnomethodology", for example, Garfinkel
[1967:1] made the following comment:

"The following studies seek to treat practical
activities, practical circumstances and practical
sociological reasoning as topics of empirical
study, and by paying to the most commonplace
activities of daily life the attention usually
accorded extraordinary events, seek to learn
about them as phenomena in their own right."

Filmer (1972:11] has paraphrased the ethnomethodological
endeavour in terms of treating obvious and uninteresting
interaction as "anthropologically strange" in order that
we might examine the tacit knowledge that produces their
commonplace character. Garfinkel's strategy for achieving
the transition from "natural attitude" to "theoretic stance"
has been to "fracture" the taken-for-grantedness of everyday
life and view the consequences:

"Procedurally it is my preference to start with
familiar scenes and ask what can be done to make
trouble. The operations that one would have to
perform in order to multiply the senseless
features of perceived environments, to produce
and sustain bewilderment, consternation, and
confusion, to produce the socially structured
affects of anxiety, shame, guilt, and indignation;
to produce disorganised interaction should tell
us something about how the structures of everyday
activities are ordinarily and routinely produced
and maintained." (1967:37-38)

18 Blumenstiel (1974:189] comments that phenomenology
is, essentially, the trick of making things whose
meanings seem clear meaningless, and then discovering
what they mean. He continues by saying that in doing
this we reveal meanings that are not actually apparent
to the uncritical mind but which nonetheless are
present at some other level of consciousness.
There are obvious ethical considerations that enter into engaging in reality-fracturing of this sort, and for this reason Garfinkel's approach could be seen as being somewhat extreme. In this respect there would seem to be more support for Erving Goffman's approach of watching for the naturally occurring disruption and then examining the consequences, rather than the sociologist himself being actively engaged in bringing about the disruption. This is well exemplified in Goffman's approach to "embarrassment" [1967b] where he justifies his approach on the following grounds:

"... in our Anglo-American society ... there seems to be no social encounter which cannot become embarrassing to one or more of its participants, giving rise to what is sometimes called an incident or false note. By listening for this dissonance, the sociologist can generalise about the ways in which interaction can go wrong, and by implication, the conditions necessary for interaction to be right." [1967b:99]

Goffman's approach is therefore to make the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life "available-for-view" by making use of naturally occurring disruptions to the "natural" flow of everyday affairs.

Elements of Goffman's approach were used in the research strategy for the present project, but with the added refinement of incorporating the analytic benefits that can be derived from focusing explicitly on the predicament of "the stranger" [Schutz, 1964b]. What members see as "obvious" and "unproblematic", the stranger has to treat as being "strange" and "unfamiliar". Schutz makes the point as follows [1964b:104]:
"... the cultural pattern of the approached group is to the stranger not a shelter but a field of adventure, not a matter of course but a questionable topic of investigation, not an instrument for disentangling problematic situations but a problematic situation in itself."

It obviously is the case that in order to treat obvious and uninteresting interaction as "anthropologically strange" (Filmer, 1972:11) the ethnomethodologist has to voluntarily adopt the stance of the stranger within his own culture - this lies at the bases of Garfinkel's "disruption" tactics. In this present project, however, we chose to emphasise a different facet of the "stranger strategy" insofar as we would suggest that a useful and appropriate strategy for making the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life available-for-view is to focus on the predicament of the stranger as he, or she, attempts to "make out" or "get by" in an "alien" cultural environment.

Methodological precedents for this can be derived from Garfinkel's analysis (1967:116-185) of the nature of the problems faced by a transsexual (Agnes) as she tries to compensate for her lack of appropriate background knowledge and "pass" as a woman, and also from the analysis that Silverman (1975) develops from Casteneda's accounts of his apprenticeship to Don Juan, the Yaqui man of knowledge. In both of these instances the analytic focus is quite clearly on "the stranger". Garfinkel justifies this focus on the following grounds (1967:118):

"The experience of these intersexed persons permits an appreciation of the background relevances that are otherwise easily overlooked or difficult to grasp because of their routinized character and because they are so embedded in a background of relevances that are simply "there" and taken for granted."
If we return to our specific problem of the taken-for-grantedness of competence in everyday life and the methodological problems involved in making this routinized aspect of everyday life available for view and hence amenable to analysis, it is obvious that one way out of the predicament is to look at what takes place in a situation where someone who is known to be a "marginal" member of the culture, and therefore less than fully competent, undergoes training the end result of which should be to train them for competence. In this type of setting we should have a better chance of "seeing" the taken-for-grantedness in operation because, in the process of identifying instances of incompetent behaviour on the part of the trainee, we should also be able to identify what it was about the behaviour that made it identifiable and definable by members as "incompetence". Our research strategy therefore developed from Goffman's approach of focusing on naturally occurring disruptions to the routine of everyday life, but added to it insofar as in our choice of research setting we were concerned to maximise the possibility that these disruptions would occur by focusing on "the stranger".

An implicit concern of the thesis is to attempt to show how interpretive procedures and surface rules are used by teachers to give "meaning" to the activities that they engage in in their classrooms since we would argue that this will be a crucial feature of the teacher's competence within the classroom. We will "gloss" this as competence in "doing teaching". If, however, we were to ask teachers what was involved in achieving a competent display of
"doing teaching", we would find answers difficult to come by because of the inherent taken-for-grantedness of the subject of our enquiry. However, by focusing analytic attention on the predicament of trainee teachers as they grope their way towards an appreciation of the relative degrees of appropriateness of various actions and activities in the classroom, as well as an appreciation of the grounds for this appropriateness, we should make it easier to get at these taken-for-granted conceptions of what it is that is involved in achieving a competent display of "doing teaching".\textsuperscript{19}

It is against this background, then, that we chose to focus the research project on teacher training and, in particular, on the practical component of teacher training in which student teachers spend a number of weeks in a school working under the supervision of an Associate teacher. This is the practice teaching component of teacher training. The data for the study came from a period of field work spent in such a setting during which time the researcher observed classroom activities, sat in on Associate-student discussions, interacted informally with Associates and students and also formally interviewed them. The school concerned was a primary school, the students were third year students, and full details of the methodological procedures adopted in carrying out the research are provided in the Appendix.

\textsuperscript{19} The concept of "competence" has recently taken on an increased relevance in the area of teacher training with the development in the United States of Competency Based Education and Performance Based Teacher Education (Houston and Howsam, 1974; Rosner and Kay, 1974). The use that is made of the concept in this present thesis is completely unrelated to this educational movement.
Teacher Training

The specific details of teacher training programmes will vary from Teachers College to Teachers College, but traditionally it has been the case that student teachers spend the majority of their training time in college, engaged on course work. The practical component of the programme, teaching practice, is but one of a variety of aspects covered in the training that would normally include such areas as main subject studies, curriculum studies and education studies as well as practical teaching experience. It is increasingly the case, however, that students will have contact with schools throughout their college course work wherever this is felt to be relevant.

Teaching practice is normally done in blocks of between four to five weeks, perhaps twice in the year, and the student is allocated to a school for this and spends the period working in the classroom of, and under the supervision of, an Associate teacher. In many colleges the model that underlies this "block" or "sustained" teaching practice approach is the "craft apprentice" model within which the Associate teacher is seen as fulfilling a most important role. As well as helping the student develop teaching skills, the Associate teacher also occupies a central role in the assessment of the student's progress as a would-be teacher. The importance of the Associate teacher within the overall training process is something that cannot be understated (Lortie, 1969:28; Yee, 1968; Smith 1971:110).
Criticisms of practice teaching often relate to the nature of the teaching relationship that develops between the Associate and the student insofar as this often mitigates against flexibility in the Associate’s approach and, perhaps more seriously, encourages imitativeness on the part of the student:

"This process requires the student to adopt another person’s teaching style and probably involves him in changing his own behaviour. But it does nothing to facilitate this behaviour change and restricts the student to the teaching he observes. It is conservative and traditional. It discourages experimentation, innovation and discovery and hinders the development of an understanding of the process of teaching." (Hunkin, 1974:6)

There are issues involved in this that go far beyond the scope of this thesis, but it should be emphasised that, despite criticisms of the working of practice teaching, it nevertheless remains the case that it is generally regarded as an extremely important aspect of teacher training. This is often the area of their training from which students say they get the most value (Lomax, 1971:38; Robinson, 1971:49) and a consensus of opinion among college staff, teachers and students would seem to be that more time should be spent in schools than is spent at present. The student is expected to use this time spent in schools for a variety of purposes, ranging from the development of teaching skills, to getting to know children, but above all it is hoped by the professional educators that the student will be able to establish for herself, or himself, the nature of the relationship that exists between college course work and what is done in schools. Despite the artificialness of the separation of college work from school work, it will invariably be the case that the Teachers' college will go to great lengths to try to
ensure that there is more than just a superficial relationship between the two.

In focusing our attention on teacher training we are, of course, venturing into an area that would normally be analysed in terms of the concept of "professional socialisation". In many respects our emphasis in this thesis on a phenomenological conception of "competence" has been derived from a critique of conventional considerations of professional socialisation and it is therefore appropriate that we should review this literature in order to place our phenomenological analysis in perspective. This will be done in the next chapter.

**Conclusion**

It is a central assertion of this thesis that the focus of a phenomenological analysis of "competence" should be on the interpretive work that must be done to recognise the contextual relevance of a system of normative rules and to convert these into practiced and enforced behaviour. The objective of the thesis will therefore be to commence a preliminary exploration of the implications of this assertion in the empirical context of practice teaching where student teachers are attempting to achieve competence in "doing teaching". In chapter 2 we will justify our focus on a phenomenological conception of competence by contrasting it with conventional sociological considerations of professional training. In chapter 3 we will outline the theoretical framework that underpins the analytic development of the thesis. The research for the study was carried out in a primary
school and details of the school will be provided in chapter 4. We will set out the social dimensions to the practice teaching situation, and the assessment of competence within that situation, in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 7, using material drawn from the perceived "incompetence" of students as they attempted to "do teaching" in the practice teaching situation, we will put forward some tentative analytic suggestions as to how teachers, on the basis of using interpretive procedures in the course of their everyday teaching activities, recognise the relevance of a variety of surface rules in the teaching situation, and convert these into a competent display of "doing teaching". The concluding chapter will provide a retrospective review of the material covered in the thesis and will suggest some avenues for further analytic development. The methodological procedures that were used in the research are set out in full in an Appendix.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Paradigms and Professional Socialisation

Traditionally it has been the case that sociological research in the area of teacher training would be done within the conceptual framework of "socialisation theory" with a particular emphasis being placed on the "professional socialisation" of the trainee teacher. Indeed, as we are choosing to focus our analytic interest on "competence" and its assessment in this particular professional training situation, we are clearly breaking with this tradition and this is something that requires a measure of justification. It will be the function of this chapter to present this justification. Attention to certain epistemological inadequacies in sociological approaches to professional socialisation is needed against the background of a critical comment from Dielen and Whittaker (1970:180), who are themselves substantial contributors to the area of professional socialisation:

"... at this time in the history of sociology there are no theories of professional socialisation and few systematic efforts being made towards such construction." 1

1 They do refer, however, to two exceptions: an unpublished paper by N. Buber "Mechanisms of Professional Socialisation" (1968); and a paper by Howard S. Becker "The Self and Adult Socialisation" (1969).
Introduction

Traditionally it has been the case that sociological research in an area such as teacher training would be done within the conceptual framework of "socialisation theory" with a particular emphasis being placed on the "professional socialisation" of the trainee teacher. Insofar as we are choosing to focus our analytic interest on "competence" and its assessment in this particular professional training situation, we are clearly breaking with this tradition and this is something that requires a measure of justification. It will be the function of this chapter to present that "justification" by drawing attention to certain conceptual inadequacies in traditional sociological approaches to professional socialisation. Our review of the literature on professional socialisation is set against the background of a critical comment from Olsen and Whittaker (1970:196), who are themselves substantial contributors to the area of professional socialisation:

"... at this time in the history of sociology there are no theories of professional socialisation and few systematic efforts being made towards such construction." ¹

Professional Socialisation

Professional socialisation falls within the general area of "adult" socialisation which Rosow (1965:35)

¹ They do refer, however, to two exceptions: an unpublished paper by R. Bucher "Mechanisms of Professional Socialisation" (1968), and a paper by Howard S. Becker "The Self and Adult Socialisation" (1968).
defines as:

"... the process of inculcating new values and behaviour appropriate to adult positions and group memberships ... The prototype of adult socialisation appears in the indoctrination of new roles during "rites de passage", or informal status successions. 2 Thereby, new expectations and conformity to them are presumably built into the person so that he is significantly altered as a social being."

According to Becker [1968:197] the development of interest in adult socialisation arose out of an attempt to generalise from research in a wide variety of fields on the changes that take place in people as they move through various institutional settings. This research covered social psychologist's concern with the effects that college life had on students; professional educator's concern with understanding what happened during professional training; mental health administrator's concern with what impact mental hospitals had on patients; and criminologist's parallel concern with the impact of prisons on prisoners.

In all of this, the research endeavour was aimed at countering the common assumption that the important influences on a person's behaviour occur in childhood.

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2 Arnold van Gennep "Rites of Passage" [University of Chicago Press, 1960]. See also Robert K. Merton "Social Theory and Social Structure" (Glencoe, Free Press, 1968, page 368); and Fred E. Katz "Rites of Passage and Teacher Training Processes", (State University of New York, 1968).
and that nothing much of importance happens after that.³

It is significant that in a review of recent developments in socialisation theory and research, William Sewell [1963] found that compared to what is known about childhood and adolescent socialisation, the material available on adult socialisation is scant indeed⁴. No explanation for this is offered by Sewell but reference should be made to the early dominating influence of psychology in studying personality development in infants and young children and how this was reflected in early anthropological concerns in the area of socialisation⁵.

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3. According to Becker, two central questions have occupied students of adult socialisation. The first of these directs attention outwards into the social context of personal change. Becker phrases this in terms of "what kinds of changes take place under the impact of different kinds of social structure?". The second question that has concerned researchers is related to the kinds of mechanisms that operate to produce the changes that are observed in adults undergoing socialisation, and in this context Becker introduces and discusses the concepts of "situational adjustment" (through which much of the variation in day-to-day behaviour can be explained); "commitment" (through which the development of long-term interests arise); and "involvement" (a process of shutting out of potential influences). (Becker, 1968:203-206).

4 Although some commentators insist that the process of adult socialisation is similar to that of childhood socialisation [Pease, 1967; Simpson, 1967] there would seem to be significant differences between the two processes insofar as (a) the adult is not a tabula rasa; (b) the nature of the affective link between socialisor and socialisee will be less important to the success of adult socialisation; and (c) the adult is more likely to be able to exert a greater degree of control over the socialisation process than will the child.

The main work that has been done in the area of adult socialisation has been concerned with occupational socialisation and Sewell cites in this context: the work of Becker and associates on the socialisation of medical students [1961]; Lortie's study of law students [1959]; Corwin's study of role conception and identity in nursing [1961]; Westby's study of the socialisation of the symphony musician [1960]; Taylor and Pellegrin's study of the professionalisation of the insurance salesman [1960]; the work of the Simpsons in which they examined the process by which the psychiatric attendant acquires an identity with his work [1959]; the work of Eulau and associates who investigated the political socialisation of American state legislators [1959]; and Braude's study of the ways in which the rabbi comes to develop an acceptable professional identity [1961]. This list is by no means complete and since 1963 studies have been published dealing with the professional socialisation of nurses [Davis and Olesen, 1963; Simpson, 1967]; [Olesen and Whittaker, 1968]; Music students [Kadushin, 1969]; Doctoral students [Pease, 1967]; Psychiatrists [Bucher, 1965]; Dentists [Pavalko, 1964; Sherlock and Morris, 1967]; and West Point cadets [Lovell, 1964] to mention but a few. There has been a fair amount of material

written by professional educators on the professional training of teachers [Conant, 1963; Richardson and Bowen, 1967] but as far as sociological writing on the professional socialisation of teachers is concerned, the main work seems to have been done by Edgar and Warren [1969], Riddle [1972], Katz [1968], Coulter [1971], and Anderson and Western [1968, 1972].

This body of research on occupational socialisation that has developed has had a number of special features (Pavalko, 1972:150). Firstly, the emphasis, as we have seen, has been on the socialisation of adults rather than the socialisation of children. This latter has tended to be the focus of psychological research on socialisation. Secondly, work in this area has tended to focus on learning that is related to specific social positions rather than the learning of a broad range of abilities. A third feature of research in this area is that it has been concerned with socialisation that takes place mainly in bureaucratic organisations such as nursing or medical schools, graduate

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7 Anderson and Western's work on the professional socialisation of students teachers has been done in the context of a broader concern with socialisation in a number of professions i.e. engineering, law, medicine and teaching. [See also 1967 and 1970].
departments of universities and so on.

The specific focus of individual pieces of research has been varied, ranging from factors that facilitate the development of a professional self-image (Merton et al., 1957; Becker et al., 1961; Kadushin, 1969); to the way in which professional schools change the recruit's conception of the occupation they wish to enter as well as their occupational values and goals (Simpson, 1967; Becker and Geer, 1959; Psathas, 1968); to the importance of new reference groups in bringing about these changes as well as transmitting professional attitudes and values to the recruit (Pease, 1967; Simpson and Simpson, 1959); and lastly, to the personal strains and stresses that students experience while undergoing professional socialisation (Davis and Olesen, 1963; Olesen and Whittaker, 1968).

It would be misleading, however, to suppose that all

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8 In this respect occupational socialisation must be seen as representing a limited form of "adult" socialisation. This point is taken up by Becker (1968:201) who emphasises the utility of regarding "... all of society as a socializing mechanism which operates throughout a person's life, creating changes in his self and his behaviour. We can just as well view families, occupations, work places, and neighbourhoods in this fashion as we can deviant groups and legal authorities. All studies of social organisations of any kind are thus simultaneously studies of adult socialisation." Olesen and Whittaker (1970) suggest that much of the conceptual inadequacy in sociological studies of professional socialisation stems from this inability of the researchers to place the processes of occupational socialisation in the total context of the student "becoming" an adult.
of the sociological work that had been done in the area of professional socialisation had been guided by the same theoretical conception of the socialisation process. If we accept the validity of Kuhn’s suggestion (1962) that the social sciences are "immature" sciences insofar as they possess no one dominant paradigm, but in fact are characterised by a number of competing paradigms, then it should not be surprising to find that in the area of professional socialisation it is possible to identify a number of different sociological approaches. In this chapter we will suggest that one of these paradigms (the normative) has been of particular importance in shaping much of the work that has been done in the area, but that an alternative paradigm (the interpretive) is now in a period of ascendancy as it receives an increasing degree of currency and legitimacy among sociologists. Although there are

9 Ignoring For the moment Kuhn’s lack of consistency in using the concept of "paradigm" (Masterman, 1970), we can suggest that a paradigm consists of a system of theory, method and standards used by a discipline or a sub-community of a discipline, for the purpose of explanation. What is particularly crucial about any paradigm is that the methodological rationale is grounded in metaphysical assumptions concerning the nature of the phenomena to which it is addressed. In this sense, a paradigm can be said to perform cognitive functions at three different levels. First, it suggests which entities nature does or does not possess. Second, it provides a map of nature. And third, it provides procedures by which the map of nature may be used to select which is relevant for further elaboration (Walsh, 1972b:16).

10 Judging From recent publications in the area of the Sociology of Education, it appears that the interpretive paradigm is gaining currency in that area also. See Woods and Hammersley eds (1977). It has not been without its critics in gaining this measure of ascendancy, however. See Sharp and Green (1975).
certain affinities between this "interpretive" paradigm and phenomenological sociology (see Wilson, 1970) it should be appreciated that the analysis that is being presented in this thesis inclines more to ethnomethodology than it does to symbolic interactionism.

**Professional Socialisation and the Normative Paradigm**

The basis of the normative paradigm might be seen in the conceptualised rule-governed-dialectic between "individual dispositions" (internalised rules) and "role expectations" (rules that have been institutionalised in a social system). The actor is viewed on the one hand as having acquired through socialisation, dispositions such as attitudes, sentiments, conditioned responses, values etc., and on the other of being subject to particular expectations supported by sanctions - role expectations. These expectations are normally conceived of as having situational referents. Consider, for example, Merton's conceptualisation (1957:287) of socialisation as "the learning of social roles":

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11 According to Wilson's (1970) discussion of the "interpretive" paradigm, a broad field of sociological enquiry is contained within the paradigm insofar as the theorists discussed range from symbolic interactionists (Mead, 1934), to neo-symbolic interactionists (Blumer, 1966), to ethnomethodologists (Garfinkel, 1967) and lastly to theorists who might only tangentially align themselves with symbolic interactionism (Turner, 1962; Mills, 1950). What they all have in common, however, according to Wilson, is that they all conceive of interaction as an interpretive process. Having said that, however, we should bear it in mind that this interpretive process can either be used as a "resource" or as a "topic" (see footnotes 3 and 5 of chapter 1).
"In its application to the medical student, socialisation refers to the processes through which he develops his professional self with its characteristic values, attitudes, knowledge and skills fusing these into a more or less consistent set of dispositions which govern his behaviour in a wide variety of professional (and extra-professional) situations."

Elliott [1972:92] maintains that this normative perspective on socialisation developed by Merton seems to be based on the twin ideas that the individual develops internal regulatory mechanisms of social control, and fits into the culture of his future role and status group.

This is reflected also in work done by other sociologists. Simpson, for example, [1967:47] suggests that:

"As a person is socialised into a role he learns its cultural content [i.e. its skills, knowledge and ways of behaving towards significant others in the role set]. And he also acquires self-identification with the role, which leads him to internalise certain values and goals."

Anderson (1968:91] describes professional socialisation, or "role learning", as:

"... the process whereby the recruit comes to learn about and internalise the culture of the profession he has elected to enter."

Orville Brim, in defining socialisation (1968:4] has the following to say:

"In the simplest terms, one can say that through socialisation the individual acquires the culture of his group, or groups. This includes two main divisions of culture: the traditional positions or statuses in the society and the role behaviours associated with them."

There is an identifiable theme of "determinism" in all of this since the implication is that society creates the roles to which individuals must conform, or that society
has needs which men fulfill by playing roles:

"All societies face the functional problem of articulating the components of numerous role sets" (Merton, 1957:377).

It would seem to be necessary, at this point, however, to distinguish between the terms "role" and "status". Bidwell and Vreeland (1962) for example, distinguish between "role socialisation" - which consists of training in the skills of a future role - and "status socialisation" - which involves acquiring a more general social identity and patterns of behaviour acceptable to people in the future status position. The term "status" is used to refer to an organised set of role expectations applying to a particular actor. Consequently, interaction between social actors is seen as being governed by the role expectations of their respective statuses, and questions concerning interaction are treated primarily in terms of the relation between the actor's dispositions and role expectations. Merton, for example (1968:422), makes the following statement:

"For some time now ... it has been recognised that two concepts - social status and social role - are fundamental to the description,

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12 Any extended discussion of "status" as a concept usually draws on the founding work of Linton (1936:113): "A status, as distinct from the person who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties." Kingsley Davis's work (1948) is another well known source on the meaning of the concept.
and to the analysis of social structure. By status, Linton meant a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals; by role, the behavioural enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position. Status and role in these terms are concepts serving to connect the culturally defined expectations with the patterned behaviour and relationships which comprise social structure."

An important assumption of the normative paradigm is the assumption of "cognitive consensus" - the notion of a shared system of symbols and meanings (including language and gestures) that serves as a commonly understood medium of communication. For the "normative" sociologist this shared system of symbols and meanings provides social interaction with its "necessary" stability. Parsons and Shils, in discussing the mutual orientation of alter and ego in interaction, state (1951:105):

"... in an integrated system, this orientation to the expectations of the other is reciprocal or complementary. Communication through a common system of symbols is the precondition of this reciprocity or complementarity of expectations. The alternatives which are open to alter must have some measure of stability in two respects: first, as realistic possibilities for alter, and second, in their meaning to ego."

They go on to say later in the discussion (1951:105):

"Furthermore, this common culture, or symbol system, inevitably possesses in certain respects a normative significance for the actors. Once it is in existence, observance of its conventions is a necessary condition for ego to be "understood" by alter, in the sense of allowing ego to elicit the type of reaction from alter which ego expects."

Elsewhere Merton has claimed that most sociologists would agree that "social statuses and social roles comprise the major building blocks of social structure" (1964:112). As Margaret Coulson points out (1972:107), this claim can be questioned.
Similar points are made by Frankenberg (1966:16-17) and by Banton (1965:36) among others.  

It is in this sense then, that Greenwood (1957) suggests that the culture of a profession consists of its values, its norms and its symbols. The symbols of a profession, he explains (1957:57) are its "meaningladen items". These may include such things as its insignias, emblems and distinctive dress; its history, folklore, and argot; its heroes and its villians; and its stereotypes of the professional, the client and the layman.

A number of criticisms of the normative view of socialisation can be made at this point: that it puts too much emphasis on shaping and fitting, that it implies a very passive view of man and society, and that it assumes a tendency towards harmony and equilibrium rather than an ability to live with tension and conflict in the dynamic

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14 Frankenberg’s point is that people expect appropriate behaviour from the holder of a particular position and that the sum of these expectations is the role. Banton maintains that in the examination of particular roles there will be agreement among all parties affected as to the definition of the role in question. Despite its centrality of importance to the normative perspective, however, this emphasis on consensus of expectations is of doubtful validity (Coulson, 1972).

15 It is on this basis that Greenwood concludes that the transformation of the neophyte into a professional is essentially an acculturation process involving the internalising of professional values, norms and symbols. This is a viewpoint which is substantiated by Hall (1948, 1949), White (1953) and Hughes (1958). By way of adding further comment, Olesen and Whittaker suggest that from the viewpoint of professionals themselves, seeing the socialisation process as "acculturation" is particularly meaningful (1970:192).
of social process (Clausen, 1966; Wrong, 1961; Fuller and Jacobs, 1973:170-171; Elliott, 1972:82-93). Let's take up a particular criticism, though, related to this central notion of "cognitive consensus". The implications of this perspective for the observer of social situations is that any attempt to define what the situation is or what action an actor has performed on a given occasion must be made by referring to the shared system of meanings of the group within which the action has taken place. It is assumed that there will be a consensus within the group as to what these meanings are, this consensus coming about through the socialisation process. Thus, meanings are seen to be "transsituational" and "non-problematic". They are seen to be "transsituational" because meanings are conceived of as being shared by individuals prior to their interaction with each other, and meanings are "non-problematic" because everyone shares the same meanings. These are matters to be challenged, however, rather than taken-for-granted - and this will be taken up in our discussion of the "interpretive" paradigm - but in many ways the centrality of this notion of cognitive consensus can be seen to be allied to the assumption that sociological explanation should utilise the deductive form of explanation found in the natural sciences.

To the extent that normative sociology seeks to emulate the model of the natural sciences its practitioners are obliged to provide objective descriptions of phenomena. Integral to this task of objectively describing social action is the problem of making its subjective component intersubjectively observable. According to Wilson (1970),
the characteristic way in which normative sociologists have approached this problem is by assuming, as we have noted, that social interaction is "rule governed" and that it takes place against a background of "cognitive consensus". In the context of the normative paradigm a "rule" should be seen as a stable linkage between a situation on the one hand and an action on the other. The linkage of the situation and the action (the rule) takes the form of dispositions or expectations, principally role expectations:

"Role expectations ... are the definitions by both ego and alter of what behaviour is proper for each in the relationship and in the situation in question." (Parsons and Shils, 1951:154).

In an earlier context to this, Parsons and Shils discussed the process of generalisation that was involved in the interpretation of alter's discrete actions vis a vis ego, where these could be seen as expressions of alter's intentions (1951:106):

"This generalisation implies that ego and alter agree that certain actions of alter are indices of the attitudes which alter has acquired toward ego (and reciprocally ego towards alter). Since culture and the latter is internalised in ego's need-dispositions, ego is sensitive not only to alter's overt acts, but to his attitudes."

Developing upon this one might theorise that a particular kind of actor, upon encountering an occasion which he perceives as being an instance of S is disposed (motivated) or is expected under pain of sanctions, to enact a behaviour that is an instance of A. If the occasion is treated by the actor as being an instance of some other situation, say S', then a different rule [i.e. S'A'] would be
relevant. Similarly, on any given occasion the concrete behaviour of an actor must be recognised either as an instance of action A or as an instance of some other action appropriate to the situation, otherwise processes such as reinforcement of sanctioning would be impossible. An action in these terms is a response by an actor to a situation. Within such a framework, a rule assumes the status of an instruction to the theorist's actor to (1) attend to his environment in order to detect the occurrences of specified situations; and (2) upon encountering them to enact a prescribed behaviour. Let's place this in the context, though, of the assumption that meanings are transsituationai and non-problematic. The above outline will only be applicable if there is a consensus as to the "meaning" of situations and actions, otherwise it would be impossible to link situations with actions in the rule-prescribed form if there was uncertainty as to the definition of "S" and "A". It is at this point that the normative paradigm receives its strongest criticisms from the interpretive paradigm.

16 This factor of potential normative inconsistency is one that isn't lost on the normative sociologist but their accommodation to it still rejects any suggestion of anything other than overriding consensus. Merton ([1957:70]: "... for each norm there tends to be at least one coordinated norm which is, if not inconsistent with the other, at least sufficiently different as to make it difficult for the student and the physician to live up to them both. ... Medical education can be conceived as facing the task of enabling students to learn how to blend incompatible or potentially incompatible norms into a functionally consistent whole." The problem is recognised, but no effective solution is proferred.
Professional Socialisation
and the Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm seeks to provide an alternative formulation to that of the normative paradigm by (1) avoiding an oversocialised conception of man; and (2) by recognising the problematic and situated nature of meaning in the social world.

In contrast to the normative paradigm, the interpretive perspective does not explicitly or implicitly assume that the definition of situations and actions is settled once and for all by the literal application of a pre-existing culturally established system of symbols. Instead, the meanings of situations and actions are seen as interpretations formulated on particular occasions by the participants in the interaction and, an important point, are subject to reformulation on subsequent occasions.

Ralph Turner (1962: 23) contrasts the normative model with the concept of "role-taking":

"The idea of role-taking shifts emphasis away from the simple process of enacting a prescribed role to devising a performance on the basis of an imputed other role. The actor is not the occupant of a status for which there is a neat set of rules - or culture or set of norms - but a person who must act in the perspective supplied in part by his relationship to others whose actions reflect roles he must identify."

This type of exposition of role behaviour underscores the creative and modifying elements of role-taking and role-making. In Turner's formulation, a role is a coherent pattern of behaviour with the actor being assumed to have a tendency to perceive the behaviour of others in such patterns.
"It is this tendency to shape the phenomenal world into roles which is the key to role-taking as a core process in interaction" [1962:22].

He states further [1962:28]:

"... the unifying element [by which behaviours are seen as patterns] is to be found in some assignment of purpose or sentiment to the actor."

We could summarise this as follows, that actor X perceives action A of actor Y as a meaningful action expressing some [unknown but negotiable] purpose or sentiment embodied in a role, and it is on the basis of this perception of "what the other is up to" that X then devises his own course of action. Turner notes, moreover, that [1962:22]:

"Since the role of alter can only be inferred rather than directly known by ego, testing inferences about the role of alter is a continuing element in interaction. Hence the tentative character of the individual's own role definition is never wholly suspended." 17

Thus, as the social actor participates in social interaction he is constantly taking the role of the other [Mead, 1934], viewing what he does and what he projects

17 As Wilson points out [1970:700], Blumer develops this same conception of interaction but uses somewhat different terminology. Blumer suggests that in interaction "the participants fit their acts together, first by identifying the social act in which they are about to engage, and second by interpreting and defining each other's acts in forming the joint act. By identifying the social act or joint action, the participant is able to orient himself; he has a key to interpreting the acts of the others and a guide for directing his action with regard to them" [Blumer, 1966:540].
doing from the viewpoint of the other, imputing to his own actions the meanings that he anticipates others will impute to them, and on this basis judging the worth of his actions. Becker (1968:196) refers to this as a process of "mutual adjustment" and suggests that in developing his pioneering analysis of this feature of social interaction, George Herbert Mead utilised a connected set of concepts, namely meaning, symbols, taking the role of the other, society and the self. Actions come to have meaning in a human sense when the person attributes to them the quality of foreshadowing certain other actions that will follow them. Actions become significant symbols when both the actor and those with whom he is interacting attribute to them the same meaning. The existence of significant symbols allows an actor thereby to anticipate the response of others. Thus, Becker suggests that the actor reflexively inspects the meaning that his action will have for others, assesses this meaning in the light of the action that it is likely to invoke in these others, and may subsequently change the direction of his activity in such a way as to make the anticipated response approximate more closely to what he desires it to be. This process of anticipating the response of others in a situation is usually referred to as taking the role of the other. Our conception of self arises in this context since, in Mead's conception, the self consists of all the roles we are prepared to take in formulating our lines of action. The overall mechanism of change in the self that is brought about through socialisation (Hill and Howden, 1975) therefore consists of the continual changes that occur in the person's impressions of how others are likely to respond to actions
and the meanings that the individual imputes to those actions. It is in this context that Becker introduces the concept of "situational adjustment" (1968:203) a process of "gradually discovering how things are done here" and incorporating these new anticipations of the response of others into the self.

It is in the context of social interaction, then, that man creates most of the meaningfulness of life and accomplishes most of his goals. However, in contrast to the normative paradigm which sees the social system as creating and determining man's behaviour, the interpretive paradigm sees man as creating the social world and the meaning in it. The amount of control that an individual has over the meanings created in a situation will determine the degree of freedom that he will have in the interaction situation. Control over interaction is dependent on many factors but Fuller and Jacobs (1973:173) identify the two most important of these as [1] the degree of the individual's interactional competence; and [2] the degree of power that the individual can bring to bear in a situation to make his definition of reality stick (see also Berger and Luckmann, 1966). In contrast to the normative paradigm, then which regards socialisation as the internalisation of norms which determine behaviour and produce consensus, the interpretive paradigm sees socialisation as an intersubjectively dynamic process of "situational adjustment".

Thus, Edgar suggests that teachers aren't born nor are they made in a mechanistic fashion but rather they become teachers partly as a result of circumstantial drift and
partly because of deliberate actions (1974d:3):

"... the occupational socialisation of an individual should be seen within an action framework which gives due weight both to the objective social and physical circumstances which preceded and proceed with it, and to the subjective, value-based, intentional action of an autonomous human being."

Like other analyses of the socialisation process that have been done from an "interpretive perspective", Edgar's work is also influenced by that of George Herbert Mead, but Edgar expands his consideration of changes in self-concept to include the concept of "competence" which, following White (1959, 1960) he defines as a fitness or ability to carry on those transactions with the environment which result in the individual's maintenance, growth and development (1974d:7-8). Thus, he suggests that teacher socialisation should be studied as a process of becoming not only competent in particular skills of role performance, but also in terms of preserving an image of the competent self in the new role (1974d:11). The model of teacher socialisation that he outlines presents socialisation as a process of (a) acquiring "equipment for competence" i.e. learning specific skills, knowledge, roles and competencies; and (b) developing a "competent self" i.e. adjusting one's self image to new role demands. Of the work that has been done explicitly on teacher socialisation, Edgar's seems to be the only work that reflects an interpretive perspective.18

18 There has been a fair amount of research done by educators on the teacher training process, but these have tended to look at "educational problems" rather than sociological problems, as such. In Australasia, the main other work that has been done on teacher socialisation has been done by Anderson and Western (1968, 1969) and Coulter (1971, 1972). This work reflects the normative perspective as outlined previously.
Towards an Alternative Formulation: Interactional Competence

Although it has affinities with the "interpretive" paradigm, the analytic position that is being developed in this present thesis goes some way beyond the "interpretive" analysis discussed so far. Despite the differences in theoretical emphasis that can be identified between the normative and interpretive perspectives as discussed, it still remains the case that the concept of "role" has a significant place in both analyses. Aaron Cicourel argues, however, (1973:27) that the sociologist's use of abstract theoretical concepts such as "role" actually masks the inductive procedures whereby the actor produces behavioural displays which others and the observer label "role behaviour". He therefore concludes that in the absence of a model of the social actor that specifies such procedures, the sociologist cannot reveal how it is that behavioural displays are recognised as "role taking" or "role making". Cicourel argues as follows (1973:15):

"The sociologist's model of the actor's competence and performance remains implicit and does not address how the actor perceives and interprets his environment, how certain rules govern exchanges, and how the actor recognises what is taken to be "strange", "familiar", "acceptable", about someone so as to link these attributes with a preconceived notion of status or role" (1973:15).

This problem comes about, he claims, because sociologists have failed to make explicit what they mean by normative and non-normative conditions and by role and
non-role behaviour

By choosing, therefore, to treat "role behaviour" as problematic and by focusing on the interpretive procedures which are used both to produce and identify "role behaviour", Cicourel is thus forcing a re-think on traditional conceptions of socialisation which see the process in terms of "role-taking", or "role-making". Rather than use the term "role" Cicourel focuses attention on what he calls "interactional competence" (1973:7) and under the influence of his work, various ethnomethodologists have begun to focus analytic attention on socialisation as the "acquisition of interactional competencies" (Speier, 1970; Mackay, 1974; Fuller and Jacobs, 1973). Cicourel, Speier and Mackay are all concerned with child socialisation and their analyses are framed in terms of the child's acquisition of a knowledge of social structure through the development of interpretive procedures. In contrast to the study of socialisation as suggested by "normative" sociology, Mackay suggests that ethnomethodology restores the interaction between adult and child by focusing on interpretive competencies as the phenomena to be studied. He highlights in particular the central nature of a consideration of interpretive and surface rules "the

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19 Cicourel's reservations about the analytic usefulness to the sociologist of the concept of "role" are shared by other sociologists also. Margaret Coulson, for example, makes an extremely strong case for arguing that role is a "redundant" concept in sociology (1972:109). It is interesting to note that the problematic nature of the concept is appreciated just as keenly by role-theorists as by their critics - see Biddle and Thomas (1966:29), Neiman and Hughes (1951:149) and Banton (1965:28) for substantiation of this.
reflexive articulation of which enables people to assign meaning to the world". He continues (1974:183):

"The complexity of the world and its orderliness is seen to rest on persons' interpretive competencies. The focus of investigation is how persons display the meaningfulness of the world".

While not denying that "taking the role of the other" is an important aspect of the socialisation process, this focus on "interactional competence" is emphasising the interpretive work that has to be seen as an essential aspect of "role taking" and "role making". It is an aspect, however, which is left unexplained and taken-for-granted by conventional sociological analyses of the socialisation process. In the next chapter we will explore in greater detail Cicourel's notion of "interactional competence" and present in schematic outline an analytic framework that would appear to have some potential as an alternative to the conceptual framework normally used in conventional analyses of professional socialisation.

Conclusion

Our phenomenological focus on "competence" in a professional training situation develops from what are perceived to be deficiencies in the traditional approaches to professional socialisation. By focusing on socialisation as "role taking" or "role making", these approaches can be seen to "mask" the interpretive processes whereby social actors produce and account for everyday social organization. It is hoped that by adopting a phenomenological perspective that tries to get at the taken-for-granted knowledge of social structure that underlies the processes whereby
teachers achieve a competent display of "doing teaching", and by attempting to achieve this through focusing on the "predicament" of trainee teachers, we will be able to extend on these conventional analyses of professional socialisation. The empirical focus for the thesis can therefore be justified on theoretical as well as methodological grounds.
CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter we will outline the conceptual framework that will be used to guide the analysis of data in the thesis. We will take up in greater detail the theme of "the stranger" - a theme which we identified in an earlier context as being of particular relevance to the position of the professional nurse - and indicate the relevance that this theme has to Goulard's notion of "interactional competence". We will explore the notion of interactional competence in more detail and end up by making some preliminary comments about its possible relevance to professional teachers in practice.

The Stranger

In his essay entitled "The Stranger", Alfred Schutz (1964a) presents an analysis of the predicament of the stranger as he approaches a social group and attempts to interpret, and orient himself within, the cultural pattern of that group. Schutz restricts the application of his definition to "... an adult individual of our time and civilization" (1946b:91), but nevertheless the crucial distinguishing feature of "the stranger" is that he should be someone who "tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approached" (1946b:91).

1 This is broader than that of Georg Simmel (1950). See also Margaret Radin (1954).
Introduction

In this chapter we will outline the conceptual framework that will be used to guide the analysis of data in the thesis. We will take up in greater detail the theme of "the stranger" - a theme which we identified in an earlier context as being of particular relevance to the position of the professional trainee - and indicate the relevance that this theme has to Cicourel's notion of "interactional competence". We will explore the notion of interactional competence in some detail and end up by making some preliminary comments about its possible relevance to trainee teachers on practice teaching. This will serve to set the scene for the analysis that will be presented in later chapters.

The Stranger

In his essay entitled "The Stranger", Alfred Schutz (1964b) presents an analysis of the predicament of the stranger as he approaches a social group and attempts to interpret, and orient himself within, the cultural pattern of that group. Schutz restricts the application of his definition to "... an adult individual of our times and civilization" (1946b:91), but nevertheless the crucial distinguishing feature of "the stranger" is that he should be someone who "tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches" (1946b:91) 1.

1 This use broader than that of Georg Simmel (1950). See also Margaret Wood (1934).
As his main point of focus Schutz chooses to highlight how the "cultural pattern of group life"\(^2\) seems to present itself as an unquestioned entity to the commonsense of a person living within the group\(^3\), whilst to the stranger, the cultural pattern of the group is something that must be questioned at every turn.

Schutz points out that in attempting to be accepted by the approached group, the stranger has to change his orientation to the group from "knowledge about" to "knowledge of"\(^4\). Despite the fact that the history of the approached group may have been available to the stranger prior to contact, it was never a significant part of his biography and as such, the stranger never shared in the group's "social stock of knowledge". Now, however, the new cultural pattern acquires an environmental context that it didn't possess before and in doing so, it begins to occupy a place in the stranger's

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2 Schutz is using the term "cultural pattern of group life" to designate: "... all the peculiar variations, institutions and systems of orientation and guidance... which ... characterise - if not constitute - any social group at a given moment in its history" [1964b:92].

3 As Schutz takes pain to point out, however, the knowledge of the man who acts and thinks within the world of his daily life, far from being homogeneous is instead incoherent, only partially clear and not at all free from contradictions - hence the use in the text of the phrase "seems to present itself". Nevertheless, as Schutz, points out, it is sufficiently coherent, clear and consistent to give anyone within the group a reasonable chance of understanding and of being understood by others [1964b:93].

4 This distinction has its basis in William James's differentiation of "explicit knowledge" or "knowledge of acquaintance" [koa] and "sufficient knowledge" or "knowledge about" [ka]. See Schutz 1964b, pages 93, 102 and 103.
system of relevances. The stranger has to adapt his old "thinking-as-usual" patterns to take account of this. Schutz sees the cultural pattern of group life as functionning:

"... to eliminate troublesome inquiries by offering ready made directions for use, to replace truth hard to attain by comfortable truisms, and to substitute the self-explanatory for the questionnable." (1964b:95)

All of this is available to the member of the group "at a glance" as it were since the group's social stock of knowledge provides members with the typification schemes necessary for "handling" the major routines of everyday life.

"... the member of the in-group looks in a single glance through the normal social situations occurring to him and ... catches immediately the ready made recipe appropriate to its solution. In those situations his action shows all the marks of habituality, automatism, and half-consciousness. This is possible because the cultural pattern provides by its recipes typical solutions for typical problems available for typical actors." (1964b:101)

This has particular relevance in the context of teacher education because, as Dan Lortie points out (1969:26): "Entrants to most professions are, as materials for professional socialisation, largely unformed. Few students entering law or medicine or architecture are intimately familiar with the working round of practitioners or feel qualified to make judgements about professional performances. Teaching, on the other hand, is well known to entrants, and they have already formed opinions about what constitutes an effective teaching performance." Lortie notes that would-be-teachers have had about 10,000 hours of exposure to practicing teachers prior to starting their own training, and he points out that no other professional initiate has this kind of experience of his occupation and its practitioners (Lortie, 1969:10).
Since the stranger has not shared in the biography of the group he doesn't share in its recipe knowledge or its typifications and as a consequence cannot operate with the automatism of a member. Thus, Schutz suggests that the cultural pattern of the approached group is to the stranger not "a shelter" but a "field of adventure", not "a matter of course" but "a questionnable topic of investigation", not "an instrument for disentangling problematic situations" but a "problematic situation in itself" (1964b:104).

Similarities are obvious between Schutz's discussion and Ward Goodenough's definition of "culture" as (1964:36):

"... whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. ... It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving and otherwise interpreting them." 8

6 Berger and Luckmann define recipe knowledge as "knowledge limited to pragmatic competence in routine performances" (1966:56).

7 John Heeren (1970:51) points out that the process of typification consists of ignoring what makes a particular object unique, and placing that object in the same class with others that share the same trait or quality. Commenting on typifications in everyday life Schutz says (1962a:59) : "The world ... is from the outset experienced in the pre-scientific thinking of everyday life in the mode of typicality. The unique objects and events given to us in a unique aspect are unique within a horizon of typical familiarity and pre-acquaintanceship."

8 Harold Garfinkel's use of the term "common culture" is somewhat similar to this, where he uses the term (1967:76) to refer to "... the socially sanctioned grounds of inference and action that people use in their everyday affairs and which they assume that others use in the same way."
There are particular methodological implications that develop from Goodenough’s "ethnoscientific" perspective:

"Ethnographic description requires methods of processing observed phenomena such that we can inductively construct a theory of how our informants have organised the same phenomena. It is the theory, not the phenomena alone, which ethnographic description aims to present." (1964:36)

The implications of this viewpoint for the ethnographer's task is that he can't content himself with merely describing events or cultural objects as he may see them from his perspective as an observer; he must get "inside" those events to see what kind of

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9 Ethnosciencen has been defined by Sturtevant (1964:99) as "The system of knowledge and cognition typical of a given culture". For the ethnographer, the implications of the ethnoscientific approach is to discover how members of a culture perceive, define, and classify material and cultural objects, how they actually perform their activities and what meanings they assign to acts occurring in the context of their culture. This is what Pike (1964) has referred to as an "emic" approach, whereby the scientist attempts in French's words (1963:398) "... to discover and describe the behavioural system (of a given culture) in its own terms, identifying not only the structural units but also the structural classes to which they belong." Research in ethnosciencen has mainly concentrated on classifications as reflected in native terminology with the standard accepted method for accomplishing this task being componential analysis focusing on meanings-in-use (see Freke, 1962). Psathas (1968:506-508) has criticised this as being too restrictive and argues that by restricting attention solely to cognitive structures for which linguistic terms exist and by using techniques such as componential analysis, the ethnoscientists are unable to match the ethnomethodologist's concern with more complex phenomena and the necessity for apprehending essential relationships among the elements of the phenomena being studied. It nevertheless remains the case that in coining the term "ethnomethodology", Harold Garfinkel intended it to parallel the term "ethnosciencen" as used in social anthropology (see Garfinkel, 1974:16 for substantiation of this).
"theory"\textsuperscript{10} it is that is being inductively used to organise phenomena in daily living. In phenomenological terms, the task is to discover how actors "constitute" the phenomena which are significant for them in their daily lives. It is in this connection that Aaron Cicourel draws attention to "interpretive procedures" as being of crucial concern. Commenting on Goodenough's definition of "culture", Cicourel states it in an alternative formulation (1973:52):

"... what must be known about the properties of interpretive procedures and surface rules in order to programme subject's actions so that such behaviour can be recognised as "normal" or routine (or unusual or bizarre) social activity by members."

Let's see how this relates to Cicourel's notion of "interactional competence".

Cicourel defines "interactional competence" in the following terms (1973:164):

\begin{flushright}
\underline{Interactional Competence}
\end{flushright}

Psathas [1968:503] interprets Goodenough's use of the term "theory" in the sense of Schutz's notion of "typification". Thus the task of the social scientist is to construct a typification of the actor's typification. See Alfred Schutz 'Commonsense and Scientific Interpretations of Human Action' [1962c] for a discussion of typifications.

\textsuperscript{11} The material for this section has been drawn from Cicourel's book "Cognitive Sociology" [1973]. The book contains five papers, some of which have been published elsewhere, but insofar as they all relate to the same theme, no attempt has been made to differentiate between them in the referencing in this section.
"Interactional competence refers to the ability to recognise, process and generate communicational procedures while simultaneously integrating and elaborating our thinking and reaction to these activities in the act of production or comprehension."

Implicit in this is the suggestion that interactional competence is based upon three analytically distinct but mutually inclusive cognitive structures. These are:

1. **Reflexivity**, or the mind's ability to recall the past, be aware of the present, and project a hypothetical future;

2. **Typification Devices**, or categories formed for the classification, identification, recognition and understanding of experiences. Inherent in this is the mind's ability to recognise patterns, extract their distinctive features and organise old and new experiences around these "typical" properties.

3. **Interpretive Procedures** which are some properties of the mind that are essential to a human being's ability to construct and interpret social interaction. These are founded, in turn, on the mind's ability to "typify" and engage in "reflexive" activity.

**Reflexivity** is a key concept in Garfinkel's ethnomethodology. It refers to the social activities whereby members create and maintain the very situations in which they act. It is as if the members were acting on a number of levels at once, without being aware of the deeper levels. For Garfinkel, members of society are continuously engaged in the creation and maintenance of the social world so that it retains its
transcendent appearance. The essential feature here, however, is that members are seen as being active in their cooperation with others in order to create and maintain the features of the outside world. They are not passive recipients of features of an independently existing world\textsuperscript{12}. Documentary interpretation and indexicality are key features of reflexivity\textsuperscript{13}. Documentary interpretation consists of identifying an underlying pattern behind any series of appearances such that each appearance is seen as referring to or as a "document" of, the underlying pattern\textsuperscript{14}. There is a mutual determination, however, between the underlying pattern and the individual appearance. Thus the underlying pattern is not only derived from individual documentary evidences, but the documentary evidences in their turn are interpreted on the basis of what is known and anticipatorily knowable about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other\textsuperscript{15}. This mutual

\begin{enumerate}
\item For a much fuller discussion of this see Berger and Luckmann (1966). This contrasts, of course, with the "normative" perspective discussed earlier.
\item Garfinkel derived the term "documentary interpretation" from Mannheim (1962). The term "indexical expression" is taken from Bar-Hillel (1954).
\item According to Mannheim (1962:57) the documentary method involves the search for "... an identical homologous pattern underlying a vast variety of totally different realisations of meaning."
\item Wilson maintains (1970:700-701) that this is paralleled in the way that the "part" and the "whole" are mutually determined in gestalt phenomena.
\end{enumerate}
determination is referred to by Garfinkel as indexicality". A central characteristic of documentary interpretation is that later appearances may force a revision in the perceived underlying pattern that in turn compels a reinterpretation of what previous appearances "really were". Many of these aspects of "reflexivity" are discernable in Cicourel's discussion of interpretive procedures.

The central problem that Cicourel addresses himself to is how members of a society or culture acquire a sense of social structure that will enable them to negotiate everyday activities. This, he identifies as the "problem of meaning" (1973:46). He finds fault with mainstream normative sociology when he argues that the traditional strategy of the sociologist is to endow his model of the social actor with the ability to assign meanings to his social world, but only after the sociologist has assumed that internalised attitudes and norms provide automatic guides to role-taking. He suggests that this internalization of norms is assumed to lead to an automatic application of rules on appropriate occasions, but his main criticism is that the factor of the determination of "appropriateness" is not explained, nor, he suggests, is it viewed as being developmentally and situationally constrained.

16 Bar-Hillel (1954) defines an indexical expression as one that depends for its meaning on the context in which it was produced.

17 Much of the misunderstanding that has arisen over the place of documentary interpretation in ethnomethodology has resulted from a failure to appreciate that in treating the interpretive process as a phenomenon for investigation in its own right, the ethnomethodologist is treating documentary interpretation, not as a resource or as a methodology but as a topic for study itself.
In opposition to this perspective, Cicourel argues that the social actor must be seen as being endowed with mechanisms or basic procedures (interpretive procedures) that permit an identification of "settings" which would lead to an "appropriate" invocation of norms. However, he insists that these norms have to be regarded as "surface rules" and must be considered as being independent from the process whereby the actor makes inferences about taking or making roles. Therefore, Cicourel is suggesting that it is the acquisition of interpretive procedures that provides the actor with a basis for assigning meaning to his environment, thus giving the actor what he refers to as a "sense of social structure" that orients him to the relevance of "surface rules" (1973:44-45).

Certain similarities might appear to be obvious here between Cicourel's "interpretive procedures" and "surface rules" and Chomsky's "deep structure" and "surface structure". While Cicourel doesn't dispute the usefulness of the analogy, he is nevertheless insistent in emphasising the differences. The main difference lies in the fact that, as we noted in Chapter 1, the linguist generally differentiates between "linguistic competence" and "performance", treating the latter as a category of residual interest. Chomsky's differentiation therefore has relevance for linguistic competence but not linguistic performance. Cicourel argues, however, that the ethnomethodologist must be concerned with competence and performance (or "situated usage") since the interaction of competence and performance is essential for understanding everyday activities. This is so, because imputations of competence by members to each other, and
the recognition of this competence, are integral elements of projected and "successful" social action. He develops this point as follows (1973:80):

"All references to normative (or surface) rules in this paper intend the idea that we are dealing with a practice, policy, or institution which is justified by some collectivity or system of rules that confers powers and carries obligations which are binding upon some collectivity. Perceived adherence to the rules, practices or policies on the part of someone, implies the fulfilment of membership in the collectivity. Hence, every interaction scene makes every actor's membership status in the collectivity potentially problematic; actual conduct is presumably evaluated against the contextual relevance of some system or normative rules."

It is in this connection that his notion of "interpretive procedures" has relevance insofar as these provide a common scheme of interpretation that allows members to assign contextual relevance to social actions.

"Interpretive procedures provide the actor with a developmentally changing sense of social structure that enables him to assign meaning or relevance to an environment of objects." (1973:30)

In contrast to this, "normative" or "surface" rules enable the actor to link his view of the world to that of others and to presume that interaction is governed by some basic normative order - what members assume to be known in common and taken for granted in their everyday activities (Schutz's "social stock of knowledge"). Developing from this, Cicourel suggests that the meaningfulness of everyday life is "generative" insofar as interpretive procedures rely on a common body of unstated knowledge that is socially distributed and which members rely on for recalling, imagining or inventing "ethnographic particulars" and for locating the sanctionable normative character of their
experiences. The importance of the "social stock of knowledge" can be adduced from the following comment from Berger and Luckmann (1966:56-58):

"My interaction with others in everyday life is constantly affected by our common participation in the available stock of knowledge. ... Participation in the social stock of knowledge permits the "location" of individuals in society and the "handling" of them in the appropriate manner. ... The social stock of knowledge further supplies me with the typificatory schemes required for the major routines of everyday life, not only the typifications of others... but typifications of all sorts of events and experiences, both social and natural."

What should be clear from the above is that Cicourel is not "denying" the normative base to social action and interaction - day-to-day living obviously requires tacit commitment to some basic normative order - but what he is insisting on is a more refined conceptual framework for understanding this normative order (1973:33):

"A more refined conceptual framework for understanding norms will have to specify interpretive procedures as a set of invariant properties governing fundamental conditions of all interaction so as to indicate how the actor and observer decide what serves as definitions of "correct" or "normal" conduct or thought. The interpretive procedures would suggest the nature of minimal conditions that all interaction presumably would have to satisfy for actor and observer to decide that the interaction is "normal" or "proper" and can be continued."

A complete listing of these interpretive procedures is not possible, since, as Cicourel himself points out (1973:52) "our present knowledge of the nature of interpretive procedures is sparse", but it is possible to identify some of the main features of these procedures.

The first of these is what Schutz (1953, 1955) referred
to as "the reciprocity of perspectives". This refers to the social actor's ability to idealize the interchangeability of standpoints whereby the participants both take for granted that each would see the world the way the other did if they were to change places. In addition to this, both assume, until further notice, that each is interpreting objects in the environment in the same way. Thus social actors continue social interaction under the assumption that their conversation and actions will be recognised as features of a world known in common and taken for granted.

The second of these features of interpretive procedures Cicourel refers to as "normal forms" which, he claims, builds on the reciprocity principle insofar as reference to a reciprocity of perspectives presumes the existence of certain normal forms of acceptable talk and appearance which members can rely on for assigning sense to their environments. Thus, he suggests that on occasions where the reciprocity of perspectives is in doubt, efforts will be made by both the speaker and the hearer to normalise the presumed discrepancy by referring to "normal forms".

Cicourel maintains that without these two basic principles, everyday interaction would be impossible since nothing could pass as "known" and "obvious" and all dialogue would, of necessity, become an infinite regress of doubts. It therefore follows from this that demonstrating one's competence as a normal member of the society requires the unwitting following of the above principles:

"Competent members (those who can expect to manage their affairs without interference and be treated as "acceptable" types) recognise
and employ normal forms in daily interaction under the assumption that all communication is embedded within a body of common knowledge or "what everybody knows." (1973:54)

There are obvious linkages between the notions of "normal form" and "typifications", and in fact Cicourel, on occasions, uses the two together (1973:35). The basis for the linkages should be clear from the following comment from Schutz (1964c:29-30):

"... as I confront my fellow-man, I bring into each concrete situation a stock of preconstituted knowledge which includes a network of typifications of human individuals in general, of typical human motivations, goals and action patterns. It also includes knowledge of expressive and interpretive schemes, of objective sign-systems and, in particular, of the vernacular language."

According to Schutz, our knowledge of other persons in the form of typifications, derives its ultimate validity from direct experience in face-to-face relationships.

A third feature of interpretive procedures is contained in what Garfinkel (1967) refers to as the "et cetera assumption". Garfinkel maintains that the nature of social interaction is such that social actors often have to "fill in" for the time being in order to make a situation or statement meaningful. This is because of the inadequacies of oral and non-oral communication and the routine practice of leaving things unsaid ("glossing"). Members are able to achieve this "filling in" to a satisfactory degree because of a fourth feature, the "retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence". Routine interaction depends upon participants waiting for later events in order to decide what it was that was being said previously. A sense of
structure and understanding is thus maintained during an interaction by letting the past clarify the present, or the present clarify the past. Fifthly, and lastly, is the factor of "indexicality". The meaning of words and behaviour is bound to the situation within which they occur. To the extent that words and behaviour "index" certain shared or common features of the environment or situation, they may require "elaboration" if removed from that context, otherwise confusion may result.

Cicourel extends this by referring to "descriptive vocabularies" as indexical expressions [1973:56]. He suggests that "for the speaker-hearer to understand what is being said, he must rely on his tacit knowledge and imaginative construction of normal forms. The descriptive vocabularies that make up indexical expressions help the speaker retrieve the experiences they describe, and the principles of reciprocity, normal forms and et cetera require the speaker to assume that others interpret his expressions similarly." [1973:88]

A final statement from Cicourel indicates how this notion of "interpretive procedures" is linked to conceptions of "competence" [1973:52] :

"Members of a society must acquire the competence to assign meaning to their environments so that surface rules and their articulation with particular cases can be made. Hence interpretive procedures are invariant properties of everyday, practical reasoning necessary for assigning sense to the substantive rules sociologists usually call norms. Surface rules, therefore, always require some recognition and cognition about the particulars which would render given rules as appropriate and useful for understanding and dealing with actual behavioural displays. Hence all surface rules carry an open structure or horizon vis-a-vis some bounded collection of meanings until they are linked to particular cases by interpretive procedures."
From time to time in the discussion in this section we have shown the relevance of the notion of "typifications" to "reflexivity" and "interpretive procedures". Rather than reiterate the specific points that have already been made, we will conclude with a summary statement on the matter from Natanson [1962:xxviii-xxix]:

"The biographical situation has as its cardinal feature the fact that at any moment in his life the individual has what Schutz terms a "stock of knowledge at hand". This stock is made up of typifications of the commonsense world. ... From childhood on, the individual continues to amass a vast number of "recipes" which then serve as techniques for understanding or at least controlling aspects of his experience. The thousands of concrete problematic situations that arise in the course of daily affairs and have to be handled in some form are perceived and even initially formulated in terms of the individual's stock of knowledge at hand. The fund of his experience typically apprehended and interpreted is then the basis for his subsequent action. It is clear that for certain problems a person's stock of knowledge is more than adequate and that for other situations he must improvise and extrapolate, but even improvisation proceeds along typically possible lines and is restricted to the individual's imaginative possibilities. Those possibilities, in turn, are grounded in the stock of knowledge at hand."

We should now have a much sharper appreciation of the predicament of "the stranger" and an understanding of some of the interpretive dimensions to that predicament.

**Competence in a Professional Training Situation**

Cicourel's work has been concerned, of course, with the child's acquisition of social structure through the development of interpretive procedures and other cognitive abilities. In dealing with trainee teachers, however, we are dealing with social actors who have mastered the
"problems" of reflexivity, typification and interpretive procedures. They have acquired the basic essentials of interactional competence as defined by Cicourel, and have been applying these for a number of years. To this extent the present study is concerned more with competence in the application of these procedures within a specific professional training situation, than with their acquisition. We are suggesting, in other words, that the student teacher's ability to "make sense" of the new cultural environment, and indeed to "make out" within that environment, is based to a large extent on the prior acquisition of these cognitive dimensions of interactional competence. The significance of this type of situation is that normally the acquisition of basic interactional competencies is taken as given [it is assumed that the individual has already acquired these to a significant degree through childhood and adolescent "socialisation"] and on this will be "built" [in the sense of interpretively acquired by the individual through interaction with "persons in the know"] the stock of knowledge that is required for membership in a specialist collectivity - in this case a professional group. The trainee will be

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18 Two points should be made here: Firstly, in suggesting that this stock of knowledge is "built on" as well as derives from interactional competencies already acquired by the individual, we are acknowledging the importance of the "base world" [Edgar, 1974d] to the socialisation process, involving, as it does, the acquisition of cognitive abilities [reflexive, typificatory and interpretive] and knowledge [recipes and typifications]. Secondly, whilst the discussion of a "specialist" stock of knowledge in this context will be framed in terms of a "professional" collectivity, the applicability of the discussion should be seen in much broader terms since it can be applied equally well to informal groupings as to formal collectivities. By "specialist collectivity", therefore, we are intending to encompass not only professional groups,
expected not only to acquire this stock of knowledge, but
to acquire it in an "appropriate" manner, and also to
"display" it appropriately. These are points we will
take up in chapter 5 when we discuss practice teaching.

Our discussion to date can be summarised and extended
in terms of a number of points which will be used as a
framework for the development of analysis in the rest of
the thesis.

We start from the assertion that an actor’s competence
within a collectivity will be assessed by other members on
the basis of the actor's ability to "ad hoc" or "successfully
apply" appropriate interactional rules. This phenomenological
perspective on competence derives from the "emergent" nature
of the rules that govern interaction in everyday life and
focuses attention on the interpretive work that has to be
done by the social actor in recognising the contextual
relevance of a system of normative rules and converting
these into practiced and enforced behaviour. The implication
of this is that the social actor not only has to act in
accordance with "surface rules" but, as a condition of
membership in the collectivity, he or she also has to

18 [cont'd] but also such informal groupings as, for example,
a group of marihuana smokers, a street-corner
group of urban blacks, a seminar group of social
scientists and so on. Within each of these groups,
the members share a common "cultural pattern"
(Schutz, 1964b] that includes a common stock of
knowledge, vocabularies and language-use, as well
as prescriptions and proscriptions for appropriate
and inappropriate behaviour in a variety of
situations. A member's competence in any one of
these collectivities must therefore be judged
against the contextual background of the relevant
cultural pattern. It is a factor of pluralistic
and complex society that there will always be
 collectivities and groups against which each of us
 must stand in the role of Schutz's "stranger".
indicate that the "sense" of the rules has been understood by consistently giving displays of appropriate behaviour and by adapting the rules wherever necessary. Insofar as the social actor is able to display this ability in his or her "performance" we will gloss this as "normative" competence. This "normative" competence derives from the social actor's previously acquired interpretive, reflexive and typificatory abilities which are dimensions to Cicourel's "interactional" competence. These dimensions to interactional competence are acquired during childhood socialisation and they provide the social actor with a basis for assigning meaning to his or her environment through equipping the actor to share in the social stock of knowledge of the group to which the actor belongs.

It is important to realise, however, that competence is a taken-for-granted feature of everyday life. In most social situations, social actors are assumed to possess the necessary competencies for performing "adequately" in that situation, until things prove otherwise. Given the nature of the "recipe knowledge" that we use to guide our affairs in everyday life, a knowledge that is incoherent, only partially clear and not free from contradictions, the possibility always exists that our assumptions of "competence" on the part of the other will be incorrect and will require revision. Where a social actor does behave less than "adequately" in a given social situation, we can suggest that this fact will be brought to the actor's attention at some stage by other social actors who are members of the collectivity.

There will be situations, of course, where the actor
will not be assumed to possess the necessary competencies for performing "adequately" in a particular situation and in these situations we would suggest that it is useful to conceptualise the individual as "the stranger". In situations such as this, it will often be the case that it will be the responsibility of "someone in the know" to enlighten the stranger as to "normal forms" of acceptable talk, action and appearance relevant to the situation at hand.

It is essential that we distinguish, however, between those situations where the stranger achieves membership in a collectivity through a process of "negotiation" and "gradual adjustment", and situations where the stranger has to undergo "testing" in order to achieve membership. We will suggest that where the main item of "business" in a social situation is the "testing" by a superordinate of a subordinate's competence relative to the given social situation and the subsequent mediation of acceptable standards of "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance to the subordinate, then we have a "testing situation". The desired outcome of a "testing situation" will be the incorporation of "normal forms" into the performance of the subordinate such that the subordinate can be perceived to behave in accordance with relevant "surface rules" - what we referred to earlier as "normative" competence. The significance of a "testing situation" is that expectations of the subordinate's performance in the situation will be continually revised "upwards" with the overall expectation being that (a) this is "proper"; (b) the subordinate has an obligation not only to perform to these increased expectations but to appropriately
incorporate these expectations into subsequent performances; and [c] the subordinate may be "failed" if this is not achieved "adequately" enough. In the remaining chapters of the thesis we will attempt to show the relevance that these comments have for practice teaching as a "testing situation".

Before we turn our attention to the practice teaching situation itself, though, it is essential that we fill in pertinent details relating to the school that was used as a research setting for the study. This is done in the next chapter.
Tutara Primary is located in an inner suburb of a New Zealand city. In the chapter that follows we will sketch in some background details to the school, highlighting in particular its declining roll and high turnover of pupils, as well as selected aspects of the family backgrounds of its pupils. We will also comment on certain social characteristics of the local area insofar as these can be seen to impinge upon the school and its functioning.

The rationale for filling in these background details is threefold.

Firstly, it is useful to provide explicit details about the context within which the research took place since this serves to "bring to life" the analytical discussion that follows. By adopting this procedure, events, processes and social actors can more meaningfully be situated in time, place and significance.

Secondly, insofar as this is exploratory rather than verificatory research, it is to be expected that the generalisability of the study will be somewhat limited. By providing these background details, it is hoped that the parameters of generalisability will be made more explicit by making it clear what "sort" of school it was that these student teachers were allocated to for their practical teaching.

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Thirdly, and certainly most importantly, is the fact that whilst a major endeavour in this project is to focus analytic attention on interpretive procedures and surface
rules as these apply in everyday social practices (Cicourel, 1973), we should nevertheless not lose sight of the fact that the social processes in which we are interested take place within a context of wider social structural "forces" that impinge upon what takes place in the classroom (Sharp and Green, 1975). The point is expressed well by Don Edgar (1974d:3):

"... the occupational socialisation of an individual should be seen within an action framework which gives due weight both to the objective social and physical circumstances which preceded and proceed with it, and to the subjective, value-based intentional action of an autonomous human being."

In the chapter that follows, we will therefore focus our attention on dimensions to the "objective social and physical circumstances" within which these particular students did their practice teaching.

The School

In physical terms, Totara primary is a very presentable and pleasant school. Despite the fact that the school is situated adjacent to an industrial area, the grounds are spacious and have an ample complement of trees and shrubs. The majority of the buildings are wooden with the exception of one red brick building - which dates from the school's beginnings around 1907 - and the buildings are set off in clusters to the side of extensive playing fields. This gives an openness to the school's physical layout.

The classrooms in the school are in two main groups, an Infants or Primer section, and a Standards section. The Infants section is a loose amalgamation of three adjacent rooms which face across the infants playing area
to two other rooms standing on their own. There is no sense of unity in this grouping insofar as these two rooms face away from the main block of three. In the three adjacent rooms are located Primer classes, 1, 2 and 3. The other two rooms share a composite mix of Primer 4 and Standard 1 children. The Standards section consists of four adjacent classrooms which are set between the library at one end, and the administration offices and staffroom at the other, and which face directly across the playing fields. In these rooms are located a Standard 2 class, a Standard 2/3 composite class, and two Standard 3/4 composite classes. We shall have more to say about these composite Standards classes later in the chapter.

All of these classrooms have large windowed folding doors which open out on to roofed verandahs. A common verandah runs the length of the four Standards classes, and likewise for the three adjacent Primer classes. The verandahs in the other two rooms face the school hall which stands separate from the rest of the buildings. It is this combination of folding doors and verandahs that gives the classrooms an "open air" feel. There are no corridors in the school, the school is not an enclosed unit.

1 The term that is often used to describe this particular type of classroom design in New Zealand is "open air classroom". It appears to have been a popular Department of Education design around the 1920's and the style is replicated throughout the country. An impression of the physical appearance of the exterior of the classrooms can be obtained from the illustration on page 74 of H.C.D. Somerset's book "Littledene - Patterns of Change", Council for Educational Research, Wellington, New Zealand, 1974.
in the sense of being housed in one monolith building, and classroom activities often spill out onto the verandahs.\(^2\)

Totara only provides education for its pupils up to Standard 4 level and in this sense it is a "contributing" primary school. Before proceeding to High School, its pupils must spend a further two years in an Intermediate school completing their primary education in Forms 1 and 2. The children in the school are therefore aged between 5 and 10.\(^3\)

The school enrolment for first term 1977 was 229. Distributed over nine classrooms this gives an average class size of 25.44. It is the case, however, that the school population is very unevenly distributed over the class levels. Because of demographic changes in the local community there has been a sharp decline in recent years in the number of five year olds enrolling in the school and this has resulted in a declining roll and exceedingly

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\(^2\) One of the teachers from the school contributed a paper on drama in the primary school curriculum to the Associate Teacher Newsletter of the local Teachers College and in it she commented on the usefulness of the verandah as an extension to the classroom: "We are fortunate to have the type of classroom that opens onto a verandah. This provides a natural stage and adds to the classroom. By shifting the mats to the perimeter of the room and the desks forward to the front, I was able to create areas for movement outside the working area of the room. On fine days we opened the doors and spilled onto the verandah and adjacent grass area. The space in and around the classroom became filled with art work, movement and the language of children."

\(^3\) A child would normally spend two years in the primer section and then a year in each of the Standards classes.
small classes at the Primer level. In first term, 1977, for example, there were only 11 pupils in Primer 1.

With a declining roll and subsequent cutbacks in teaching staff 4 the pressure of pupil numbers has been felt in the upper levels of the school where particularly large numbers of children in the Standards have necessitated the establishment of composite classes. Here the class size would be closer to 30.

Pupil Numbers

To portray Totara primary as being a school in decline would not be inconsistent with trends in the school’s enrolments. The first intake of pupils at the school was in 1907 when 221 pupils were enrolled. Some of the present school buildings, as we have seen, date from that time, but over the years additional buildings were added as the school expanded to become one of the city’s largest primary schools. This was just prior to the Second World War. According to reports from informants, marquees had to be erected on the playing fields at this time to accommodate the large numbers of classes 5. The indications are that the school roll may

4 In 1953 there had been 21 teachers in the school. By 1977 there were only 9, none of whom had been teaching in the school longer than three years. The headmaster himself had only joined the school at the beginning of the term and was moving to another posting at the term’s end. It was for this reason that the researcher chose to get the background information on the school from the deputy headmaster rather than the headmaster.

5 This information was conveyed to the researcher in an unsolicited manner by three separate people in the school. One of these informants mentioned that at one stage there had been a temporary classroom situated beyond the library with a number "21" on it. She deduced from this that at one stage there must have been twenty one classes in the school. This would tally with our figure of 21 teachers in 1953, a figure that was extracted from the school register.
have been as high as 1000 pupils.

From being one of the largest primary schools in the city during the late 1940’s, however, the school has gone into an extended period of decline. The average weekly roll of the school in 1955 was 816, and in the five yearly periods since then, it fell consistently from 671 in 1960, to 373 in 1965, to 303 in 1970 and finally to 280 in 1975. This represents a decline of 66% in twenty years. During this time there was no single year in which the roll increased over the previous year. By first term 1977, then, the school had virtually gone full circle in matching almost exactly its first ever enrolment in 1907.

In reviewing these figures during an interview, the deputy headmaster was able to find positive as well as negative implications:

"It makes for a very pleasant situation, of course, when you think of the scope of the grounds we have out there. The facilities we have were designed or prepared for a larger number and now we have fewer people, so from that point of view it's very good. From a selfish point of view, though, I wouldn't like to see it drop any further because if the roll drops we're on transfer".

(4.40) 7

6 Although registers for the school go back to 1907, the only systematic record available on average weekly enrolments in the school starts from second term 1953.

7 Just shortly after the researcher finished his period of observation in the school the deputy headmaster was in the process of preparing an estimate of the trend in enrolments in the school over the short term. The researcher, because of his continued contact with the school, was able to provide a number of facts and figures that helped him in this regard and the deputy explained the significance of the exercise by pointing out that the roll had almost fallen to the point at which the school was only entitled to a teaching headmaster rather than the full-time position that it had at present. The numerical reference relates to the field notes. See Footnote 14 on page 262 of the Appendix for amplification.
In absolute figures, the total number of new additions to the school was halved between 1950 and 1976 when the numbers declined from 202 to 108. In addition to being faced with the problems of a declining roll, however, the school also faced difficulties because of an increasingly high turnover of pupils. Between 1950 and 1976, approximately 40% to 50% of the new additions each year were "new entrants" - children who were starting school for the first time at age five years - which means that at least 50% to 60% of the children who were joining the school were from families that were moving into the area. This at first would appear to be a healthy sign for the school, but unfortunately many of these moves weren't permanent. Of the new additions who joined the school in 1950, 25% of them had left within a year of joining the school. Their families were obviously moving to other districts. Comparable figures for 1960, 1965 and 1970 were 27%, 32% and 47% respectively. This is a trend which doesn't auger well for the school's future. Even those children who remain in the school for more than a year are displaying an increasing tendency to leave before they complete their education at Totara. Of the new additions who joined the school in 1950, 52% of them completed their primary school career at Totara. The comparable figure

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8 In "new additions" is included all children who enrolled in the school in any one year, irrespective of the class level at which they joined. For example, of the 103 new additions to the school roll in 1967, 57 went into Primer 1, 5 went into Primer 2, 4 went into Primer 3, 6 went into Primer 4, 11 went into Standard 1, 11 went into Standard 2, 4 went into Standard 3 and 5 went into Standard 4.
for 1970 was only 25%. Of the new entrants who joined the school in 1970, 64% of them had left the school before transferring into Standard 1.9

This factor of a high turnover of pupils makes for certain teaching difficulties. One of the teachers offered the following comment:

"It's very topsy-turvy because you're all the time introducing the same things to the children who've just come in. It is much easier to have the same class the whole year through because you've got to find out their personalities and where they're going to fit in the class. And the atmosphere is changing all the time, it changes everytime you get someone or someone goes." (4.104)

In order to understand what lies behind these trends towards a declining roll and a high turnover of pupils, we have to take a look at changes that were taking place in the local community from which Totara primary drew its pupils.

The Local Area

Totara is a working class district that is located

9 The school had reached "zero population growth" by First term 1977. During that term 42 children left the school and 42 children joined.

10 Some of the material used in this section has been taken from an unpublished community survey that was done in the area in 1972. Unfortunately the survey report wasn't detailed enough to allow a meaningful extrapolation of data. Two points need to be made here. First of all, the survey covered the whole Borough of which Totara was a part, and therefore not all of the survey report is relevant to our present concern. Secondly, Totara Primary draws its pupils from an area that is slightly larger than the sub-area that was surveyed and so the figures are rather restricted in their coverage. There is no reason to suppose, however, that this additional area would be significantly different from the area surveyed with regard to the social characteristics to be discussed.
adjacent to one of the city's main industrial areas. The last major residential development to take place in the district was in the 1940's when a large number of state houses were built to the west of the school but since then, with the expansion of industry and the aging of the housing stock, the area has declined somewhat in its attractiveness as a place to live. An informant who had been acquainted with the school over a number of years offered the following comment on the area:

"It is regarded as an area where there has been a certain degree of social deterioration over the years. There's no question that the fact that the roll has been steadily declining is an indication of industry's encroaching into the area and because of this it's becoming less attractive as an area to live in." [5.81]

As a consequence of this, the stable sector of the population in the area has been gradually aging and there

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11 The community survey revealed the following occupational breakdown for the households in Totara (the figures in brackets refer to the whole Borough): Professional or Technical 19% (25%); Administrative or Managerial - 10% (16%); Clerical or Sales - 27% (24%); Skilled Trades - 19% (16%); Semi-skilled - 18% (13%); and Unskilled - 6% (6%). This is somewhat consistent with the data from the survey on the level of education of the adults in the area. The following percentages relate to the highest level of education achieved: Primary - 11% (7%); Lower Secondary - 22% (17%); Middle Secondary - 24% (24%); Upper Secondary - 20% (23%); University - 19% (26%); Further qualifications other than University - 24% (29%).

12 In 1972, 18% of the dwellings in Totara were less than ten years old; 61% were between ten and fifty years old; and 21% of the dwellings were more than fifty years old.

13 Of the households that were surveyed in 1972, 30% declared an intention to move from Totara within the next five years.

14 In 1972, 15% of the people covered by the survey in Totara were aged over sixty. A further 28% of the population was aged between thirty one and sixty.
has been a substantial decline in the number of families in the area with young children. This accounts in large part for the school's declining roll.

This "social deterioration" has been halted somewhat in recent years, however, by residential redevelopment within the area. In the introduction to the community survey that was carried out in the area in 1972 we read the following:

"Totara is one of several inner suburban areas that have entered a phase of residential redevelopment in the 1960's. The traditional form of dwelling in such areas has been the family house on its own section. With increasing land values, the decay of dwellings built prior to 1914 and the demand for more varied forms of accommodation, many family dwellings are being subdivided or demolished to make way for flats."

The survey report commented that changes in type of dwelling in the area had been paralleled by changes in the communities which lived or worked in the inner suburbs, and three main types of households were identified as living in the area in the early 1970's. These were, first of all, the family household that owned its own house, secondly households consisting of retired people, and thirdly households of young adults living in rented flats, some of whom would be married with young children. In that sector of the suburb that was serviced by Totara Primary there were, as we have already noted, fairly high proportions of elderly people, a rather low proportion of households either with children at primary school or of pre-school age, and a fairly high proportion of young adults living in rented flats.

15 The 1972 survey showed that only 5% of the population covered by the survey were under five years of age. Only 19% of the households had children at primary school.
It was this expansion in the number of dwellings for rental which was seen within the school as being a major contributing factor to their high turnover of pupils. The Deputy Headmaster commented as follows:

"A lot of kiddies come from flats and rented homes, this sort of thing. Flats and rented homes are not hard to obtain here because the standard of the buildings is generally low, some of them are very, very old indeed. Frequently we get people who arrive in the city from some other place, they're on transfer, they're looking for a flat or house to rent while they search for a permanent one. We have state houses in the area and for some reason they tend to have a high turnover of tenants." (4.35)

One type of "transient" family that merited special mention in this regard was the "solo parent" family. The Deputy Headmaster identified this group as being of special significance to the school insofar as perhaps as many as forty percent of the pupils in the school came from solo parent families. Apart from adding to the problem of

16 In 1972, 37% of the households surveyed in Totara were living in rented accommodation. The percentage for the borough as a whole was 30%. Much of the residential redevelopment in the Borough had taken place in Totara.

17 This was something that couldn't be validated by the researcher without a great deal of effort since the school kept no separate record of children from solo parent families. The Deputy Headmaster was able to come up with a figure because they had recently done an informal survey within the school themselves. From informal conversations and observation, though, it was something that was noticeable as being of significance within the school. On three separate occasions, different teachers mentioned to the researcher in an unsolicited manner that a great many of the children in the school were from solo parent homes. In addition to this it often developed in the context of discussing the backgrounds of individual children that teachers would mention that the child's father had left home. On two occasions it emerged as a News topic in class when one girl told how she was leaving for Australia with her mother at the weekend (to rejoin her father) and a boy proudly displayed the truck photographs that his mum's "boyfriend" in America had sent. The justification for identifying this as being a significant feature within the school is therefore rather impressionistic, but only time and effort precluded the researcher from validating it.
pupil turnover in the school, this had had the additional result of forcing changes in the school's teaching approach in certain areas:

"Traditionally a lot of our teaching has been based on the family. This is the starting point very, very often. You start from the known and work into other areas. We've found, though, that you can't really use this anymore because the old concept of family just isn't there. The concept of family for some kids is just mum, or just dad, or mum and a series of uncles and this is quite a common thing. So really you have to start with something that's common to all of them, and one thing that is common to all of them is the classroom, so if you use this as your base and talk about this as your family, you virtually have common shared experience." [4.36]

This emphasis on the "class-as-family" was particularly apparent in the lower sections of the school where the intention seemed to be to provide a stability that was lacking in many of the children's home lives.

The other major factor in the pupil's backgrounds that had implications for the school was the lower socio-economic status of the children's families. The overwhelming majority of the children in the school came from lower class backgrounds. There may have been a number of children in the school whose fathers were self-employed tradesmen, but children of professional parents were few and far between at Totara Primary and those few who did enrol in the school invariably did not remain for long as their families moved to more permanent accommodation elsewhere in the city.

In commenting on the home environment of the Totara pupils, an informant who had been associated with the school for a number of years said:
"At the present moment it would be fair to say that on the whole there are perhaps a great number of disadvantaged children in the school who come from home environments that aren't perhaps as enriched as we would like to see them." (5.81)

A major implication of this for the school lay in the childrens' language abilities. One of the teachers commented on her Standards class - which had an average age of eight and a half years - as follows:

"According to the Progress and Achievement Test, their average reading vocab is seven and a half years. Some of them are just very slow children and a plod, plod, plod, is all you can expect. But there are quite a few according to that test who come out as underachieving and they're the ones who have either missed out in the infants, or for one reason or another are just lacking. They haven't been given the opportunity or something." (4.103)

Just as the school attempted to compensate for the lack of stability in the childrens' home backgrounds with their "class-as-family" concept, so too there was an attempt to compensate for the childrens' poor language abilities by emphasising language in the classroom. It was their reading programme that the Deputy Headmaster identified as being a particular strength of the work being done in the Standards section of the school, but he emphasised that they were trying to stress language "in its total sense" and so were trying to break down the artificial barriers that separated "writing time" from "reading time" from "oral expression time" :

"If we have strengths at all, I think we would look to our reading programmes and the attitude we have developed among the kiddies. I'm quietly confident that we've done a fairly good job in this regard. Although we have kiddies who are not reading as well as we would like them to read, we have few kiddies who do not read at all. Our philosophy is that we must give the children an opportunity to read, provide them with an environment that
makes reading important. And more and more we’re seeing the need to think of language in its total sense. We’re trying to get away from the idea "now it is reading time", "now it is writing time", as though they were different."  [4.33]

Any attempts made by the teachers to develop a reading programme were hampered, however, by the fact that the children seemed to receive very little encouragement or support at home for their reading activities 18.

One of the students who had been allocated to a Standards class in Totara reflected on the place of language in the Totara curriculum in the following terms 19:

"The programme in the morning is made up entirely of language activities. This reflects the importance placed on language in the classroom. Language work, however, is not restricted to the mornings. Oral language is exercised in an incidental way in all areas of the curriculum."  [Doc.38]

18 This was explicitly discussed between an Associate and her student on one occasion within the researcher’s hearing. The substance of the comment was that it was a matter of some concern. On two further occasions when the researcher was able to overhear conversations between this teacher and two of her pupils, the children were being closely questioned on the amount of reading they did out of school. Where parental encouragement was in evidence, however, it sometimes had unanticipated consequences for the teacher. One of the teachers commented on a girl who had recently arrived in her class. Shortly after her arrival the girl had read a poem during assembly and had duly impressed the teacher with her "reading" abilities. It was only after the girl had been in class a few weeks that the teacher realised with some surprise that the girl couldn’t read at all. Her poem had been learned word perfect from the reading of her mother.

19 This comment has been extracted from her lesson plan folder. "Doc 38" refers to the fact that this is taken from page 38 of the Documents book of the researcher’s field notes.
In some respects it could be argued that this emphasis on trying to improve the children's reading abilities had a direct relevance to the teacher's classroom control activities insofar as children of this age who can't read effectively would seem to be much more likely to present behavioural problems in the classroom. This point was not lost on at least one of the students:

"Most children in the room are independent readers with the exception of three boys who need much encouragement and help. Two of these boys in particular are often disruptive in the classroom. This, however, may be partly due to their inability to read the tasks given to them. The fact that they cannot always read what has been given to them means that often they are left to their own devices and therefore it is imperative that they be kept busy." [Doc. 38]

It was the case in both of the Standards classes observed by the researcher that the most disruptive of the pupils were always among those who were the poorest readers:

By and large, though, the teachers in the school strongly resisted the suggestion that the children in Totara Primary were any more difficult to control because of the nature of their home backgrounds. Academically many of them may have had their limitations, but they made up for this in

20 The student was commenting here on the Standard 3/4 class to which she had been allocated.

21 The researcher was able to establish this by correlating the teachers' comments on which children were the "behaviour problems" in their classes with the membership of the reading groups in the classes. In both classes, the children were divided into three reading groups according to ability. It is worth noting, however, that a bright pupil, where that pupil is precocious, can also constitute a behaviour problem in the classroom. This was the case in one of the classrooms observed where one boy who had been thought of as being slow, was diagnosed as having weak eyesight. The acquisition of glasses brought him a confidence he hadn't known before and because he was a bright pupil anyway he became over-assertive in the classroom. This presented problems for the teacher concerned.
other respects. Commenting on the academic quality of the children in the school the Deputy Headmaster said:

"Our best are equal to the best of almost any school. I've got one or two kiddies in my classroom who could hold their head up in an academic sense anywhere. I'd hate to have to back this up, though, but I suspect that the bulk might be a bit below the last school I was at." (4.34)

He went on to contrast the Totara children with the children of a more prosperous school where he had previously taught:

"The last school I was in was in an area where people had plenty of money, plenty of material things, nice homes, well dressed kiddies, all this sort of thing. And when people in that area heard I was coming to this particular area they said "Oh, you'll notice a difference in the kiddies". I think they were hoping I'd find a difference, and sure I have. Particularly in regard to physical things, the kiddies are not as well dressed, they have not got the backgrounds of nice homes and plenty of money and so forth. They don't speak with the refinement perhaps like some other kiddies do." (4.34)

But he was most emphatic in his praise of the "other qualities" that the staff had been able to identify in these children:

"They're more self-reliant, they're more understanding of each other's problems, they're more tolerant. If one of the boys arrives with the sole of his shoe flapping or he's got holes in his socks or he's got patched pants, this doesn't matter. They're looking beyond this, and this is good. I bridle a little when people speak disparagingly of these kiddies. I think they're a fine bunch." (4.34)

The sentiments expressed here were shared by all the teachers that the researcher spoke to in the school.

In summary then, it would appear that Totara Primary's
decline over the past two and a half decades can be attributed in large measure to the "social deterioration" that has occurred in the area consequent upon industrial encroachment into the area and the aging of housing stock. This has been offset to some extent by residential redevelopment in the last decade and a half, but the main effect of this redevelopment has been to introduce an element of impermanence into the population by providing accommodation that met the needs of "transient" families, thus contributing directly to the turnover of pupils within the school. All of this has affected both directly and indirectly the nature of the backgrounds that the children in the school come from, and this has resulted in the particular emphasis that has been placed within the school programme on language.

The Standards Section

The students who provided the observational Focus For the study did their practice teaching in the Standards section of Totara Primary. Physically these rooms were very similar, with their like arrays of mobiles, paintings, poetry and posters. Every available square foot of wall space in the classrooms was used for wall hangings of one sort or another 22, and these changed as the children moved on to new projects.

22 The researcher was used one morning to staple paintings to the wall in one of these classrooms. Standing on a desk he was just able to reach the one area next to the blackboard that was empty.
A typical layout for one of these classrooms is shown in Diagram 4.1. The carpets in the classrooms were used extensively by the teachers as they alternated their teaching throughout the day from desks to carpet. The wall that fronted on to the verandah comprised large windowed folding doors, whilst the only windows on the opposite wall were some eight feet from the floor. In common with perhaps most other primary classrooms, these rooms were colourful and pleasant and gave ample evidence of the children's boundless activities.

Due to the fact that three of these classes were composite classes, there was a fair degree of cooperation and joint planning between the teachers. The Deputy Headmaster commented on the advantages of this:

23 It will be recollected from an earlier part of the chapter that there were Standard 2 children in two of these four classes, Standard 3 children in three of the four classes and Standard 4 children in two of the four classes. In achieving this "mix" of children over the four classrooms the teachers had to take account of maturity factors as well as scholastic ability. The Deputy Headmaster commented in particular on the Standard 2/3 class: "The Standard 2's are less mature than the Standard 3's so we had to look fairly closely at that class. We had to put children into that class from Standard 2 who could cope with Standard 3 children and vice versa, you know, from the social point of view." [4.38]

24 Before commencing the project, the researcher had had a number of discussions with staff members from the Teachers College. In the course of one such conversation with the staff member responsible for overall supervision of practice teaching, the researcher asked whether they used an open-plan format in the classes at Totara. In reply the staff member said "no" and then went on to say "but there's probably more cooperation between the staff at Totara on teaching matters than in schools where they do operate on an open-plan format." [Prelim. 17]
DIAGRAM 4.1 : STANDARDS CLASSROOM

A : Cupboard for book display
B : Movable blackboard
C : Carpet
D : Desks
E : Teacher’s Desk
F : Blackboard is on this wall. On the Floor is a raised dias about nine inches high and two feet wide.
G : Door to teacher’s storeroom
H : Entrance Door
I : Verandah (the windows on this side of the room are full length and open out on to the verandah).
J : Two "normal" size chairs [used by the teacher]
K : The windows on this wall are about eight feet up.
"If you've got classes that are roughly the same in composition, you can share your planning. Now this has many advantages. It lightens the burden. It brings to one particular topic a wider range of experience and backgrounds, and for many reasons this is a good thing to do." (4.38)

Of the four teachers in the Standards section, the two teachers who taught the Standard 3/4 classes were the most experienced. These were the Deputy Headmaster, who was in his 50's, and Mrs. Gillard, who was in her 40's. Both of these teachers had had extensive prior teaching experience before coming to Totara, and both were Associate teachers. The other Associate in the Standards section was Mrs McInnes who had the Standard 2/3 class. She was in her late twenties. The other teacher in the section was Mrs Walsh who was in her first year of teaching.

The overlap of children also meant that the teachers were able to interchange pupils. This was done mainly in the curriculum areas of maths, art and music. One effect of this was to ensure a common teaching programme over these four classes. With the exception of Fridays where the children had scripture from 9.00 to 9.30, the teaching programme was invariably the same from day to day.

25 A teacher in her first year is generally given a class that will be relatively easy to manage. "We have also in the section one teacher in her first year out from college and they are required to have a class that will be relatively easy to manage, you know, no particular problems. They're helped out a little bit with picked children. You don't necessarily pick children with high ability, but ones who are not likely to be discipline problems. Although, we do pick out enough variety to give them a challenge and make the job worthwhile." (Deputy Headmaster, 4.37). Since this class was a Standard 2 class it is obvious that this would affect the sorts of Standard 2 children who were "left over" to go into the Standard 2/3 class taught by Mrs McInnes.
The day starts with ten minutes of fitness on the playing area outside the classrooms. The children then go into their classroom and assemble on the carpet, either standing or sitting, depending on the preference of their teacher. "Good mornings" are exchanged and the teacher settles the children on the carpet.

"The quietness of the class to start with in the morning is most important because if they start off noisily they'll be noisy nearly all day. There's a lot of, almost a wooing of them in the first place to get them to the right frame of mind to work hard and yet be happy for the rest of the day. They come from homes where pressures might be that they've been hounded out of the house because mum's got to go to work at a certain time or something like this. Well it's been one big rush and bustle and they run to school all the way and they're a bit nippy and so forth and so it's a calming atmosphere that's needed first thing in the morning."

(Mrs Gillard, 4.63)

We can see this in operation at the start of the day in Mrs Gillard's room:

As Mrs Gillard came into the room she said "Everyone on the carpet and standing up straight." She moved to the side wall and faced across the room. "Face me", she said. The children pushed and jostled to take up their positions. "Good morning children". "Good morning Mrs Gillard." "Now quietly, sit." The children sit. She leans over them and commends individual children on the improvement in their recent behaviour. She hopes this will continue. She uses her voice to control the children. She talks quietly but in a measured sort of way. In a sense she is almost motherly towards the children.

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26 The researcher used this time to retire to the staffroom and write up notes.

27 The following impressions of classroom activities have been reconstructed from the researcher's fieldnotes.
Before the class starts she does a bit of rearranging and suggests that individual children might like to move further away from mischievous neighbours. She uses her index finger quite a bit along with "now" and you can almost sense the implications of the accompanying pause. [1.41]

The day begins with oral expression in the form of "news" in which a number of children take part offering information and comments on domestic happenings, events of the weekend, television items and so forth. The children are encouraged to participate, but the emphasis is on an orderliness of procedure. Sometimes one of the children will be used as a chairperson. News is followed by the morning's story.

News finished at about 9.30. Mrs McInnes went down to her desk to get the book for the story and there was a bit of noise from the children until she got back. Today's story was a continuation of "Paddington Bear". The children sat on the carpet as she read. She got the children involved by asking questions such as "what do you think happened next?". She also used pauses to good effect. She animated her face in appropriate ways at appropriate places and the children responded to this. She didn't read for too long. The story finished at 9.40. [2.16]

The morning story is followed by a time of silent reading when the children sit at their desks and read. The transition from carpet to desks is the first of the day and requires a certain amount of controlling from the teacher.

There was a bit of mock fighting going on on the carpet and some of the children were pushing others around. It was very noisy. Mrs McInnes started one of her control "tricks". "Clap, two, three, head; clap, two, three, body; clap, two, three, legs." By the time she got to "legs", most of the children were participating, clapping their hands in time and then touching their legs. "Now stand up straight", and they jerked to attention. "Now sit down quietly."
She would comment on this one who was still talking and that one who was nice and quiet. Very often she wouldn't use a name when scolding, she would just say "someone is still talking". If she was praising, though, she would mention the person's name and perhaps add "We'll remember that when we need someone for a special duty." When they were all sitting quietly, she moved on. [2.21]

Sometimes, the teacher will use the silent reading time to give individual instruction to a child who seems to need it.

At 9.40 the children were sent to their desks for silent reading. There was a bit of noise as the children selected books from the back of the room and got settled at their desks. Mrs McInnes told Colin to take his book and chair to the front next to her desk. She circulated briefly and commented "Very good room two, most of you have got books you know you can read." Stephen was sent to the library to get a more appropriate book. Mrs McInnes then sat at her desk and read with Colin. She spent some time finding out what books he was reading. Occasionally she looked up and said "There's one or two whisperers. It's still silent reading". At ten o'clock the children were told to "quietly" put their books away. [3.64]

The time from ten o'clock until morning break at half past ten is taken up with group reading and project work. Each class is divided according to their reading abilities into three reading groups, and one group is taken for reading by the teacher at this time each day. While this is going on, the rest of the children continue with written project work.

At about five past ten Mrs Gillard told Group 3 to get their language books and move over to the carpet. She told the rest of the class to take out their project books and continue working on those. She got her small blackboard and took it across to one corner of the carpet, there were one or two sheets of paper pinned to it. Group 3 sat at her feet, spread out round the carpet.
Occasionally she had to speak to the rest of the class for talking and at one stage she used a boy from Group 3 to do this. In her work with Group 3 she revised what they had been reading and picked out words for spelling. They read part of the story from their language books. [2.47]

Occasionally Mrs Gillard will use the time just before morning bell for an impromptu sing-song.

Five minutes before morning bell Mrs Gillard sent the children back to their seats. She called Brendan out to the front to help her hold up some sheets of paper with the words of a song on it. She leads the singing, which is unaccompanied but very good: "I close my eyes, turn back the curtain, to see for certain, what I thought I knew". There's a high part on page two and the singing grinds to a halt. "We'll leave that until we have the music" says Mrs Gillard. Before Brendan dismisses the class, Mrs Gillard commends the girls in the back row for the improvement in Brendan since he went to sit there. Brendan looks sheepish. The girls look at each other and are pleased. Mrs Gillard asks Brendan which row he thinks is sitting up the best. He says the back row, so they are dismissed first. [1.48]

Classes recommence at 10.45 after the break and for the next half hour the children are engaged either in physical education or in a continuation of their project work, depending on what day it is. Sometimes, as circumstances demand it, the children do both.

Mrs Gillard had an abortive attempt after the break to get the children to do folk dancing. The large doors were opened, the record player was brought out on to the verandah and the children formed two circles on the cement. The music was started and the children danced around in their circles. Problems developed, though when the needle kept sticking. After it had stuck for about the fourth time with Mrs Gillard prancing between the children and the machine, she gave up. The children came back to their desks and were told to take out their language books and their sheets on the Monster project. They could continue doing that. Mrs Gillard circulated
around the class, reviewing work, quietening the children and giving encouragement. One boy at the front made "monster noises" behind her as she was leaning over another child’s desk. He was told to go and write his name on the board. The same boy later came up to her and asked her the meaning of the word "imp" to which she replied, with due emphasis, "a mischievous boy". [1.49]

The main activity between morning break and lunchtime, however, is maths.

At about quarter past eleven the class was broken up for maths. The Standard 4 children went next door and the Standard 3’s from next door came into Mrs Gillard’s room. Mrs Gillard gave out a maths test paper. She got half a dozen children to help her. As soon as it was obvious that she was looking for helpers there was mass movement either to sit up with arms folded, or to put hands up. When she picked her helpers, they all looked suitably pleased. It took a few minutes to give the papers out, then she was ready to tell them what to do. She clapped her hands for attention and said "Sit up with your arms folded when you’re ready". That didn’t have the desired effect first time round so she had to do some more "encouraging work". "Tony, are you ready? Well fold your arms, that’s a good boy." "The second back row is a good row." When the children were finally ready she told them what to do in each of the questions. A lot of the children didn’t seem to be paying too much attention. The final instructions were "No talking" and "No looking at your neighbour’s paper". As the children did the test Mrs Gillard circulated, just to keep an eye on things. [1.51]

The procedure for taking maths is generally to do revision or new work with the children as one large group, and then work on the carpet with the smaller group of children who invariably need help. The session is then rounded off with the children working on some problems from their book.

The class was revising "Factors" and "multiples". When Mrs McInnes wanted the word "multiple" from
them she achieved this by "gradual revelation" whereby she gradually revealed each letter until they got the whole word. Mark suggested to her that when you multiply an odd number by an even number you always get an even number. Mrs McInnes appeared to doubt this - for the benefit of the class - and Mark’s suggestion was "tested" on the numbers board. It was found to be true. As she asked questions the children would put their hands up to answer, often with the accompaniment of exhaled breath and undue effort. If a child offered a wrong answer, Mrs McInnes just didn’t pass it over but took the time to explain to the child why the answer was wrong. Having got a correct answer, she might repeat the question and encourage them all to answer out loud - but at a whisper. If at any time she didn’t have complete attention she would say "I’m waiting on Colin to help us" or "Are you helping us Jim?". After the revision was completed she got the children to do some problems from their maths book while she circulated and offered comments on the neatness or otherwise of their books. [3.9]

There was a similarity in teaching styles in this regard between these two teachers.

It was time for the children to do some problems in their books and Mrs Gillard told them to stand "very quietly" and tiptoe back to their desks. She wrote the problems on the board at the front. When she came to give the answers she used a different coloured chalk from the chalk she’d used for writing the problems. She made an intentional mistake in giving the answers to check up on those who weren’t listening. She then faked ignorance as to what the mistake was. "You mean even if I turn 52 + 41 round the other way I still get the same answer?". This got a few laughs. The children seemed amused by her antics. She finished with just a few minutes to spare before the bell. "Hands on head, hands on shoulders, hands down. Simon says sit up, Simon says listen". The children obeyed like robots. She told them to finish up neatly and put their books away. The bell went. [4.54]

The two hours of teaching time in the afternoon is used for different activities each day, activities such as environmental studies, language, art, music, films, assembly and sport.
The bell went for the start of the afternoon and the children came into the room. Mrs McInnes began to marshall them on to the carpet. Once they all seemed to be in the room she said "I'll count to five .... one .. two .. three .. four .. five". As she was counting they all began to sit down. One boy made a play of not sitting down in place until she got to "five". "Good afternoon children". "Good afternoon Mrs McInnes". The afternoon's lesson was on electricity and she started to write word association things on the board. The children supplied the words and she wrote them on the board. She made a play of not being certain about the spelling of "electrocuted" and used that as an opportunity to get one of the children to look it up in the dictionary. The dictionary sentence "the murderer was electrocuted" led into a discussion of forms of capital punishment. Pupil participation was good and she encouraged it with her comments and her commitment to write every word that was offered on the board. In the next section of the lesson one of the boys showed the children some electrical bits and pieces. This led into role playing - pretending to be electrocuted. Mrs McInnes picked out the three best and they performed out the front for the benefit of everyone. Her preparation of them for doing the role playing was to get them to stand with their heels together and their toes apart. "Put your hands on your head. Now put your hands on your hips. Now stand normal." After this she had four of them pretend to be wires, a battery and a bulb. They had to connect themselves up as a circuit on the floor and the rest of the children had to say whether the bulb would light up or not. For the last fifteen minutes before the afternoon break she had them working at their desks with their "first copy" books. They had to write a poem or a story about electricity. Some of the children took a while to settle down but when the bell went some of them didn't go outside but stayed to work on their books. [Prelim.37]

By far the noisiest of the afternoon activities, however, was art.

After the afternoon break they sat on the carpet while Mrs McInnes explained to them what she'd like them to do. The topic for the paintings was "whales" and she discussed the possibilities with them before they went to their desks. Mrs McInnes had already laid out paper for them and they were soon engrossed in their art work.
The noise level got quite high but Mrs McInnes didn't intervene. She circulated and gave help where it was needed. The noise before the bell went was incredible. Balls were being bounced basketball fashion on the floor, there was a lot of laughing and loud talking. Chairs were being put on top of the desks as the bell went but the children had to make certain that the room was tidy before they were dismissed. [3.18]

At the end of the day the teachers are glad to settle for a well earned cup of tea in the staffroom.

"We work hard. It's not a physical work but there is a great deal of tenseness involved in teaching. You have to be part of it. You have to be involved, you can't be aloof." [Associate, 2.20]

Conclusion

This then was the classroom context within which these students did their practice teaching and the main point of emphasis in the chapter has been to draw attention to the interrelatedness that exists between classroom, school and wider community. In taking up the matter of practice teaching in the next chapter we will broaden this linkage of interrelatedness even further to include the teachers college. It will be remembered that the rationale for providing these contextual details included considerations of bringing the analytical material "to life", of making the parameters of generalisability more explicit, and of sensitising the reader to the "objective social and physical circumstances" within which the observed events took place. The next chapter will continue this theme into the area of practice teaching.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE SITUATION

Practice Teaching

City Teachers college is located in one of New Zealand’s cities. It provides teacher training at both the primary and secondary levels, but the college’s main emphasis is on its primary programmes. This consists of four related papers: English, Professional Studies, Selected Studies and Teaching Practice. Although the college does provide...
Introduction

In an earlier chapter we commented on the fact that specific details of teacher training programmes are likely to vary from Teachers College to Teachers College. In this chapter we will provide an indication of the place that practice teaching occupied in the training programme of City Teachers college. We will develop from this to look at the Associates’ perceptions of practice teaching and comment on the nature of the relationship that develops between the Associate and the student teacher.

The justification for this extends from the last chapter. Students do their practice teaching in specific classrooms that are part of a particular school that serves a particular community. In addition to this, however, they carry out their activities against the background of expectations of performance, definitions of the purpose of practice teaching, and perceptions of the nature of the relationship that does or should exist between Associate and student. These also are essential contextual details that have to be "filled in" if we are to understand the social process that takes place in this setting.

Practice Teaching:

The College’s View

City Teachers college is located in one of New Zealand’s cities. It provides teacher training at both the primary and secondary levels, but the college’s main emphasis is on its primary programme. This consists of four related parts: English, Professional Studies, Selected Studies and Teaching Practice. Although the college does provide
some specialist training in the areas of speech therapy and special education, the emphasis in the Primary programme is on training generalist teachers, and the majority of the students in the college are engaged in a three year programme.

During these three years, students spend a total of twenty four weeks in schools on practice teaching: five weeks in year one, eight weeks in year two, and eleven weeks in year three. Within each year, these are spread over two blocks of practice teaching.

Teaching practice occupies an important part in the training programme of City Teachers college, as is evidenced by the following comment taken from an internal document for the Teaching Practice Committee of the College’s Board of Studies:

"The college has always considered teaching practice as a very important part of a student’s course. This has been reflected in the length of time spent in schools, where the emphasis has been upon sustained or block periods of practice from two to six weeks in as wide a variety of situations as possible." [Doc. 6]

1 Despite the "significance" of the length of time spent in schools by the students, it nevertheless was the case that everyone that the researcher spoke to on the matter - students, Associate teachers, college staff - were all agreed that more time should be given over to school experience. This wasn’t possible, of course, because of the other course material that the students had to cover each year, but it was catered for on an individual basis by making it possible for students to be allocated to a "home" school. The student with a "home" school could visit the school whenever he or she wished and would thereby benefit from school experience that was additional to practice teaching sections. The student’s placement would be with a school and not just with an individual teacher. This meant that the student had access to all of the classrooms in the school. Because of timetable limitations and other pressures on their time, not all students had a "home" school, in fact there was only a minority of students involved in the scheme.
The document went on to outline in broad detail the differing focus that practice teaching sections took in each of these three years:

"First year students have been concerned with an orientation to children, society and its schools. In the second year, planning and teaching in two or more syllabus areas has been emphasised while third year students have focused on sustained planning, teaching and evaluating integrated units involving all areas of the curriculum." (Doc.6)

The document further noted that experience in schools forms an important part of the student's personal, professional and academic development insofar as wide ranging experiences in schools give the student an opportunity to develop an individual philosophy of teaching, pursue a personal model of teaching, and develop an individual teaching style.

A college staff member who was closely involved in the administration of practice teaching within the Primary programme, commented in the following terms on the relationship that practice teaching had to other areas of the College's training programme:

"We're concerned that the college course should not be separated from the practical field. I think traditionally it would have been fair criticism that changes and progress in practice did not follow automatically from changes in the lecture room, but there has been a conscious effort to build a relationship between all our courses and what is going on in the field." [5.117] ²

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² This extended beyond the area of practice teaching to take in other aspects of the college's programme. In Selected Studies, for example, students would be involved in work in the schools wherever this was relevant to their course work. This applied particularly in the areas of physical education, music and science. The Reading course also had students working with children in schools. As the students' school activities increase, of course, this introduces the structural strain of schools feeling that they are being overused by the college.
He indicated that the college had built a strong bias towards child observation into the practice teaching sections of the first year and that this was used as a means of developing the student's understanding of children and child development - what one of his colleagues described as "the name of the game" [5.86].

The rationale for this emphasis on "observation" in the first year was explained as follows:

"Many of our students have come from small families and haven't had very much opportunity to relate to numbers of young children. Of course some would do it through clubs, through church activities, through scouting, and I think they have some kind of advantage. But it was necessary to build into the first section, we believed, a strong bias towards child observation, understanding children, and use that as very much a way of opening up their understanding in the child development field." [5.117]

The practice teaching sections in the second year are preceded by a college course entitled "Planning and Teaching" which deals with lesson planning, lesson preparation and classroom management. This serves as a preparation for these second year sections in which the student is expected to teach in perhaps two or three subject fields. Whereas in the first year, the student does both her practice teaching sections in the same classroom and under the supervision of the same associate, in the second year she is allocated to different schools and different associates. This is in line with the college's general policy of training

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3 This latter comment was made in the context of the staff member commenting in general terms on what was required of the student teacher in the classroom. He said "She has to know the children in the class, certainly, but she has also to build up this whole concept of what children are like. Understanding children, it's really the name of the game." [5.86]
generalist teachers who have had experience of a range of age groups in a variety of classrooms. In the first year sections the student's performance in the classroom is not monitored by the college staff, but in the second and third years it is. This is referred to as the "crit lesson" where a college staff member observes the student in the classroom for a short period of time and discusses the student's teaching progress with the student and with the associate. The staff member is required to submit a report on the crit lesson and this, together with the associate's completed assessment report, forms the basis for assessing how the student has done during the section.

Practice teaching sections in the third year involve work that is of greater complexity than in the previous two years and normally involves the student in planning, teaching and evaluating a broad unit of work. In these sections the student is also expected to take an increasing responsibility for the conduct of activities in the classroom. The purposes of the first of these third year sections - the one during which the research was carried out - were set out by the college as follows. Purpose number one was to allow the student to study planning within the class and the school as it applied to all units of work. In particular, the students were encouraged to pay attention to organisational patterns within the school and to the utilising of the children's interest. The second purpose

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4 This material has been extracted from a college document "Instructions for Teaching Practice Third Year Students on Fourth Teaching Practice in Schools". This was given to the students at the pre-section briefing at the college. [Doc.3]
of the section was to give the student the opportunity of observing lessons that were taken by their associate. The hope was that these would complement the observations that students had recorded on their previous sections. Thirdly, and most importantly, it was intended that during this section, students would plan and teach an extended unit of work in the "language" area. During this section, the students were also required to construct and administer an objective test in the classroom.

The broad aim of these practice teaching sections, apart from the more obvious educational aims, would seem to be to develop self confidence in the student and to enlighten the student as to "what really goes on out there at the work face" (College lecturer, 5.77). In response to questioning as to what the college expected students to get out of these practice teaching sections, a college staff member had the following to say:

"Getting to know children I suppose is the main thing. What do I mean by that? Well, getting on the other side of the fence, so to speak, and looking at children from a teacher's point of view. Getting to know all the individual differences within children and all the factors that determine children's behaviour and achievement and so forth. That's one of the things we'd want students to do in every school section, to look very closely at children, to try to find out all they can about their backgrounds, their needs and so forth, as far as they're able in the short time they're there." (5.46)

He went on to identify other areas related to lesson

5 The three students who were involved in the research project chose to do their language units on "Living in New Zealand", "People Who Help Us" and "The Supernatural". These involved them in preparing lessons that included reading, written project work, art work, mime, film strips as well as talks by visitors.
planning and lesson preparation:

"Having practice in planning, having practice in putting into effect things that they see here, in modifying their behaviour in the light of suggestions from their Associate teacher and from us. Ours is a minor role in that respect. I see the Associate teacher's role as being far more important than ours." [5.46]

We have already commented in an earlier chapter on the important part that the associate teacher plays in the practice teaching section and it is to be expected that the college would have very definite ideas about the sorts of teachers it wanted as associates. A college staff member who was involved in the selection process commented as follows:

"What do we look for in associates? We look for professional standards and values within the person. These will vary in degree but that is critical to everything that we do. We look for a person whose own work values are considerable. We look for a person whose class will be supportive and buoyant. We look for a good practitioner. We look for a person who will relate well to the age group of the student. Our teachers vary widely in these aspects, of course, but our expectation would be that the student would not imitate any teacher but would derive something from each one." [5.114]

Practice Teaching:
The Associate's View

As might be expected, the perceptions that associate teachers have as to the purpose of practice teaching as well as its positive and negative aspects are varied, but from a variety of comments offered by the associates in Totara

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6 Two main structural constraints should be mentioned in this regard. Firstly, the better an associate is as a teacher, the greater is the likelihood that he or she will have a high commitment to the job and hence may not be able to give the fullest attention to the student being supervised. Secondly, with the expansion of in-service courses for teachers, many associates are not available for student supervision for part of the teaching year.
primary we can build up a composite picture that would be fairly typical in its application.

As seen by the associates in this school, practice teaching has two main purposes. First of all it allows the students the opportunity of putting into practice the theory that they've been learning in their college courses, and secondly it gives the student some practical teaching experience. In addition to this, but of lesser importance would be the fact that it allows the student to sample the job before making a final commitment.

"The purpose of teaching practice is obviously to put their theory into practice, isn't it. To give them the experience that they can't get while they're in a closed room without any kids. They've got a background through study, observation, discussion, their own experience as pupils. But I mean, finally, they have to put all this into practice, well try to. So I think the teaching practice is a pretty important thing. It's the only way really of sampling the job they're going to do."  [Associate, 2.42]

The importance of practice teaching for the student can be seen to derive not only from the practicality of being able to share experiences and knowledge with another teacher in a cooperative situation but also from the pragmatic relevance that it has for the student as she approaches the time for taking up her first teaching position.

7 No assumption is being made as to the representativeness of these statements or the typicality of the associates. The school had been selected with the help of the Teachers college and there was therefore a better than average possibility that these associates would be regarded by the college as being "good" associates. The comments are therefore intended to be contextual rather than "representative".
"It's one of the few occasions in their whole teaching life that they're going to be able to work with another teacher and share their experiences, share their knowledge, in a situation that's designed just to allow them to do that. It would probably never happen again. Quite, quite excellent. And presumably they're working with teachers who are interested enough to want to help them. (Associate, 5.102)

The students who were the focus for the present study were in their third year and, for them, their practice teaching section was likely to have special significance. An associate commented on this significance in the following terms:

"On your last section you're just about a nervous wreck because all of a sudden you realise that you've got a class next year and when you analyse it all back, you rely on your section notes. I know the first week that I had a class of my own I, the first thing I thought of was my teaching sections, what did I do there, you know, how did I do that. I didn't go back and refer to my college notes. I think they should have more sections out, I really do. Their teaching practice is a hundred times more important than their college work." (Associate, 2.43)

Being an Associate

For these particular teachers, being an Associate had a number of positive aspects to it, aspects which included repaying a professional "debt" and the stimulation that came from contact with students.

"You're giving something back into the system to repay what you got out of it when you were training. I think probably it's recognising that we have to help these people, the students. I think the people who become associates are, by and large, pretty sincere people. We talked about the benefits, I don't know whether you'd regard the extra pay as a benefit. Some might. Some may see the help that comes from the student as a benefit, but I think they're looking at it from a selfish point of view. I don't think the majority feel that way. I think they all recognise the need to help these people." (Associate, 2.28)
It almost certainly isn't the case that all associates would react with equal enthusiasm to the sort of stimulation that students might bring to their classroom, but these associates were unanimous in their comments about the value that they derived from their contact with students. The following comment is typical.

"One of the things it does is bring a freshness into your own thinking. It's quite challenging really to have younger people working with you. People who are fresh and very, very enthusiastic. They ask a wide range of searching questions and you have to provide answers. This is good from our point of view. Sometimes it's a little frustrating though to see your own inner weaknesses exposed. But I think if you're sharing ideas, going over planning, talking about why you do things, it clarifies your own thinking, it broadens your thinking. Most of the students who come in are very capable people and they require sensible and in-depth type answers. They're not interested in superficial sorts of replies. So from this point of view, it's good. It's a good refresher for us, it really is." (Associate, 5.92)

Some associates might be threatened by this particular aspect of working with students, but these associates gave no indication whatsoever of this.

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8 One of the students at Totara commented on a previous associate in the following terms: "She told me what to do exactly, everything was her way, there was no way for any of my idea. She told me right from the start she wasn't interested in stupid modern ideas from college. She did things her way and she had no time for modern people" (5.80). We have no way of knowing how "typical" this associate was in her orientation to students. If a student complains about an associate, though, the situation is checked out by college staff in the course of their visits to the school and if the complaints are found to have some substance then the college will restrict its use of that associate as far as possible. It may be, of course, that the "problem" is merely a result of "personality clash".
Another positive aspect to being an associate is the fact that it allows the teacher some free time for administrative chores, for giving individualised instruction or even just for lesson preparation. The use that associates like to make of this free time is indicated by the following comment that was made by an associate in response to being asked what having a student meant to her.

"Well it means three things. First of all it frees me to give special attention to children in my class who need individual attention. I can spend more time with them. It also means that I have time for administrative chores that I didn’t have before, and I can also spend more time on preparation." [Associate, 2.28]

This "free time" has to be seen, however, in the context of additional demands that are made on the associate's time.

"When you add it all up it comes out about even. I mean when you look at the time you have to spend out of class with the student, preparing the teaching programme and talking about how the lessons are going, and compare it to the free time you get, it works out just about even." [Associate, 1.39]

Lastly, and fairly obviously, the fact that the student helps the associate with the teaching programme is another positive aspect to being an associate.

"They’re a marvellous help in the classroom. We can get more work done, you can have a one to one basis with a child that needs extra work. I don’t always give them the one to one because quite often there’s a slow child and it’s very frustrating to give them that to work with all the time, so we usually take turn about and I treat them as an equal." [Associate, 4.92]

These positive aspects would vary in significance, of course, depending on whether the student concerned was...
a first, second or third year student.

The associates were also well aware of the negative implications of having a student in their classrooms.

"It has its compensations, but it's still hard work having a student in your class. You have to be in your class most of the time, and after the student goes it often takes a lot of work to get your class back to where you had it before. I had a student last year, and after she went I almost had to go back to scratch with the class. It might be the way they dismiss the class by just saying "okay, you can go", or it might be like Susan's lesson this morning. She didn't leave herself enough time. She wasn't able to round the lesson off and she didn't get any marking done. Now that's bad. She'll learn, of course, but it gets the children used to bad habits." [Associate, 2.29]

As well as having supervision responsibilities towards the student, the associate also has a continuing teaching responsibility towards the children in her classroom and it is clear that it is this latter responsibility that sets the context for the exercise of the former responsibility. The associate's prime concern is for the welfare of the children in the classroom and it is for this reason that such "repair jobs" as need to be done due to the incompetence of the student must be done immediately before the children suffer unduly.

"One of the things that can be something of a disadvantage is if you find that you hand over part of your programme planning or the execution of your planning to the student and it doesn't go quite the way you hoped it would go. You sometimes have repair jobs to do later after the students gone, or even while the student's still there because I mean our prime concern is still the children and whatever comes through must be worthwhile, it must be in terms of your objectives and if the student hasn't quite made it this way, you have to do something about it." [Associate, 5.93]
The associate's strategy for handling this could be phrased in the following terms:

"If it's something small that you hope she's going to find out for herself, okay let it go for a while, but if it's something that's detrimental to the children's benefit, then tactfully suggest that she give it up." [Associate, 2.48]

An associate provides an example of a "serious" situation that couldn't be allowed to continue.

"If she's taking a reading group, the children know that there is not supposed to be any talking. They've had the work explained to them, they know what they're doing, and they go. Now if she's taking a reading group and she doesn't now and then say "Peter, on with your work please", if she lets it just build up and build up to the stage where she can't hear herself taking the reading group, and the children at their desks are just making a noise, if that was to continue day after day after day, then by the time she'd left I'd have to go right back and retrain those children. And it doesn't just go by saying "We do have quietness", you've got to work it back over days and days. So that before she takes a day of control or a week of control, you've got to have been in the room to make sure that these kinds of things haven't been going on." [Associate, 2.48]

An associate teacher who was supervising students from City Teachers college might expect to be involved with a number of students for between fifteen and twenty two weeks out of the teaching year and an obvious implication of this is that the associate may have difficulty in maintaining standards in the classroom because of the fairly regular stream of students.

"Well last year and the year before I had a student every time they went out on a section and sometimes it was very annoying because you'd finish with a student on Friday and virtually another would turn up on the Monday. One section finished up at a holiday and then straight after the holiday I had another student and it wasn't very good because the particular
student I had just had didn’t have particularly good control of the children and the things that she let them away with I wouldn’t have let them away with. And I’d liked to have had at least a week to sort of say to the children "Well look, that’s not neat enough and this needs to be done", and that sort of thing and get them back into line for the next student." [Associate, 4.108]

An associate in this situation has at least two options - supervise fewer students over the year and/or maintain a tighter control over what the student does in the classroom. As an associate gains in experience it is likely that this problem would diminish somewhat. Even if there is no serious undermining of standards in the classroom, however, the numbers of students that an associate has to supervise over the year does tend to interfere with the relationship that the associate is able to establish with the children in the class. Commenting on an instance where a student had been ill for a week and the associate had had the class to herself, the associate said:

"In a way I quite appreciated having the class on my own that week because ehm, how can I put it? You can lose the relationship that you’ve built up with the children. The children are inclined to feel that you don’t care about them. You’re always in the staffroom, you’re always in the sports shed, you’re always doing something else, you don’t care what they’re doing and that’s the feeling that they get. It’s quite valid that they do get that feeling, you know." [Associate, 4.110]

There is a more subtle way, though, in which the presence of a student in the classroom can interfere with the relationship between the associate and the children. The presence of a student often means that the associate's behaviour in the classroom may have to be modified in response to the "audience".
"A teacher establishes a certain sort of relationship with the class, they have understandings that have developed. Sometimes if the teacher's under stress or things are not going as planned you use certain ways of modifying the situation. You might start growling, you might let off a bit of steam, a little bit of righteous indignation. If you have a student you feel restrained, you think this is not a good image and you tend to modify your performance, and really putting on performances may not be quite in character with you, or with the relationship you've already got. This is one of the things that can happen. I think you're very, very conscious that you're under observation. Every little mannerism, every little figure of speech, everything. Everything you write down is looked at, measured and evaluated and this can be pretty demanding. Even though the student is not doing this in a critical sense, they're doing it in a very positive way, it's still happening." [Associate, 5.101]

An associate's concern in this regard would be related to an honest appreciation of personal limitations as a teacher.

"You've got to be careful, I mean I'm not the best of teachers. No one can say that. Sometimes you've got to let them know that you're basically just an ordinary teacher. You may have strengths, but you've certainly got weaknesses. I may say "If you use red chalk on the blackboard it doesn't show up very well" and then in the next ten minutes I might be using red chalk at the blackboard myself, you know. So I mean, you can't put yourself up on a pedestal." [Associate, 2.42]

By far the major disadvantage to being an associate, however, could be phrased in terms of the "gatekeeper" role that an associate is required to fulfill. The "bad" student is a rarity rather than a regular occurrence, but when the associate does come across the one that should be "phased out", this is a cause for concern.

"You get a very poor student, and there's the odd one that you do get, that is disinterested
that drifted into teaching. They don't like teaching, it's a job. Pay day every fortnight, they're there for the money. Yes, they're a real headache. I get very cross with them because I love teaching, I love children and these people make me cross because they're keeping others out that would be dedicated teachers. Yes, this is a disadvantage and a lot of work has to go into getting rid of these people." [Associate, 4.93]

The associate's professional responsibility therefore operates at two levels. In the first place the associate is "putting something back into the system" by participating in the training of a new generation of teachers, and at a personal level this clearly has positive implications for the individual associate. In the second place the associate contributes to the maintenance of professional standards by fulfilling a role in the "gatekeeper" mechanism of the training programme. The implications for the individual associate are somewhat less positive in this regard since this can often involve the associate in unpleasantness.

"My only reservation about the assessment system is if I have to turn in a bad report on a student. I'm an easy going sort of person and I like people to think that I'm not a stirrer but last year, for example, I had a student who just caused me so much trouble. I ended up not showing the report to her because I didn't want another confrontation. I would say to her that I'd like her to take a reading lesson for me the next Monday and she would say on Friday that she would do it over the weekend "If she had time". Her attitude was all wrong. She was a know-all, she had all the right answers but despite the fact that she knew what I expected, she still wouldn't do it." [Associate, 2.31]

The associate's "gatekeeper" role should be seen in perspective, however. We have commented in an earlier context that the associate makes an important contribution in any teaching training programme, but it is necessary
that we clarify what the nature of that contribution is.

The Associate as "Helper"

It is unquestionably the case that these Associates saw themselves as "helpers" rather than as "gatekeepers" or as "assessors".

"I think if it comes to the crunch I'm there to help rather than to assess. But in order to help you've got to assess, haven't you. You've got to say "Well the lesson was good because of this, this and this, but I would suggest...". Or "Did you perhaps think of doing that, that and that?". "How did you feel the lesson went?". I think if you just criticise and that's it, well you might as well not be there, it's pretty demoralising. Because most students know what they've done wrong, and if they don't, well it's up to you to point it out."

(Associate, 2.42)

Similar comments were made by other associates.

"Perhaps some of our thinking is towards assessment, but I would say that most of it is towards helping the person. I'm sure that's right. We don't consciously watch them take a lesson and then give them eight out of ten or whatever. You're looking for things that went well and saying "Now look, you do this well, use this as a technique, you're good at this, build on it". And this is how we try to do it. You are there to help them really."

(Associate, 5.101)

This point was well appreciated by the students who shared in this conception of "associate-as-helper".

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9 This conception of the associate's role may be founded in the fact that although the associate plays a part in the formal assessment system by completing an assessment form at the end of the practice teaching section, any decision as to whether the student should fail or pass remains the prerogative of the college. The associate's involvement in the assessment system is therefore not a decisive one as far as the student or the associate is concerned. It is interesting that the lecturers who were involved in taking crit lessons at Totara during this section were equally, if not more so, insistent that they saw their role as that of a "helper" rather than an "assessor". Whether this conception would be shared by other college staff is open to speculation.
The associate, in fact, was expected (by these students as well as by the associates themselves) to be approachable and understanding, to be honest and constructive in offering criticisms to the student, to allow the student the flexibility to experiment and not to be too restrictive with regard to the student's classroom activities. But above all, the associate was expected to give advice and guidance to the student.

In order for the associate to manage the tensions, though, between "helping" and "assessing", there had to be a mutual appreciation between the associate and the student that their interaction in the classroom was not bounded by the rules of "normal" social interaction. According to Goffman (1967c), much of the stability in everyday social interaction derives from the operation of two basic interactional rules: the rule of "self respect", and the rule of "considerateness". The rule of "self respect" requires that in our interaction with others we should, as far as possible, act defensively in order to safeguard our own face, or reputation, or social standing, call it what you will. The rule of "considerateness" on the other hand requires that in our interaction with others we should go to certain lengths in order to protect the face of these others. Basically, what the application of these two rules implies is that

Characteristics of the individual's behaviour most commonly associated with these rules are "poise" and "tactfulness". Someone who consistently and persistently breaks the rule of "self respect" would be considered by others to be "shameless" whereas someone who consistently and persistently broke the rule of "considerateness" would be regarded by others as being "heartless".
we should appropriately temper our criticism of self as well as of others in order to ensure a stability in social interaction. But in the practice teaching situation these rules have to be modified. If the associate is to be able to "help" the student, then the associate must feel free to criticise the student's performance in the classroom and the student in turn, must feel obliged to admit to mistakes and incompetence, where these occur. It is fairly obvious that the associate cannot help a student who is not prepared to admit to failings and seek advice and help.

"Some students initially are too shy to let you know about their downfalls. I had one student who took the class on her own and I knew damned well the lesson hadn't gone well because when I came into the room the children were talking and yattering and tearing around. And I said to her afterwards "How did the lesson go?" and she said "Oh fine". I said "Did you have any behaviour problems?" and she said "no". And I knew she had. But by the end of the section she was at the stage where she would tell me of things that hadn't gone right because then I could help her". [Associate, 2.39]

Until the associate and the student reach agreement as to the "true" nature of the situation, however, there is likely to be a fair degree of negotiation involved in establishing just how much criticism can and should be offered and how much honesty can and should be expected. This is made even more difficult by the fact that the associate is also likely to be concerned with building up the student's confidence. The tensions that this can lead to are apparent in the following comment by a student where she was remarking upon events that occurred during the first few days of her practice teaching section at Totara.
"The children were really restless through the morning story, it was a really boring part of it, I don’t blame them, but she’d just given me the book, I didn’t know I was going to read it and I hadn’t looked through it. And she said afterwards "Oh that was good", and I thought "You liar" [laughs] "it was not". I thought "Oh I don’t like that", because, you know, it makes you feel so small, you get what I mean. Either it’s good or it’s not, and I thought "No, be honest". But I think she’s trying to boost my confidence. I sort of know myself whether it’s good or not. If I think it’s good and she says it’s good then I think "good". But I sort of know where I stand now, I think she knows I can take criticism." [Student, 3.24]

Once there has been this negotiation between the associate and the student, however, such that there is a mutual appreciation that this is not a "normal" situation, then they can work to new rules\textsuperscript{11}. Even though it is mutually acknowledged, however, that the rules of "self respect" and "considerateness" can be legitimately broken in this situation - and in fact we would argue that the situation depends on this very fact for its nature - there will still be rules concerning the extent to which these can "justifiably" or "reasonably"

\textsuperscript{11} One of the students took the class on her own for the first time in week three, and at the beginning of the morning break the researcher visited the classroom to see how she had got on. In reply to the researcher’s questions the student answered that things had gone fine and that she hadn’t had any problems. At this point the associate came into the room and the researcher withdrew to the back of the room. From the conversation that developed it was obvious that the student had had more than a few problems in the classroom and the rest of the break was taken up with the associate offering advice to the student as to what strategies she should adopt with the class after the break. The researcher had fairly good rapport with the student, but it was obvious from this situation that the nature of the relationship between associate and student was quite different from that between the researcher and the student.
be modified. If the student goes overboard with self-recrimination, then there will be apprehension on the part of the associate that the student will destroy whatever self-confidence she may or may not have possessed in the first place. On the other hand, if the associate is overly critical, then this is likely to stultify the student's performance. But this does not mean that criticism is to be avoided.

"I don't think there's been any occasion where I've been afraid to say what I have felt. I don't think you have to be unkind. I think if you're going to make a judgement that the student might not like then you've got to consider it very, very closely before you make it. You've got to be sure there are no prejudices brought into your thinking and this sort of thing, because it can happen. But if you're sure then you just go ahead and say so. I think you've got a responsibility to be forthright if it's a considered sort of statement. I don't think you should be destructive at any stage and if you do criticise them I think you should be prepared to do it constructively." [Associate, 5.100]

The associate's ultimate assessment of the student's performance during the section is brought together in the report that has to be completed at the end of the section but it is clearly an expectation in the situation that this report should contain nothing "new" to the student in the way of criticisms.

"Nothing that goes in the report should be something new to her. It should just be a confirmation of what's been going on over the five week period. It would be terrible for her for me to say all the time "You're running a marvellous programme, it's just fantastic. That's right, keep on going with this spirit" and then in the report to put down something like "Control is lacking" or "Understanding the children is not shown very clearly" or that her planning is not up to expectation. These are things that I should have said to her before so that she would have a chance to tidy them up herself." [Associate, 4.102]
In many respects this confirms our assertion that the associates and students in this situation "defined" the situation in terms of the associate "helping" the student, rather than merely "assessing" her.

The Student as "Subordinate"

In all of this, of course, it is clear that the student's position is that of the subordinate. Despite the fact that assertions may be made in the situation to the effect that the student is to be regarded as an "equal", as a "colleague", or as an "associate"\textsuperscript{12}, it nevertheless remains the case that the student is the subordinate social actor. In classroom interaction there is a constant reaffirmation going on between the associate and the student that the situation is "in fact" what they think it is. The student defers to the associate and the associate offers advice and guidance to the student and as such they engage in instrumental activity. Their mutual activities have an additional expressive dimension to them, however, insofar as they are reflexively maintaining the very reality of the situation that they exist within. If the student wasn't deferring or the associate not offering some sort of advice, it would not be an associate-student relationship.

\textsuperscript{12} This was a theme that occurred often during the field work where associates would attempt to play down the status differential between themselves and their students. A college staff member had the following comment to make: "I don't think that in schools they should be referred to as students. Let's call her something else, let's call the student in the school an associate teacher, give her some status. Because they in fact are an associate teacher in that role. And the person they're working with could be called a master teacher or something else." [6.83]
Although students are appreciative of being accorded "colleague" status, or of being cast in the "teacher" role by their associates this does not completely negate their perception that their position in the situation is one of subordination.

"I feel like a guest in the classroom most of the time rather than another teacher because if I come in here - I've got my ideas on teaching - and I take over and I say "Well this is what you do, and this is what you do", well the teacher's not going to like that because theoretically she knows more than me. I find that I've just got to mold into that teacher and try to observe and note the good points about her teaching that I want to use and chuck away what's bad." [Student, 3.22]

They may be encouraged by the associate to regard themselves as being of equal status with the associate but the practical implications of this are not always able to be carried through to their logical conclusion because of inherent contradictions in the relationship. In addition to this, the student finds the "equality" strange, or the associate momentarily forgets that they are supposed to be equal.

"You know, she says "Just use me as though I'm your helper, your advisor" and this sort of thing which I find very hard to do [laughs]. I don't sort of like saying to her all the time "Well look, you take this group over here". It's like telling her what to do." [Student, 5.13]

An associate commented on the status differential as being "one of the unfortunate things of the set up" and offered the following example as an illustration of what

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13 The students who were interviewed were insistent that, compared to other schools they had been in, Totara was extremely good in this regard.
can happen in the classroom.

"There was an example yesterday when we were having maths and I said to Jocelyn beforehand that we'll just take it together and I know I did the wrong thing, it sort of hit me afterwards. You see I said (to the children) "I'll mark the first column with you and Miss Smith will mark the second" and that was all right. I went to mark the third and then went on to the fourth just as she came up to take over, and I suppose the children would sense that okay I was the boss and she wasn't. But there are other times when I've said to the children "Oh you'll have to ask Miss Smith about that". [Associate, 3.102]

The Student's Marginality

In addition to being a subordinate in the situation the student also occupies a marginal position insofar as her involvement with the class is short term, and both the student and the associate have to place an early high priority on the student "fitting in", "getting bearings" and establishing "how things are done around here". The early days of the practice teaching section are obviously quite important as the associate attempts to "size up" the student, and the student attempts to establish just "where she stands" with the associate. The manner in which this

14 The necessity for the student to "fit in" is fairly obvious, but we should not lose sight of the fact that the associate should also show some flexibility in the matter. "When you take on the job of being an associate teacher you know that you're going to have to fit in with the student to some extent. But it's very important to remember that the needs of the school, the kiddies, the school programme and the planning must come first. And in simple terms the student fits into the school's policy and plan. But I think no school or plan is so inflexible that you can't mold it to fit the student's needs." [Associate, 5.96].

15 These are themes that featured prominently in the researcher's field notes for the first half of the practice teaching section. The items concerned ranged from procedures for paying tea money through to classroom procedures. In this latter context it would not be unusual for an associate to provide an explicit "display" of classroom procedures solely for the benefit of the student.
is achieved will vary from situation to situation - and we'll deal with the issue of the associate's "sizing up" of the student in the next chapter - but it clearly is the case that the student will attach some importance to finding out "where she stands" with the associate. Once this has been established it is likely that the student's subjective perception of the practice teaching section will change for the better.

"I'd say it took me the first three days to get used to her, but now, I like it cause this is the first time I've really had a chance. I mean, we've done theory at college all about control, but you wonder if you really can control the children till you try it out and she's the first teacher who's really let me do that. Now I know where I stand, and I'm really enjoying it." [Student, 3.19]

It is likely to be the case, however, that even after the associate and the student have established a basis for a working relationship there will still be "incidents" in the classroom due to the associate forgetting to explain some particular aspect of classroom procedure to the student [16], or to the student being uncertain as to how much flexibility of operation she might or might not have. It is this element of negotiation and consolidation that gives the relationship its dynamism.

[16] In one classroom that was observed, the student had difficulties in two separate maths lessons because of this. In one lesson she used the "wrong" method for subtraction and the associate offered an "apology" in her comments on the lesson plan: "I apologise for assuming that the way the children are now taught subtraction is different from the old way of "borrow and pay back" and I should have told you". [Doc.77] In the other lesson she was unaware of the fact that the maths problems were set out differently in the two maths texts being used and this led to confusion.
The potential for "incidents" also arises from the fact that the associate and the student may not share similar views on teaching procedures or standards in the classroom.

"She has a tremendous approach with the kids and they're a difficult class to handle. She has far more understanding, she can sort of tune into their needs. I'm too inclined to sort of get, ehm, perhaps I've got higher sorts of standards I expect from them in things like courtesy and manners and general work tidiness and this sort of thing, just the basic things. And this is where I clash, you see. What she would accept from one child, it would be good I suppose, she would say that from her experience of seeing this child's work, whereas I come into the situation, I see a child’s work perhaps a few times and I say "Well I think you can do better than that". Now perhaps that kid is pushing himself, but it's difficult to judge when you're only in the classroom for a short time. And that's where clashes come with associates. I will tell them one thing when she's told them something else and I haven't been aware of it. And you sort of feel a bit bad about that but then, she's understanding about that and she knows what's going on." [Student, 5.13]

This is an aspect of the classroom situation that the student has to adjust to in order to "fit in", and this is made easier if she is able to see the situation in perspective. A college lecturer provides the following insight.

"The student has to sort of slot into an existing set of conditions, rules if you like, that that teacher who runs the class has established early in the year, the kinds of routines, the kinds of behaviours and so on that the teacher expects from them. Now one teacher's expectations will be different from another's so that the student has a fairly difficult task sometimes to fit into someone else's scheme of things. And on some occasions they can be a little bit put off by the fact that this teacher as a person would operate differently from the way they feel they can. But they've got to realise that what that teacher's doing fits the context of that teacher's personality and their working agreement, or the contract that that teacher has made with that class. They come into the situation and they've got to be sensitive and aware to that and realise
that they've got to sort of maintain some of those routines even although they personally may not wish to do them in their own class." [College Lecturer, 5.79]

The student's marginal position means that she has to "negotiate" her relationship with the children in the class, as well as with the associate, and this also is a matter of some concern to the student. This was particularly the case in Totara primary where it was apparent that the students experienced problems in classroom control, much more so than they had experienced in other schools.

In conversation with the researcher one of the students commented that she found a few of the children very difficult to handle, in fact they were the most difficult children she'd ever had to handle. It seemed to her that there were few restraints on their behaviour. When it was suggested, though, that she wouldn't have had any outright behaviour problems in the class, she replied "no, not more than ten". She continued:

"There are a couple of kids in here who will persist in unintentionally interrupting, and this sort of discourtesy annoys me considerably. This has been the major problem. You know, you'll be in the middle of explaining something on the blackboard and somebody will just stand up and tell somebody else to go get stuffed, in the middle of the classroom. You know, it's a difficult situation to handle." [Student, 5.16] 17

One of the other students drew comfort from the fact that if she could control the class she had been allocated

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17 In referring to this particular disruptive pupil, the student described him as "the sort of kid you'd like to keep out of the class while you're taking your crit lesson". [5.17]
to in Totara, then she would be alright when she got her
first class as a teacher.

"I know that I won't get a class worse than
this because this isn't the best area and a
lot of them are sort of problems. If I can
control this class I'll be alright. They
are the worst class I've had to control."
[Student, 3.31]

Ten days later, though, at the end of the following
week, this student was a bit more sanguine in terms of
how she would control the class during her crit lesson.

"I've never had such a loosely disciplined
class and the first couple of weeks with
these kids I thought "Help, there's going
to be a riot when the lecturer's in here".
I was really worried how I'd keep them
quiet, but they seem to have knuckled down
to be a bit better so I'm not too worried
about that." [Student, 4.78]

Such control problems as the student might have need
not be unexpected to her, however, if she is aware of the
nature of the position that she occupies in the classroom.

In referring to problems that she had during her first
day of control at Totara, one of the students remarked:

"I expected it. I mean, I had a talk to one
of the teachers at college and he said you've
got to expect it. They want to find out their
boundaries and if they've got fairly broad
boundaries of control with their teacher, they're
going to see if they can stretch them even further
with you, so it's to be expected." [Student, 4.78]

This was a typification of children of this age that
was shared by other students.

18 Although it almost certainly is the case that students
will invariably experience control problems in their
first few weeks with almost any new class, we should
not lose sight of the fact that these students
volunteered the information that these were the most
difficult pupils that they had had to teach.
"They try you, you know. If you say something, especially when you're a student, they want to see how far they can go. You know if they break a rule, whether I'm going to say anything to them about it, or whether I just let it go. The fact that you are a student teacher makes a lot of difference. I'm sure it does. Because they know that you're not experienced and they know they can get away with things and that. And they're right, they can." [Student, 5.33]

A number of the associates were insistent, however, that the children would be likely to "play up" with anyone who was new to the class.

"It's not just a student, it's any other person coming into the classroom. It's me at the beginning of the year, it's any teacher. But control really is the biggest problem for a student. If they can establish their authority over a class then they'll be right, but if they can't, then the kids will take advantage of her. You get someone else coming into the room and they don't know their standards so the children will try and have them on. They might make one helluva noise and if you turn round to them and say "Come on, fold your arms, there's no need for noise like that, go back and do it again", they know why because you've set them a certain standard. This is what you train a student to do. Like this afternoon when she was taking the class, the kids were sitting on the mat fidgeting, with one eye on me to see whether I'd say anything. But she brought them back into line so they know "Okay, she works to the same standards as her". But she has to establish that standard early." [Associate, 2.15]

Another factor that enters into this - and it's an aspect of the student's performance that we'll take up in a later chapter - is whether or not the student can make her lessons interesting. The "formula" seems to be "bored children are more likely to play up and misbehave".19

19 In chapter seven we will substitute the technical term "typification" for this lay term "formula" and show the relevance that this typification has for "doing teaching" in a competent manner.
"It also depends on the work you're taking with the children. You know, if you've got something that's really interesting for them to do, they haven't got time to misbehave, they're not interested in it. Some have this ability naturally and others have to learn it. It's the hardest thing of the lot to learn because until you've got it you can't teach confidently or competently." (Associate, 3.97)

The student's marginal position in the classroom also has further implications for her relationship with the children. Insofar as she can't expect the same loyalty, obedience or response from the children as they give to the associate, then the student has to try and establish a basis of friendship with the children. She has to try and establish the rapport that will be the basis for her teaching relationship with them.

"The children come up to me as well, you know, and talk to me as much as they do to Mrs McInnes which makes me feel good. If they didn't talk to me in the morning I wouldn't feel very good because they're not going to talk to you if they don't really like you. That's the real test, when they'll come up to you and talk to you freely. You can't get on very well with children if they're not going to talk to you." (Student, 4.83)

The student has to tread a thin line here, however, between familiarity and maintaining discipline.

"I think that these students realise the children are having them on to a certain extent but they don't really know what to do about it. But it's something that they have to learn because in a sense the students are out to try and be a best friend to everyone. They want every child in the room to like them, they want to be looked on as somebody who's somebody special. Well they can be somebody special but the children must know where they stand." (Associate, 4.63)
Practice Teaching:
Not a "True"
Teaching Situation

As the student comes to terms with her position of subordination and marginality in the classroom situation, she increasingly realises, if she didn't realise before, that the situation she finds herself in is not a "true" teaching situation.

"The whole thing, it's so false, you know, teaching practice. It's not a true teaching situation. The only true teaching situation is when you've got your own class and you're free to guide them in your own way. In this situation you're sort of teaching through somebody else's shell all the time, and you teach along their patterns, you know, you teach the way they teach. You've got to because if you didn't do that then the associate could get rather annoyed if you didn't carry on running the classroom the way she had run it. I mean it's their classroom." (Student, 5.9) 20

This realisation that it is not a "true" teaching situation derives from more than just the student's position of subordination and marginality, however. Insofar as the student invariably has to reflect on what it is she is doing in the classroom, she does not share the taken-for-granted, non-reflexive attitude that a teacher has towards her classroom activities. As we

20 This realisation may lead to a measure of cynicism in the student's orientation to practice teaching and her estimation of it's value. The following statement from one of the students at Totara would not be typical of all students but it clearly reflects this cynicism: "I think that apart from the fact that you see what teachers are doing and things like that, the actual teaching experience is a waste of time. The main thing is that it's a very false situation. People at the college look upon it differently. They think it's really tremendous to get out into a class and to walk the kids in a straight line from the school to the library. The novelty wears off." (Student, 5.10)
shall see in a later chapter, at this stage in her training the student still does not share completely in the social stock of knowledge that is the teacher's and to this extent she is hindered in her attempts to rely on recipe knowledge to conduct her affairs in the classroom. Instead she must consistently attend to her environment and carefully appraise her projected actions before embarking on them. These are themes which have an obvious relevance to our earlier conception of the student teacher as a "stranger". It is in this sense that we could suggest that the situation requires the student to "play" at being a teacher (in the strict theatrical sense of the word "play").

One positive implication of this is that the practice situation does not possess the fatefulness of the "real" thing and the student is thereby afforded the luxury of making mistakes or errors under conditions where the repercussions might not be too serious

21 Erving Goffman (1975:65) makes the following relevant comment: "The world of practice is both simpler and more complex than that of actual "live" conditions. Insofar as a real performance depends on how the performer manages himself under fateful conditions, a dry run can only approach "real" conditions, never achieve them."
experimenting with her teaching.

"We must remember that at the end of their third year they’re going to be given a class of their own. This is too late in the piece to start experimenting, trying out ideas, this is far too late because they’re working with real live kids. You can imagine the situation where they have a class of good average kids at the beginning of the year and perhaps through faulty techniques, lack of experience, at the end of the year they send on children who are retarded readers. You know they could create a problem for that school that would take perhaps several years to repair. So these people have to be competent. You’re not asking for a great degree of competency, but at least to the stage where the children shouldn’t suffer."

[Associate, 6.102]

The students who provided the focus for this study were, of course, third year students and it is therefore reasonable that much of their activities during this section should be oriented to the situation that they would find themselves in during the following year - their "first year out".

"I have to look to next year. She’s learning in Teachers college a lot of theory, she’s getting the practical from my room. And the practical is what she’s going to be concerned with next year. She’s going to have a class of her own and she’s going to have the responsibility of those children for a year. She’s got to be able to manage her time as well as have good preparation ready so that the year will go successfully for her. But it’s all based on the fact that we have to look ahead to next year. I have to make a judgement of just how well she can manage a class so that the Teachers college people can assess too if she’s ready to go out."

[Associate, 4.62]

Thoughts of the following year gave an immediacy to the thinking of many third year students.

"I think the students get this fear, this panic about halfway through the year because, you know, they’ve got only six months left at college and they don’t have all the answers yet. They may
have wasted some of their early time at college and now they’re getting a bit more switched on, more concerned, and the control angle is something that always bothers them. In my courses on the role of the teacher with third years I try to placate them on this. A huge concern that many of them have, you know "Will I be able to control them?". I say "You’re worrying unnecessarily. It won’t really be a problem". (College Lecturer, 6.83)

The most important implication from the point of view of these students, though, is that it serves to modify the expectations that associate’s have of their performance in the classroom by putting that performance in a practical perspective. This applies particularly in the area of lesson planning and preparation where a student is normally expected to go into great detail in her preparations for a lesson. The following comment from an associate would be typical of expectations in this regard.

"Planning is all important when you’re a beginning teacher. You can do less preparation as the years go by and you get more experience, but it’s essential that you discipline yourself to thoroughly prepare lessons when you’re beginning." (Associate, 2.31)

The student has to be made aware of the fact, though, that in the actual teaching situation she won’t be able to devote so much time to planning and preparation.

"I believe in the early stages of their teaching that clear planning with a clear statement of objectives, with thought given to the kind of key questions that they’re going to use and all that sort of thing can be highly supportive in their teaching. And I usually find it so, and for that reason that’s something I would look for in the student’s planning. At the same time I’ve suggested to two of the third years (at Totara) that now that they’ve done that they’ve got to look for a protection for themselves next year when they’ve got to
plan in every area of the work they’re taking. For short cuts in planning because they’re just putting so much work into it that they’ll drive themselves up the wall if they carried on that way.”

[College Lecturer, 5.51]

Putting planning and preparation in perspective is something that the associate would do as a matter of course in offering written or verbal comments to the student on her performance. Sometimes, however, the associate has to take slightly more drastic steps to remedy the unfortunate effects of a less than satisfactory previous section that the student might have had.

"Jocelyn is having problems with the amount of work you have to do to be a teacher. The associate she had on her section before this was in her fifties and teaching was her whole life. She’d be up until midnight writing up lesson plans. She’d get to school at five past eight and have Jocelyn there until half past four. She didn’t get any teaching practice as such because the associate said she hadn’t done enough reading or theory. She spent all her time writing out lesson plans and taking observational notes. She said she was exhausted by the end of it and was on the point of giving up teaching. So I’m having to start from scratch as it were and show her how little preparation in fact you have to do in teaching. She’s taking the class until eleven this morning and I’m hoping she’ll see that you don’t have to do too much. I said to her that if you take the time on Thursday afternoon to prepare your programme for the next week, once you get started the kids go on their own. They know what’s to be done next and they get on with it. All you have to do is get things started and then they run by themselves." [Associate, 1.39]

The advice was not lost on her student who was grateful for the advice that was offered.

"Enough preparation is if I have got enough to carry on well in all that I’m doing. That’s what she calls good preparation. I’d say if I wrote a whole lot and had a bad lesson she’d
think there was something wrong with me (laughs). She thinks that I should be able to get it within a page. She says you’ve got to cut down because you’re not going to have time to do that, which is true. She showed me ways in which she said I could get the children to do a lot of the stuff that I’d written up at home, which has helped. It’s drilled into you at college, you must have lesson plans for this and this. It really looks fantastic, you open your folder and here’s a model plan and it’s very idealistic, but it’s not very practical in the classroom and that’s what she’s really trying to point out to me.”
(Student, 3.30)

This is clearly a very important dimension to the "helping" relationship that the associate hopes to develop with her student. The "first year out", then, is a significant factor in influencing what takes place during the practice teaching section of a third year student and it is something that is looked forward to by the student with mixed feelings.

"Sometimes I look forward to next year. If the lesson goes well you think it’ll be good next year with a class all the time. But when you get sick of it or something you think "oh hell", you know. I suppose underneath you get pretty nervous because you don’t know what class you’re going to get, or what age group.”
(Student, 4.82)

Conclusion

For the student teacher, practice teaching is an opportunity to engage in something that approximates "the real thing" and to attempt to put theory into practice. It will usually be approached with a mixture of anticipation and initial trepidation, and will often be viewed retrospectively with feelings of frustration or, occasionally, satisfaction. For some it is a time for cynicism, for others it is a time for reviewing the
decision to "go teaching", and for still others it is a time of commitment and fulfillment. Whatever the student's orientation, however, it would be generally accepted that going out on a practice teaching section is a testing time for the student with new demands to be met, a new Associate and class to "fit in" with, and the ever recurrent possibility of "behaviour problems" and "losing control". In the next chapter we will look in more detail at the "testing" dimensions to this situation.
CHAPTER SIX

PRACTICE TEACHING AS

A "TESTING SITUATION"

Developing from this, we can suggest two main points. Firstly, it is often the case that social actors can be described as "estranged" (Schutz, 1964b). The degree or extent of the "estrangement" is dependent on the social actor's position in a social situation. For example, when the social actor is a "stranger" to the community, the degree of estrangement can be significant. The definition of "estrangement" will depend on the social actors involved in the situation. When a social actor is a "stranger", it is often the case that they are not physically present in the situation. Additionally, the social actor may need to achieve some level of "estrangement" in order to achieve their goals or objectives.
Introduction

We have commented in an earlier chapter on the taken-for-grantedness of competence in everyday life. Competence in everyday affairs, we suggested, involved recognising and employing "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance in daily interaction on the assumption that all communication between members is embedded within a body of knowledge that is shared-in-common and taken-for-granted. Deriving from this, Cicourel (1973:54) defined competent members of a collectivity as "those who can expect to manage their affairs without interference and be treated as acceptable types".

It was suggested, however, that there will be situations where social actors will not be assumed to possess the necessary competencies for performing "adequately" in a particular situation, and in these situations we can conceptualise the social actor's position as that of "the stranger" (Schutz, 1964b).

Developing from this, we can suggest that in such situations, it will often be the case that it will be the responsibility of "someone in the know" to enlighten the stranger as to "normal forms" of acceptable talk, action and appearance relevant to the situation at hand. Where, however, the degree or extent of the stranger's competence is problematic,

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1 The definition of "adequately" will be determined by the members of the collectivity. These members need not be physically present in the situation.

2 The social actor need not go outside his own society to achieve this status of "stranger". It is a feature of a pluralistic and complex society that there will always be collectivities and groups against which each of us must stand in the role of stranger.
then this is something that must be established, or "tested", before the interaction can assume its necessary taken-for-granted features. This "testing" can either be a negotiated feature of everyday life, and as such it will be a temporary initial phase to an interactional encounter, or it can be an explicit feature of everyday life where the "testing" has a continuing nature to it. In this latter situation, the "testing" will often be accompanied by the mediation to the stranger of acceptable standards of normal form talk, action and appearance and the expectation that the stranger will incorporate these standards into his or her performances in the situation.

Where the "main item of business" in a social situation is the testing by a superordinate of a subordinate's competence relative to a given social situation and the subsequent mediation of acceptable standards of normal form talk, action and appearance to the subordinate, then we have a "testing situation". We can suggest that the desired outcome of a "testing situation" will be the incorporation of these standards into the performance of the subordinate such that the subordinate can be perceived to appropriately incorporate conceptions of normal forms of talk, action and appearance into his or her performance in the situation.

It will be the purpose of this present chapter to explore the relevance of these comments to practice teaching as a "testing situation", but first, it would seem useful to delineate the parameters to the discussion that follows.

3 We are using the term "performance" here in the sense employed by Goffman (1971:19) to encompass "... all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers."
The Assessment of Competence in a Professional Training Situation

There are three main groups of "dramatis personae" in the situation that is under consideration. Firstly, there are the students who are undergoing professional training and as such are an important focus for the study. Secondly, there are the Associate teachers who have the responsibility of guiding, supervising and assessing the practical section of the professional training that takes place during practice teaching and who make a valuable contribution to the students' overall training in this regard. Thirdly, there are the college lecturers who come to the school during teaching practice and observe the students' crit lessons. They too are involved in guiding and assessing the students, but their contribution in the first of these areas is less important than that of the Associate.

Insofar as we are concerned with competence and its assessment in this situation it is obvious that there are

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4 Some commentators have referred to this as the "student teaching triad" (Yee, 1968).

5 The fact that the pupils have not been included as one of these "main groups" should not be taken to imply that as a group they have no significance in the situation under study. Nothing could be further from the truth. Given the analytical focus of the thesis, however, it will be appreciated that the pupils make no substantive or direct contribution to the "main business at hand" i.e. the assessment and development of the students' competencies as teachers. They can obviously affect this process by their classroom behaviour, and as such it is to be expected that they would provide an important "reference group" for the student, but their significance in this regard is an indirect one.
a number of assessment relationships possible here, and it is necessary that we identify the nature of these relationships so that we can place in context the particular focus that we want to take in this and the following chapter.

It is a central contention of the thesis that a "main item of business" in the practice teaching situation will be the assessment of the student's competence, by the Associate in particular, but also by the college lecturer who takes the student's critique lesson. Although it is likely to be the case that both of these groups will emphasise the "helping" aspect of their relationship with the student rather than the "assessment" aspect, it nevertheless remains the case that the student's performance during practice teaching has to be assessed. We have already dealt with this point in some detail in an earlier chapter. It would be misleading, however, to assume that this exhausted the possible assessment relationships in the situation. Of lesser importance but still of some significance will be the assessments of the Associate's competence made by the student and the college lecturer, and the assessment of the college lecturer's competence made by the Associate and the student. If we add to these the possibility of self-assessment on the part of these three groups then we arrive at the nine relationships set out in Diagram 7.1.

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6 The requirement comes from the Education Department which is the hiring body for teachers. In commenting on this, one of the college lecturers said "It's something that's required in the same way that assessment of their work in college is required. The Education Department require that we come up with assessment for them in these areas." (5.43)
Our main concern in the thesis, of course, is with the assessment of the student's competence by the Associate [4] and by the college lecturer [7], but some comments would appear to be in order before we proceed any further.

1. The nature of the Assessment

It would seem to be useful to distinguish between the assessment of competence as an "explicit" and as an "implicit" feature of a situation. In the first instance, there will be a mutual recognition between the parties concerned that the competence of one of the parties is being assessed by others present, whilst in the second instance the assessment takes place against the background of routine interaction and there is no shared or mutual awareness that competence is being assessed. In this second instance, only the assessor is aware that particular significance is being attached to the talk, appearance or activities of the other. The assessment in the first instance is "consequential" insofar as the outcome of the assessment will have future implications for the assessee's membership within the collectivity, and is also "essential" insofar as the "testing" represents in no
small measure the "essence" of the situation. In the case of the practice teaching situation, the example par excellence of the explicit assessment of competence occurs during the crit lesson where the purpose of the lecturer's visit is known in advance, as is the timing of the visit and "preparations" can be made accordingly.

The nature of these preparations will vary from situation to situation but they will often cover such aspects as preparing the children and the room for the visit, incorporating material into the lesson that wouldn't normally

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7 It is intended that this differentiation should have broader significance and application beyond the practice teaching situation. Other situations that spring to mind would include initiation rites to a street corner gang, job interviews, examinations and so on. The relevance of the analysis that follows to these situations has still to be tested.

8 Interestingly enough, the Associate often joins in on these preparations and as such the Associate and the student can be seen to perform as a "team" [Goffman, 1971:67]. In these cases it appears that the Associate may feel that her work too is being assessed.

9 The Associate will often explain to the children that a visitor will be coming but she may purposefully "mask" the purpose of the visit. While the researcher was in one class the Associate told the children that they had a visitor coming that afternoon from the college to see how they were enjoying Miss Baker's social studies programme and to see whether Miss Baker was enjoying taking the class [Field Notes 4.5]. It seems to be the case, however, that the situation has to be handled with care. In response to the suggestion from the researcher that part of the "preparation" would involve threatening the children with dire consequences if they misbehaved, one of the students replied: "No, it's stupid doing that because they'll misbehave. It's not worth doing it. There's a rule there and they'll break it, so it's best if you just sort of leave that sort of thing alone." [5.33].
be there, and even arranging the timing of the visit such that it coincides with a "favourable" part of the day's programme.

Where the assessment of competence is to be an explicit feature of a situation it is likely to be the case that such preparations as can be made by the social actor who is being assessed will be made. The corollary of this, of course, is that the assessor will have to take this into account in making the assessment, and possibly develop strategies to counteract it. In the case of the crit lesson lecturers, it is likely that this will be reflected in the level of importance that they attach, or don't attach, to the student's performance while they are in the classroom, in the type

10 Even in her selection of material it is obvious that the student would be well advised to think carefully and choose material that will be interesting rather than boring. One of the students commented on her lesson material as follows: "I modified it a wee bit, we don't do poetry at this time but I decided to do it because the topic was really good for imagery. So I thought if I do a bit of poetry on that well there's no harm done. I missed out individual reading, that's when a child reads to the rest of the class because I felt that was the least important of all the things I was doing today. See you've got to keep an eye on the time, you want to sort of round up the lesson before they leave, which they look for. How do you start, how do you finish. But he came in after I'd started and left before I finished." (5.35)

11 In Totara the students were informed which of the two visiting lecturers would be observing their lesson and it was left up to the student to nominate the time slot in which they wanted the lecturer to be in their room. This left a bit of room within which the "early birds" could manoeuvre. Although not all of the students had this in mind when they selected their time, it was obvious from overheard conversations in the staffroom that this was a factor in the choice of some of the students.

12 One of the students, in commenting on her crit lesson said "He seemed to be more interested in the programme, what sort of things I did, rather than the actual lesson I took" (5.33). This is understandable given the following comments from the lecturer concerned: "Quite often a student can go to a great deal of trouble with windowdressing when they/
of questions that they ask the student13 and the Associate14, and in their use of an "incongruity principle" to crosscheck information received from the student with information received from the Associate15. Above all, the lecturer has to attend to his environment with care and not accept things at face value16.

12 Cont'd - know a college lecturer's going to come out, and put on a show that wouldn't be possibly the normal thing they do" (5.45). The other lecturer, quite independently and spontaneously said: "I would be surprised if they didn't do it reasonably well. They've had time enough to set it up, haven't they. So that part of it doesn't bother me too much." (5.74)

13 The lecturer will certainly ask questions about those aspects of the student's programme that he hasn't been able to observe but this will often be preceded by a discussion between the lecturer and the Associate where similar material has already been covered.

14 One of the lecturers commented on this as follows: "I just simply say "What's your general impression of the student?" and depending on the kind of answer I get "How well do you think she's showing the degree of readiness you'd expect of a third year student?", "How has her plan worked out?", "Did she consult with you?", "Did she have plenty of resource material available?". I really question the teacher at some length on how they view the student. And it also includes a variety of professional things like "How does she fit in with other members of the staff?", "Is she inclined to stay with the students and just talk with them at morning tea or does she mix around?", "Has she looked into any other classroom since she's been here?"." (5.74). Quite by accident the researcher subsequent to this overhead such a conversation between this lecturer and one of the Totara Associates. Much of the questioning that was done followed his earlier comments (Field Notes, 5.65).

15 This is quite obviously related to the Fact that the lecturer is in the school for such a short time and as such can't see everything that he needs to see in order to arrive at a considered "judgement". The "incongruity principle" is therefore intended to counteract the "impression management" potential in the situation. "I question them to see whether or not the way they feel about what they're doing matches with how the Associate sees them. I say to them "Well how are you managing with mathematics?" - I've already asked the teacher..." (Lecturer, 5.74).

16 One of the lecturers commented as follows: "Sometimes teachers don't altogether level with you. They sometimes may be inclined to say things that they think you'd want to hear. And you've got to be alert enough to discern whether or not these are indications that perhaps ... You know, you can tell by the tone of their voice or their reluctance where/
The crit lesson is an obvious example of the explicit assessment of competence in this training situation but we encounter problems if we try to extrapolate this to the whole practice teaching situation and suggest that the assessment of competence is an explicit feature of the whole practice teaching section. The student's perception of when she is "on" - in the sense of performing for an assessment - will vary over the time that she is in the school and it is likely that she will feel this strongest in the early stages when she takes her first lessons and is still uncertain about the Associate. Presuming that she is able to develop a good relationship with her Associate - and it seems to be only a minority who don't - then in the later stages of the section it is more likely that she will feel relaxed with the Associate and be less concerned about being assessed. Nevertheless the Associate is required to complete a formal assessment report at the end of the section and this must intrude into the relationship to some extent.

Obviously the Associate will not be assessing all the time but it may be the case that after the early stages of the section, her assessment becomes more implicit than explicit as she watches how the student behaves in class, how she relates to the children, how she interacts in the staffroom. This will not be a constant surveillance but it will be an activity that the Associate returns to from time to time as she interacts with the student or watches

16 Cont'd - they say "Well, she's got a lot of potential" something like that, you see. That means that sometime in the future she may be alright but at this particular minute I've got some reservations [laughs]." [5.75]

17 This is often attributed by the people concerned to a "personality clash".
her interacting with others. This implicit assessment of competence by the Associate may also be a feature of the early stages of the section where the Associate is attempting to "size up" the student, without the student being entirely aware as to what is going on. Describing her "strategy" for achieving this in the first few days of the section, an Associate commented as follows:

"I might say to her "Would you like to read the class a story?" and if she says "Oh yes, I'd like to", well away you go. And you can tell by the way she reads to the children - does she ask them questions, is she relaxed - you can often find out how much experience she's had with children. She might initially be very nervous. She might be a very good student, but because it's her first day she might be very nervous, but then you can find out if she's just sitting at the desk or if she wanders around and talks to the children."

[Associate, 2.46]

We will comment later in greater detail on these "strategies" that are used by the Associate as she attempts to "size up" her student.

It would seem to be useful, however, to draw a further differentiation within this implicit category between a sincere and a cynical implicit assessment of competence.

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18 Given the nature of the questions that some visiting lecturers ask of the Associate in relation to her student it is clear that everything the student does while in the presence of others in the school is potential assessment material. Although the student may not realise it, she is "on" for most of the time she spends in the school.

19 Compare this with the student's version of the same situation contained on page 127 of the previous chapter.

20 The distinction, although drawn from another context, is based on Goffman [1971:15-16]. It may also have relevance to the explicit category of assessment situation discussed earlier.
It will be remembered that it is characteristic of this type of assessment situation that only one of the parties involved is aware that an assessment is taking place. The sincere sub-category, we would suggest, is applicable in a situation where the assessment of competence takes place within the normal flow of everyday interaction. Although the person who is being assessed is unaware that any assessment is taking place there is no need for the assessor to manipulate the situation in order to achieve this. The opportunity for assessment is presented within the normal flow of events and the assessor has no need to pretend that the situation is other than as it appears to the social actor being assessed. An example of this sort of situation would be where the Associate observes the student’s interactions in the staffroom, or with the children in and out of class. The cynical sub-category, however, applies to situations where there is a measure of manipulation of the situation involved and the social actor who is being assessed is deluded into thinking that the situation is other than what it is. The "story reading" example cited above is a particularly good example of this within the practice teaching situation.

The difference between these two sub-categories will often be a matter of degree depending on the level of awareness of the social actors involved - as indeed will be the implicit/explicit differentiation where the level of mutuality of awareness will decide the degree - but the differentiation will prove to be useful in later sections of the chapter.
So far then we've dealt with the nature of the assessment that takes place and by implication we can suggest that the explicit assessment of competence will invariably be done by superordinates of subordinates whilst the implicit assessment of competence can be done either way. Given the fact, however, that the manipulation of a situation is more easily achieved if the social actor has access to power resources, it is more likely to be the case that subordinates will engage in a sincere-implicit assessment of the competence of superordinates, whilst superordinates in turn are more able to engage in a cynical-implicit assessment of the competence of subordinates. The assessment of competence between peers - such as, for example, between students, between Associates, or even between Associates and college lecturers - is more likely to take the form of a sincere-implicit assessment.

2 Self Assessment

It should be apparent from an appraisal of Diagram 7.1 that cells, 1, 5 and 9 can be further differentiated along the dimensions of peer assessment - student assesses the competence of other students etc - and self-assessment - student assesses her own competence etc. Although neither of these dimensions greatly concerns us in our present enterprise, there are some useful comments we can make in passing about self-assessment and particularly the

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21 Control over interactional situations is dependent on many factors but Fuller and Jacobs [1973:173] identify the two most important of these as being (1) the degree of the individual's interactional competence in the situation; and (2) the degree of power that the individual can bring to bear in the situation in order to make his definition of reality stick.
student's assessment of her own competence.  

Firstly, we can draw attention to the fact that self-evaluation of performance is an activity that the students at Totara were strongly encouraged to engage in. Not only was it an expectation that students would plan and prepare their lessons with due thoroughness, but it was also expected that they would reflect on their lessons after they had been given and prepare a written self-evaluation of those lessons. Self-evaluation was seen as a necessary prerequisite if the student was to improve her teaching performance. Both of the lecturers involved in taking the crit lesson emphasised the importance of self-evaluation on the part of the student. Although we cannot generalise too far on this since the matter wasn't followed up to any great extent in the research, it nevertheless can be suggested that the student's self assessment of her own competence will be granted some significance in the practice teaching situation, and indeed this is likely to be the case in any professional training situation. The student is

22 In considering "peer assessment" we could extend our interest to cells 8 and 6 and treat the Associates and the college lecturers as peers. The question of peer assessment is outside the interest of the present thesis but nevertheless it would provide a difficult topic for study given (a) the relative isolation of students and Associates from their peers; (b) the brevity of contact between Associates and lecturers; and (c) the sense of professional ethics that would inhibit Associates from commenting on the competence of lecturers and vice versa.

23 In offering advice to two of the Totara students, one of the college lecturers reported himself as having said that these sorts of self-evaluation questions were rather necessary. "You know, a teacher is his or her greatest critic in a way. I think you need to be rather analytical about what you're doing, you need to be thoughtful about, you know, how could I have improved what I've done. You need to ask yourself, how would I modify, adjust or in any way change the unit that I've planned?" (5.89).
expected to develop a reflexive attitude toward the training activities that she engages in.

Secondly we can draw attention to the linkage between the student's assessment of her own competence and the notion of teacher socialisation put forward by Don Edgar (1974d). We referred to this in an earlier chapter. It will be remembered that Edgar defined competence as a fitness or ability to carry on those transactions with the environment which result in the individual's maintenance, growth and development (1974d:7-8) and developing from this he suggested that teacher socialisation should be studied as a process of becoming not only competent in particular skills of role performance, but also in terms of preserving an image of the competent self in the new role (1974d:11). The model of teacher socialisation that he outlined presented socialisation as a process of (a) acquiring "equipment for competence" i.e. learning specific skills, knowledge, roles and competencies; and (b) developing a "competent self" i.e. adjusting one's self image to new role demands. It will be appreciated that our conception of competence and its relationship to the "socialisation" process differs from Edgar's insofar as both are informed by different theoretical perspectives.

3 Assessment of Superordinates by Subordinates

Again this is a dimension to the situation that we are not greatly concerned with. The student's assessment of the competence of the college lecturer can be treated as

24 Edgar's definition follows the earlier work of the psychologist R. White (1959, 1960). See chapter 1 page 16.
an irrelevance given the brevity of the contact between them. From the point of view of the perspective being taken in this thesis, there is slightly more analytic interest in the student's assessment of the Associate's competence but this is still marginal to our main interest.

We noted in the previous chapter that the Associates in this school were expected to be approachable and understanding, to be honest and constructive in offering criticisms to their students, to allow the students the flexibility to experiment and not to be too restrictive with regard to the students' classroom activities. In addition to this, they were expected to give advice and guidance to the students. It is likely that in conducting her affairs, the capabilities of an individual Associate would be assessed against a listing of expectations such as this.

It is important to distinguish, however, between the Associate's capabilities as an "Associate" and her capabilities as a "teacher". Although the distinction may seem to be an arbitrary one, it nevertheless is an important one and, we would suggest, a real one. The students at Totara had no difficulties in providing evaluations of their Associates both as "teachers" and as "Associates" and it is clear that in arriving at these evaluations they were using two different sets of criteria. The importance of the

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25 It follows from the discussion that has gone before that in terms of their membership of the collectivities involved, the students were competent to comment on the Associate's competence as an "Associate", but not competent to comment on her competence as a "teacher" insofar as they still did not have membership of the teaching collectivity.
distinction derives not so much from the substantive nature of the distinction itself, as from the implications of its corollary, namely that the Associate, in her assessment of the student's competence was similarly able to distinguish between the student's competence as a "student", and her competence in "doing teaching". This is a distinction that will have significance in the next chapter where we will argue that our main analytic concern in this thesis is with the student's competence in "doing teaching", but first we will engage in a tentative exploration of dimensions to the student's competence as a "student" in this situation. We will begin by looking at the nature of the expectations of the students that were held by the Associates.

**Associates' Expectations of Students**

To a large extent, a student teacher's activities during practice teaching will be greatly influenced by the expectations that the Associate teacher has of the student's performance. In terms of our earlier discussion, the Associate is the "someone in the know" who is responsible for "testing" the student's competence, and mediating to the student "acceptable" standards of "conduct" in the classroom.

It will generally be the case that an Associate will be able to "formulate" her expectations in fairly specific

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26 It might be more accurate to say that our main analytic interest is with the student teacher's "incompetence" as a teacher.
terms. One of the Totara Associates, for example, on being asked what she would be "looking for" in a third year student teacher replied in the following terms:

"I'd be looking for something pretty polished. I'd be expecting to see positive actions, I'd be expecting to see something that was very, very close to the expectation I have of a new teacher because they are almost at that stage where they are in fact teachers. I'd expect to see them act in a very responsible manner. I'd expect them to be aware of the needs of the school. They'd have found out what kind of school they were in, they'd have found out about school rules, acceptance of dress and behaviour. They'd know something of the background of the school. I would expect them in the third year level in particular to put the needs of the school and the needs of the children first. I'd expect them to be prepared to stay after school to prepare work, to evaluate what they've been doing, to talk about things. I'd expect them to operate as a pretty professional sort of person."

(Associate, 5.94)

Another of the Associates mentioned "preparation" and "planning" as being crucial elements of her expectations of the student teacher.

"You expect them to prepare their lesson plans when they're taking a formal lesson. To prepare their lesson plans in full and go into great detail because the habit of doing their plans must be instilled. Now if you set a high standard to start with they can always drop. But if you're just lack-a-dazical in what you expect of them then they will have a much lower standard to start with and it's harder to bring it up, so you say you expect their lesson plans to be written up in full. You expect them to be set out in a neat fashion. I expect the planning to be done two or three days ahead if it's a sizeable unit and, if necessary, to talk it over with me beforehand if they're not sure of anything so that they're not doing things at the last minute, which a lot of experienced teachers do do anyway [laughs]. But they must know where they're going and they must know the aim of the lesson." (Associate, 4.60)
Both sets of expectations derived their relevance from projections as to how a teacher "should" behave or what a teacher "should" be able to do. Likewise, expectations may be formulated in terms of what the teacher "can’t" do and hence, by implication, what the student shouldn’t be allowed to do:

"Jocelyn said last week that she’d like to take the class this afternoon. Now if she’d turned up today and said that she hadn’t prepared anything because she’d had a really hard weekend, well I would say that’s not toeing the line. It’s not as if a teacher can come into the class and say "I’m sorry kids but I had a hard weekend so I haven’t prepared anything". As it was Jocelyn had come prepared, and well prepared, so I think things will go okay with her." (Associate, 1.14)

Classroom control was another crucial dimension to the expectations that these Associates had in relation to the teaching performances of their students.

"A third year student, regardless of whether she’s good or not is expected to take a certain amount of lessons with you in the room and with you out of the room. Now, if you’ve got a student who’s going to learn from you, and listen to your advice and learn from her own mistakes, then that’s okay. But if you’ve got a student who doesn’t improve and she really hasn’t got any control over the class or doesn’t listen to what you suggest, you’ve still got to go out of the room at certain stages to let her have a go, so that when you come back into the room the kids are very flighty and they’re all over the place and you’ve got to bring them back down to however you want it to be." (Associate, 2.37)

An additional factor that is being emphasised here, relates to expectations concerning the student’s relationship with the Associate. The student is expected to listen to the Associate’s advice, learn from that advice and improve her performance. Interestingly enough, it is also expected
that the student will learn from her own mistakes. The expectation quite clearly isn’t that a third year student should be able to control the class in a flawless manner because it is appreciated that students will face some difficulties in this regard.

"There are some schools where the kids have become so hardened to students that they really give them a hard time, but the kids here are quite good. In some schools, though, as I say, the kids are downright insolent and it’s beyond the student’s ability to deal with them. Well it’s unfair to expect them to be able to control kids like that anyway." [Associate, 2.27]

Is is not to be assumed from this, though, that the third year student has an unlimited license to make mistakes in the hope that she will thereby learn from them.

"I don’t think they should be making too many mistakes at this stage. They will make errors of judgement but I wouldn’t say they were mistakes. They might give the wrong emphasis to something, they might have just misjudged the needs of the children, they might have an expectancy with some group of kids that’s too high, but I wouldn’t classify these as mistakes in that sense." [Associate, 5.102]

Quite clearly the Associate formulates her expectations of a particular student on the basis of the amount of training that the student has had. Expectations of a third year student will be more demanding than those held with regard to a second year or first year student, and yet the Associate retains the flexibility to vary these expectations depending on the capabilities of the individual student.

"If you go by the book as they set it out at College, the first year you’re virtually there to observe, the second year to take set lessons, the third year you’re right into it, but if you went by the book you could make a very keen student become very bored, or you could conversely take away all the confidence from a student. Like with the year one I had earlier on this year, if
she had been asked to just read a story occasionally to the children, and sit and observe and just generally chat to the children, she would be bored stiff because she was ready to take the whole class." [Associate, 2.46]

Another Associate offered a similar comment.

"In the first week I don't expect the student to do a great deal. If they're third year I expect them to be really sizing the situation up. With first years, of course, they're not expected to do any teaching but if you see a talent there you'd be silly if you didn't use it and let them have a go." [Associate, 4.66]

The first week of any practice teaching section is a crucial time as the student sizes up the class, establishes where she stands with the Associate, and the Associate sizes up the student's "potential".

"If an Associate's doing his or her job properly, then she'll make an effort to get to know that student pretty well in the first week, and if the student is really wanting to make a go of it too then she should be showing herself to be willing to do anything, to be willing to talk things over, ask questions: "Why do you do that in a particular way?"; "Why have you got those boys sitting together?"; "Why do you take your reading in such and such a way?". All these sorts of things should be asked so that the Associate can gauge just exactly what the student wants out of this, as well as the other way round." [Associate, 4.66]

Although there are particular strategies that an Associate may adopt to aid her in this "sizing up" stage of her relationship with the student it will invariably be the case that she will rely on "experience" to make sense of the impressions that she receives as she watches the student in the class and as she talks to her.

"I think experience comes into this to some degree. Not only experience as a teacher but as a person. You sense somehow just how this person's going to operate. You're wrong
sometimes but you can usually tell. There's something in their bearing, something in their manner which tells you fairly certainly that this person is going to be "alright"." [Associate, 5.95]

The inherent subjective nature of this appraisal process carries with it the implication that on occasions the Associate will be wrong in her estimation of the student's potential and place her in a situation that she is not "ready" for in terms of the development of her teaching competencies.

"I've made the mistake quite often of putting a student in a position where she's taken full control of the class when she's not prepared to do it, she's not ready for it. She needs to take more groups or have more discussion with me about what's going on. It's hit and miss, isn't it. I've made quite a few blunders, but this is what you try and assess as you're talking to the student, and as you watch her talking to the children and the comments that she'll make about what you're doing in the room or what the children are doing or the way things are set up." [Associate, 2.44]

The Associate is faced here with a difficult and delicate problem of "pacing" the student such that her teaching performances can improve through the nature of her involvement in the classroom activities without running the risk of overexposing the student to difficulties that may undermine her confidence and impair her development. Despite these problems, however, the Associate must remain committed to getting the student involved with the children in the classroom as soon as possible.

"It's recommended that if they're here for say five weeks, then the first week would be taken up with orientation, fitting in, getting themselves set, becoming aware of the sorts of things that are expected in the classroom. All these sorts of things, but even at that time I try to get the student involved with children. I think this is the important thing to remember all the time, that they must be involved with children." [Associate, 5.96]
This also serves the purpose, of course, of allowing the Associate to view the student in the classroom context (implicit assessment) and to begin to form impressions of the student's capabilities.

"What am I looking for? I think I'm looking first of all to see if they're prepared to act as an independent thinking sort of person. I would hope to see them moving about the class. Even on the first day as they go about the class there's bound to be someone who has them on, tries them out, tries to get their measure. I'd want to see them take some sort of positive step there, even if it was only to exhibit the cold shoulder to some child who made a stupid remark to them. I'd be looking for this positiveness. I would hope that in that first day there would be quite a lot of questions coming from them. I would look for early signs of industry too. I'm a little bit unhappy when you have the student who lolls around the window and finds a lot of things of interest outside the room. I think really I'd be looking for someone who showed signs of wanting to get into the job and getting on with it." [Associate, 5.98]

In addition to the student's general involvement in the class, she may also be "asked" by the Associate to read a story to the children. This will be a normal part of the day's programme but in the early days of the section the Associate can put this to good use as she assesses where the student is "at" in terms of teaching abilities.

"I tell them to read a story and I listen in and believe it or not, it tells us so much. It shows whether they've got initiative without being told to put life into a story, it shows up their speech, their listening skills, it shows a lot about their personality and their relationship with the children. You can gather all that in a matter of five minutes." [Associate, 4.88]

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27 We referred to this earlier in terms of a "cynical-implicit" assessment of competence.
In all of this, the orientation seems to be that at this level you learn by "doing" rather than by "watching".

"Regardless of the level I encourage them to go with me rather than sit down and observe the whole time. So if we're having News, that person will come and sit down and be introduced to the class and take it from there. And then I might say to her, would you like to read the class a story and if they say "Oh yes, I'd like to", well away you go." (Associate, 2.46)

Some Associates have particular strategies that they will occasionally employ in order to get the student involved in classroom activities. Reading a story is clearly one of these, and so also is "being held up in the staffroom".

"In that first week I'll sometimes contrive to be held up in the staffroom [laughs] and, then just say "Well, look do you mind just settling the children". Now that's a major task. If you're not in control, it's almost an impossible task for some people to come in and settle down thirty children just like that. From a situation where they've been out running their little legs off, all excited and puffing and blowing, and sometimes still carrying on the activities of the outside, bringing them into the room. So it's not an easy situation and sometimes you'll do this. You won't leave them too long, only a moment or two until you sum them up." (Associate, 5.96)

Sometimes the occasion will not be as contrived as this, but the net result in terms of sizing up the student and aiding the learning process will be the same.

"In infant work initiative is very, very important, especially with me when I have to leave the room if a parent comes along, if there's an accident, if any of the other teachers have a query. I must always be available and if I'm in the middle of taking a lesson and I have to leave the room, I'll just say to her "Can you carry on?". Well, the first day her face was a study and I just went over and whispered "You can do it, you know where we're going" and she looked, and I said "I'm out of the room, now on you go". And do you know, since then she's blossomed. Then I sat in and I said
"Now what did you learn?" and we discussed it. She's a very honest girl and I said "Well we all make mistakes and we learn by our mistakes. Now you've learnt more by doing that than by two hours conversation with me." [Associate, 4.89]

If there are strategies for "setting up" these types of situations, there are also strategies for "monitoring" them. The discussion after the event is an important aspect of this, but where the situation is of longer duration than just a few minutes it often requires monitoring during the event. Such a situation would be where a student was being left in control of the class for a period of time.

"We usually physically stay out of the room. Perhaps for a whole day, you just don't go near it at all, not even in the morning. With some students you don't feel happy about doing this and you might contrive some reason to come into the class during the day, perhaps to pick something up. You might have occasion to walk past the room on the way to the library or something like that so you can just glare at some child. But you make the judgement depending on the student you've got." [Associate, 5.97]

If we were to attempt to summarise the expectations that these Associates had of their students, it would be in the following terms. In her relationship with the Associate, the student was expected to fit in, to listen and respond to advice, to learn from the Associate, and to be open and honest with the Associate. In her relationship with the children, the student was expected to show an interest in them in and out of class, to be aware of the children's needs but not to be too friendly with the children. In terms of her teaching activities, the student was expected

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28 The difference between these two strategies is that the first one falls within our "cynical-implicit" category whilst the second falls within our "sincere-implicit" category.
to have a degree of control over the class, to prepare well planned units of work, to know where she was going in her lessons and to leave enough time at the end of the lesson for rounding off and marking. She was also expected to have good verbal expression, to display listening skills and to give instructions carefully. Above all, she was expected to behave as a teacher in the classroom. In general terms, she was expected to toe the line, to do what was expected of her and to be reliable. She was expected to show independence, initiative and a genuine interest in doing well. But she was expected to be industrious and inquisitive and to accept responsibility. In terms of her own performance she was expected to be willing and able to evaluate her own teaching efforts, to be prepared to learn from her mistakes and to improve her performances over the practice teaching section. It was expected that her orientation to the section's activities would be enthusiastic and industrious and that her performance in the classroom would be confident and relaxed.

**Expectations:**

*Differences in Substance* but *similarities in Nature*

It is to be expected, however, that these expectations would vary in substance between Associates within Totara - different Associates would emphasise different expectations within this general framework - and indeed Associates in other schools may be in varying stages of agreement or disagreement as to the importance of various items that have been included here. It is not the intention of this thesis to come up with a complete listing of expectations.
that takes account of this variation because despite these differences in "substance", we can identify a number of underlying similarities that relate to the "nature" of the expectations.

Firstly, irrespective of the particular emphasis placed by individual Associates, the expectations will be concerned with classroom related activities and the student's performance of these activities.

Secondly, the expectations will change over the course of the practice teaching section. The Associate's expectations of her student will not remain static over the period of the section but will change as the student progresses, or fails to progress. At the base level it could be suggested that this change will involve conceptions of increases in the quality of the student's performance of her classroom related activities - it is expected that this will improve.

Thirdly, and perhaps more importantly, the change will involve the expectation that the student will incorporate these expectations into her classroom related activities.

This last point draws our attention to the distinction that can be drawn between "normative" and "technical" dimensions to expectations. The differentiation is important because the analysis that follows revolves around this "normative" dimension. Let's develop the point.
In order to "make out" during a practice teaching section, a student teacher obviously requires a certain level of technical competence in a number of areas related to teaching activities. She has to have a certain level of skill in such areas as blackboard work, questionning techniques, verbal and non-verbal communication, classroom control and lesson planning. The nature of the "level" that she has to work to in these areas in any particular classroom will be established by the Associate concerned and interestingly, the Associate may be aware that in terms of her own teaching performance she herself doesn’t achieve some of these levels. Although these levels in some cases may be somewhat idealistic, they will not be over-idealistic. They will invariably be set within the limits of what a teacher "should" be able to do, or

An Associate, for example, may draw attention to certain deficiencies in her own performance because she doesn’t want her student to take those as being indicative of desirable levels. One of the Totara Associates, for example, commented on her blackboard work in the following terms: "I know that my blackboard work’s not good enough. If I’m taking a maths lesson my blackboard work is not of a good standard. I don’t set it out. I don’t think before the lesson starts "Now I should cover this bit and this bit, and that ties in there". I end up after a maths lesson with things all over the board. Which is unfortunate as far as having a student in the room’s concerned because unless I point out to her that I realise that my blackboard setting-out is not very good, she’ll accept that as the level and her work will come out virtually the same thinking that’s the standard. So you’ve got to be pretty aware of the things you’re not very good at. Sometimes you’ve got to let them know that you’re basically just an ordinary teacher. You may have strengths, but you’ve certainly got weaknesses." (4.108)
what a student "should be required" to do in order to instil good teaching habits. 

In the early stages of the section the Associate will let the student know what expectations she has with regard to the student's performance in the classroom. This will include indications of the level of technical competence that she expects to see in certain aspects of the student's classroom work, as well as general expectations concerning the student's involvement, orientation and activities. This will be done through normal conversation interaction before, during and after class, but the Associate has other means at her disposal for achieving this.

It will often be the case that in the early stages of the section the Associate will use problems that develop from the student's teaching as a vehicle for introducing the student in specific detail to "what is required". A student comments on her experience in the following terms:

"I've always had very structured teachers up till now and they always, if any child started to misbehave on the mat they'd pounce, and as Mrs McInnes sits back, I was very unsure in the first couple of days. I thought, well do I use my own methods or try and use her kind of control. I was very unsure for about the first three days and then I said to her that I'd never been allowed to take control of a class before and I said "You seem to be quite happy for me to do that but I'm not really very sure where I stand". So she sat down with me.

This latter comment would have relevance in a number of areas such as, for example, questioning skills, classroom control abilities and so forth, but it has particular relevance to the area of lesson planning and preparation. An Associate sums it up as follows: "Planning is all important when you are a beginning teacher. You can do less preparation as the years go by and you get more experience but it's essential that you discipline yourself to thoroughly prepare lessons when you're beginning." [2.31]
for a good forty five minutes and she went over exactly how she did it, and what she expected of me, or what she was prepared for me to do. She said "When you take the class, it's up to you to use your own control." (Student, 3.19)

The student will also get a feel for the Associate's teaching style and how the Associate "liked things done" through her observations of the Associate's teaching.

After observing her Associate take a maths lesson, one of the Totara students recorded the following "things for me to remember" in her lesson plan folder:

"Let the children know that the questions and answers will not be repeated - this makes it clear to them that they have to listen carefully. The children are to be seated in desks for the twenty mental at the beginning of the lesson. The children write one to twenty in the back of their maths books and wait quietly for the teacher to start. After the twenty mental the children are to move quietly to the mat. If they are noisy they may have to do it again - or sit back in their places so that it is made clear again. The teacher waits till there is quiet and all eyes are her way before starting. Throughout the oral discussion the teacher waits for silence before going on. The children are asked to turn to the appropriate page and from there they are to look over the problems to be done this period. They are sent to their desks - again quietness and promptness are encouraged. Leave plenty of time to read the answers to the problems - this provides an ending or rounding off to the lesson which is important." (Doc 83-84)

In addition to this, the Associate may also "stage" an activity for the benefit of the student in order to make the student better aware of "how things are done around here":

31 Some of these points can be seen in operation from the description of maths lesson contained on pages 103 to 104 of chapter 4. Extracts from the researcher's field notes would also indicate that the student subsequently conducted her classroom activities in accordance with these pointers.
Mrs Gillard was on the mat with the children and her student was sitting observing from a desk off to the side. She played a mental arithmetic game with the children called "King". Whoever got a multiplication wrong had to stand at the front and compete against the rest until someone else got one wrong. They did this for about five or six minutes. After they finished, Mrs Gillard looked across to where her student was sitting and said "That's how we do things around here, Miss Baker". (2.23)

In the early stages of the section, then, the student's competence is being assessed mainly on technical dimensions of performance - how she reads a story, how she writes on the blackboard, how she modulates her voice, how she gives instructions, how she handles the class. Once that base of competence has been established, however, and the student has been made aware of what the Associate expects of her, the assessment of competence takes on a "normative" dimension because the student now has to show that she is capable of building these expectations into her performance. She must, she is obliged to do so if she is to be considered "adequate" as a student by the Associate.

If, for example, an Associate repeatedly tells a student that she regards the student as a teacher, then the student is supposed to "act" as a teacher, and any failure to do so will be reacted to adversely by the Associate. In the third week of the section, one of the students commented as follows:

"The first week I really did nothing because I didn't know where I stood. I'd never had so much freedom from the teacher before. Like I said to her "Can I take the class tomorrow?" and she said "Go ahead". And she goes out of the room which is one thing I like and I really feel like a teacher then. She's told me I am a teacher. But at first I was a bit unsure
and I stepped back because I saw her as the teacher but she pulled me up and said "No, you're a teacher too". And if I back out of the actual dominant teaching role up the front with her she'll pull me up and say "You're the teacher", which is good. She's given me a lot of confidence. It's just sort of started. I'd say this week I really know where I stand." [Student, 3.23]

Later that week, however, this particular student ran into difficulties in the classroom because she failed to live up to this expectation that the Associate had of her. The Associate tells the story:

Yesterday afternoon the dental nurse came over just after two o'clock and I thought well it's [student's] unit and she might appreciate the chance to be left with the visitor and she was the teacher in sole charge, so I left. When I came back at about ten to three the dental nurse said to me "you've got a few children in the class who are very much a problem aren't they", and I said "oh no". And she said "oh they're very rowdy on the mat when I was trying to have a discussion with them". And straight away I knew that [student] either hadn't stepped in or she had stepped in and it hadn't been effective. As it turned out I shouldn't have left the room but I did think that [student] would have been able to cope with it. And I said to [student] "how did it go?" and she said "I didn't like to step in since it was a visitor" so I had to quite blatantly point out to her "you are the teacher", keep on reinforcing it. Because if I'd been in the room, okay then she might think well, you know, you do the controlling side of it. But me not being there, no frankly I was a little bit disappointed that she didn't step in because I've told her I'll give her full support for any punishment she wants to dole out. [Associate, 3.95]

In response to the suggestion that perhaps the student was uncertain as to what her responsibilities were in the classroom, the Associate replied:

"Oh I thought it would have been quite clear by this stage. Maybe she thought that the visitor was expected to handle the children as she wished, and it was up to the visitor to reprimand the children or whatever, and she shouldn't step in.
But she should know the visitors are only there to talk to the children, they're not there to control them. They're not teachers."

[Associate, 3.96] 32

One gets the impression from this that to have "stepped in" and been unsuccessful would have been less serious than not having stepped in at all. Although the Associate may emphasise "being able to control the class" as an end to which her student should strive, it could be the case that the student would finish the section without mastering completely this aspect of teaching technique. This needn't mean, however, that the Associate's estimation of the student's competence as a "student" would be impaired, because this would be consistent with the "typification" of a student that the Associate used to guide her in her dealings with students. Students aren't expected to be "competent" teachers by the end of a section so in this respect the student would be fulfilling the expectation. In fact an Associate may see positive aspects in a student having control problems during a practice teaching section since this will prevent her becoming complacent about classroom control. If it was the case, though, that the Associate expected the student to display initiative in the area of classroom control and "have a go", in the process of which she could learn from her mistakes, then the student who failed to do so would have her competence as a student judged adversely by the Associate - as we saw in the example above.

32 The Associate's justification for asserting that the student "should know" that visitors are only there to talk to the children developed from the fact that on previous occasions when visitors had been in the classroom this is how things had been done, with the visitor doing the talking and the Associate doing the controlling. The implication clearly is that the student was expected to have learned from this.
These comments are borne out in the following example also. The same student is involved and the "incident" in this case happened two days before the "dental nurse" incident. On the Tuesday of the third week the student had taken the class on her own for the morning and the early part of the afternoon. This was the first time that she had taken the class for such an extended period and she encountered "behaviour problems" from one of the pupils in particular that had an escalating effect on the rest of the class.

I was doing the maths lesson on Tuesday and it went perfectly, they were all listening and I thought "oh this is a fantastic lesson". We were working out all the prime numbers between one and sixty and as we worked them all out I turned, all the numbers on the hundreds board were black, and I turned them the other way so that they ehm, when they found out what number was a prime number then I could turn it over and they could check it because they each had a little piece of paper with one to sixty on it. Then they started the exercises in the book and then they all did it quietly and I went down to help someone at the back and [pupil] went up to sharpen her pencil and she turned all the numbers over haywire. So the kids that hadn't quite finished crossing out the numbers that were prime didn't know what to do and the whole class went into chaos and that's when I lost my cool. I could have wrung her neck. Well, I was so furious because she'd mucked up my perfect day. And ehm, I lost my temper with her, I told her to get out of the classroom and she sat down at her desk and cried, you know, and all the other kids were saying "I'll go get the headmaster", they couldn't get out of the classroom fast enough, they were delighted to see her in trouble. And that's my little bit of lost control in the classroom. [Student, 4.84]

In discussions that the researcher subsequently had with the student's Associate, the Associate asserted that

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33 The conversation took place during lunchtime on the day in question, while the Associate was on playground duty.
this didn't affect her estimation of the student's abilities. She hadn't intended that the student take so much control at that stage in the section, but the student had offered to take the class for the whole morning and she hadn't wanted to hold her back. She maintained, however, that it was good in a way that the student had had problems like that during practice teaching and not when she had a class of her own. At least she wouldn't get complacent about her teaching now that she had had a taste of how tough it was likely to be.

Conclusion

A number of concluding comments would be in order here. Firstly, the notion of "expectations" was a meaningful one in the situation under study. Associates, college lecturers and students verbalised quite freely on the fact that Associates had particular expectations of their students and that students were expected to regulate their activities in accordance with these expectations. We could suggest that the centrality of the notion derived from the "testing" dimensions to the situation insofar as they thereby achieved a prominence that they would not otherwise have in everyday interaction.

Secondly, these expectations could be seen to have relevance at two levels in the situation. In the first

34 The Associate maintained that one positive feature about the whole incident was the fact that the student had had the good sense to tell her about it. If she had gone into the room and the student had said "Oh the lesson went fine, no problems", then that would have made life very difficult. [3.56] This relates to our discussion in the previous chapter about adapting the rules of "considerateness" and "self respect" to fit the needs of a situation such as this.
place, there were expectations that related to the student’s activities "as a student", and these were easily differentiated by the fact that comparable expectations would not be held of a "teacher" i.e. a social actor with competent membership in the collectivity. These expectations related not only to the student’s relationship with the Associate, but also to the extent and degree of lesson planning and preparation that she was required to do, and the amount of care that she had to take with regard to detail in her teaching activities. Of the two levels of expectations, this was the more fundamental insofar as it contained the base-level of prerequisites in terms of orientation and level of performance that the student had to meet in order to achieve an adequate performance "as a student" in the situation. Analytically, however, this base-level was less important than the second level of expectations which related particularly to expectations that were held with regard to the student’s teaching performance and which were similar in all respects, except degree of expected fulfillment, to expectations that were held with regard to the teaching performance of a qualified teacher. These expectations related to what we referred to earlier as the student’s competence in "doing teaching", and in many respects we could almost take the student’s competence "as a student" as "given" and concentrate attention on her attempts to achieve competence in this latter area since, of the two levels, this is analytically by far the more important.

The third comment to be offered relates to the plurality of expectations and the divergence in emphasis between
Associates. In many respects teaching appears to be a rather individualised activity insofar as there seems to be no overwhelming consensus within the profession as to what constitutes "effective" or "good" teaching. To this extent it is to be expected that individual Associates would emphasise different aspects of teaching activities in developing a relationship with their students, depending on the variation in individual personalities and teaching styles as well as differences in classrooms and schools.

It will be appreciated that this must be seen as presenting problems for an analysis that would seek to specify and generalise about dimensions to role-taking or role-making that result from the student's socialisation.

Fourthly, rather than treat these expectations as "role expectations", we have chosen instead to highlight certain similarities in the nature of these expectations and to show the relevance that these have to practice.

Biddle, for example, concluded that "... the problem of teacher effectiveness is so complex that no one today knows what "The Competent Teacher" is" (1964:2). The complexity of the problem has been an important factor in hindering the development of research in the area (Getzels and Jackson, 1963; Howsam, 1963) but this has been further complicated by confusion over what it is that is being measured or discussed. These factors of complexity and confusion have been used to explain the relative lack of success of researchers in identifying items of a teacher's character (Marsh and Wilder, 1954; Howsam, 1960), personality (Heil and Washburne, 1962; Reed, 1961) or behaviour (Medley and Mitzel, 1959) that would correlate highly with measures of competence. Possibly the most successful study carried out in this area was done by Ryans (1960) who studied 5,000 teachers in 1700 schools, yet even this study is regarded as being of limited usefulness. Ryans described the "good" teacher as understanding, friendly, stimulating, imaginative and permissive. The effective teacher was found to demonstrate friendly but businesslike classroom behaviour, a fair attitude to children and exercise democratic procedures in classroom management.
teaching as a "testing situation". Thus, we are asserting that the significance of a "testing situation", is that expectations of a subordinate's performance in the situation will be revised "upwards" with the overall expectation being that this is proper, that the subordinate has an obligation not only to perform to these increased expectations but to appropriately incorporate these expectations into subsequent performances, and that the subordinate may be failed if this is not achieved to an adequate enough degree.

We have still to deal, of course, with the interpretive work that is necessary for achieving competence in this situation and this is a matter that we will take up in the specific context of competence in "doing teaching". It will be remembered that we suggested in an earlier context that the desired outcome of a "testing situation" would be the incorporation of "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance into the performance of the subordinate such that the subordinate could be perceived to behave in accordance with relevant "surface rules". This is a theme that we will take up in the next chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN

COMPETENCE IN "DOING TEACHING"

Introduction

It will be remembered from an earlier chapter that a main concern in this thesis was to begin an exploration of the process whereby teachers, on the basis of using "interpretative procedures" in the course of their everyday teaching activities, recognize the relevance of a variety of "surface rules" in the classroom situation, and convert these into what Clouston (1974:51) referred to as "practiced and enforced behaviour", but which we glossed as competence in "doing teaching". It will also be remembered that we drew attention to the inherent taken-for-grantedness of the subject matter of our enquiry, a factor that we suggested made it difficult merely by observing teachers. As an initial solution to this "problem", it was considered methodologically and theoretically appropriate that we should adopt the strategy of focusing analytical attention on the predication of the trainee teacher as she "grapples" her way towards an appreciation of the relative degrees of appropriateness of various actions and activities in the classroom, as well as an appreciation of the "grounds" for determining this appropriateness. In this way it was hoped that we would have a better chance of "seeing" the taken-for-grantedness in operation since, in the process of identifying instances of incompetent behaviour, as the part of the trainees we should also hopefully be able to identify what it was about the behaviour that made it identifiable and definable by members as "incompetence".

4 It follows from this that getting out the "grounded" for deciding the appropriateness or otherwise of an activity and hence determining the "competence" of the performance is a more important analytic endeavour than merely identifying instances of competent or incompetent behaviour. As Huxtable (1975) and others have shown, for the extent that it allows us to enrich our understanding of what is involved in the former process.
Introduction

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1 It follows from this that setting out the "grounds" for deciding the appropriateness or otherwise of an activity and hence determining the "competence" of the performance is a more important analytic endeavour than merely identifying instances of competent or incompetent behaviour. This latter enterprise need only be carried out to the extent that it allows us to firm up our understanding of what is involved in the former process.
These are issues that we will take up in this present chapter.

A word of caution is in order, however, before we begin. Given the strategy that was adopted in carrying out this project, it is obvious that in this chapter we will have occasion to focus on the students' "incompetence" in "doing teaching" more than their "competence". This emphasis should not be taken to imply, however, that the overall teaching performances by these students over this practice teaching section were regarded by their Associates as being of an unsatisfactory nature. This most certainly was not the case and we would be doing a great disservice to the students concerned if we did not emphasise this with some force.

"Doing Teaching"

We would argue that understanding much of what goes on during practice teaching involves playing around with conceptions of what is involved in "doing teaching". This, after all, is the central activity in the classroom situation. Assuming the necessary academic knowledge and adequate lesson preparation on the part of the teacher, we would expect "doing teaching" to involve, among other things, getting and holding the interest of the children, and conversely being able to sense when that interest is on the wane, asserting authority in the classroom and maintaining classroom control, questioning the children and developing the lesson such that teaching objectives are achieved, as
well as "teaching" itself\textsuperscript{2}. These things are obvious and by observing teachers as they teach and by talking to them afterwards it is possible to come up with a listing of strategies for "achieving" these things.

One of the Associates at Totara, for example, offered the following insight into how she went about getting the attention of the children in her class:

"One of the techniques I use to gain attention, and many teachers use it too, is to start and then stop. I'll say "Now" or "When I do this" and then I'll stop and wait. I've said something and nothing's happened and I've said it in quite a determined and forceful way, and then wait. And then within a few seconds, the children start focusing on you. Some teachers use the technique of just starting to talk and keep on talking and grabbing them in this way. Others will raise their voice to get through to the children, others will quieten their voice. There's all sorts of techniques." [Associate, 5.105]

The responsiveness of the class is not something that comes automatically, however. It has to be worked for.

"Another of the ways I get attention if I need attention from every child immediately is to use one word, I simply say "Class" and I say it in a certain way. It doesn't matter what they are doing, they will freeze. But you don't get that kind of response easily, in the early stages of the year it takes two or three weeks to get it. And you make a game of it." [Associate, 5.105]

\textsuperscript{2} Not everything that the teacher does in the classroom can be regarded as "teaching". Just exactly what the difference is between "teaching" and "not teaching" is difficult to specify but it is a difference that is meaningful to teachers. "In a lot of the lessons I'm there as a teacher but I'm not teaching as such. I mean you could go into a classroom, spend all day in there and you're not teaching, you're just .... well, you're not really helping the children, put it that way. But you are a teacher, aren't you." [Associate, 2.43]
Having gained the children's attention and having begun on a teaching activity, it is essential that the teacher keeps the children's interest focused on the activity at hand. One of the Associates listed possible strategies for achieving this in the context of a group reading session where it is important that the children listen to what is being read.

"You get the children to close their books while they're listening. You tell them to look for an answer to a question in what is being read. You tell them to look out for the mistake in what is being read. You ask them to guess the word that you're going to miss out. You ask them to guess the meaning of a difficult word in what is being read. You get them to count adjectives or verbs or whatever in the passage that you're going to read. The main point to it all, though, is to give them a reason for listening while you're reading, otherwise they'll just wander off in their heads." [Associate, 3.14]

Having interesting material obviously helps the teacher in this regard, otherwise she has to work hard at maintaining interest by "making" the material interesting, by joking with the children or by altering the pace of the activity. The following material relates to a maths revision taken by Mrs Gillard.

"We'll go over this for the one hundred and fiftieth time this year" she said and started to write on the board. "Don't say a word, just look". The children were sitting on the mat. After she had finished writing "factor x factor = product" on the board she said "Is there anybody who doesn't know this, any blind child or deaf child in the class?". The children laughed. She had them whisper it together, which they did twice. "What are the factors of 6?" she asked. "Six is the product, now give me the factors". There was some hesitation so she asked the class "Are we talking about adding?". The children replied in unison "No". "Are we talking about subtracting?", again the response was "No". "What are we talking about?" she asked, and the children replied "Multiplication". [4.53]
At a later stage in the lesson she went over the difference between "odd" and "even" numbers.

She used the example of a postie who had letters to deliver to numbers, 6, 9, 12, 3, 13, 14 and 7. "How would you put these into your bag?" she asked, and one of the children said they should be put in order. "What do you do next?" she asked and when she didn’t get a response she said "There's something strange about street numbers. What is it?". One of the children said that the odd numbers are down one side and the evens down the other so you should put the letters into odd numbers and even numbers. They did this on the board. "Why would you do this?" she asked and back came the reply "To save time". She went round the children asking them whether their houses had odd numbers or even numbers. "Who lives at even numbers?" she asked, and a number of hands went up. "Who lives at odd numbers?" and she put her hand up as well. The children laughed. She gave them a little test to guess her number. "If you took it from 20 you’d get 13, if you doubled it you’d get 14". The children got a bit unsettled as some guessed and others told their neighbours. She told them to put their hands down and sit up straight. With a quizzical look on her face she asked John what the answer was and he said "Seven". [4.54]

As well as gaining and holding the interest of the children, the teacher has also to be sensitive to the signs that indicate that she is losing that interest. Again, there are ways of doing this that are better than others.

"You don’t look for restlessness from the restless children, you look for it in an average child. They are your barometer as to how the class is reacting and if they’re starting to get a bit restless, you know jolly well you’re going to have to do something about it because the situation is serious. But you don’t go by those who are habitually restless". [Associate, 4.64]

The strategies that a teacher can employ for maintaining

3 Further examples of these teachers "at work" were presented earlier in chapter 4 see pages 99 to 105.
control in the classroom are many but one that is worthy of mention here is "the wandering eye":

"You can be working here with a small group and the rest of the children working elsewhere in the room. You hear a noise, you know exactly where the children are sitting and you know who it is. You can continue working here but just say "Billy, be quiet and get on with your work". You do it automatically after you've been teaching for a while. I remember one little boy who went home to his mother some years ago and said that I had an eye under my hair. I always saw what he was doing but my head was never turned round (laughs)." [Associate, 4.97]

Rather than concentrate on developing such a listing of strategies for "doing teaching" in its various aspects, we have chosen instead to use these and other examples in an illustrative way in order to allow us to get at the "rationale" that underlies the "appropriateness" of ways of "doing teaching". It is a central assumption here that these definitions of "appropriateness" will not be unique to each individual teacher since there will be aspects of the definition that will be generated by the collectivity. In order to get at this "rationale" we have found it more profitable to focus analytic attention on examples that develop from students engaging in "inappropriate" activities.

4 Willard Waller identified five techniques that teachers can use to secure control in the classroom. These were (1) command; (2) punishment; (3) management or manipulation of personal and group relationships; (4) temper and (5) appeal. These are incorporated in as well as extended on in Peter Woods excellent paper "Teaching for Survival" [1977] where he distinguished between "control" and "survival" in the following terms (1977:275) "If control is conceived of as the handling of incident, survival includes that, but also involves the avoidance of incident, the masking or disguising of incident, the weathering of incident, and the neutralising of incident."

5 We can't assume from this that everything that a teacher does in the course of her teaching day can be taken as an example of "doing teaching". These are merely being used as illustrative examples.
in the classroom, rather than merely to list these strategies from instances of observed teacher activity or recorded teacher talk. The underlying rules that determine the "appropriateness" are more visible in their breaching rather than their upholding.

Surface rules and "Doing Teaching"

A student teacher is taking the class for mental arithmetic in the course of which she does a "reversal" - as well as asking "two times three" she also asks "three times two". She asks them one after the other, however, and her Associate comments as follows:

"I mean if she'd walked into the classroom and taken that lesson, well that's fair enough, but you know, she's been in the room three or four weeks and she knows. You know, I've taken twenty mental, she's taken it, you don't do a reverse one after the other."

[Associate, 3.100]

A rule is involved here on the basis of which we can assess the appropriateness of the student's actions. The rule states "you don't do a reverse one after the other" and clearly the student broke the rule and hence acted inappropriately. We can suggest that the reason why her

...
actions were inappropriate relates to the perceived intellectual ability of the children involved. The Associate comments further:

"If she said "two times three" and straight after said "three times two", the children think it's the same one so they get down to the bottom and instead of having twenty down, they've only got nineteen." [Associate, 3.100]

We can suggest that the "sense" of the rule can only be understood in relation to the underlying "typification" of children that is being used by the teacher to guide her classroom activities, and the central point that will be made in this chapter is that in order for the student teacher to achieve competence in "doing teaching", she not only has to act in accord with rules such as these, but, more importantly, she has also to indicate that she has grasped the "sense" of the rules by "ad hocing" appropriate behaviour in situations where the rules have not been made explicit for her. It will be remembered from an earlier chapter that, in contrast to the "normative" perspective which considers "rules" to be pre-given and inferrable on the basis of "dispositions" and "role expectations", the phenomenological perspective that is being adopted in the present thesis asserts that the "rules" which govern social interaction are not irresolvably pre-given but, on the contrary, are abstract instructions that have to be specified in each situation of their use, and accordingly have to be "adapted" or "ad hoced" in order to actually produce a piece of appropriate conduct in a given situation. This, however, is anticipating the

7 It is likely to be a feature of "testing situations" that "those in the know" will purposefully leave areas of activity unexplicated in their discussions with the subordinate in order that they might assess this dimension to the subordinate's competence.
argument that will be developed in a later section of the chapter so, for the moment, we will concern ourselves with displaying the rule-based nature of classroom activity as a preliminary to showing how these "rules" are related to "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance by means of interpretive procedures.

As an initial step towards achieving competence in "doing teaching", the student teacher has to act in accordance with a number of proscriptions and prescriptions related to behaviour in the classroom. These, if you like, are rules-for-action, or what Cicourel (1973) refers to as "surface rules". It should be borne in mind that these surface rules are essentially vague because they possess a partially open character in every situation of their use. Like any other social activity, teaching is a rule-based activity and these surface rules relate to what we referred to in an earlier context as "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance. The student teacher "picks up" on these rules over the course of a number of practice teaching sections where, through interaction with successive Associates, she begins to get a feel for how teaching is "done".

"Picks up" in the sense of using those interpretive, reflexive and typificatory abilities that she acquired during "primary socialisation" to "make sense" of this "new" (for her) social situation within which she has to act "as a member".

This is not to deny the value of the input in this regard that comes from the academic work that the student does during her courses at Teachers College. In this particular context, however, it is likely to be the case that the student will find the knowledge that she accumulates during practice teaching to be more "meaningful" and of greater "relevance".
As an analytical strategy we can isolate and identify a number of these rules by paying attention to particular instances where student teachers, on the testimony of their superordinates, can be seen to have acted "less-than-adequately" in particular teaching situations. It should be appreciated that, in doing so, we are introducing a measure of artificiality into the situation insofar as the members in the situation do not have access to a "master list" of these rules and we are therefore giving the rules a definiteness that they do not possess in everyday life where they are essentially vague and taken-for-granted. The following comments and reports should therefore be regarded as illustrative examples and should not be taken as being indicative of the fact that technically it would be possible to extend the listing and make it more "exhaustive". Given the perspective that we have adopted on the "nature" of rules in everyday life, this was not considered to be a particularly "meaningful" task.

The following examples relate to that area of teaching activity that might be referred to as "classroom management". This area was chosen for no other reason than that the examples to be used provided what seemed to be a coherent whole in relation to the analysis to be developed later in the chapter.

10 From a theoretical point of view it was considered more relevant to get at the "grounds" for deciding the "appropriateness" of various actions and activities in the classroom and hence be able to say something meaningful about "rule-use" in the classroom situation, rather than attempt to provide a listing of rules-for-action.
Rule : Give
"Clear Instructions"

The following comment was made by one of the college lecturers who took the students' crit lessons at Totara. The "incident" that is described occurred towards the end of a student's crit lesson. The children were on the mat, the student had just finished reading the morning story and was about to make the transition to the next part of the morning's activities.

"She described what she wanted done and just didn't go that one step further and say "Now I'm going to tell you about this task and I would like you all to listen carefully to what I've got to say and when I tell you, then you'll move quietly and you're not to move until I say so. And of course she said "Now, people in this group are going to be doing project work and the "A" reading group are going to be doing reading", and they just went "pow", you know, they all took off. She sort of tried to rectify that by racing after one child to say "Now you come back here" and she said afterwards that she felt that she should have called them all back and done the thing again. I said I didn't really feel so, I think she could have avoided it by the kind of instruction she gave first."

[College Lecturer, 5.85]

Giving clear, precise instructions at the beginning of a lesson, or in the transition from one part of the lesson to the next is an important rule for the student to follow and coupled with this is the "requirement" to get feedback from the children in order to ensure that they have understood the instructions. The researcher sat in on a post-mortem situation where an Associate was commenting on a lesson that had been taken by her student:

Mrs McInnes commented that some of the children take a long time to cotton on to what is required so her instructions should have been a lot more explicit. Jocelyn said she realised this and that after she had gone over to the reading group she remembered that she hadn't
got any feedback from the children in terms of any questions that they might like to ask about the project. \[3.14\] 11

We could further amplify on this rule by suggesting that not only should the instructions be given "clearly" but that in many cases it might be more appropriate to give them "one at a time" since this helps to ensure clarity. An Associate comments as follows:

"It's very important at this level to give one instruction at a time. It's very, very important and this is something that students have to learn. I clap my hands if the children are busy. One thing they do is stop, everything, tongues, feet, hands, everything stops. And I'll say "Quietly pack up" and they'll pack up. And they'll look at me and I'll say "Tiptoe on to the mat" and they sit on the mat and we do our little bit of formal work, which would never be any longer than ten minutes on the mat, then on to the next activity." [Associate, 4.96]

Part of the rationale for this particular rule can be seen to develop from the structuredness of the teaching programme. The children know what comes next and are therefore able to anticipate instructions and react before the teacher is ready for them to move.

"It's no good saying to them "Pack up, sit quietly on the mat" because they'll do it before you get to your instructions. They've done it so many times before." [Associate, 4.96]

The order in which instructions are given is therefore just as important as the clarity of the instructions and a 11 Observation of the student's teaching activities subsequent to this revealed that she had internalised this rule and took great care both to give clear instructions and, where appropriate, to get feedback from the children.
teacher who instructs the children to go to the mat before she tells them to take their textbooks with them is likely to have control problems.

After Susan had finished giving the children the answers to the mental arithmetic and had checked up on how many had got them right she asked them to "Walk quietly on the mat". Before she had finished speaking, however, a few of the children started to move from their desks and she had to get them reseated. She still had to tell them to take their textbooks with them. [4.11]

Many of these problems that are encountered by the student could be avoided if the student would only take the time to think ahead and anticipate consequences of actions before engaging in them. The lecturer who commented earlier on the crit lesson incident concluded his comment by saying:

"She should have anticipated what was going to happen. That's part of the role of the teacher, to think ahead." [College Lecturer, 5.85]

Rule:
"Think Ahead"

The consequences of not thinking ahead can be minor where, for example, the teacher has to take the time to control the class because of misunderstandings that have arisen because instructions haven't been clear enough.

On the other hand, for the inexperienced student who is "caught up" in the presentation of a lesson, a comment that is made without forethought can have more serious implications.

"The other day Susan had two interruptions with people wanting to go to the toilet while she was taking the lesson, and she was so keyed up about the lesson she really didn't want to be bothered with them. So she said to them, "Well, if you really want to go to the toilet, you don't have
to ask me, just go". And half the class stood up (laughs). So I, from my seat I said "No you don't" and they all sat down. And I just grinned at Susan and she knew, you see, you don't make statements like that, it's just not on. She had said that on the spur of the moment and didn't realise the consequences and then looked as if she didn't know what to do when they all stood up and were going to go out the door. You get wary."  [Associate, 4.62]

The "wariness" that accompanies anticipation comes, of course, from experience, but this wariness is a facet of teaching behaviour that the teacher has to be able to apply in a number of different situations if she is to remain in control of the overall situation. It would not be too unrealistic, in fact, to see it as a rule-for-survival because somehow it seems to be predicated on the notion that children will exploit any slips by the teacher in the area of control. An Associate provides an example of how children will "try out" a teacher who is new to the class.

"I could go into another class perhaps for the very first time, they would know I'm a teacher, but they're still going to try me out. One of the other teachers went into Mrs Gillard's class while she was away for a couple of days and they came up to her and said "Can I go to the toilet, please?". Now she was a teacher, and she's had this before so she said "No, you've just had playtime", and they knew well we can't slip out whenever we want to."  [Associate, 3.97] 12

12 We noted aspects of this in an earlier chapter where, in chapter 5 we referred to the fact that children seem to play up with anyone who's new to the class, not just with students.
Rule:
"Be Firm"

It follows from this that the teacher should "be firm" in her dealings with children in class, not to the extent of being a stern disciplinarian but to the extent of setting out boundaries of conduct within which the children have to operate. Once these boundaries have been "negotiated" and "set" between the teacher and the children, she should be firm in her application of them. An Associate comments on her student's performance in this area:

"If you've been in the class when Susan's spoken sharply to anyone you'll see that they seem to respect it. There's no answering back, they just take it and the rest of the class is quite still, you know, there's a hushed silence. That hush indicates that she was right in saying what she did and that they know that they wouldn't do that because they will get the same treatment. If she hadn't done that, or done something else to remedy it, then you would have many children in the room doing exactly the same thing." [Associate, 4.70]

In many cases these boundaries will be social and as such, subject to manipulation on occasions by the children. In some instances, however, there may be a need for physical boundaries where, for example, the teacher has to operate outside the confines of the classroom situation.

"If you take them out for physical education, you provide boundaries within which you're going to work. You say "You get changed and sit there" and you go out on the paddock with four wickets and you stick them in and you say "Now we're going to be working in that area". Otherwise, you know, they'd just go, and then you've got to blow whistles and call out and get them back [laughs]. I think that's the kind of thing that a teacher has to learn to do." [College Lecturer, 5.85]

One of the Associates made a similar point in conversation with the researcher.
"One thing I won’t do with a class is take them outside the classroom until I’m certain I can control them. It’s too dangerous to take them where there are no physical boundaries. That’s the true test of whether you’re in control of a class or not, when you can take them outside." [Associate, 4.59]

These limits within which the teacher and the pupils operate have an obvious relevance in the context of classroom control, but they have relevance in other areas of classroom operation as well. We referred to one of these areas in the previous chapter where, under the heading of "things for me to remember", one of the students noted the following "procedure" that she should follow in her classroom interaction:

"Let the children know that the questions and answers will not be repeated - this makes it clear to them that they have to listen carefully." [Doc 83]

Unfortunately for the student concerned, this particular rule had still to be learned the "hard way" by suffering the consequences that result from breaking it. Her Associate provided the details.

"She was taking twenty mental and one person said to her "What was number 12?"., so she told them, and she was up to about number 15. And then they started "Please miss, I didn’t get number 5 down, what was that?" and when they finished she was so bamboozled. Now they know that I will only call it out once, twice at the most, and then I go on and I won’t go back. But they are able to sense just how far they can go. This was at the beginning before she started being quite firm with them." [Associate, 4.62]

The objective in "being firm", of course, is to minimise disruption in the classroom so that the teacher can get on with "teaching" and to this end rules-of-courtesy are important boundary mechanisms.
"You've definitely got strong personalities in that classroom. But you've got to make sure that they don't interfere with the other children or talk all the time so that the other kids don't get an opportunity. So you've got to establish certain courtesies that they've got to follow, you know, not calling out when someone else is answering questions, putting their hands up and that sort of thing. Otherwise, you know, they'll talk all the time and then you won't get any teaching done. If that happens it's just impossible." [Student, 5.34]

In this particular case, the student would receive reassurance from the following comment that her Associate offered after she had taken a group reading lesson:

"You were correct in reprimanding Christopher for calling out in the group. In a reading group it is important that one child should not dominate the situation or call out." [Doc.78]

The teacher is able to forestall disruption in the classroom, then, by attending to rules which "urge" her to give clear instructions, to think ahead and to be firm in her dealings with the children. Another related rule has to do with "minimising pupil movement".

Rule: "Minimise Pupil Movement"

By minimising pupil movement the teacher can assert a measure of control over the noise level in the classroom. It is significant that where movement in the classroom is necessary, the instruction to move is invariably accompanied by the admonition "quietly". The following example is interesting insofar as the teacher concerned "manipulates" the classroom environment to achieve this end, but she does so in a way that seems to indicate "habituality" and "naturalness". It is something that doesn't require thinking
about. This provides a useful contrast for the early part of the example where the student conducts the introductory part of the lesson in such a way as to unintentionally bring about pupil movement and hence potential disruption.

Jocelyn had the children on the mat and was waiting to tell them about the project they were going to do. The children were noisy. When her silence didn't bring the response she wanted she said "Why should some well behaved people have to wait until the rest of you quieten down?" The children stopped talking and paid attention. She had a large piece of cardboard with her at the front and she talked about the pictures that were on it and explained how they related to the project that she wanted them to do. She asked them to read out what was written below each picture but only the children who were sitting at the front were close enough to do so. The ones at the back couldn't see and there was some pushing and shoving as they knelt up to get a better view. [2.17]

In this introductory part of the lesson the disruption is not serious but it is obvious that the student could have handled the lesson in a more "adequate" way in order to obviate this necessity for movement. Compare this with the second part of the lesson.

Mrs McInnes came back into the classroom just as Jocelyn finished. Jocelyn was about to give out the sheets that went with the project and she asked Mrs McInnes if it would be better to do that when the children were sitting at their desks. Mrs McInnes said yes, so the children moved to their desks. With the children at their desks and the sheets given out, the poster had to be placed where the children could refer to it. Jocelyn put it on the blackboard at the front of the class. Without saying anything to her, Mrs McInnes moved the poster to the bookcase on the side wall next to the desks where the children could refer to it without moving. [2.17]

The significant part about this second segment to the lesson is the Associate's strategic placement of the lesson
material such that the children hardly had to move at all in order to refer to it.

Movement means noise, but there is another dimension to this rule that is taken up by Mrs McInnes in the following comment where she insists that if a child wants to consult with the teacher it is "better" for the teacher to go to the child, rather than have the child come to the teacher.

It's better to go to the child rather than have them coming to you because when they come to you, you get so busy with children up here at your desk that the ones down the back are playing up. But if you're walking around the class, they haven't got a chance because you're keeping an oversight over the whole lot." [Associate, 2.40]

Behaving in accordance with this set of rules has its complexities, however, insofar as there are situations in the classroom where the rule has to be modified and the teacher is "justified" in controlling the children from where she sits. Such a situation is the group reading situation where the teacher is working with a small reading group in the corner of the room and the rest of the class work at their desks on the day's project. In this situation the teacher has to occasionally speak to individual talkative children in the non-reading group since she can't allow the noise to build up to the level where she can't hear herself. This actually happened in one of the rooms when one of the students was taking group reading and her Associate commented as follows:

"She said to me later on "I couldn't hear what the children were saying to me" and I said "Why not?". And she said "Perhaps my voice isn't loud enough". I said "Yes, but you were talking about the children". And she said "Well I couldn't hear because of the noise"
and that’s when she realised herself what she should do. So the next day she was prepared for that and when there was a noise she left the reading group, went over to the child and spoke to him, and then she went back. But while she was away, the reading group were making a noise. So I suggested to her that this is one time when the children know that they’re not allowed to make a noise and therefore you sit where you are and call out." [Associate, 2.48]

Minimising pupil movement in appropriate ways and knowing when it is appropriate, as well as inappropriate, to "circulate" in the classroom in order to "keep an eye" on the children would seem to be important things for a student teacher to learn. As with the other rules discussed earlier, the significance of this rule derives from the teacher’s need to maintain order in the classroom so that she can get on with the more important task of teaching.

The following conversation between the researcher and one of the students related to the amount of "controlling" that Mrs Gillard had to do in her class.

"She seems to have to spend a lot of time just trying to keep them under control" I said. "Yes" Susan replied, it’s a problem. And you can’t raise your voice to them" she continued, "because they just won’t listen to you then. I don’t see how she could do things any other way. Some of them are quite cheeky, well not cheeky, more naughty and if you didn’t stay on top of them it would be chaos. I’m not in favour of keeping them quiet just for the sake of quietness, but you have to be able to do your teaching. She handles them well, but then she’s experienced." [1.52]

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13 Although the Associates at Totara insisted that the children in their classes weren’t difficult to control, it nevertheless was the case that they had to do a lot of controlling "work" during their teaching day.
The teacher's efforts at maintaining order in the classroom will be greatly aided by her ability to maintain the pupils' interest in the classroom activities through the lesson material that she uses, through the type of questions that she asks and through her ability to relate to the children and relax with them. In an earlier chapter we cited the "formula" "bored children are more likely to play up and misbehave" and in that context we quoted one of the Associates as saying "if you've got something that's really interesting for them to do, they haven't got time to misbehave, they're not interested in it" [3.97].

**Rule: "Maintain Pupil Interest"**

The Associate's presence in the classroom while the student is taking a lesson makes it easier for the student to maintain control during the lesson. If the Associate is not there, then the onus falls on the student to keep the children interested on her own.

"It depends on the work the student is taking with them. If she's taking something really exciting with them, they couldn't care if I was in the room or not, they're interested in the lesson and that's that. But if the lesson isn't going terribly well they'll be goodish because I'm in the room, but if I wasn't in the room well, you know, their behaviour would deteriorate." [Associate, 2.38]

Having interesting material is not enough, though, the student has to involve the children in the lesson where appropriate and in this regard she has to pay attention to the type of questions that she asks.

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14 See chapter 5, page 137
"She has to think about the type of question she asks. "Will it keep the children interested? Will they want to answer and therefore will they want to listen?"." [Associate, 3.99]

The type of questions that a teacher asks is clearly an important factor in maintaining the interest of the children and it would appear that asking appropriate questions is no easy matter.

"You’ve got to have questions that are interesting. If you ask them obvious questions all the time, they’re going to just tune out. If your questions are too difficult, you’ve got half the class tuned out anyway. So it really is quite a complex thing pitching questions at the right level, getting them interested, choosing the right child, if you get a wrong answer not just ignoring the child but giving the child some encouragement, but still waiting for the right answer."

[Associate, 4.106]

This is a theme we will return to later when we consider the importance to the teacher of "knowing children", both individually and in general.

Despite the fact, however, that the student teacher may be able to prepare lesson plans that incorporate interesting material, and in spite of the fact that she may be aware that "questioning" is an important aspect of teaching strategy, she may still fail to incorporate this into her teaching performance in an appropriate way.

"It’s not her lesson plans, they’re fine. It’s how she puts it across to the children. This only comes from being relaxed and at ease. She’d be much better if she could relax because I know she’s got that ability to keep children interested." [Associate, 3.104]

The Associate had earlier commented on her student’s teaching performance in the following terms:
"This morning she was taking the first part of maths and they were having their twenty mental and she had the expression on her face, although I know underneath she wasn't feeling as she looked outwardly, she looked as if she was going to cry. I know it sounds over-simplified, but just giving a smile helps. If you're feeling nervous with the children, even a smile on your face does make the children smile and a little happier. It puts them in a better frame of mind anyway and often a smile shows that you're confident. But she's scared someone's not going to do as they're told and she's going to lose control. She's not relaxed and the children sense this and they'll play on it again and again." [Associate, 4.96, 4.99]

The very important qualification that has to be made here, though, is that being able to be relaxed in the teaching situation does not necessarily imply that the teacher concerned is a "good" teacher. As an Associate commented "In some cases a relaxed teacher could be taken to be a slack teacher" [4.105]. The point at issue is that the teacher's relaxed approach should be predicated on a knowledge of the lesson material and a confidence in her ability to handle the class. For this particular student, though, the Associate felt that a change in orientation was necessary insofar as she should feel freer to joke with the children.

"I'd like to carry on with her the idea of having a few jokes with the children. I think that since she's been here she has never, ever, made the children laugh. She hasn't either twisted something round so that it's in their language so that they can relax and have a bit of fun. I know this will come perhaps when she's got her own class and she has got complete control and she is confident, then she'll do it." [Associate, 3.98] 15

15 The Associate later provided a contrast with a year one student that she had had the previous year: "She had the control over them because what she told them was interesting, she had a child that age and related directly to this level. She talked about herself and she made them laugh." [3.103]
Surface Rules and Classroom Management

In the area of classroom management we have identified a number of "rules" that a teacher works to as she maintains order in her classroom, and we would suggest that a student teacher would similarly have to work within these "rules" in order to be treated as an "acceptable type" within the teaching collectivity. These rules extend beyond the five headings we have used and would include the following:

- Give clear instructions to pupils;
- Where appropriate, give instructions one at a time and in a "logical" order;
- Where appropriate, get feedback from pupils to ensure that they have understood complex instructions;
- In interacting with pupils, think ahead, be wary and be firm;
- Establish boundaries for pupil behaviour;
- Having established these boundaries, work within them;
- Establish rules-of-courtesy in the classroom;
- Minimise pupil movement wherever possible;
- Maintain pupil interest in the lesson.

The objective in this section of the chapter was to "display" the rule-based nature to teaching as an activity. Although we have only focused on one aspect of "doing teaching" it would seem reasonable to expect that in other areas we would find similar rules in operation and that as the end product of careful research we would be able to "achieve" similar listings of rules in these other teaching areas. As we have argued earlier in the chapter, however, providing such a comprehensive listing was not considered
to be a particularly meaningful task in the context of the perspective being adopted in this research project. Given the theoretical perspective that has guided the research, it was considered more appropriate that we attempt to "get at" the "grounds" or "rationale" for these rules rather than attempt to develop a listing of rules. In this way it was hoped that we would be able to say something meaningful about "rule-use" in the context of the teacher's classroom activities.

It will be remembered that in an earlier part of this chapter we anticipated this point by suggesting that in order for the student teacher to achieve competence in "doing teaching", she not only has to act in accord with the sorts of rules we have identified, but, more importantly, she has to indicate that she has grasped the "sense" of the rules by "ad hoc-ing" appropriate behaviour in situations where the rules have not been made explicit for her. This is a basic and important point insofar as it highlights the strategic nature of the contribution that "interpretive procedures" make to the process of achieving competence in this, and indeed any "culture". Through the use of these interpretive procedures, and particularly as a result of developing appropriate typification schemes, the student teacher is spared the task of labouriously isolating and

16 In chapter 1, it will be remembered, we suggested that from a phenomenological point of view, an actor's competence within a collectivity will be assessed by other members on the basis of the actor's ability to "ad hoc" or "successfully apply" appropriate interactional rules.

17 It should be borne in mind that this analysis is intended to be applicable to any situation where a "stranger" approaches a collectivity and attempts to be accepted as a "member".
identifying a wide range of interactional rules as a necessary prerequisite to achieving competence in "doing teaching". Instead of this, she should be able to interpretively use her typification schemes to "inform" or "guide" her classroom activities in accordance with general rather than specific rules.

It is obvious that we should now turn our attention to the nature of these typification schemes.

"Course-of-Action Types" and "Doing Teaching"

In an earlier chapter we defined "typification devices" as "categories formed for the classification, identification, recognition and understanding of experiences" and we drew attention to the important contribution that the use of such "typification devices" makes towards creating and maintaining habituality of action in everyday life. This was possible because the social stock of knowledge provides group members with "typical" solutions for "typical" problems. In this connection we quoted Berger and Luckmann (1966:56-58) as follows:

"Participation in the social stock of knowledge permits the "location" of individuals in society and the "handling" of them in the appropriate manner. ... The social stock of knowledge further supplies .... the typificatory schemes required for the major routines of everyday life."

According to Schutz (1962c:29) this "network of typifications" provides, among other things, typifications of human individuals in general as well as of typical human
motivations, goals and action patterns. It is these typifications of action patterns, or "course-of-action" types that we wish in particular to focus attention on in the remaining sections of this thesis as we argue that a competent display of "doing teaching" requires, as its basis, that the teacher's activities in the classroom be "informed" or "guided" by an appropriate typification of the "course-of-action" patterns of "typical" children. It is these "course-of-action" typifications that sensitise the competent teacher to the appropriateness or otherwise of her projected actions in the classroom. What we are suggesting here is that as a result of the application of the teacher's interpretive typificatory and reflexive abilities, she not only acquires the typifications that are necessary for giving a competent display of "doing teaching", but she is also able to use these typifications - use in an interpretive and reflexive sense - to "inform" her activities in the classroom so that she does "in fact" achieve a competent display.

In this respect it is essential that the teacher builds up an "understanding" or "knowledge" of children, something that was referred to by one of the college lecturers as "the name of the game" (5.77) and by another as "the main thing" to be achieved as the result of students doing practice teaching (5.46). It is essential, however, that we distinguish

19 We suggested in an earlier chapter that "interactional competence" was based on these three analytically distinct but mutually inclusive cognitive structures. See chapter 3 page 63.

20 These comments were offered independently of each other, and both were offered spontaneously without any prompting from the researcher.
between "knowing children" [in general terms] and "knowing the children" [in a specific classroom].

Knowing the children in her particular classroom is obviously an important dimension to a teacher's effectiveness. As one of the Totara Associates commented: "If you're an efficient teacher you know your children as individuals" [4.90]. This may reflect, in part, a humanitarian concern for the "whole" child rather than just the "school" child, a concern that is responsive to the individual personality of the child\(^21\) as well as the child's home background\(^22\). Additionally, it may be a reflection of the teaching ideal that teaching activities should reflect the particular needs and abilities of individual children as much as possible\(^23\).

\(^{21}\) A knowledge of the personalities of the different children in her classroom determines the different tactics that a teacher will adopt in dealing with these individual children. An Associate comments on two of the children in her class. "If you had a student coming in here for the first time, and there was Betty Collins down the back perhaps had a pencil in her hand and was busy doing something else when it should have been all eyes on the blackboard. And there was also, perhaps eh, Peter Jackson doing the same thing. Now if you breezed in here and said "Betty Collins, stand up. You're not supposed to be doing something like that", that would just shatter her completely. But somebody like Peter Jackson, he'd just stand up and say "Right-oh". That's why you give the students a chance to pick out the ones who are very shy and the ones who are very much the extrovert. Just to give them an idea that your tactic with each child is different." [Associate, 4.105]

\(^{22}\) In a discussion with the researcher, one of the Associates singled out a boy in her class for particular mention in this regard. He was quite aggressive at times but his father had left home and this had an effect on the boy. She said that she would often select him to give an answer in class so that he would feel wanted.

\(^{23}\) From comments that were made either to the researcher, or in the presence of the researcher, it was obvious that at the very least it was expected that students should be able to sense the "bright ones" in the room and expect far more from them than she did from those who were a bit slower [4.63].
In both cases the "end product", in terms of what takes place in the classroom, may not exactly match the underlying idealism. Knowing the children in the class also has practical benefits for the teacher, however, insofar as she is better able to maintain order in the room if she knows who the "troublemakers" are, and, in addition, she can "orchestrate" the development of a lesson by asking particular questions of particular children.

24 For an extended and very illuminating analysis and discussion of this, see Sharp and Green (1975). In the early stages of the field work the researcher overheard a conversation between one of the Associates and her student in which the student was asserting that with two of them in the room they would be able to do much more individualised teaching. The Associate replied to the effect that while this was a sound comment and that the ideal was worth striving for, it was very rarely achieved in practice (1.15). It is likely to be the case that practice teaching serves a useful function in this regard insofar as it brings the student face-to-face with the realities of teaching that they might not otherwise come across in their reading. The following comment from one of the students illustrates this: "I tackled her a bit and said I was surprised at the number of children in the class who couldn't read, so she in turn said how hard it was getting them to do homework. She said she saw no reason why she should keep the brighter ones back for a whole lot of children who're not interested. She said she was sick of helping those who aren't interested so she concentrated on the bright ones. It knocked me back a bit because you always sort of have the teacher running round the lower ones and she doesn't always bother." (Student, 3.21)

25 After being in these classrooms a short while it was obvious to the researcher that these tended to be the children that the Associates as well as the students would pay particular attention to when they were settling the class at the beginning of a lesson and more often than not, reprimands during a lesson would also be directed at these children.
"It only comes through getting to know the children. As the student is in the class for longer and longer she should be able to get to that stage where if you're asking something simple like "eight times one", you're more likely to ask a slower child such as Wiri or Nichola or Brendan rather than a bright child like Mark or Jane."

[Associate, 4.105] 26

It clearly is the case that the student teacher has to place high priority on getting to know the children in the class to which she has been allocated, but her understanding of children must go beyond the particular children in the immediate classroom. She must be able to use her experiences to generalise beyond this class and these particular children to children in general. In terms of the discussion that has gone before, we would suggest that the end result of her experiences on practice teaching sections should be that she is "equipped" with appropriate "typifications" of children "as they appear in the classroom". What the student teacher needs to do in order to perform "adequately" in the classroom is to internalise and "sum" these notions of the "typical" behaviour of "typical" children and allow these typifications to "inform" her subsequent interaction and classroom activities. This, then, is the substance of the transition from "knowing children in a particular classroom" to "knowing children".

One of the college lecturers summed it up in the following terms:

26 It quite clearly is the case that selecting hands in the classroom is not a random process but, when done by a teacher who knows the class, is highly purposeful, and in the early stages of a section the student will often be "caught out" by asking the "wrong" child for the answer to a particular question. In selecting a hand, however, the teacher can achieve much more than just getting the required information. She can also test a child's knowledge, or ascertain whether a child has been listening or not. In addition to this she can use it as a means of giving encouragement or showing favour.
"She has to know the children in the class, certainly. But she also, while she's out there, she has to build up this whole concept of what children are like. All her other experiences should help her in this. Understanding children, it's really the name of the game." [College Lecturer, 5.86]

When asked as to what was involved in this, he elaborated as follows:

"It relates to knowing child development. They must know the stages of cognitive development. That there's no use expecting children to carry out tasks that are beyond their capabilities. They must also know that there are certain things that are necessary to do in order to prepare children for things to come, this we call "readiness" and this comes from knowing and understanding how children think. That's one aspect to it. I think another, again related to the developmental side is perhaps in relation to moral development. The teacher must know and understand children in order to be able to establish the patterns of behaviour that are appropriate to that level." [College Lecturer, 5.86]

In the following section we will attempt to formalise this in terms of identifying particular dimensions to the typifications of children that emerged from an analysis of the researcher's field notes.

Teacher Typifications:

"Knowing Children"

We are taking "knowing children" to be shorthand for "knowing what children are capable of" and we would suggest that this has two aspects to it:

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27 Again, it should be emphasised that the discussion is not comprehensive in its coverage. It is hoped that by having shown that this particular theoretical approach does have a valuable contribution to make to our understanding of the social processes in a situation like this, that the work will form the basis for much more intensive research work.
1 A Behavioural aspect, in the sense of knowing what sort of behaviour children of a certain age level are "capable" of; 28 and

2 An Intellectual aspect, in the sense of knowing the intellectual "capabilities" of children of a certain age level 29.

In both cases we would suggest that these typifications "call forth" appropriate behaviour on the part of the teacher and that in all cases, this appropriate behaviour can be "formulated" in terms of particular "surface rules". It is the teacher's "access" to these typifications that allows her to "ad hoc" these rules and hence achieve competence in "doing teaching". In identifying particular aspects to this typification scheme we will specify the accompanying rule or rules.

In terms of the behavioural capabilities of children of this particular age level 30 we can make the preliminary statement that the teacher's "typifications" "tell" her to expect them to be disruptive, naughtly and undisciplined, discourteous, inconsiderate and talkative, irresponsible, impatient, and dishonest. Her typification of the "intellectual" capabilities of children of this age tell her to expect children who are at a particular intellectual level, who are inattentive, who show little academic independence and who have a tendency towards "restricted" speech patterns. It should be borne in

28 This is concerned with knowledge of the stages of "moral development" in children. See Kholberg (1969)

29 This is concerned with knowledge of the stages of "cognitive development" in children. See Piaget (1952, 1958)

30 These children ranged in age from 8 to 10.
mind that since these are typifications they are highly generalised and as such apply "in general" rather than to individual children. These are seen as being representative of "typical" behaviour of "typical" children given certain circumstances. Individual children may deviate from the "norm" in either direction but we are arguing that the teacher has to adaptively "programme" her behaviour in accordance with the "norm".

Knowing Children:
Disruptive, Naughty and Undisciplined

It would perhaps be universally agreed among teachers that children of this age, if left to their own devices, would run riot in the classroom. As one of the students commented: "If you didn't stay on top of them, it would be chaos" (1.52). There is no moral condemnation intended in this typification, however, since, in the words of one of the Associates "Every child is capable of being naughty" (3.99) so the child who is naughty is just being a "normal kid". In the last week of the practice teaching section the researcher commented to one of the students that she seemed to be more relaxed with the children now. She replied "Yes, I guess that's so although there's still a few of the children that need speaking to. It's not because they're intentionally naughty or anything like that, it's just because they're like that" (5.7).

The material that has already been presented in this and previous chapters is replete with examples that "substantiate" this typification and we will take that as justification for not overly labouring the point here.
Given this typification, the teacher is "required" to do certain things in the classroom in the sense that there are "rules" she must follow if she is to maintain order in the room. She must establish her authority over the children and set boundaries that they have to work within. She has to be firm in her dealings with the children. She must minimise pupil movement wherever possible, supervise their activities and take time at the beginning of each lesson segment to settle the class. She must also monitor the noise level in the class and intervene if it gets too high.

Knowing Children:

Talkative, Inconsiderate and Discourteous

If children as a group have a certain disruptive potential, then as individuals, certain children have a propensity to be similarly disruptive due to their lack of consideration for others. Because of this, certain courtesies have to be established in the classroom. The most persistent form of discourtesy in the classroom would appear to be "talking out of turn" and it would be generally accepted that their talkativeness and inconsiderateness contributes much to the disruptive potential of children in the classroom.

One of the college lecturers offered the following illustration.

"There was a Maori boy in one of the student's classes and they were doing a little play to put on for the rest of the school relating to a Maori legend. This boy wasn't involved and he was a naughty boy and he was continually showing off and he was playing around with the microphone stand while the student was working with the others on the stage. It was distracting so I caught his eye and called him over and said to him "You know you're not giving Miss Wilson a fair hearing. She's trying to take this thing on stage and you're making a lot
of noise. Why not be a little more considerate to her", and he went back to his place and didn't do another thing, he just stood there. And I said to the student afterwards was she aware of him and she said "Oh yes, he's driving me crazy this boy" and I said "Well it seemed rather strange to me that he is a boy who is an attention seeker and you didn't give him the major role in your play. He's a Maori after all". And she said "Oh heavens, I never thought of that". [College Lecturer, 5.84]

The teacher has to act to "contain" this inconsiderateness by establishing rules of courtesy in the classroom and by supervising their activities, but she also is "required" to contribute substantially to the moral development of the children.

"I think we do a tremendous amount of what I would call moral education in the classroom. There's care and concern for others. But in part, you know, the morality of the situation is that they should be made aware of the need to know that we're all in this together, it's a cooperative enterprise, we should help one another. The teacher is a model of this, the children look to the teacher as a guide to how you behave in certain situations. But the teachers must know and understand children in order to be able to establish the patterns of behaviour that are appropriate to that level." [College Lecturer, 5.86]31

Knowing Children:
Dishonest and Irresponsible

It is characteristic of children of this age that they should act in an irresponsible manner. Any sign of weakness in the teacher's authority and they will act to take advantage of this, when placed in an unsupervised situation they will invariably "play up" and be noisy, and as a result of this

31 One of the Associates commented on how she went about the task of emphasising the value of mutual respect between herself and the children: "We have a rule in our room that I don't go into anybody's desk unless I ask and no one's allowed to take anything of mine without asking. Mutual respect is a tremendous thing." [5.68]
given the structural constraints that she has to work within, the teacher will have to be firm with the children, supervise their activities and establish boundaries that they have to work within. A further measure of this irresponsibility of children of this age can be adduced, however, from their propensity to "cheat" during tests if given a chance and the instructions that precede a test will invariably contain the admonition "Eyes on your own paper and no talking".

One of the students offered the following insight into the matter:

"They're pretty good cheats. The answers are in the back of the book and they can also work it out from their rulers. With all those centimetres it goes right up to thirty on the rulers now. They can go three... and then run up, two threes, three threes, up to five threes, fifteen. And they write in the answers when you call them out." [Student, 4.76]

Commenting on a test that she was going to give the children the next week she said "It'll have to be closely supervised" [4.77]. Close supervision is one way of dealing with this situation, but there are others. The same student

It is important to bear in mind here that we are talking about teaching activities as they are carried out in a particular type of school. The rules that are applicable to social activity in this situation "reflect" not only the teachers' typifications but also the structural context within which they take place, see Sharp and Green [1975].

The Associate's interjection in the following situation is illustrative of this: Susan gave very explicit instructions about the maths test. The questions would be shown on the overhead projector, she would read them once and no more, there would be no talking and no questions, answers were to be recorded on the sheets that she was going to give out. She asked if there were any questions and then answered one or two. Just before the children started the test Mrs Gillard interjected from the back of the room to the effect that the children should cover their work up as they did it. [5.27]
"You go around and anyone who says they got twenty right you give them a quick oral test on the spot and if they can't do that you just say "Oh how did you get twenty right?"."  
(Student, 4.76)

The researcher was able to observe this in operation in the classroom where it was the Associate who did the "cross checking" but it was obvious that she was using her knowledge of the children in question to guide her activity.

While Jocelyn gave them mental arithmetic problems, Mrs McInnes circulated. At the end, one of the children commented "Boy we got through them fast". They did the marking and Mrs McInnes asked how many had got twenty correct. Six children put their hands up. Two of them were quizzed on a few more problems by Mrs McInnes before she put a tick in their books. Clearly she didn't trust them.  
(3.75)

The teachers in this school, and to some extent their students too, can be seen to hold certain typifications about the likely behaviour that can be expected from the children in their classes and to have formulated rules for their classroom behaviour in accordance with these typifications. It should be remembered, of course, that these rules are a reflection not only of these typifications but also of the structural context within which these teachers have to do their work. These typifications and rules are set out in Diagram 8.1.
## Diagram 8.1: Typifications and Surface Rules in the Context of "Doing Teaching": Moral Capabilities of Children

### Typifications:

**"Knowing Children"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typification</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disruptive</td>
<td>Establish authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naughtty</td>
<td>Be Firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undisciplined</td>
<td>Minimise pupil movement</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Establish boundaries</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monitor noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take time to settle the class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkative</td>
<td>Supervise activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsiderate</td>
<td>Establish rules of courtesy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourteous</td>
<td>Encourage moral development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impatient</td>
<td>Give instructions one at a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give instructions in a &quot;logical&quot; order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irresponsible</td>
<td>Establish boundaries and work to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
<td>Supervise test work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warn against cheating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These rules still have to be "adapted" in particular situations, of course. For example, they obviously do not apply during an Art lesson. See the extract from the field notes (3.18) on pages 105 to 106 of chapter 4.

We turn now to consider teacher typifications related to the intellectual capabilities of children of this age level.

### Knowing Children: Intellectual Capabilities

We have in an earlier context stressed the importance to the teacher of being able to have a reasonably clear typification of the intellectual capabilities of the children in her class as a group, rather than as specific individuals. She must know what tasks the children are capable of, she must have an understanding of their level of cognitive development and she must incorporate
this knowledge into her teaching such that the tasks she sets, the questions she asks and the expectations that she establishes should be neither too far above nor too far below the childrens' capabilities. Achieving this is no easy matter for a teacher and since to a large extent the resulting typification will often represent the end product of a number of subjective judgements that have been made in the classroom, it may have some limitations as a "guide-for-action". An Associate comments as follows:

"I don't think there's any one teacher who'd ever claim to be able to do that successfully every time. I don't think there's any one of us who doesn't get a wee shock when you administer some sort of objective test. You learn such an enormous amount by working with kiddies five hours a day, observing them work, hearing their responses and all this sort of thing. It all builds up into one great subjective judgement. Then you bang a little bit of objectivity in, in the way of some sort of a test and sometimes you get a wee bit of a shock. No, it is not easy." [Associate, 5.103]

It will inevitably be the case that student teachers will also have problems in this regard, although it seems that this is not always the case. One of the Totara students earned praise from her Associate because of her abilities in this area.

"One thing she does very well, she has never set them work that is really too hard for them to do or too easy. She has been able to sense just exactly what level they're up to which is a very, very hard skill for some people. Some students will have many lessons where they find that their work's just beyond them, their expectations are just far too high for that particular class of children, and others, their work is far too easy and the children get bored and start playing up. But she seems to do that very well." [Associate, 4.61]

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34 The researcher was made aware of his own deficiencies in this regard when, as an exercise in reciprocity, he offered one of the Associates a tape to use in her class. The children were involved in a project on "Whales" and the tape contained a whaling song complete with authentic whale noises. The Associate was initially enthusiastic but after she had listened to the tape she said that it was unsuitable for use with children of this age. The music was too slow and the words were not distinct enough to hold their attention [5.66]
The rules that develop from this typification of the childrens' intellectual capabilities are fairly obvious insofar as the teacher must attempt to "pitch" her material, questions and expectations at the "right" level for the age group concerned and, in more specific terms, for the particular children who happen to be in her class. But the "implications" for the teacher's activities go much further than this, however. She must be careful not to "confuse" the children. We noticed in an earlier context how the rule "you don't do a reverse one after the other" could be seen to develop from this typification of the intellectual capabilities of the children. In addition to this, however, it appears that she must take care not to pass over a wrong answer offered by a child without first indicating that the answer is wrong and in many cases it appears she must take the time to explain why it is wrong. The researcher noted many instances of this during his time spent in these classrooms but one example will suffice.

In word study Mrs Gillard dealt with the "ch" family. She asked the children for as many words as they could think of that began with "ch" and as the children suggested words she wrote these on the blackboard. She wrote up twenty four words in all. Brendan suggested "cricket" as one of the words. Mrs Gillard wrote this on the board, explained why it was wrong and then stroked the word out. [5.4]

35 See the material on pages 103 to 104 of chapter four that has been extracted from section "3.9" of the Field notes.

36 Mrs. Gillard's student ran into problems because of this during a maths lesson and again, Brendan is involved: Susan was doing "subtraction" with them and the last example on the board was 93 take away 8. Brendan wanted to know why you couldn't just take the three from the eight because that gave you five as well. Susan replied that that wasn't how things were done, but Peter offered an explanation that seemed to substantiate Brendan's point. Mrs Gillard then intervened and pointed out that Peter's explanation didn't work in all cases, that this was an exception, and that the children would really be better forgetting what Peter had said. [4.12]
What we are suggesting here is that because of the intellectual capabilities of children of this age, the teacher must "treat everything seriously" in order to ensure that the children don't assimilate wrong material.

There are further characteristics of children of this age that can be seen to derive from their level of cognitive development and although our material is somewhat limited here, we can identify three of these characteristics as being the limited nature of their attention span, their restricted speech patterns when answering questions in class and their tendency towards academic dependency on the teacher.

Knowing Children: Limited Attention Span

We have already commented fairly extensively on this aspect of the children's classroom behaviour when we suggested that this can be seen as the "rationale" for the teacher giving clear instructions, getting feedback on complex instructions, giving the children a reason to listen and working at maintaining their interest. The need for attentiveness on the part of the children develops from very fundamental concerns in the classroom. If the children don't pay attention they are unlikely to derive any educational benefit from the lesson. In addition to this, inattentive

37 It should be borne in mind that these children were predominantly working class children and it is likely to be the case that this would exacerbate the characteristics identified here. What we would argue though, and this is something that has still to be tested, is that most children of this age group would at some time display characteristics such as these to one degree or another, and that a teacher who is involved in teaching children of this age, irrespective of their class background, would have to take this into account as she carried out her teaching activities.
children are more likely to be disruptive, and this again "interferes" with the educational objectives in the classroom.

We noted earlier that in order to maintain the children's interest the teacher has to pitch her material at a level that will maintain their interest. "If you ask them obvious questions all the time they're just going to tune out. If your questions are too difficult, you've got half the class tuned out anyway" [Associate, 4.106]. In a class that contains children of widely ranging abilities this clearly presents problems for the teacher and in the area of reading, this "problem" is dealt with by having separate reading groups according to ability 38.

"It would be impossible to take a reading lesson with the whole class because they're such different levels. If you did, then the four boys who are in group three would never know what success was because they would never get an answer right. It's easier on the slower ones this way because if you took them with a lot of brighter children they wouldn't understand what was being talked about, they would tend to fidget, they wouldn't be interested and therefore I suppose you could say they might be disruptive." [Student, 3.82]

In many cases it was the "inattentiveness" of the children concerned that was used as a basis for "explaining" the fact that they were "slow" and accordingly great emphasis was placed in the school on developing "listening skills" in the children. Irrespective of the level of attentiveness.

38 It is interesting that similar provisions are not made in the area of maths. Although two of the classes in the Standards section in Totara engaged in a maths interchange and thereby overcame some of the problems of having "composite" classes, in one of the other classes the teacher had to operate two maths programmes, one for Standard 2 and the other for Standard 3.
of the children, however, it nevertheless appears to be
the case that children of this age have a somewhat limited
attention span and the teacher must take this into account
in the way she conducts her classroom activities by giving
clear instructions, getting feedback where necessary, giving
the children a reason for listening and working at maintaining
their interest.

Knowing Children:
Restricted Speech Patterns

The following comments develop from one example only
and the point is therefore being put forward in a very
tentative manner, but it nevertheless seems to have some
validity. The point develops from the suggestion that
unless children of this age are given encouragement to the
contrary by the teacher they will tend to answer questions
in the classroom in a "truncated" or "restricted" manner
that will often make the answer difficult for the teacher to
hear. If given the opportunity, children of this age will
tend to offer one-word answers rather than "elaborated"
answers, and the teacher must take account of this in
the way she phrases her questions to them. In discussion with
her Associate, one of the students indicated that she was
having problems hearing what the children were saying when
they answered her questions. In reply, the Associate offered
the following advice:

"If you make them give a sentence rather than a one word answer they'll usually speak out a bit louder. If the answer is "lollipop" the chances are you will hardly hear it, but if the answer is "I had to buy a lollipop" then it usually comes out a bit louder. Instead of asking "what" questions you're better to ask "how", "why",

39 The work of Basil Bernstein (1973) has an obvious relevance here.
"what do you think", "why do you think", type questions that makes them put their answers in a sentence." [Associate, 4.107] 40

Questionning in an "appropriate" manner is clearly a crucial feature of "doing teaching" and as such the teacher must take care in the phrasing of her questions to maintain the children's interest as well as to encourage them to think for themselves and respond in an elaborated rather than restricted way. This point has a certain "face validity" to it but it requires further testing.

Knowing Children:
Academic Dependency

Children of this age seem to require a fair amount of academic guidance from the teacher, and this is understandable given their level of cognitive development. It seems to be the case, however, that the teacher has to take care that she doesn't inadvertently over-encourage this dependency and hence fail to encourage the children to think for themselves and work things out for themselves. Rather than allowing the children the opportunity to insist they have problems before they have attempted the work for themselves the teacher must take care to ensure that they "have a go" on their own before she will discuss problems with them.

In citing the following illustrative example we have three perspectives on it, first of all there is the researcher's observation, then the student's comment and finally the

40 In an earlier context this Associate had commented to the researcher as follows: "It takes time to develop questioning techniques and I'm still learning it. I used to ask very factual type questions "what is this?", "when is that?", whereas you're really supposed to be encouraging the children to think for themselves and get their own ideas. So you're better to ask "Why is that happening?", "How would you explain that?". Questions like that." [Associate, 3.99]
I went into Mrs Gillard's room just after the lunchtime bell had gone. Mrs Gillard and Susan were talking over by the desk. Mrs Gillard was offering advice and comments on Susan's maths lesson. She suggested that rather than dealing with problems before the children moved off the mat to do problems at their desks she should send them back to their desks to have a go at the maths themselves. Then if there were any problems they could raise their hands. It was important, though, for them to have a go on their own first. (3.76)

Later that day the student commented on this advice as follows:

"When we were discussing the maths she said maybe, see what happens is I send the better ones away and there might be just three kids that are having trouble, they've got their hands up straight away and she thought maybe if I send them away first and get them to work it out for themselves and if they're having trouble then put their hands up." (Student, 3.87)

The Associate put it in the context of the sorts of directions that a teacher has to give to the children.

"In giving directions to children before they go off to do work, you must give a certain amount of direction so that they all know what they have to do initially anyway. The brighter ones will go straight through the lesson okay, but if you say to the children "All those who understand go away to your seats and those who don't stay behind", you can guarantee that half of your class will sit down although they do understand. They just like a little bit of help and a little bit more attention. So Susan knows now they all go away and if they have a difficulty at any stage they put their hands up and say." (Associate, 4.63)

Given this characteristic of children of this age, therefore, the teacher must work at encouraging them to show greater independence in their work efforts.

What we have been suggesting is that the teachers in
this school can be seen to hold certain typifications about the intellectual capabilities of the children in their classrooms and that, as in the case of the "behavioural" typifications identified earlier, they have formulated rules for their classroom behaviour in accordance with these typifications.

These typifications and their accompanying rules are summarised in Diagram 8.2.

**Diagram 8.2 : Typifications and Surface Rules in the Context of "Doing Teaching" : Intellectual Capabilities of Children**

**Typifications :**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typification</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual capabilities</td>
<td>Pitch work and questions at &quot;right&quot; level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited Attention Span</td>
<td>Be careful not to confuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted Speech Patterns</td>
<td>Treat everything seriously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Dependency</td>
<td>Give clear instructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Get feedback where necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give children a reason to listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintain childrens' interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encourage elaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encourage independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion**

A central objective of this chapter has been to explore the nature of the contribution made by interpretive procedures and typification schemes to the process whereby a teacher, and by implication a student teacher also, achieves competence in "doing teaching".

Teaching is a rule-based activity and we attempted to illustrate some dimensions to this by focusing on the area
of "classroom management" and by showing the nature of some of the rules that a teacher has to follow in that aspect of her classroom behaviour. Our phenomenological orientation required, however, that we went beyond this identification of rules and focused our analytic attention on "rule-use". We argued in this respect that for a student teacher to achieve competence in "doing teaching", she not only had to act in accord with such "surface rules", but she had also to indicate that she had grasped the "sense" of the rules by "ad hoc"ing appropriate behaviour in situations where the rules had not been made explicit. In order to achieve this, we argued that the student had to acquire a range of "course-of-action" typifications related to children such that she could recognise the relevance of a variety of "surface rules" in the classroom situation and "convert" this into appropriate and acceptable classroom behaviour. In applying this to the matter of competence in "doing teaching", we argued that as a result of the application of the teacher's interpretive, reflexive and typificatory abilities, she not only acquires the typification schemes necessary for giving a competent display of "doing teaching", but she is also able to interpretively use these typificatory schemes to "inform" her activities in the classroom such that she does "in fact" achieve a competent display that is consistent with "surface rules".

We began the chapter by stating that we wished to explore the process whereby teachers, on the basis of using interpretive procedures in the course of their everyday teaching activities, recognised the relevance of surface rules and converted these into "practiced and enforced
behaviour" in the classroom. By identifying the central importance of typification schemes to this process, and by illustrating particular linkages that can be identified between "typifications" of children and "surface rules" as these were applied in one school, we hope we have achieved this, at least in a preliminary fashion.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In attempting to draw this material together into a number of summary and conclusive statements, it is necessary to reiterate the point that this study has been an exploratory one. No claims are being made that the analysis has been comprehensive in its coverage, and insofar as the empirical material has been used largely in an illustrative fashion, the theoretical categories have been no more than minimally saturated. Much work remains to be done of an empirical and theoretical nature, what we have attempted to do in the thesis was to make some preliminary statements about the place and nature of rule-use in everyday life, and to do so within the ethnographic context of a professional training situation.

Starting from the assertion that domanics, defined in terms of rule-use, was a highly appropriate focus for a phenomenologically based project, we endeavoured to counter the methodological problems that derived from the taken-for-grantedness of the phenomenon-for-study by focusing the project on a situation where neophytes were attempting to achieve "competence". In this way it was hoped that we would be better able to make the process available-for-view and hence eminently-to-study. Our decision to focus on a professional training situation in this regard was deliberate insofar as we wished also to incorporate into the thesis a critique of conventional sociological considerations of "professional socialisation" which conceptualised it in terms of a process of "rule taking" or "rule seeking". Being in fundamental agreement with Aaron Cintral's assertion that the social scientist's use of abstract terms such as "rule" actually means the inductive processes whereby
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social actors produce and recognize "role behaviour", we were anxious to pursue an alternative formulation that conceptualised the process in terms of the acquisition of "competence". In particular we wished to explore the interpretive processes involved in achieving competence in "doing teaching".

The empirical focus for the project was a primary school where students were undergoing the practical component of their training under the supervision of Associate teachers. The methodological procedures adopted were such as to allow the researcher to observe classroom activities on a regular basis, to interact informally with Associates and students, and to talk with them on a number of occasions during the practice teaching section, thus ensuring a depth of understanding ("verstehen") on the part of the researcher that almost certainly wouldn't have been achieved using other methods. The theoretical framework for the study developed from Aaron Cicourel's definition of ethnomethodology as "... the study of interpretive procedures and surface rules in everyday social practices" (1973:51) and his insistence that the ethnomethodologist should be concerned with studying how members employ interpretive procedures to recognise the relevance of surface rules and convert these into practiced and enforced behaviour that can be seen to be consistent with "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance. Given the inherent taken-for-grantedness of Cicourel's suggested focus, however, it was decided to concentrate analytic attention on the predicament of student teachers as they attempted to gain an appreciation of the relative degrees of appropriateness of various actions in
the classroom, as well as an appreciation of the "grounds" for determining that appropriateness. In this way it was hoped that we would have a better chance of making the taken-for-granted "available for view" since, in the process of identifying instances of incompetent behaviour on the part of "the stranger", we should be able to identify what it was about the behaviour that made it identifiable and definable by "members" as incompetence.

Insofar as they occupied a subordinate and marginal position in the practice teaching situation, it was argued that the student teachers would have to internalise and act in accordance with a number of proscriptions and prescriptions related to their behaviour in the classroom. Some of these related to the conduct of their affairs as "students" during practice teaching - and we were able to indicate what the main dimensions to these expectations were in the situation under study. Of greater relevance to the present study, however, were the rules that could be seen to apply in those situations where the students were "doing teaching". By and large these rules were "visible" due to their being broken by the students, and by using a number of illustrative examples of this in the area of "classroom management" we were able to show that teaching is a rule-based activity.

The theoretical framework for the study required, however, that we develop beyond this and deal with "rule-use" rather than merely identifying and listing "rules". In an earlier context we had quoted Cicourel as maintaining that "... more than simple references to the existence of normative
rules are necessary if one's theory of society is not to remain static and ignorant of the contingencies of everyday action" (1973:80). In an attempt to extend the analysis, we argued that in order for the student teacher to achieve competence in "doing teaching", she not only had to act in accordance with these surface rules, but more importantly, she had to indicate that she had grasped the "sense" of the rules by "ad hoc ing" appropriate behaviour in situations where the rules had not been made explicit for her. Of crucial importance in this regard was the student's interpretive, reflexive and typificatory abilities and it was argued that through the use of these abilities, and particularly as a result of developing appropriate "course-of-action" typifications of children, the student teacher was spared the task of labouriously isolating and identifying a wide range of interactional rules as a necessary prerequisite to achieving competence in "doing teaching". Instead of this, it was suggested that she should be able to interpretively use her typification schemes to "inform" or "guide" her classroom activities in accordance with general rather than specific rules, and we illustrated this by drawing on typifications that were held in the research situation of the behavioural and intellectual capabilities of the children in the classrooms. In using this material it was argued that the teachers in this particular school could be seen to have formulated the "surface rules" that structured their classroom activities in terms of certain "course-of-action" typifications that they held in relation to the children in their classrooms, and that it was their "access" to these typifications that allowed them to "ad hoc" these rules and thus achieve competence in "doing teaching".
By focusing on the inadequacies of the students' attempts at "doing teaching" we therefore arrived at the central proposition of the study that it is as a result of the application of her interpretive, reflexive, and typificatory abilities that the teacher acquires not only the typification schemes that are necessary for giving a competent display of "doing teaching" but also the ability to interpretively use these typification schemes to inform her classroom actions such that she does "in fact" achieve a competent display that is consistent with the appropriate "surface rules".

In suggesting that the teacher uses her typification schemes to sensitise her to the relevance of surface rules and thus to "guide" her actions in the classroom, we are not implying that these surface rules are formulated by reference to the typification schemes alone. Although these are important in this regard, we should not lose sight of the importance of the material, social and ideological conditions that constrain the classroom existence of these teachers and hence make an influential contribution to determining the normative structure within which they have to work. It was with this in mind that we sketched in the background details to the school and the practice teaching situation. While recognising the importance of these factors, it is appreciated that greater cognizance of their contribution could have been made in the present study. This will have to be excused in anticipation of their featuring more prominently in later research.
The immediate relevance of this study lies, of course, in the area of teaching, where we have begun to explore the processual basis to achieving a competent display of "doing teaching", both in terms of the "predicament" of the trainee teacher as she attempts to achieve this competence, as well as the procedures whereby the teacher maintains a consistent display of this competence. The study therefore not only contributes to our understanding of an important dimension to the professional training situation - the assessment of the trainee's "competence" - but it also enables us to make a number of preliminary statements concerning the teacher's management of her everyday activities.

The study has a broader relevance than this, however, insofar as it represents an initial step in the formulation of an analytic framework that could be used to study "competence" in any sphere of everyday activity. The substance of "surface rules" and "typifications" will vary from situation to situation, of course, but what will remain as invariants will be the interpretive, reflexive and typificatory abilities of the social actors, and the nature of the interpretive linkage between "surface rules" and "typifications".

We can represent this framework in terms of a number of "summary statements". Although these develop from the analysis in this present study, they should be regarded as propositions to be tested rather than final statements.
1 Competence as "Rule-Use"

1.1. Given the "emergent" nature of the rules that govern interaction in everyday life, a phenomenological definition of "competence" stresses the interpretive work that must be done to recognise the contextual relevance of a system of normative rules and to convert these into practiced and enforced behaviour that is consistent with "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance in the situation at hand.

The "emergent" nature of rules is the starting point for our analysis insofar as we argued in Chapter one that the rules which govern any form of social behaviour are not irresolvably pre-given, non-negotiable and non-problematic, but on the contrary are abstract instructions that have to be specified in each situation of their use. Thus all norms, rules, instructions and the like are essentially vague because they all possess this partially open character in every situation of their use, and they have to be adapted or "ad hoced" in order to actually produce appropriate behaviour in a given situation. We would requote Aaron Cicourel in this regard where he argued that [1973:52]:

"Surface rules ... always require some recognition and cognition about the particulars which would render given rules as appropriate and useful for understanding and dealing with actual behavioural displays. Hence all surface rules carry an open structure or horizon vis-a-vis some boundable collection of meanings..."

This remains so, says Cicourel, until they are linked to particular cases by "interpretive procedures". Hence our focus on "interpretive work".
1.2 An actor's competence within a collectivity will thus be assessed by other members on the basis of the actor's ability to "ad hoc" or "successfully apply" appropriate interactional rules. This we will "gloss" as the actor's "normative" competence.

As we argued in an earlier context, the social actor not only has to act in accordance with "surface rules" but, as a "condition" of membership in the collectivity, he or she has also to indicate that the "sense" of the rules has been understood by consistently giving displays of "appropriate" behaviour and by "adapting" the rules wherever necessary. This "normative" competence derives from the social actor's previously acquired "interactional" competencies in the shape of interpretive, typificatory and reflexive abilities.

1.3 "Normative" competencies derive from the social actor's "interactional" competencies - interpretive, typificatory and reflexive abilities. These "interactional" competencies are acquired during childhood "socialisation" and they provide the social actor with a basis for assigning meaning to his environment through equipping him to share in the social stock of knowledge of the group to which he belongs. It is through the actor's ability to interpretively identify and use appropriate "typification schemes" that he is able to achieve "normative" competence within subsequent social groups that he may join since it is these typification schemes that provide him with the basis for recognising the contextual relevance of "surface rules".
In most social situations, social actors are assumed to possess the necessary competence for performing "adequately" in that situation, until things prove otherwise. Competence is thus a taken-for-granted feature of everyday life.

This statement should be taken to include not only the "interactional" and "normative" dimensions to competence discussed in the last section, but also a "technical" dimension to competence that involves practical skills and abilities. On getting into a taxi, for example, we take it for granted that the person sitting at the wheel possesses the necessary competencies to take us where we want to go, and this would include assumptions about technical skills and knowledge related to the operation of the vehicle, as well as assumptions about interpretive abilities that will allow the driver to "negotiate" traffic and also assumptions about the driver's normative competence vis-a-vis being able to operate within as well as adapt the rules of the road. We also do not call into question the driver's membership status insofar as we assume that in the legal sense of the term, he is "competent" to drive this particular vehicle both in terms of ownership and license.

This state of affairs typifies most of our interaction in everyday life. Typically we do not call into question the "competence" - in its variety of senses - of the social actors with whom we interact, but take that competence for granted, and because of this we are able to conduct our everyday
affairs much more efficiently and effectively than might otherwise be the case. Our statement contains two essential qualifications, however. Since we have specified that this will be the case "in most social situations" then we are obviously suggesting that there will be exceptions to this. These exceptions will be taken up in section 3 below.

Secondly, we are suggesting that competence will be taken-for-granted "until things prove otherwise". Given the nature of the recipe knowledge that we use to guide our affairs in everyday life, a knowledge that is incoherent, only partially clear and not free from contradictions [Schutz, 1964b:93], there always exists the open possibility that our assumptions of "competence" on the part of the other will be incorrect and will require "revision".

2.2 Where a social actor behaves less than "adequately" in a given social situation, this fact will be brought to the actor's attention "at some stage" by other social actors who are members of the collectivity.

The definition of "adequately" will be a product of the collectivity and the actors who "intervene" will not be seen as acting on their own behalf, but rather will be seen as acting on behalf of the collectivity. The "how", the "when" and the "by whom" of the intervention will always be subject to variation. Depending on the power resources available to the intervening actors these strategies may range from confrontation to gossip. Depending on the severity of the "infraction" the response may be immediate or delayed. Depending on the degree of institutionalisation in the
situation there may, or there may not, be actors in the situation who are specifically designated to "intervene". There is much potential here for sociological investigation.

2.3 Competent members of a collectivity can be defined as those who can expect to manage their affairs without interference and be treated as acceptable types.

The implication of this statement is that social actors who have achieved membership of a collectivity can expect not to have that membership challenged in addition to not having their competencies questioned. This should be seen as an exception to the "until things prove otherwise" qualification of "2.1". This statement should not be read as saying, however, that those members who can expect to manage their affairs without interference etc are incapable of "incompetence", rather it is suggesting that having achieved "competent membership" of a collectivity - in a quasi-legalistic sense - the social actor can expect to have his competence taken-for-granted once and for all. The competence of the social actor's performances as a member, and indeed the competence of his membership will only be subject to scrutiny under rather exceptional circumstances.

The requirements that must be met before a social actor "achieves" competent membership of a collectivity will be defined by the collectivity, and where this is linked with "certification" there is the consequent danger that persons will achieve "competent" membership without necessarily having acquired the requisite "equipment"
for competence in terms of technical as well as normative skills and knowledge. To draw an example from the substantive area of our study, being in possession of a teaching certificate entitles one to "be" a teacher without necessarily implying that one can achieve consistently competent displays of "doing teaching". This is so because certification is more often than not linked to "length of instruction" rather than "amount of learning" [Illich, 1971:11-13].

An additional implication of "2.3" is that where certification is involved there is, in fact, less likelihood of uncovering the actor with false credentials since his supposedly "competent" membership of the collectivity bestows on him a certain immunity from scrutiny which, when combined with other additional factors, gives the confidence trickster considerable leeway for operating within. Cuzzort, for example [1971:181] cites the case of a phony physician who "doctored" undetected for some twenty-odd years in the course of which he performed thirty two successful appendectomies. Cuzzort concludes from this that "The legitimacy of the performance is not determined by the adequacy of the performance. Legitimacy is external and is bestowed on an actor by an established legitimising agency such as a school, military system, church, political party or family heritage" [1971:181].

The confidence trickster has to ensure, of course, that he can give an "adequate" performance but we would argue that he is greatly aided in his attempts towards this by the fact that "competence" is a taken-for-granted feature
of everyday life and that social actors typically "make allowances" for the "slips" in the performances of others.

3 Competence and the Stranger

3.1 There will be situations where the actor will not be assumed to possess the necessary competencies for performing "adequately" in a particular situation. In these situations it will be useful to conceptualise the individual as "the stranger".

As we commented in an earlier context, it is a feature of a pluralistic and complex society that there will always be collectivities and groups against which each of us must stand in the role of "the stranger". It should be remembered, however, that in utilising Schutz's conception of the "stranger" we are intending someone who "tries to be permanently accepted or at least tolerated by the group which he approaches" (1964b:91). The process of "approaching" a new group and "achieving" membership in that group therefore requires that the "stranger" change his old "thinking as usual" patterns and operate in terms of what are, for him, new typifications and a new stock of recipe knowledge.

3.2 In these situations it will often be the case that it will be the responsibility of "someone in the know" to enlighten the "stranger" as to "normal forms" of acceptable talk, action and appearance relevant to the situation at hand.
Invariably this "someone in the know" will occupy a superordinate position in the status hierarchy relative to the situation but this need not necessarily be so, since in some situations, particularly those of an informal nature, it will often be peers who fulfil this function. The new child who joins a school, for example, will be told by the teacher "how things are done" in this classroom, but in her playground behaviour she will have to be responsive to the suggestion of her peers. The influence of the peer group needn't be restricted to marginal behaviour, however. Where there is a strongly cohesive, informal grouping among subordinates, as for example we might find in a factory or a prison, then the "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance that the "stranger" will be responsive to are more likely to be those of the subordinate group, and these are more likely to occupy a central place in the "stranger's" day to day activities.

The "how", the "when" and the "by whom" will be subject to variation in this case also, and again, this has good possibilities for sociological enquiry.

It is essential, however, that we distinguish between those situations where the "stranger" achieves membership in the collectivity through a process of "negotiation" and "gradual adjustment", and situations where the "stranger" has to undergo "testing" in order to achieve membership. Examples of the former situation would be where a child joins an informal friendship clique or where a family becomes part of a new community. By and large the groupings concerned will be informal groups and there will be no
"transition rites" involved in achieving membership. In the latter case there will be "transition rites" involved and these may vary from the formal assessment that the Associate does of her student through to the rituals that one would have to undergo in order to become a member of the Hells Angels.

4 The Testing of Competence

4.1 Where the "main item of business" in a social situation is the "testing" by a superordinate of the subordinate's competence relative to a given social situation and the subsequent mediation of acceptable standards of "normal forms" of talk, action and appearance to the subordinate then we have a "testing situation".

As we noted earlier, this "testing" may either be an implicit or an explicit feature of the situation depending on the level of "mutual awareness" that is shared between the social actors involved. It is likely that the "testing" will be done in an implicit fashion at two crucial stages in the process. Firstly in the initial stages where the superordinate is attempting to "size up" the subordinate. It may be a feature of "testing situations" that as an opening gambit the superordinate may not, in fact, enlighten the subordinate as to "what is expected" in order to find out where the subordinate is "at" in terms of the competencies that are relevant for "membership". Secondly, the superordinate may engage in implicit "testing" when it is necessary to ascertain the level of "normative" competence that the subordinate has attained in terms of being able
to "ad hoc" interactional rules. This has relevance for the following point.

4.2 The desired outcome of a "testing situation" will be the incorporation of acceptable standards and "normal forms" into the performance of the subordinate such that the subordinate can be perceived to behave in accordance with relevant "surface rules".

Although this is the "desired outcome" it need not necessarily be achieved and definitions of "sufficiency" will be arrived at to counter this.

4.3 The significance of a "testing situation" is that expectations of the subordinate's performance in the situation will be continually revised "upwards" with the overall expectation being that (a) this is "proper"; (b) the subordinate has an obligation not only to perform to these increased expectations but to appropriately incorporate these expectations into subsequent performances; (c) the subordinate may be "failed" if this is not "adequately" achieved.

In setting these performance levels, superordinates will bear in mind considerations of "possibility", "feasibility" and "appropriateness" (Hymes, 1972). It will be an important feature of "testing situations" that the rules of "considerateness" and "self respect" (Goffman, 1967c) will have to be
appropriately modified. It is assumed that the subordinate should be aware of areas of possible "incompetence" on his part and should therefore know when to seek "guidance". If the things that are sought "guidance" on are deemed to be "appropriate" things for a social actor in that position to be enquiring about, then the "asking" will not interfere with the assessment of the subordinate's "competence". Similarly, the superordinate must be able to feel free to critically comment on perceived inadequacies in the performance of the subordinate.

The research for this thesis was carried out in one primary school, and as such we have to hold reservations as to the generalisability of the findings. This is a matter that can only be resolved as further research is undertaken and our analysis of the processes involved in the situation is substantiated or, as is more likely to be the case, is modified and extended. Given the nature of our enquiry it was considered justifiable from theoretical as well as methodological viewpoints to focus the research on an in-depth case-study. Unfortunately, because of the nature of the process that was being studied, there was only a limited time available for carrying out the field work and in any future work that develops out of this project the limitations of this constraint will have to be overcome. What we hope to have shown by this concluding chapter, however, is that the sociological implications of our research and analysis go far beyond practice teaching "as observed in one primary school". Hopefully the development of further research will bear this out.
Given the theoretical orientation of the thesis, it seemed obvious that the research procedures that would be used in the project should be "qualitative" and "non-quantitative" in orientation. Added to this was the fact that the project was in many respects an exploratory rather than verificatory endeavor insofar as it represented an initial attempt to map-out some of the significant analytic dimensions to the routinized nature of competence in a professional training situation. Given these factors, it was decided that the most appropriate methodological approach to adopt would be participant observation. The purpose of this Appendix will, therefore, be to outline this methodological decision in context of: (a) outlining the steps that were involved in gathering data; (b) explaining the advantages and limitations of the approach in the specific research setting that was used.

### APPENDIX

## METHODOLOGY

### Participant Observation

### The Research Setting

In order to carry out this research, it was necessary to gain access first of all to a particular school that would serve as a research setting, namely to a range of situations both formal and informal within that school, and...
Introduction

Given the theoretical orientation of the thesis, it seemed obvious that the research procedures that would be used in the project should be "qualitative" and "non-positivistic" in orientation. Allied to this was the fact that the project was in many respects an exploratory rather than verificatory endeavour insofar as it represented an initial attempt to map out some of the significant analytic dimensions to the routinized nature of competence in a professional training situation. Given these factors, it was decided that the most appropriate methodological approach to adopt would be participant observation¹. The purpose of this Appendix will, therefore, be to place this methodological decision in context in terms of: (a) outlining the steps that were involved in gaining access to a school where student teachers were on practice teaching; (b) detailing the specific research strategies and data-gathering procedures that were used in the project; and (c) discussing the advantages and limitations of the approach in the specific research setting that was used.

Gaining Access
To The Research Setting

In order to carry out this research it was necessary to gain access first of all to a particular school that would serve as a research setting, secondly to a range of situations both formal and informal within that school, and

¹ The linkage between this particular methodological approach and the theoretical perspective being adopted in this thesis shouldn't require detailed explication since the point has been established well enough in the already extant literature on the subject. See Cicourel (1964); Bruyn (1966); Blumer (1969); Schatzman and Strauss (1973); and Bogdan and Taylor (1975).
thirdly to a variety of social actors who were involved in the school’s teaching and supervision activities. In each case particular problems of access were encountered, and in solving these problems it was often the case that conditions were set, or agreed upon and established, that served as a context for the research and in some cases acted as constraints on the development of the research. Certain of these constraints developed from structural features of the research setting itself, and it is probably essential that we highlight the nature of these constraints, both imposed and structural, in the discussion that follows.

The first research problem, of course, was to gain access to a school where students were involved in practice teaching activities and this was achieved in four stages.

Gaining Access

Stage One

First of all, approaches were made to the Director of Primary Programmes in a city Teachers College in order to ascertain firstly whether the college would give its approval and support to a research project of this nature, secondly, whether they could provide a schedule of practice teaching sections that would allow a decision to be made as to when the research could be carried out, and thirdly whether they could give assistance in selecting an appropriate school to use as a research setting. As a result of these discussions it was established that student teachers at this college did

2 Unqualified support for the research was received from the Director of Primary Programmes, and each subsequent request from the researcher for assistance was treated most cordially by himself and by other college staff.
their practice teaching in sections of from four to six weeks twice a year during their course, and that the most convenient section from the point of view of carrying out the research would be the third year section that commenced on April 4th and finished on May 6th, 1977.

Given the fact that the social activities that were to provide the focus for the study were concentrated into such a short period of time, it was decided to limit the research to one school in particular for the five weeks rather than attempt to look at practice teaching in a variety of school situations. This seemed justifiable on a number of grounds. In the first place, given the problems of developing rapport with subjects in such a short time as this, it was considered ill-advised for the researcher to spread his research activities too widely. Developing from this was the hope that by concentrating his efforts on one school, the researcher would thereby increase his chances of getting at in-depth material more easily. This need for in-depth material was related, of course, to the fact that the objective of the study was to explore the taken-for-grantedness that surrounded the definition and assessment of competence in everyday life and the realisation that this was an endeavour that required much more than superficial questioning.

Once the decision had been taken to focus the research on one school, it was then a matter of selecting that school and this was done with the assistance of the Director of

3 Given the exploratory nature of the research, it was decided to limit the project to one practice teaching section only.
Primary Programmes and one of his senior staff members. Details of the school, Totara Primary, have been provided in an earlier chapter.

Gaining Access

Stage Two

Having selected a school and obtained the approval and cooperation of the Teachers College, the next stage in gaining access required making a formal application for approval to carry out the research to the relevant Education Board. In granting this approval, the chairman of the Education Board imposed two conditions. Firstly, that a copy of the thesis, when completed, should be made available to the Teachers College, and secondly, that the teaching staff of Totara Primary should give their support to the research project. Both of these conditions were regarded by the researcher as being reasonable, and in fact they mirrored intentions that had already been formulated in planning the research strategy. The access-seeking endeavours therefore moved into the third stage.

Gaining Access

Stage Three

In the third stage, a direct approach was made to the school and a meeting was arranged in the school at which the

4 The main criteria that guided the selection of the school were (1) that there should be about six third year students doing practice teaching in the school during the selected section; and (2) that the school should be reasonably close to the university where the researcher had a full-time teaching position. In discussion, the Director of Primary Programmes indicated that a further criterion was that the school would have to have a headmaster who was amenable to involving his staff in research projects.

5 In New Zealand, all research that is carried out in schools has to have the approval of the Education Board responsible for the school in question.
researcher met with the six Associate teachers concerned, and discussed the proposed research project in terms of the procedures that might be used, the types of situations that the researcher wanted access to, and the sorts of demands that the researcher might be likely to make on the Associates' time. The Associates initially had some reservations about participating in a project of this nature. Their main concern related first of all to getting involved in something that would be additional to their already heavy workloads - and in this connection they were most concerned to establish just what demands the research might place on their time - and secondly they were concerned about the implications that research of this type might have in terms of presenting a possible disruption to the atmosphere in their classrooms as well as the relationships that they would develop with their respective student teachers. The significance of both of these concerns for the research will be taken up later.

6 On being allocated to a school for practice teaching each student teacher is assigned to an Associate teacher for supervision. These Associate teachers are full-time members of the teaching staff who have been selected by the Education Board with the help of the College to supervise students on practice teaching. They are paid a small sum of money for their services. At the time of doing the study, this was about $8 a student week. Not all full time teachers in the schools are Associates. In the school in question there were six Associates out of nine teachers. Two of these Associates had never done student supervision before and as such were new to the "job".

7 This meeting had been arranged through the headmaster of the school who was unable to attend the meeting because of a prior in-service course commitment that he had.

8 One Associate's initial reservations seemed to stem from what she perceived to be the implications of having a non-participating observer in the classroom. In the first place, she said, it was difficult to control young children when there was a "distraction" such as this in the classroom. Secondly she drew attention to the fact that it was likely to be distracting to the student also/
One very definite constraint upon the researcher that arose out of this meeting was that any contact that the researcher might have with the two new Associates in the school would have to be extremely limited and would almost certainly preclude the observation of activities in their classrooms. This was insisted upon by the headmaster as well as by the Associates themselves.

During this meeting it was emphasised to the Associates that the research procedures would, of necessity, have to be flexible and would develop in response to the researcher's increasing understanding of the social dimensions to the research situation. Above all, though, it was stressed that confidentiality would be honoured and anonymity ensured. By the end of the meeting the Associates' doubts had been answered and their reservations overcome to the extent that they were prepared to enter into a trust relationship with the researcher. From the Associate's point of view, though, this was on two conditions. First of all, that the students to have an observer sitting in on classroom activities and that this might interfere with the student's performance. From further comments that she made, though, it was clear that she was also concerned about possible intrusions on the part of the researcher into "delicate" interaction situations between Associate and student where, for example, the Associate was having to criticise aspects of the student's performance. She in fact expressed this concern in terms of "fools rushing in where angels fear to tread". In order to allay all of these concerns the researcher appealed to his "good social sense" and sensitivity in social situations and the Associates seem to have been duly persuaded. From comments that they made during the period of research it was obvious that they perceived that their trust in the researcher's "good social sense" had been vindicated. In fact from three separate sources it was reported that the teachers were surprised that someone as tall as the researcher could be so unobtrusive in a classroom.
themselves indicate that they had no objections to the project, and secondly that the project could be terminated at any stage if the associates felt that it was presenting an unmanageable burden or posing an irritating intrusion. The first condition had been part of the researcher's original strategy anyway and the second condition was taken by the researcher to be his contribution to the trust relationship. Fortunately for the project, this trust was vindicated on both sides.

Gaining Access
Stage Four

The fourth stage of gaining access to the school involved making approaches to the students themselves. This was done following a third year student assembly at the College in the week prior to the commencement of the practice teaching section. The six students who were going to Totara Primary were asked to stay behind after assembly, to meet with the researcher 9. All but one of them did so. The students' main concerns related to the commitments that

9 The researcher was introduced to the students by a college staff member but the subsequent discussion with the students was conducted after he had left. An entry from the field notes indicates the researcher's concern at the time. "Mr Anderson introduced me to the students as being from the University and wanting to do research of a kind that he was sure they would be "interested in" and give their "support to". [OC : I cringed. The last thing I wanted was "official" sponsorship and any kind of informal pressure on the students.] I asked if he would mind if I spoke to the students on my own and he said okay and left. [Field Notes, March 29th., page 1.33]. The extent to which, in fact, the researcher was able to avoid being connected with the college in the students' minds is open to conjecture. During the fourth week of the practice teaching section he was asked by one of the students whether he was doing this research at the request of the college. [Field Notes, April, 28th., page 5.55].
the research would make on their time, and also to the
question of confidentiality and anonymity. Although it
had been pointed out to them that the researcher was in no
way connected with the college, they were told that a copy
of the final document would be made available to the college
and this may have been what led to the concern of one or two
of the students. Assurances were given to them related to
the matters of time commitment, confidentiality, and
anonymity and their joint approval was obtained for the
project to proceed.  

Having gained approval for initial entry to the school
from all the parties concerned, the research could then
proceed. Continuing access to certain formal situations
within the school was something that had to be negotiated
on a day-to-day basis, however, as we shall see shortly.

**Nature of**

**The Research Setting**

The fact that the project was set in a primary school
was fortuitous rather than planned, but this did have certain

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10 It could be argued that by approaching the students
collectively in this fashion, the researcher effectively
minimised any objections that individual students may
have had to being involved in the project. While this
coment does have validity it should be seen in context.
First of all the researcher did offer at this meeting to
set up individual meetings with the students so that the
project could be discussed more fully and they could
have the opportunity of raising objections and having
questions answered. The students didn’t think this was
necessary. Secondly, there is the point that at this
stage the researcher was only looking for general approval
to continue. When he subsequently wanted access to a
classroom situation where a particular student would be
involved, he invariably negotiated with them on an
individual basis for access. It seemed that this was
a more appropriate time for them to voice individual
objections or reservations.
positive as well as negative implications for the research.

On the positive side it meant that the individual student teachers were faced with a stable classroom situation as compared with say the situation in a secondary school where the teacher has a turnover of pupils during the day depending on the time-table. In the primary school setting, however, a group of pupils stays with one teacher continuously throughout the teaching week so that the student teacher’s task in terms of adapting to "the ways" of a teacher and her or his pupils is less complex in a primary school than it would be in a secondary school.

The fact that the research was carried out in a primary school made for difficulties, though, in carrying out the research. A major difficulty derived from the fact that teachers in primary schools are in class all day, have no scheduled free periods and are required to be on playground duty over two days out of the teaching week. This makes it difficult to get access to these teachers on an individual basis for conversation or interviewing without the researcher pressuring them somewhat. This matter will be discussed later in the chapter.

A second area of difficulty in carrying out the research resulted from the nature of teaching activities in this particular primary school. Unlike a secondary classroom where the pupils sit at desks and the teacher conducts the lesson from the front of the room, there was much more movement of pupils in these classrooms as the teachers alternated between teaching with the children at their desks and teaching with the children on the carpet. This meant that the researcher
had to be relatively skilled in anticipating these movements so as not to be caught unawares and in the way. Again, although this presented the occasional difficulty in carrying out the research, it was not an insurmountable problem.

Research Procedures

Data for the project were gathered by means of three main research procedures, namely observation, informal conversation and interviewing. In addition to this, a range of documentary materials were used to provide background information for the study. The data gathering was done under the broad rubric of "participant observation". Specific details of these data gathering procedures will be provided shortly.

Firstly, though, an indication should be given as to the length of time spent by the researcher in the research setting. The student teachers who were part of the central focus of the study were in the school over a five week period in April and May 1977. Because of holidays during this period, however, they were in the school for twenty one days only. The researcher was in the school on all but two of these days, and an indication of the time spent by the researcher in the

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11 What it did mean, though, was that the researcher's legs got fairly regular relief from the rigours of having to fit under desks that were intended for much smaller limbs than his.

12 While carrying out this project, the researcher had teaching duties of his own. These were mainly concentrated on Mondays and Wednesdays and involved taking classes in the afternoon and early evening. In addition to this, he had to attend departmental seminars and meetings on Fridays. These factors contributed to the decision to concentrate observational activities in the school during the mornings rather than the afternoons.
school on each of these nineteen days is provided in Diagram App.1. This diagram also gives an indication of the scheduling of interviews over this five week period.

The researcher didn’t spend many afternoons in the school. This was because of two main factors, firstly the researcher’s own teaching commitments and secondly the need to work on and type up field notes from the day’s observations. It was the case, though, that the afternoon classroom activities were much less structured than the morning’s activities and involved such things as art, sport, assembly and talks by visiting speakers. The researcher observed some of these activities but found that the return in terms of data didn’t really justify the expenditure of effort, and so concluded that it made more sense to concentrate on the mornings and use the afternoons for working on field notes wherever possible.

The field notes were typed up in a systematic fashion after each day’s observation and were distributed over seven books. Book 1 was given the title "Preliminary" and contained details of the project’s development prior to the formal commencement of field work. The principal subject matter of this book was therefore the negotiations that were part of

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13 The researcher spent on average between four and six hours each evening writing up field notes after a day’s observations. To have given time to afternoon observation on a regular basis would therefore have entailed substituting that for observing in the mornings since it was found to be too tiring to spend a whole day in the school and then have to write up field notes. Given the fact that observation in the mornings tended to give a much richer yield of data, the researcher concluded that this would be an unsatisfactory substitution.
### Fieldwork Schedule

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gaining access to the research setting. The five books that corresponded to the five weeks of field work were given the titles "One" to "Five" and these contained field notes as well as interview transcripts. The various documents that were collected during the field work were kept together in the seventh book that was entitled "Documents".

The researcher's actual classroom observations were limited to two classes within the school, and this requires commenting on. Of the six Associate teachers in the school, two had never supervised students before and, as we have already noted, the researcher was denied access to their classrooms. Of the other four Associates, one had a class of "new entrants" (five year olds) and the other three had classes ranging from Standard 2 (eight year olds) to Standard 4 (ten year olds). The new entrants class was extremely small, having only eleven children in it, and given this fact plus the factor of the age of the children, it was judged to be unsuitable for observation. To further complicate matters,

14 Within each book the pages were numbered consecutively from "1" upwards. The total number of pages in any one book ranged from 60 to 120. The numbering of the books and pages has a particular relevance insofar as extracts from the field notes that are included in the text of the thesis can be referenced to give an indication of the week that it was taken from and its relative position within that week. For example, an extract that was referenced "4.93" would have come from the second half of week four. The respective number of pages in books 1 to 5 were: 58, 50, 108, 110 and 121.

15 These classes were, in fact, "composite" classes, one of them being a Standard 2/3 composite, and the other two being Standard 3/4 composites.

16 There were three other factors involved here. First of all, the Associate in question was away from the school during the first week of the practice teaching section. She was attending an in-service course. Secondly, she had been one of the Associates who had been concerned about the distractive potential of the researcher if he observed in her classroom [see footnote 8 of this chapter]. Thirdly, this Associate's student had been the student that the researcher wasn't able to talk to before the commencement of the project.
however, one of the Standards' Associates [the Deputy Headmaster] was attending in-service courses during the first two weeks of the practice teaching section with the result that it was impossible to get access to this Associate’s classroom during the early stages of the research. The combined result of all of these factors was that the researcher's observational activities had to be limited to the classroom of the two remaining Associates, Mrs Gillard and Mrs McInnes. Although this was a limitation, it did have the positive effect of aiding the development of rapport and lessening the disruptive potential of the researcher since these children were older than the new entrants.

Research Procedures:
Observation

The researcher’s observational activities ranged over three types of situations in the research setting. First of all, there were the formal classroom situations involving teaching activities on the part of the associates as well as the student teachers. Secondly, there were the informal interactions that took place in the staffroom and around the classrooms particularly at lunchtime and morning break, but also before school and occasionally after school. Thirdly, there were the dyadic interactions that took place between individual associates and their respective students that took place before classes, during classes and after classes and invariably involved the discussion of classroom related affairs. In the case of the last two situations the researcher’s data recording strategy was to wait for a suitable opportunity when he could retire from the situation briefly and take notes on cards. His procedure in the classroom was to take notes on
cards as the events happened. The subsequent "reconstruction" of events in the field notes was made easier due to the orderliness of the day's events. Each of these situations presented quite different problems in terms of achieving "access", however.

The easiest situation to get access to, obviously, was the staffroom insofar as this was public territory. The main problem here was one of getting attached to a conversational group, or striking up a conversation with a particular individual, but neither of these was ever really a problem. It was necessary, though, to develop strategies that made it easier to effect "attachment" to groups and individuals. If at all possible, the contact would be established prior to entering the staffroom by, for example, accompanying a teacher or student from the classroom. If this wasn't possible it was discovered that it was better to enter the staffroom after there were other people there, rather than before anyone got there. This latter situation gave too much opportunity for avoidance behaviour on the part of teachers and students. This was tested during the last week of observation, to the researcher's discomfort:

17 There was still the necessity to do this surreptitiously, though, even in the classroom. By using cards that were 6cm by 12cm the researcher was able to conceal his notes with his hands if it ever became obvious that the teachers or students were conscious of his note taking.  

18 The problem of "exposure" is one that the participant observer must constantly address his mind to. Everyone in the research situation has a "legitimate" reason for being there with the exception of the observer. Occupying a marginal position in relation to the group it is possible for him to be "caught out" and "exposed" with nothing legitimate to do to occupy time or attention. Subjectively, this can be very disturbing for the researcher.
Tea break was notable for one thing, the number of people who didn't want to sit beside me. I was "avoided" by three of the Associates, one other teacher, and the headmaster. (OC: This made me feel really good. Occasionally I have purposefully set myself up in situations like this to "test" reaction. I've never come such a cropper before though. ... I'm sure that it's not that they're unfriendly towards me, it's just that they're caught up in their own affairs and consequently ignore me for that reason.) [5.60]

Much information of value was collected in the course of conversations that were either struck up or overheard in the staffroom, but by and large there were no insurmountable problems of access. The same could not be said for the other two situations mentioned earlier, though.

We'll deal first with the classroom situation. At no point did the researcher ever observe in a classroom without first gaining the permission of the teacher. If it was the case that the student would be responsible for a major portion of the classroom activities that were to be observed, then the permission of the student was also sought. Permission from the teacher or the students would either be obtained last thing in the afternoon in preparation for the following day, or first thing in the morning before classes began. The researcher was never refused access to a class where permission was sought, but that doesn't mean to say that there was unrestricted access.

19 The use of the device "OC" in the field notes derives from Bogdan and Taylor (1975). It is an abbreviation for "Observer's comment" and is intended to demarcate the subjective reactions of the observer from the objective detail of observations.

20 A far greater problem in the staffroom was the noise level. This often meant that a casual "listening-in" to conversations was quite impossible.
Occasionally an Associate would anticipate a request and indicate why it would be better if the researcher "stayed away". This usually related to particular occasions when the student was taking a lesson or an extended period of class control on her own.

Mrs McInnes asked which class I was going into today and without waiting for my answer told me that her student was taking the class on her own this morning. Mrs McInnes was staying in the staffroom and it might be better if I didn't go into her room. I said I had arranged anyway to go into Mrs Gillard's room and she said that was fine. [3.34]

It was also the case, of course, that being sensitive to such eventualities, the researcher "knew" when not to ask for access and hence helped in his recognition in the situation as "an acceptable type".

I asked Mrs McInnes if she would mind if I sat in on her classes this morning. She said that would be fine. She said that Jocelyn (her student) had taken the class yesterday from nine until the morning break and she wasn't sure if she would have appreciated my presence. I said I had sensed that yesterday morning and that was why I had gone next door. [OC: What I was telling her here was that my claims about being sensitive to when my presence wasn't really welcome had been well founded and that in fact I did know when to withdraw so as to cause least upset.] [2.12]

21 The relevant comment in the field notes of the previous day read as follows: "... I moved across behind the front row of desks and said hello to Jocelyn. She had a large piece of cardboard in her hand with colours on it. [OC: As if it was lesson material]. She said hello and smiled. [OC: But it was rather weak. She didn't look too happy, whether at my presence or not I'm not too sure. It occurred to me that she might be taking a lesson that morning and was reacting to my possible presence.]" Field Notes, 3.1.
Although the indications are that the Associates themselves weren't unduly concerned by the fact that their teaching activities were being observed, they did seem to be apprehensive in the early stages of the research about how the children in their classes would react to the researcher's presence. Mrs Gillard in particular expressed this concern on a number of occasions in the early stages of the research. The following conversation took place in her classroom after school in the first week.

"I just wanted to say thanks for letting me sit in on your classes this morning", I said. "Oh that's all right", replied Mrs Gillard. "No bother at all. Actually", she continued, "I was really pleased with how the children behaved. I have a couple of immature ones who tend to act up and I was a bit concerned about how they would behave, but they behaved really well". "That's good", I said. [1.53]

A developing concern of the Associates, however, related to the student's reactions to the researcher's presence in the classroom. The student's subordinate position in the classroom situation did make their inclusion in the negotiations for access somewhat problematic. Although they always responded positively to requests to sit in on classes and in fact voiced indifference to the matter when questioned directly about how they felt in relation to the researcher's presence in the classroom, there were always doubts in the researcher's mind as to the sincerity of these responses. This point is perhaps worth developing in a bit of detail because it does highlight one research difficulty encountered in the situation.

The following notes relate to a conversation that the researcher had with one of the Associates just prior to
leaving the school on the last day of observations.

I spent about five minutes in "winding up" chat with Mrs Gillard. She said that having me in the class had only been a bit of a strain about midway through. It wasn't that it bothered her, but she thought Susan (her student) was a little bit put out by it. She was just beginning to build up her confidence in front of the class and then realised that there was someone else in the class observing her. Prior to this her involvement in class activities had been such that she wasn't worried by my presence. [5.111]

If the student did feel "put out by it", she gave no indication of this to the researcher. This problem was even more pronounced in the case of one of the other students. On day six of the research project her associate had suggested that the researcher might like to sit in on a "post mortem" session after the student had taken a lesson.

I said that would be good but that I should maybe leave it until the student was a bit more sure of me. Mrs McInnes thought that was a good idea. She said she thought Jocelyn was gaining a bit of confidence now and wasn't so concerned about my presence. She had been at first and she hadn't blamed her for feeling that way. At morning tea today, though, Jocelyn had asked where I was. They were sure I was around somewhere because I had been there in the morning. Jocelyn had commented it was a pity I hadn't been there because the lesson had gone well. [2.35]

Shortly after this the student was interviewed and she commented that although when the matter had been discussed with them at College she had had a few reservations about the research project, she "felt okay now" about the researcher's presence in the room. Eight days later the researcher had the following conversation with this student's Associate.

22 Field Notes, 3.18.
Mrs McInnes asked whether Jocelyn had ever said anything to me about being in the room, and I said "no". "Why?" I asked. "Oh" she said, "it's just that she said to me that she didn't really like Mr Hall in the room observing." "When did she say this?" I asked, and she said "last Friday". I said I had spoken to her since then and she seemed to be quite unperturbed by my presence. [4.14]

The matter was taken up in conversation again the next day.

Mrs McInnes said she wasn't concerned that I was in the classroom, but she felt that her student probably was. She had said this to Mrs McInnes. I said that I had spoken to her and she hadn't seemed too perturbed, but Mrs McInnes said that she had had control problems since then and that may have affected her confidence.... I said that what I'd like to do is rely on her to sound the student out on my presence in the room so that if I asked Mrs McInnes' permission and she said "No", then I would know what the situation was. Mrs McInnes said that I could always ask Jocelyn herself, to which I replied I had, and that she didn't mind. Mrs McInnes said that in those circumstances she might feel that she had to say "yes" because the Associate thought it was okay and it wasn't her place to refuse entry. [4.28]

Following this the researcher's observational activities were voluntarily curtailed somewhat, but it wasn't as if rapport with either of these students was affected by these concerns. Both gave every indication of being willing to be involved in the research project, and where they could, they gave freely of their time out of class for conversations and interviews 23. What this gives clear indication of, though, is the fact that gaining and maintaining access to classrooms

23 During the fourth week one of the students was off ill for a few days. The researcher had arranged an interview session with her which consequently had to be missed. When she returned to school she apologised to the researcher for missing the appointment and asked when it would be convenient to arrange another one.
wasn’t merely a matter of "asking". The nature of the problem altered as the situation itself developed and the student's perception of the situation changed.

The most difficult situation of all to get access to involved conversational interactions between Associate and student. On a few occasions the researcher was directly included in their conversations and participated to the extent that his presence was acknowledged by them and comments and questions were directed at him. Only once did he get direct access to a formal discussion session between one of the Associates and her student where they were discussing aspects of the student's teaching performance. This access was at the invitation of the Associate.

Apart from that, access had to be effected by a number of "devious" means. In sitting in on a class the researcher would, wherever possible, position himself close by the teacher's desk at the front, since this was where most in-class consultations took place between Associate and student. In one of the classes this just wasn't practicable and the researcher had to eavesdrop from the back of the class.

Consultations between Associates and students also took place before and after school with these sessions normally being located in the Associate's classroom. In these instances the researcher's strategy involved "prospecting", locating

24 This wasn't always easy to achieve since there is a fair degree of movement of activities in primary classes such as these, with the children moving from their desks to the carpet and back again as the lesson programme develops. The researcher always had to plan his moves beforehand and move in response to the changes in the teaching programme, but in such a way that he didn't get in the way.
"the action" and then "hanging on the wall" and listening. This was done in the spirit of a set of general guidelines that had been formulated by the researcher on the first day of research.

Above all I will attempt to "intrude" as little as possible. This is made difficult by the fact that the central relationship in the situation is a dyad - Associate teacher and student. To make this easier I will need to develop a code of conduct for myself. When I'm with a teacher or a student on my own, then anything goes in the way of questions. When I'm with a teacher and a student together I will not speak unless spoken to, and will attempt to develop strategies that allow me to "hover" in the background within earshot. Above all, I must attempt to become "part of the furniture" as quickly and as easily as possible. (1.1)

On the whole, the strategies were successful. During the second week of observation one of the Associates introduced the researcher to a visiting college lecturer with the comment "this is our fly on the wall". To a large extent, though, it was the case that the researcher had to rely on "reports" from either of the individuals concerned as to what had actually taken place during most of these dyadic interactions.

25 "Prospecting" and "hanging on the wall" were terms that developed very early in the field notes. Even if the researcher couldn't be in the school to observe classroom activities on any particular day, he always turned up between 8.30 am and 9.00 am and "prospected" in the staffroom or in the classrooms. The objective of the prospecting, of course, was to locate "the action". He also discovered very early in the research that classrooms are excellent places for listening in on conversations because there is so much material on the walls that one can be "interested" in while listening to what is being said - hence "hanging on the wall". As a strategy this was only appropriate in the early stages. One can effect an interest in the same earthquake drawings only for so long. By that stage, though, the researcher was accepted in the rooms and could just sit and look as well as listen. This was referred to as the "Chief Bromberg" strategy after one of the central characters in Keysey's "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest".

26 Field Notes, 3.8.
These then were the three main types of situations that the researcher had to get access to. There were some situations, however, that it was impossible to get access to. One of these was the "crit lesson" where the student is observed in class by a visiting college lecturer. Here the researcher had to make do with interviewing the students and the lecturers concerned to find out "what went on".

Research Procedures:
Interviewing

In addition to getting access to a range of situations within the school, it was also necessary for the researcher to get access to particular individuals within the school for the purposes of conversation or interviewing.

The researcher took every opportunity to engage Associates and students in informal conversations before classes, between classes and after classes with the strategy of talking with them informally and then reconstructing the conversation from memory after the event. It was found that this approach worked quite well.

Towards the end of the second week in the school, the researcher initiated an interview programme whereby Associates and students were questioned in a more formal fashion with

As part of their assessment during practice teaching sections in the second year and third year, each student has to teach a lesson with a staff member from the college in the classroom observing. The actual period of observation may only be half an hour but the lecturer will also spend time in discussion with the Associate and the student. This is what is referred to in the college as the "crit lesson".
the proceedings being taped. These were unstructured interviews that developed around events that had been observed in classrooms. Because these interviews had to be conducted largely during lunch hours they were restricted in length to about half an hour each. Of the four Associates that the researcher had access to, one was interviewed once, one was interviewed twice and the other two were interviewed four and five times respectively. Occasionally the researcher had to forego the convenience of using a tape machine due to the fact that the only time he could get to speak to either of these latter two Associates was when they were on playground duty. This happened on three occasions. In these instances the researcher left the school as soon as possible after the "interview" and reconstructed the conversation from memory.

Permission to use a tape machine was always obtained beforehand and the researcher was never refused permission.

This was the new entrants teacher. This interview lasted forty five minutes.

These latter two were the Associates whose classrooms provided the focus for the researcher's observational activities. Both of these Associates were also engaged by the researcher in informal conversation on a number of other occasions over the five week period.

Although these extended conversations lasted on average about half an hour, reconstructing them from memory did not present insurmountable problems. In fact the process was aided by two factors. First of all the teachers walked a fixed "beat" during their period of playground duty and this made it easier for the researcher to reconstruct what had been talked about since topics could be linked up with places and events on the way. Secondly, the researcher was able to use the interruptions that occurred as a natural feature of playground duty, to take rough notes on his cards. These interruptions would occur either when the teacher was approached by a child, or when she had to intervene in a playgroup to restore order. These interruptions presented problems, of course, in terms of maintaining the flow of conversations and for this reason it was found preferable to set up a formal interview situation and tape the proceedings.
The researcher also interviewed the three students who were in the Standards classes. Two of them were interviewed twice and the third was interviewed only once.

The third main group of interview subjects comprised three staff members from the Teachers College. Each of these three interviews lasted approximately forty-five minutes to an hour. Two of these staff members had been responsible for taking the students' "crit lessons" in the school, and the other staff member had overall college responsibility for the administration of student practice teaching. In all cases where an interview was taped, a full transcript was typed up and included in the field notes.

There were a number of factors that made getting access to individual Associates and students problematic.

First of all there was the nature of the central relationship in this situation. Associates and students spent a lot of time together out of class discussing such things as the teaching programme, individual lesson plans and the student's overall progress. It was often difficult, for example, to get either Associates or students on their own at the beginning of the school day because of consultations. A comment such as the following one from the beginning of week three was quite typical.

32 These first two were the students who were assigned to the classrooms where the researcher did his observational work. Again, it should be emphasised that all three of these students were also talked to informally on many occasions apart from these formal interviews.
I went to Mrs McInnes's room and Mrs McInnes and Jocelyn were discussing lesson plans. (OC: I don't have to hang about on the walls now, I can just listen in. That's progress of a sort. Shows that at least I'm being accepted.)

I went looking for Mrs Gillard and met Susan who was arriving. "How does a Monday morning feel to you?" I asked. She replied with a smile and a "fine". Before I could get Mrs Gillard on her own she had gone into her room and was talking about lesson plans for the day with Susan. It was nearly nine o'clock so I went to the staffroom. [3.1]

The obverse of this, of course, is that the Associate will often get time off classes when the student is taking the class on her own and indeed the researcher was able to make use of this free time on four occasions to interview Associates. Two points need to be made here, though. Firstly, this only really applied in the second half of the practice teaching section when the students had gained a bit of confidence with the Associate's class. Secondly, given the other pressures that Associates work under, they tend to value this free time to do administrative chores and lesson preparation that they wouldn't otherwise have time to do.

A second constraining factor on the availability of students and associates on an individual basis had to do, of course, with outside commitments that the Associates and students had. In the case of the students this was made more difficult because of their commitments to doing lesson preparation.

On my way down the verandah I passed Mrs Gillard. We said good morning. Susan was in the classroom on her own. I went in and asked her if it would be convenient for me to speak to her tonight. She said it would probably be better at lunchtime.
She said that she goes to classes at University and is often there until seven. After school she likes to have a bit of time to herself to do school preparation, so lunchtimes would suit her better. [3.16]

Mrs McInnes also had a preference for lunchtime because as she said, "After a hard day’s teaching the last thing you want is to have to talk to someone about it". In fact most of the "talking" that was done with Associates or students was done at lunchtime. This meant that research plans were at the occasional mercy of lunchtime "wet weather routines" when the children stayed in the classrooms for lunch and were supervised by their teachers. It rained on six out of the nineteen days that the researcher was in the school. This then was another constraining factor that acted to limit the amount of access that the researcher had to Associates and students.

The main factor, though, that restricted access with regard to individual teachers was the sheer pressure of work under which the teachers worked. Unlike secondary school teachers, teachers in primary schools have no scheduled free periods, which means that they are in class all day. In addition to this, the teachers in this school were on playground duty twice a week during lunchtimes, breaks and before and after school. This restricted access in the early stages of the research when students would accompany the

33 Field Notes, 5.16.
associates on playground duty\textsuperscript{34}, but after the first week it meant that the researcher could walk with the Associates and chat to them since the students invariably stayed in the staffroom at lunchtime, or did preparation in the classroom.

Despite these various limitations, though, and the varied demands on their time that the students and Associates had to cope with, they still managed to find time to talk with the researcher out of class whenever they could - and in some cases they found the time to talk with the researcher during classes.

\textbf{Research Procedures:}

\textbf{Use of Documents}

This was not an important part of the research so it merits only minimal mention. The documents that were used provided background information that was relevant to the research, and these documents came from three main sources, firstly from the Teachers College, secondly from the school and thirdly from individual students. The researcher obtained background information on practice teaching from documents provided by the college. These were useful in highlighting particular issues within practice teaching and gave the

\textsuperscript{34} The following extract from the field notes relates to lunchtime on day one of the research: "As I walked off the verandah I noticed Mrs Gillard and her student coming towards me from the direction of the library building. [OC : I wished I could be a fly and listen in to what was being said. I reflected again on the problem of listening in on a two person conversation. It seemed to me that these two were a very "chummy" pair already and that a relationship like that would be quite a significant teaching relationship - but how to find out what they talk about?]" [Field notes, 2.9]
researcher some insight into the College's policy on the matter. Information on the school's background was obtained from school registers and roll books. The registers went back to 1907 but the roll books were only available from 1952. The researcher was also fortunate in being allowed access to one student teacher's Lesson Plan folder. This contained not only a detailed account of the lessons taken by this student but also comments from her Associate on these lessons. The students and Associates were making continual use of these folders during the five weeks of the practice teaching section so the researcher considered himself lucky to get access to this one folder. One other student also provided the researcher with various College memoranda on practice teaching and assessment. By and large, though, all of this documentary material - with the exception of the lesson plan folder - was used as background rather than substantive data.

Research Procedures:
Analysis of Data

In this type of research, analysis of data always proceeds alongside the collection of data. In addition to field notes and interview transcripts, the field work books for the project also included various analytic jottings and research memoranda in which the researcher attempted in a tentative way to come to grips with the data as it was being collected. Towards the end of the five weeks of the field work it increasingly became the case that analytic comments would be included in the body of the Field notes for the day. The hard work of indexing the field notes and making "sociological sense" of the data contained therein was done after the completion of the field work, but the initial
analytic "break-throughs" were achieved during field work - particularly in the last week.

The researcher embarked on the field work with the awareness that the project would be concerned with the routinized nature of competence in everyday life, but with little definite knowledge as to what would be "found" as a result of the field work. There were no hypotheses to be tested, no rigorous research instruments to be "applied". Given the exploratory nature of the research this had certain advantages for the project, particularly in the area of flexibility of procedures, but it also had disadvantages. It meant that the researcher had to be less than completely definite in replying to the numerous questions about the research that he was asked in the first week of field work. It was generally accepted that he was interested in the "relationship" that develops between the Associate teacher and the student, but while this satisfied questions in the early stages it quite definitely prevented the researcher from getting "access" to detailed transcripts of conversations between Associate and student and between student and pupils. Given the researcher's earlier statements of "interest" the Associates couldn't see the justification for the researcher asking if he could tape record reading groups and consultations between Associate and student. This is something that would have to be borne in mind if the research was to be extended at any stage in the future. To extend

35 The topic wasn't broached abruptly, of course, but was handled very carefully. When it became obvious during a conversation with Mrs McInnes during week four that she couldn't see the "sense" of such a request, the researcher dropped the matter immediately.
The inherent flexibility of the approach required that the researcher engage in "analysis" of data while still carrying out field work. As "aids to a sluggish imagination" he prepared analytic memoranda each weekend during the fieldwork and played around with ideas and notions that seemed to have conceptual relevance to the situation at hand. These would then be used to "guide" observations and interviews in the following week. Having achieved what appeared to be "fruitful" insights, the researcher would then review field notes from previous days in order to establish whether these insights received substantiation from earlier observations. The limited nature of the field work made it impracticable to attempt a "saturation" of categories similar to that suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). To achieve this the researcher would have to observe over a number of practice teaching sections and solve the problem of how to achieve sufficient rapport to get at "depth" material within such a short period of time.

One month after completion of the field work the researcher returned to the school with a twenty two page document that set out the results of his preliminary analysis. This was discussed with the Deputy headmaster and with the two other Associates involved in the project. As a result of this some modifications were made to the analytic scheme, but these weren't major.

Additional copies were made available for the three other Associates in the school. Copies were also sent to the three students and three college staff members who had been involved in the project.
Conclusion

One of the main advantages of participant observation is the flexibility that it offers the researcher in terms of data gathering procedures as well as analysis of data. This flexibility has to be bought at a price, however, and part of that price is a precariousness of existence for the researcher within the research setting. Because of the field worker's marginality in the situation, relationships have to be constantly negotiated and, if necessary, renegotiated. The researcher cannot take his access to situations or individuals for granted and must constantly look to his environment for signs of stress and strain that may indicate that he is overstepping his mark. It is for reasons such as these that field work is physically and emotionally exhausting. All of it hinges, of course, on the degree of rapport that the researcher is able to achieve with his subjects. This is something that is difficult to

37 There was the occasional day, when the researcher was acutely conscious of wishing he could use the staffroom in much the same way that the teachers did i.e. as a time to relax and shut off. During the fourth week of observation he recorded the following comment: "I went to the staffroom and got out my lunch. I sat down next to one of the students. (OC: As soon as I sat down I realised I should have gone back to my office. It's not possible to "switch off" at any time during my visits to the school and every conversation has to be remembered and written up. What a drag. No free time." [Field Notes, 5.55]. On a previous day the researcher had recorded the following comment about morning break in the staffroom: "OC: During this break I just felt like a rest so I talked to one of the Associates about nothing in particular. If I feel that way, the teachers probably feel it more so." [Field notes, 2.49]. It still remained a fact of life, however, that the "nothing in particular" had to be written up in the field notes.
measure, and in the present context the researcher is not disposed to dwell on the matter to any great extent, except to mention that he is warmly welcomed back to Totara Primary whenever he visits. Hopefully that will speak for itself.

On the whole, the social actors in the research setting gave the researcher every assistance in his data gathering endeavours, despite the obvious constraints and pressures that they had to work under. In this respect, the researcher's decision to focus his research activities on one school was amply justified since he was thus able, over the course of numerous conversations, interviews and periods of observation, to achieve a depth of understanding that he might not otherwise have been able to achieve if his activities had been spread over more than one school.
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