CULTURE AND STRATEGY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

ALISON M. LYON

University of Leicester
Department of Sociology
PhD 1985
To the memory of Mary D. Haggart Lyon.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION................................................................. p5

CHAPTER ONE: CULTURE AND STRATEGY IN
TEACHER EDUCATION........................................... p23

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING
COLLEGES............................................................... p87

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN
RESEARCH IN TEACHER EDUCATION..... p119

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SELECTION OF STUDENT
TEACHERS.............................................................. p156

CHAPTER FIVE: DEVELOPING STRATEGY AND
LEARNING TACTICS........................................... p228

CHAPTER SIX: STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN SUCCESSFUL
TEACHING PRACTICE................................. p285

CONCLUSION................................................................. p357

BIBLIOGRAPHY............................................................... p366
I would like to thank Professor Olive Banks, and Dr. David Docherty for their advice and comments on earlier drafts of this thesis.

I would also like to thank both the Advisory staff in Leicester University's Computing Department for guiding me through the early days with the computer, and the staff of the Microcomputer Lab at Strathclyde University for their help, and the loan of a micro.

A.M.L.
INTRODUCTION

1. Culture and Teacher Training.

Teacher education has traditionally excited much interest from sociologists and educationalists alike - probably because of its location as the 'lynch-pin' of the education system. Innovations in curriculum development, pedagogy, evaluation, etc. all take on an 'established' character when incorporated across the range of training courses, and as such, are much more likely to become normal practice in schools. Similarly, it is the point at which the students as products of the education system - measured through the number and level of the students' qualifications, begin their training to take part in the educational production process itself.

Within this general topic of teacher education, there are many particular areas of study; however the main strands of research interest in teacher education are fairly homogenous, and have tended to be limited in their use to one another. The two areas of research on teacher education which are dealt with in this thesis are a) research work done on the structure of teacher education from the educationalist point of view - i.e. recommendations from the research are concerned with what should be done to ensure a more efficient operation of the system of teacher education; and b) the application of sociological perspectives to teacher education. This proclivity on the part of sociologists of education has led to a great deal of
information on, and sociological theorisation about, the structure and process of teacher education.

D. Hargreaves (in Woods 1980, p125-148) has argued that one of the reasons for the sheer number of studies in teacher training has been the location of sociologists of education and educationalists in training colleges themselves. Any review of the literature is, arguably, substantially journal based rather than book based, and this in turn has affected the kind of research work carried out upon, and the kinds of knowledge we have concerning, teacher training in this country (1).

This study arose out of an interest in the way in which students thought about learning to teach and the ways in which they approached their training. The link between culture and pedagogy was the first focus of research. Culture is preliminarily defined here as the ideas and practices through which individuals understand their world, while the use of the concept of pedagogy implies a general definition of pedagogy as that educational orientation which informs, and is manifest through, the structuring of both classroom relations and the institutional practices which sustain them.

(1) Obviously there are numerous examples, but the teaching and administrative pressures on those located within such colleges tends to be higher than on University academics. Thus we find a number of longer-term studies of university PGCE (such as Lacey 1977), but few of the college BEd student.
Thus the relationship between culture and pedagogy is central in shaping the kinds of educational policy which are sustained in teacher training colleges, classrooms, P.T.A. meetings etc., in this country, and the content, organisation and running of initial training courses. Specifically I was interested in the selection, training, supervision and evaluation of student teachers, and the development of a successful strategy towards teaching by the students.

The thesis begins with a brief examination of the contribution made by existing studies in teacher education to the conceptualisation and resolution of this question. Analysis and evaluation is then made of existing sociological theory which specifically addresses the problem of the cultural context of the education system. A number of 'models' of explanation are then constructed as a means of evaluating the usefulness of these perspectives to the study of teacher education.

The suitability of these models in analysing the historical context of teacher education is then examined, and finally, an empirical study of a teacher training course in a College in the Midlands is reported.

2. Debates in the study of Teacher Training.

Any research field which crosses so many disciplinary boundaries (in this case education, philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, linguistics, and particular subject
interests, such as Mathematics, Physical Education, Biology, World Value Systems etc.), is bound to generate a massive body of theory, much of which is contradictory, mutually irrelevant, and downright dismissive of the contributions of others. Studies which have been generated from the sociological point of view are analysed in the next chapter, while philosophical, historical and psychological theories, although important in their own right, are judged to be of indirect relevance to this study, and are therefore only confronted inasmuch as they affect the structure of the training courses, and of the study itself. Research in teacher training which has been generated from the point of view of educationalists is, however, directly relevant to both the analysis of teacher education, and to the practice and prescriptions of teacher trainers in the field.

This introduction then, will largely be concerned with the main studies already undertaken into teacher training, and to an evaluation of the usefulness of their interests and findings in sociological terms.

a) The Professional Training of Teachers.

For well over a century now, educationalists have been concerned with the relationship between teaching practice and the personal education of the pupil/student teacher; on the one hand it has been argued that "It is a matter of logical necessity that a teacher must have something to teach" (Peters 1968, p6), as indeed it is, while on the other hand it has been and is argued that "The characteris-
tic of the teacher as a professional person is that he uses knowledge to organise, encourage and assist certain generally approved kinds of learning through a system of formal education" (Hilliard 1971, p34). For our purposes a teacher is defined as a learned person who is skilled in the methods of enabling children to learn an approved curriculum in classroom or other formal educational setting (2).

When such a definition is operationalised in the devising of teacher training courses, however, the relevant issues are the much more complicated ones of prioritisation - should learning the method of instruction central to teaching take precedence (chronologically and theoretically) over the personal education of the student?, or would that lead to Training Colleges turning out skilled technicians who have no idea what they are producing?

One of the most interesting participants in this debate has been the Department of Education and Science (in all its previous manifestations), whose latest initiative is geared towards the increasing 'professionalisation' of teaching through forcing students to focus on one particular subject, becoming 'expert' in that one particular field (DES circular

(2) This definition is included in order to distinguish between the particular meaning attributed to 'teacher' here, and the more general idea of teacher as 'that person important in a child's learning. This latter definition includes parents and other significant adults in the children's lives. It also draws the distinction between the mass of adult education which is currently taking place in this country, and the formal education of young children.
It is also worth noting that the latest circulars recommend that students failing in their practical work, yet who are performing well in their theory examinations, be recommended to resit their assessment, or be diverted to another non-BEd course (see also, for instance the DES White Paper, "Teaching Quality" 1983).

Obviously the issues in the different debates are interconnected, and the professionalism debate cannot be separated from the theory/practice debate. The issue of whether training courses should programme educational theory and professional practice consecutive to each other or concurrent with one another, spans both debates, a problem which educationists and policy makers alike have not always recognised.

b) The Theory/Practice Debate

The issues involved in this debate are many and complicated. The debate spans questions of, for instance, (i) what kind of theory should be taught in teacher training courses (e.g. whether sociology is a suitable subject for study, see McNamara 1977, Culley and Demaine 1978); (ii) whether theory should give rise to good practice, or good practice should be supported by theory (see Peters 1968, Hilliard 1971); (iii) whether educational theory does make any difference to what student teachers do in classrooms, or whether this is more a matter of their personality, their own experience in classrooms, pressure from peers, headteachers, supervisors, teacher tutors, etc. (see Gibson 1976, Hogben & Petty 1979,
Petty & Hogben 1980, Shipman 1967); and (iv) whether educational theory should be a matter for inservice training altogether (see Gordon 1980, Wadd 1982).

Some of these questions can be addressed without specific reference to the organisation of courses along consecutive and concurrent lines, or to questions of whether the teaching profession should be all graduate, although the various answers given to these questions would all structure the BEd and PGCE in different ways.

One of the most surprising and frustrating features of this debate, and indeed of the professionalism debate, is the way in which the system of teacher education is treated as a simple split system, comprising university training institutes and departments, and colleges of education.

The argument of this thesis is that the picture is a great deal more complicated than this, and that the cultural context of both the training of teachers, and the education system itself, has a great deal to do with this complexity. That is, if it is hypothesized that teacher education has a central position between culture and society on the one hand, and the education system on the other, then we must treat teacher education as potentially as diverse and complicated a set of institutions and practices, as we treat cultures and sub- and counter-cultures.

For instance, the Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education is at the minute engaged in imposing criteria of
professionalism on all training courses at all levels, which is aimed at implementing the DES circulars' recommendations, namely stimulating the growth of subject 'expertise'. This may well encourage a greater degree of 'professional pride' in the calibre of college graduates produced, however, the importance placed on the acquisition of a subject- or age-specialisms may in fact, actually undermine the growth of what others see as true professionalism in the first school - i.e. the teacher as expert in child development, in using play, projects, local environmental and community facilities etc. in the creation of a 'learning environment' for young children, whatever the particular stage, (c.f. age) the child has reached.

This theme is an important one, and will be highlighted throughout the analysis, however, it is surprising that more of the studies carried out from an educationalist perspective have not resisted the homogenous image imposed on teacher training by both government and other disciplines (3).

(3) The History of Education can be exempted in part from this criticism, probably because this diversity has historical roots, which theorists have been forced to confront in their analysis of the development of teacher training colleges. Chapter Two follows the development of pedagogy in early training colleges, through changes in pedagogy arising out of the growth of secondary education, towards the emergence of the system as it presently stands - i.e. with a multitude of institutions (polytechnics, Colleges of further and Higher Education, University Institutes and Departments of Education, Monotechnics, and the amalgam of institutions formed through mergers in the mid-late 1970s), and diversity of pedagogy.
Bernstein is one of the few sociologists of education to analyse the importance of such cultural diversity in pedagogy, in his "Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible" paper (Bernstein 1975, pp116-156), where he draws a distinction between the pedagogy of some forms of early education, and of middle and secondary school education.

c) Attitudinal Studies.

Studies which have taken place under this rubric have tended to concentrate on the changes in attitudes towards education in general and teaching in particular, which student teachers undergo throughout their training course. A number of researchers have hypothesized the temporary radicalisation of student teachers while undergoing their training, while others have argued that such changes as measured over a training course cannot be seen as reflecting a real commitment to a new way of approaching teaching, rather, they are merely a manifestation of the student teachers' perception of the kinds of attitudes which are valued by their assessors (see Hogben and Petty 1979, Petty and Hogben 1980, Ashley et al 1970, Coulter 1980 for instance for a discussion of these issues).

Analysis of such studies has been useful to many course organisers, in that these studies have been taken to indicate that the educational theory taught on initial training courses was either irrelevant, or not 'applied to the practice of teaching' adequately. Thus such studies have been linked into the theory/practice debate, and have
fuelled the argument for closer concurrent teaching of theory and practice, to enable the students to quickly relate the theory they have been taught, to the practice they see while on observation trips, and for the location of educational theory within inservice courses for practising teachers.

Here again we encounter the treatment of teacher training as a simple binary training system (in institutional and organisational terms) - both in examining students' reasons for becoming teachers and their perception of what teaching is, and in examining the changes in students' attitudes over the training period. That is, cultural diversity and particular pedagogical emphases are at best peripheral quirks of particular courses - instances of the personal interests of teacher trainers determining the structure and the emphasis of the course.

For instance, Morrison and McIntyre argue that "one must... hypothesize that college entrants themselves decide that the less demanding academic courses of the colleges will be more suitable (than university) for them" (1969, p49), yet the college system can service many interests which the university cannot - for instance, training particularly geared to teaching in middle schools; more time spent on teaching practice; a greater opportunity to study a number of subjects, especially at the first school level, and so on. That is, the students' choice to go to college is
dismissed, and their academic failure is substituted as the reason for their enrolment (4).

Similarly, Denscombe argues that "During (the students' period as a pupil) it is reasonable to assume that the trainees developed some idea of what teaching is all about and learnt to discern the good teacher from the bad. When they enter college, then, trainee teachers, like most other members of the public, have a firm conception of what the job is all about as a result of their protracted experience as pupils in classroom" (Denscombe 1982, p251, citing Lortie 1969, 75, Maddox 1968, Hanson and Herrington 1976, Mardle and Walker 1980 as support). However this completely ignores the potential diversity in experience of schooling which these students as children may have had; it assumes a priori that the students are a representative sample of schoolchildren (whereas in fact they are the product of a long and complex selection process - see Chapter Four), it imposes a homogeneity on the education system which, for instance, recent innovations such as middle schools, or parent participation programmes, would provide evidence against, and not least, is extremely patronising towards student teachers, their trainers, and those working alongside them on teaching practice.

(4) Chapter Four will in fact show that many of these students had qualifications which were more than adequate for university entrance.
d) Social Background and Culture of Student Teachers.

Studies included under this heading could also of course, be allocated to the above topic. However, some of the research has attempted to go beyond simple studies of attitude, towards an analysis of the reasons behind students' choice of teaching as a profession, calculating the importance of social background and the students' culture in determining their perception of teaching and their educational hopes and ambitions.

In the 1950s and 60s educational theory followed the lead of sociology and developed demographic indicators of the staffing and success of teacher training, which were then evaluated alongside other professions - Law, Medicine, etc. Many of the attitudinal studies attempted to apply these criteria to student teachers, and were based on fairly crude social class indicators and assumed the validity of the university/college split in the calibre of the students (e.g. Morrison and McIntyre op cit).

During this period the universities had 'leadership' or control over the organisation of teacher training in a geographical area, and the cultural divide between universities and colleges was perceived to be great - the cream of academic ability was automatically assumed to be passing through the university system.

The problem of teachers being made not born was one which was of great concern to those looking at the social back-
ground and personality of the students, many studies attempting to shake off the image of teaching as the middle class occupation which the most able of the working classes could use as a means of social mobility. Morrison and McIntyre argued in 1969 that "The educational selection which occurs formally or informally throughout primary and secondary education is in large measure also a process of social selection, with a relatively small proportion of working class pupils successfully completing academic courses in secondary schools. It is therefore inevitable that student teachers should tend to come from homes with above average socio-economic status" (p43).

After the growth of comprehensive secondary education and in the wake of educational disadvantage debate, the research interests in this field moved on two fronts. In the first place, the expansion of schooling and higher education after the Robbins Report, led to a shift in the population eligible for and motivated towards teaching. In the second place, methodological advances led to changes in the emphases of such studies; the pre- and post-administration of questionnaires has been severely criticised (although still extensively used), and many researchers have searched for a more sophisticated focus - "research designs for the study of teacher education must be able to examine how professional life is interpreted and acted upon as people participate in its ongoing affairs" (Tabachnick et al 1979-80, p12)
e) Sexism and Racism in Teacher Training.

This area of debate has been cited not because it is especially important to the thesis, rather because there is an enormous gap in this field of research, and because of the recent recommendations from the DES to CATE concerning the need for racism and sexism to be addressed at the level of teacher training.

Although there have been many studies of girls in schools, and the gender balance in classrooms, and a huge body of work has been generated out of the debate over multi-cultural education, such studies tend to ignore the implications for teacher training. This lack of application to training has serious consequences for the implementation of non-sexist and non-racist practice in schools, which must be the basis for constructing anti-sexist and anti-racist relations in schools and in society. Perhaps if more research was done in this important area in which the relation between schools and society, and therefore teacher training and society, is made explicit, then the system of teacher education in this country may be treated as more problematic and complex.

f) Different Methods of Training.

For the most part this study is of initial training in the context of a teacher training college, and as such, can make little comment on the different modes and successes of
training teachers which the universities, polytechnics, Institutes of Education etc. undertake.

As the study is only concerned with initial teacher training, it refers to inservice education only indirectly. Thus, the huge body of research generated in relation to inservice training is not presented here, except where such work has implications for initial training. For instance, the James Report based many of its recommendations for initial training on the improvement of the inservice facilities, and can only be interpreted in relation to such recommendations; similarly the recommendations that educational theory be a matter for inservice training must be considered in any study of initial teacher training.

3. Teacher Education and the Sociology of Education.

Studies of teacher education then, which have tended to emerge from the educationist perspective are focussed on specific stages of training, and the content and the continuity of each of these stages with one another. Only rarely is the cultural context of training analysed, and then only in terms of the students' cultural background (see for instance, Coulter 1980, Ashley et al 1970, Craft & Atkins 1985). Such studies have only limited descriptive use in any study of the relation of education and culture at the intersection of teacher training.

There are a number of studies of teacher education which have been undertaken from a more sociological point of view.
However, debates in the sociology of education which have centred around the analysis of cultural relations supporting a particular form of education, have tended to ignore teacher education (Mardle & Walker 1980, Denscombe 1982 & 84, & Giroux 1981 are the exceptions here), and have either failed to undertake empirical study to test their theoretical deliberations, or have constructed Theories of Human Behaviour and Social Action based on a study of a small group of teachers and pupils. For instance, A. Hargreaves studied two radical teachers in secondary schools, from which he constructed a theory of 'survival strategies' (1984, pp215-231).

Chapter One then, will investigate the usefulness of some of the more relevant theories of culture and education, and hypothesize the analysis and explanation of teacher education that such theories would (if their authors had chosen to study teacher education) give rise to. Such models will then be evaluated in relation to both their logical consistency, and their applicability to the system of teacher training in England and Wales. An alternative framework is then suggested.

Chapter Two will analyse the usefulness of the evaluation of these models in explaining the development of teacher training colleges in England and Wales, and the present policy context.

Chapter Three introduces the empirical study undertaken in response to the inadequacies of the existing theory and
research, and explains the methodology used in devising, carrying out, and reporting on, the study.

Chapter Four reports on the preliminary findings of the study - the cultural context of the training, and the pedagogical commitment found amongst the students in the particular course studied, and relates these findings back to some of the arguments of the earlier chapters.

Chapter Five builds on the findings of the previous chapter in terms of the way in which cultural patterns found in the selection of the teachers come into play in the students' interpretation of, and response to, their training, while Chapter Six looks at how the students bring together their own perception of what it is to be a teacher and their pedagogical commitment, with the sum of their learning in their college course.

The final section of Chapter Six examines the evaluation of the pedagogical strategy of students made by college supervisors, colleagues, other students teachers, headteachers in teaching practice schools, and the students themselves, and looks at the modifications students make to their strategy in the light of the response of others, including the pupils they teach.

The conclusion traces the cultural context of teacher education through the pedagogy of the students' training, to the development of a strategy towards teaching. It then
sets the research problem back into the context of a national network of teacher education, and the latest policy initiatives.
1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the debates in the Sociology of Education which attempt to describe and analyse the relationship between culture and education; specifically between pedagogy (which has been defined as that educational orientation which informs the structuring of both classroom relations and the institutional practices which sustain them) and culture (preliminarily defined as the ideas and practices through which individuals understand their world).

In the Sociology of Education there are principally three areas of debate which are important in the analysis of culture and education - the developments in neo-Marxist analyses of the education system; the interactionists' discussions of the genesis and negotiation of meanings in classrooms, staffrooms, etc.; and finally, the theory of reproduction as defined by Pierre Bourdieu and his colleagues at the European Centre for Sociological Study.

The weight of material which has been produced collectively through these debates is substantial, so the findings of their theoretical deliberations and empirical investigations will be specifically applied to teacher education. By evaluating their explanatory value when applied to teacher education, we will be able to both extract more immediately relevant material from such theories, (the range of topics
covered in the course of the debates is substantial, and not always relevant to the problem which has been set here) and to analyse the general use of the concepts they employ.

Teacher education was chosen as the empirical site on which to evaluate the usefulness of the theories because of its central position as the link between one section of those produced by the education system - the student teachers, and the production of educational successes and failures, to which end the students are trained. It was hypothesized that the analysis of the cultural context of teacher education, and those participating in the structuring and operation of teacher education, could prove useful in conceptualising the relative stability of educational relations, and also give rise to a more sophisticated analysis of how individual students and teacher trainers contribute to, question, or subvert what have been described as the 'natural' form of educational relations (Bourdieu 1977, 1973, Bourdieu & Passeron 1979).

This chapter examines the contribution these perspectives can make to the analysis of how the culture of teaching emerges and is defined in different contexts; it constructs a series of models according to the theoretical and methodological arguments of these three theories, and evaluates their usefulness in looking at how student teachers learn the techniques which enable them to structure and maintain communication in the classroom.
The first problem however, is that of the context of research - teacher education. We will examine the traditional problems encountered in research of this kind, as such constraints are important in evaluating existing research, then examine some of the solutions that the above perspectives purport to offer.

2. Some Problems in Carrying out Research in Teacher Education.

Many problems stem from the wider difficulty in gaining access to the teachers' world in a systematic, coherent way. Much of the research on teaching itself has been carried out or supervised by teachers or ex-teachers, and while this is extremely advantageous in terms of both the relevance of the subject matter produced from such research, and in the language in which such research reports tend to be couched, it has strict limitations when the content and focus of such research projects are examined.

That is, to gain access to the well-protected world of the teacher it is often necessary to have both 'chalk-face experience' and a sympathetic attitude towards the practical difficulties of teaching. The former often leads to a narrowness in the areas of education considered suitable for research, and a suspect methodology (for instance, in making explicit the details of categorisations). The latter (a sympathetic attitude), is useful in securing cooperation from the subjects in the study, however, great care has to be taken in the researcher's awareness of their involvement in the research process itself. Chapter Four presents a
much more detailed discussion of the methodological problems this research study.

The first problem encountered when researching the teacher's position then, is the privacy of the classroom. This privacy gives rise to two particular problems which the researcher must confront and resolve, and thus they are important in defining the methodology, and in turn the process of theorisation. The first effect already mentioned is that the researcher can gain access to the classroom much more easily if they can display familiarity with the difficulties of the situation of the teacher - ideally if they have 'chalk-face' experience. This has tended to mean that the methodology employed has focussed on those shared interests - the interpretations, immediate reactions and reflections of the teacher in a situation of bombardment in the classroom. Denscombe defines the methodology often used in this situation (ethnography) as "provid(ing) detailed studies of specific settings to show how the participants think and act, and what reasons they put forward to explain their beliefs and actions" (1984:203).

Much of the research in this area has been carried out by teachers or ex-teachers who became interested in the research aspects of teaching. Thus the research tends to produce rich, detailed, entertaining and sympathetic descriptions of the important elements in teachers' lives (1).

A great deal of the research attempts to construct a picture of the limitations perceived by and given priority by teachers when constructing lesson plans, in keeping control over their plans when faced with a classroom of children, and finally, in creating a learning environment for the children. The ontological advantages of such an approach lie, it is argued, precisely in the reinstatement of individual choice, and in consideration of individual action and motivation - these are the reasons that teachers find it easier to open up their classrooms to such research.

The second implication of the privacy of the classroom lies in the limitations that teachers can put on the researcher in terms of the time that they devote to the study of their classroom. There is great concern that the researcher does not understand the complexity of the situation in which the teacher finds herself, and thus to gain access and understanding of such complexities the researcher must spend time and effort in the classroom - not interview the teacher through a questionnaire or briefly in person. Some researchers have found themselves teaching in the schools in which they were carrying out the research, for instance, Pollard 1980, Ball 1984.

The interests of the teachers and the ethnographic researchers coincide on this point - this is important when considering the variety and style of presentation of ethnographic research. That is, real difficulties arise when the ethnographer attempts to generalise from one specific classroom context, according to the limitations and
constraints that the teacher in that classroom perceives to bear on their teaching. This point will be analysed in much greater detail later in the chapter, when the relationship between theory and empirical research is considered in the context of neo-Marxist and interactionist perspectives.

The privacy of the classroom seems to have had quite different consequences for the neo-Marxists studying teachers in action. Apart from the low priority given to the study of teaching in the classroom context in this perspective, they have encountered a number of difficulties in gaining access to state classrooms. Jean Anyon was given permission, by those in charge of the individual schools she approached, to study a whole range of schools in North America, but had to resist requests for evaluative statements concerning the quality of teaching she observed (A nyon 1981). Both the results of that study and the interest generated by it, should however, encourage more neo-Marxist sociologists of education to study the empirical setting of educational principles.

The parameters of the debate sustained by these two approaches and their corresponding implications in terms of structuring research at the classroom level, are examined later in the chapter, in order to clarify the discussion of the contribution that these perspectives can make when examining the particular context of student teachers. Teacher education programmes provide an ideal situation in which to study the individual's power to define pedagogy, structure classroom relations and communication, and to
secure and keep control over the pupils' learning. They also provide an interesting context in which to examine the consequences of these two approaches, when applied in an empirical context. Thus the chapter examines the particular research problems that research into teacher education, as a specific example of research into teaching in general, raises, while examining the contributions that each of these approaches can make to this study. Finally, it also examines the difficulties and drawbacks entailed in each of these approaches.

The spread of existing studies into teacher education is large, as noted in the Introduction. One of the results of such over-research is that projects now being set up have difficulty in finding relatively 'unresearched' institutions and departments, or at least departments which have not been over-researched. However, one advantage of this balance in the study of teaching is that there is a mass of empirical data on the process of learning to teach, developing professional identity, and initial problems encountered in the classroom, which aid the researcher in generalisation from one particular study.

The problem of the overkill in research on teacher education, particularly for this thesis, however, is the bias in research material towards evaluating the effectiveness of teacher education programmes; that is, as the research tends to be carried out by teacher educators, or by those with an interest in the education (in the wider sense) of teachers, the research interest tends to revolve around improving the
existing structure of courses. There is comparatively little research of the cultural basis on which such courses are structured, modified and maintained.

As we have seen, there is much research into changes in attitude and orientation through which students pass on their way to qualifying as a teacher, similarly the competence debate centres around the effectiveness of particular programmes. However, the relationship between the cultural context of training and the development of a commitment to pedagogy by student teachers, has rarely been analysed, specifically in an empirical context.

3. Culture and the Sociology of Education

The impetus for this thesis lies first, in this theoretical lack of sophistication in what are essentially interesting and relevant studies of a crucial part of the educational system, by educationalists; and second, in a frustration at the sociologists of education who have addressed the problem of the cultural context of teacher education exclusively at a very abstract level, or exclusively at the level of particular behaviours in a particular classroom. There is a marked gap in research which attempts to relate the policy and institutional implications of analyses to the actual behaviour, understanding, approach etc., that student teachers make to their training, and initial teaching practice. This thesis then, will attempt to relate the early experiences of the students in their teaching practice, to
the development of a successful (or unsuccessful!) teaching strategy.

That is, by analysing the cultural context of teacher education I hope to uncover some patterns in pedagogical processes which are important in maintaining the stability and continuity of schooling. By relating the pedagogy to the cultural context of both the education system as a whole, particularly the emergence of the present system of teacher education in colleges, and of individual participants in the process of learning to teach, I hope to be able to gain some insight into the development of students' teaching practice, and the assessment and acceptance of that practice.

The sociology of education has periodically 'purged' itself in both theoretical and methodological terms, over the past 15 years (especially since Young 1971). One of the unfortunate results of what was genuinely an attempt to insert a more critical impulse into the sociology of education, is the polarisation of theoretical standpoints between neo-Marxist and interactionist perspectives, and a tendency to preface any contribution to the body of knowledge, with a complete dismissal of previous contributors and their efforts (2).

(2) See for instance, Salter & Tapper 1981, Demaine 1981, Giroux 1981, who preface their new, 'more adequate' syntheses, with a dismissal of their predecessor's work.
The aim of the thesis is to analyse the relevant contributions which have been made during this period, in terms of their possible use to the analysis of teacher education, and to draft an explanation of some of the institutional and pedagogical structures in which student teachers are caught, and the basis of their actions while being trained as teachers.

One of the main problems of those particular contributions which will be analysed in this chapter, has been the definition of culture which has been adopted in both theory and methodology. The concept is notoriously difficult to specify without encountering a multitude of definitional problems, however, I will use the following definition as a starting point. That is, culture is defined as 'the ideas, symbols, rituals and practices through which a group of people understand their world'.

Pierre Bourdieu is the only sociologist of education who has tackled the role of culture in the stability of the education system specifically, and as such, analysis of his work will form a major part of this section. However, the origins of his conception of the problem are shared with a number of cultural theorists (3) who have made a contribution to the sociology of education. Discussion of some of these theorists—Hall, Willis, Douglas, Durkheim, Parsons, should aid clarification of our starting-point.

(3) I have used a very broad definition of cultural theorist, to include anthropologists, functionalists, and Marxist theorists under the same category!
Given the definition specified above, it is easy to see how the project of analysing the cultural context and implications of schooling is shared across a number of competing and contradictory perspectives. Parsons' conceptualisation of the school as a social system is one instance of this; "Our main interest then, is in a dual problem: first of how the school class functions to internalize in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles, and second of how it functions to allocate these human resources within the role structure of adult society" (1959, p297).

Parsons then, would focus both on the processes which lead to the school pupils' choice of teaching as a profession and their conception of what that role is, and on the relations between teacher training and classroom practice, the function of classroom practice being in turn "a matter of internalizing in pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles" etc. (ibid). Insert class interest into the analysis and perhaps it is easy to see why so many neo-Marxists share the same interests!

The British cultural studies tradition emerged out of slightly more aesthetic beginnings to move towards a more 'sociologically relevant' framework, or perhaps one which was more accessible to sociologists! Williams' work for instance, developed out of "a record of a number of important and continuing reactions to... changes in our social, economic and political life", his analysis of the cultural
processes entwined with these changes providing "a special kind of map by means of which the nature of the changes can be explored" (quoted by Hall 1980, p57). Hall goes on to draw the different explanations and definitions of culture and cultural studies - "In its different ways, it conceptualises culture as interwoven with all social practices; and those practices, in turn, as a common form of human activity: sensuous human practice, the activity through which men and women make history" (ibid p62).

This definition of cultural practices is important in analysing the historical and political context of culture - unlike Parsons, for whom commitments and capabilities are 'internalized' with greater or lesser 'fit' to their adult roles, Williams and Hoggart analyse culture as a process which is created, modified and sustained through human activity.

What all three share however, is a concern that the economic determinism of theories which create a closed relationship between the labour requirements of capitalism, which the social, political and in this context, educational relations, function to provide, be dismantled, and a more sophisticated analysis of the relationship of culture and 'class' or 'socio-economic status' be constructed. Thus on the one hand Parsons argued that "it is an essential point that this common value on achievement is shared by units with different statuses in the system. It cuts across the differentiation of families by socio-economic status. It is necessary that there be realistic opportunity and that the
teacher can be relied on to implement it by being 'fair' and rewarding achievement by whoever shows capacity for it. The fact is crucial that the distribution of abilities, though correlated with family status, clearly does not coincide with it. There can then be a genuine selective process within a set of 'rules of the game'" (Parsons op cit p308); while on the other hand Williams and Hoggart set up their theories in opposition to the base/superstructure dichotomy, variously conceptualising economic, political, social and cultural relations as the interplay of practices.

In terms of our own interest then, the selection of students for training as teachers, the process of training itself, and their subsequent evaluation, cannot be a simple matter of 'servicing the needs of capitalism' nor of their class or socio-economic background. By the same token, the pattern of social practices and culture of the students is not a simple matter of relation to capital, particularly in terms of their position in the education system. This latter point will be fully discussed later in the thesis, when the hypothesis that the structure of education, particularly the structure of teacher education, holds a problematic relationship to economic relations, will be constructed.

Some notable anthropologists (Geertz, Douglas) have contributed to this debate through the analysis of elements of culture - e.g. ritual, symbols, cross-cultural interpretations of social and economic exchanges, first in micro-cosmic instances. This has the unfortunate result of raising difficulties in forming generalised cultural theory
of complex societies. While Douglas utilises Bernstein's codes in an attempt to conceptualise the cultural basis of social groupings (Douglas 1970), Geertz bemoans the inevitable recourse to "Jonesville-is-the-USA... and the Easter-Island-is-a-testing-case model" i.e. "either heaven in a grain of sand, or the farther shores of possibility" (1973 p21).

This is particularly important in an analysis of teacher education in Britain; given the existence of both a private schooling system which has tended to recruit a higher number of graduates without professional training, and the traditions of training colleges with radical or unorthodox pedagogies, quite apart from the variety of courses offered by, the assumptions, commitments, experiences etc. of, teacher educators in the state system, we can adopt neither the "microcosmic" model, nor the "natural experiment" approach to the study of culture.

Geertz offers advice, if not methodology: "(this problem) is not to be resolved by regarding a remote locality as the world in a teacup or as the sociological equivalent of a cloud chamber. It is to be resolved - or, anyway, decently kept at bay - by realizing that social actions are comments on more than themselves; that where an interpretation comes from does not determine where it can be impelled to go. Small facts speak to large issues, winks to epistemology, or sheep raids to revolution, because they are made to" (ibid. p23).
The rest of the chapter is concerned therefore, with the way the approaches mentioned above—interactionist, neo-Marxists, and Bourdieu's theory of reproduction, can assist explication of the principles on which students pattern their plans, responses, motivations, expectations etc., which in turn affect their success and failure in early teaching practice.

The field covered by such cultural theorists is rich in description of both our own, and other very different, societies, but in particular, raises many of the issues confronted by sociologists of education. Unfortunately many of the latter theorists miss the opportunity to learn from the mistakes of others, and have pursued their own definitions and descriptions yet ignorant of the implications of such definitions worked out in other contexts.

This thesis obviously makes no claims to easily resolve such complex issues, however the above theorists have rehearsed many of the problems of conceptualising culture, the most relevant points crystallised as follows:

(i) culture can be conceived as the pattern of ideas and practices of a particular group in interpretation of their daily life, and of their role in social relations;

(ii) conceptualising culture in causal terms has severe limitations when examining social and cultural relations; i.e. it ties such interactions to pre-given purposes and functions, and to an invisible organising principle which is established a priori;
(iii) generalisations over the typicality of one set of cultural relations - the rituals, symbols, ideas and practices of one grouping is always problematic, although not necessarily impossible;

(iv) the conceptualising process always involves many levels of meaning and signification; acts and meanings always have counter- or parallel interpretations, especially when forming the data for sociological analysis.

While such problems have also been tackled in some theoretical (although few empirical) exercises, Bourdieu, it will be argued, expounds the most promising theory within the sociology of education which confronts these issues directly - others circumvent through their own pet predelections, and usually pay the price for their casual approach to the analysis of culture.

However, such contentions are merely speculative here - the rest of this chapter will analyse the neo-Marxist, interactionist and cultural reproduction theories which have been constructed at least in part out of a need to define more clearly, the relationship between education and culture.

4. Neo-Marxist Theories of Culture and Reproduction

The writings of neo-Marxists in recent sociology of education (4) have centred around the possibility of developing a Marxist sociology of education without calling on the economy to play a causal role in the determination of
social, cultural and political relations in their interplay with the education system.

Giroux for instance, set himself the task of developing a theory of society "in which the socio-cultural realm is seen as an active sphere of determination in reproducing and contradicting class-based institutional arrangements" (1981 p101). He feels it necessary to dismiss much of the work of the 'new' sociology of education, in much the same way as the 'old' sociology of education was dismissed in its time by the new movement launched through the influence of more 'critical' theorists such as Althusser and Schutz, and first examined systematically in the sociology of education in Young 1971.

The objectives of this group of neo-Marxist theorists then, are to move away from what they see as the past determinism of the sociology of education as outlined by Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu, Bernstein etc.; Giroux captures the spirit of this critical purge when he argues that "the idea that people do make history, including its constraints, has been neglected. Indeed, human subjects generally 'disappear' amidst a theory that leaves no room for moments of self-creation, mediation and resistance... schools are often

(4) Giroux 1980, 81, 83; Anyon 1979, 81, 83; Apple 1982, 83; McDonald (Arnot) 1980, 83; Dale 1981, 82; Whitty 1977; Willis 1977 & 83, are central texts in this initiative. See A. Hargreaves 1982 and Nash 1984, for two different non-Marxist evaluations of the success of the neo-Marxist initiative.
viewed as factories or prisons, teachers and students alike act merely as pawns and role bearers constrained by the logic and social practices of the capitalist system" (1983 p259).

Willis (1977) was first within this field to theorise 'resistance' as a means of breaking out of conceptual determinism while retaining a focus on structural forces, and the concept has subsequently been widely used, in particular by Giroux and Anyon.

This particular conceptual tool used to collapse the simple consciousness/structure relation has particular consequences for teacher education which must be considered in detail. First however, the intentions and the practices of these neo-Marxists must be described, analysed, and evaluated against one another.

Anyon has provided the most comprehensive analysis of the process of conceptualising 'resistance' (and attempted to use the corresponding idea of 'accomodation'). Few of the neo-Marxists seem to have subjected the concept to rigorous analysis or definition, however Anyon has extensively used the concept in analysis of gender relations: "The dialectic of accomodation and resistance is manifest in the reactions of women and girls to contradictory situations that face them.... most females engage in daily (conscious as well as unconscious) attempts to resist the psychological degradation and low self-esteem that would result from total
and exclusive application of the approved ideologies of femininity" (1983 p23).

To return to the consciousness/structure problem then, resistances (and accomodations) are not necessarily positive, individual, conscious, willed actions; thus the categorisation of actions as resistance, accomodation, or simply 'what is normal or required' behaviour in particular circumstances, is ultimately a matter for Marxist theorisation. Similarly the neo-Marxists tend to develop the concept in contrast with "the total and exclusive application" of the dominant ideology, a foil which has quite justifiably been attacked by others (see A. Hargreaves 1982, Hickox 1982).

Rather than examine how neo-Marxists apply categorical frameworks to individual and group actions generally, indeed this is a difficult task as this group of theorists seems extremely reluctant to examine their theories in empirical context, I intend to focus on their characterisation of educational and cultural relations. That is, given this group of neo-Marxists is engaged in theorising social relations in a non-determinist, radical, Marxist form, a definition of culture which involves a 'genesis' of culture, or 'cause', would give them severe theoretical difficulties.

Giroux feels that "it is more accurate to speak of a dominant culture (with its own contradictions, of course), and of the existence of minority cultures, all mediated by considerations of power and control" (1981 p148). We are given a clue to the process of mediation of culture by this
'power and control' which he earlier defined as "the inequitable distribution of wealth and power" (ibid.), giving rise to a commitment to a definition of class which involves the conceptualisation of social relations in opposition to each other (1983 p271ff), when he talks of the "distribution of culture" and of "cultural capital" (5). That is, culture is conceptualised as 'ideology in a capitalist system', and any alternative set of definitions or practices which emerge in capitalist relations, arise simply out of the contradictions of the particular 'dominant form'.

This difficulty has led to neo-Marxists studies being confined to analysis of oppositional groupings and actions, again remembering that such groupings and actions are only categorised as such by the theoretical whims of the neo-Marxists - see A. Hargreaves 1984, and to the conceptualisation of individual 'response' to existing practices and ideas in a society, merely in terms of the rejection of such practices.

Thus on the one hand, Anyon argues - "Although it would have been appropriate to analyse the treatment of black history, women's history, or any other topic involving conflict between groups in society, economic and labour history was chosen..." (1979 p22); while on the other hand, Giroux asserts - "the essential point is that there are complex and

(5) Giroux (and other neo-Marxists) have lifted this concept from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. It has limitations in conceptualising cultural relations, which will be analysed in detail later in the chapter.
creative fields of resistance through which class-, race-, and gender-mediated practices often refuse, reject and dismiss the central messages of school" (1983 p259). The categorisation of some actions as creative and others as conforming to the ruling ideology is made by the neo-Marxist theorist on the basis of principles which are obscure.

This has serious consequences for both cultural analysis and the analysis of teacher education. In the first place the individual makes no contribution to the 'maintenance of the dominant culture', certainly not in any creative sense. 'Resistance' arises out of contradictions in the dominant culture, and cultural activity in one instance is demonstrated as reinforcing and arising out of the dominant culture, then in another instance is described as arising out of the competing or opposing culture (a function of contradictions in the dominant culture). The difference in interpretation is only a result of the theoreticians' sleight of hand in the description of structural contradictions of capitalist relations.

Thus Arnot, while asserting the importance of examining bias in textbooks, argues that the central question to address is "not just what relation to the representation found within texts bear to 'lived' relations but also what is the relevance of that message for capital" (1983 p45). While an adequate analysis of the former may lend sophistication to the latter, within this particular theoretical framework it is reduced to a complex (but unexplained) contradiction produced out of capital.
The neo-Marxists then, wish to remain true to the importance of capital in structuring social and cultural relations (again leading to the analysis of culture as 'distributed'), yet remain committed to 'liberating' cultural and sociological analysis to 'truly' discover the nature of cultural and social relations.

If we return to the initial objectives of the neo-Marxists—to reinstate culture as created and sustained through the complex practices and interactions of groups, then 'resistance' and 'accommodation' must be conceptualised beyond simply being generated out of the structural determinations of particular institutions in society. The economic determinism of vulgar marxism cannot be superceded by a 'more complex consciousness' which is determined through the operation of the same theoretical mechanisms they criticise, but rendered simply more complicated because of some of the 'contradictions' which they assert are operating in present-day institutional arrangements.

However, if we argue that there is no theoretical map out of the difficulties of conceptualising 'resistance' in the present categorical structure, then we are left with no explanation of the genesis of this 'culture' (which is what the neo-Marxists aim to establish empirically, yet categorise on the basis of political commitment), which is distributed to, on occasion rejected or resisted by, the working class. That is, there is no genesis outside the operation and requirements of capital.
To accept the definition of resistance as arising out of oppositional cultures, entails a moribund description of social practices, which are determined by the Marxist theorist's ascription of 'contradiction'. Giroux, in his admonition to other neo-Marxists to "learn to understand how the meanings generated in different types of cultural settings such as family cultures, work cultures, and class-specific peer cultures generate their own forms of resistance when they come up against institutions that embody and disseminate hegemonic ideologies" (1981 p101), demonstrates just how unstable the basis of their theorisation is, as the cultural settings are a product of contradictions (concocted out of political commitment and theoretical analysis) in the dominant ideology, and the individual behaviours they categorise as resistance are determined by these contradictions.

Given the focus of the thesis on teacher education, it is important that we examine both the potential contribution that some of the ideas of the neo-Marxists can make to the study of teacher education, and also the relevance of their theoretical framework to examination of cultural contexts which are not directly oppositional.

First, the site of teacher education is crucial in any neo-Marxist analysis of cultural relations and the education system. Giroux argues as follows: "Teacher education programs are caught in a deceptive paradox. Charged with the public responsibility to educate teachers to enable future generations to learn the knowledge and skills necessary to build a principled and democratic society, they represent a
significant agency for the reproduction and legitimation of
of a society characterized by a high degree of social and
economic inequality" (1981 p143). Thus such courses and
programs must balance two contradictory principles which are
embedded in their existence.

For the neo-Marxists this would mean a focus on the struc­
tural contradictions which give rise to particular cultures
of teaching, and second, categorisation of certain student
teachers' ideas and practices as 'resistance' or 'accomoda­
tion' where the prescribed or normal practice is determined
by the hegemonic culture.

The relevance of this conceptualisation to the actual study
of teacher education in Britain will obviously be drawn out
more fully through the historical and empirical sections of
the thesis. However, there are a number of consequences of
this analysis which are immediately evident.

First, this analysis reduces pedagogical forms to economic
forms, or at least to the mere intersections of political,
economic and social structures. However, perhaps more
importantly, it reduces the commitment to particular pedago­
gies which are held by both teacher educators and student
teachers, to complex manifestations of structural contradic­
tions. To simply add the hypothesized determinations
arising out of patriarchy or racism, trade unionism etc., to
the equation of the contradictions of late capitalism, does
not solve the problem of consciousness which they set them­
selves.
Thus Giroux (representing the only application of the principles of neo-marxism to teacher education specifically), argues "teacher education programmes (and their respective schools of education) embody structural and ideological contradictions that are related to a larger social order caught in a conflict between the imperatives of its social welfare responsibilities and its functional allegiance to the conditions of capitalism" (ibid. p143-4).

His prescription to the theorists, i.e. that s/he examines the behaviours of student teachers and teacher educators, examines their context in the contradictions of structures, and assigns (according to a priori principles of priorities within such structural intersections) such behaviours as 'accommodation' or 'resistance', leaves consciousness and creativity out of the equation.

Indeed the inclusion of a complex of contradictions has so far only been articulated in theoretical objectives; it can be seen manifest and detailed in neither the few empirical analyses which exist, nor in the vast bulk of theoretical schemas which have been set up by these neo-Marxists. Personal insight into ideology and a commitment to Marxist principles and politics (the latter giving rise to the former), seem to be the only acceptable bases for adequate theorisation in this perspective.

Thus we are left with, for instance, an analysis of women's response to the conditions of their existence which has a double bind in the intentionality of resistance - "The
accommodation and resistance to (the ideology of femininity)
by individual females, is often a defensive action (no
matter how creative) that is aimed not at transforming
patriarchal or other social structures, but at gaining a
measure of protection within these. Thus, not only ideology
(as an ideological, practical limit on activity) but also
the process of accommodation/resistance itself, traps women
in the very contradictions they would transcend. It traps
them because their daily accommodation and resistance does
not seek to remove the structural causes of the contradic-

5. The Concept of Strategies in Learning to Teach.

The work of the interactionists has developed chronologi-
cally alongside the neo-Marxists' abstract theorisation of
culture. However, although working in the same fields of
research - i.e. the reinstatement of the individual in the
sociology of education, interactionism has set itself in
opposition to the conceptual schemas the neo-Marxists have
constructed.

The commitment behind the interactionists' work is to "focus
.. on how people make sense of the world, their 'frameworks'
or 'perspectives', and how they change in, or are influenced
by, the various situations or 'contexts' in which interac-
tions take place; how they respond to each other, different
interests and ends, and the ways and means devised to
achieve them, be they teacher methods, obvious or subtle, or
pupil avoidance techniques; how they come to form and in-
fluence their members, develop beliefs, attitudes, ways of coping and behaving" (Woods 1983 pxi)

The interactionists have developed the concept of 'strategies' as a means of describing and analysing the creative acts of individuals in social interaction. The concept was initially defined by Woods and A. Hargreaves in an attempt to make sense of the patterns they found in teachers' behaviour and in the 'commonsense' acceptance of key phrases which formed part of the expectations and evaluations of the teachers which they studied (many of the theorists working in this field draw randomly on the concepts of phenomenology). Many articles and books have been devoted to developing the concept, and the interactionists claim that it provides the lynch-pin between individual creative action and institutional, material and structural constraints on that action. (6)

The concept is defined in a number of ways, however a core of the concept is as follows: strategies are not 'one-off' reactions to a situation or game, they are creative and adaptive responses to the real constraints of the classroom. These constraints can be summarized as follows: a) institutional constraints (which give rise to the analysis of survival strategies) which can be seen in terms of the timetable, size of classes, peer group interaction, authority structure in the school etc.; b) social constraints

(which are "institutionally mediated, especially by the age and social class of pupils" - Pollard 1982 p21); c) structural constraints - "fundamentally contradictory goals of the education system in capitalist society" (ibid.); d) ideological, in terms of the different definitions of educational relations competing in any society; and e) pupil expectations. Strategies are validated in the teacher's experience, and "are also based upon a set of tacitly accepted and taken for granted assumptions about schooling, children, and learning. These reflect the dominant hegemony" (ibid.).

When strategy is defined in detail in the context of the classroom, three aspects of the definition are most prominent. The first is the importance of continuity in the teacher/child relationship (Pollard 1980 p45), such that teachers cannot change strategy mid-term. Second is the importance of pupils in the negotiation of the "working consensus", and third is the "situational knowledge" of the teacher in constructing their strategy.

The first problem then, which the teacher encounters in approaching a class, is which strategy to choose. The difficulties of choosing the wrong strategy and having to adapt mid-term are many. Woods argues "(the concept of strategy) is where individual intention and external constraint meet. Strategies are ways of achieving goals. Invariably there are obstructions in the path leading to these goals. The teacher must therefore take these into
consideration and chart a course or lay a plan accordingly" (1983 p40).

The implications of the concept in terms of an analysis of teacher education, are such that student teachers are presented with a series of 'tried and tested' strategies for approaching the classroom. The basis of these strategies for the interactionists, lies in the trainers' past experience of teaching and their experience of the schools in which they place the students. This in itself is extremely condescending towards, and fundamentally misjudges (I will argue) the work of teacher trainers.

Two points are especially important here. First, this analysis ignores the positive policy of selection teacher trainers exercise when placing students in practice schools. They choose particular schools in order that students pick up a range of techniques and have a range of experiences in the different schools in which they are placed. In addition, the contribution which the teacher trainers make to modifying such strategies is underestimated. Teacher trainers have a specific task in relating theory of education and innovations in schools etc. to the particular methods they teach students, and which they encourage students to develop. The teacher trainers are capable of reflecting on their own school experience, their experience of teaching, and of training students, and their contribution to the students' training must be analysed in this complex way. Teacher trainers are not sophisticated
waiters, handing out recipe knowledge, which has been 'pre-cooked', and brought in by outside caterers!

However, more problematic is the description of the concept of strategy given by the interactionists. We are told that it is goal-oriented (Woods 1983), therefore the concept cannot be deemed to represent a summary of how students think about and value teaching - strategies are employed in securing certain control and pedagogical aims. Neither does the concept explain the commitment students have to a particular pedagogy.

On the one hand then, it is not a sophisticated concept in terms of the analysis of the nature of cultural relations, yet it is not simply an immediate reaction to the behaviour of children in the classroom (surely it could not be defined in terms of 'action' if it were?). It will be argued that the one concept is employed in the description and analysis of two different processes - the 'spontaneous' (in the sociological sense) reaction of student teachers to a highly pressurised classroom situation, and the more long-term complex of beliefs and practices which students develop in their thinking about and approach to teaching. Because the interactionists conflate these two processes in one concept, they are badly equipped to analyse the connection between them.

There are however, two other components in the interactionists' definition of 'strategy' - the expectations of the pupils in the negotiation of a working consensus, and the
'situational knowledge' of the teachers. The interactionists hold the reactions and expectations of the pupils to occupy a central position in the teacher's choice and deployment of one strategy over another. However, their use of the concept in analysing the 'negotiation' between pupils and teacher leads to a number of problems.

a) Every reaction student teachers make to pupils and the pupils' expectations of them, cannot be categorised as a strategy. Student teachers are learning to teach in classrooms where they know the teaching style and techniques of the class's normal teacher. It is probable (this will be analysed in the empirical chapters) that students, in moments of crisis especially, use techniques with which they disagree, but which they know will be effective in controlling a class, because of the existing relationship between the class and their own teacher. Such actions (often regretted) cannot be described under the same concept as other well-thought out, valued and coherent pedagogical techniques which the students employ.

b) The concept fractures the analyst's construction of the student teacher's behaviour over a period in the classroom. That is, the student's teaching is composed of a number of separate behaviours, some of which will be contradictory, yet give no clue as to the development of the students' approach to the process of teaching. Teaching a class of children cannot merely be analysed in terms of this or that 'strategy' being employed on a reactionary basis, divorced from the structure of the students' beliefs about,
and pedagogical practices for, effective and successful teaching.

These points will be evaluated in more detail at the end of this chapter when alternative conceptual schemas are analysed. To summarise then, there is no clue as to the nature of the pedagogy in which the student teachers are trained, or the basis on which they would approach the classroom, other than their own experience as a pupil, or through the prescriptions of certain 'strategies' (however they are defined) by teacher trainers. The genesis and maintenance of such strategies is extremely circular.

Thus, although the interactionists argue that the purposeful action of the individual must be central in the analysis of the situation, and that any other centre of analysis must necessarily be deemed determinist, we find that they rely on a definition of strategies which involves neither independent reflection, commitment, or a purposeful approach to the classroom, nor any coherent analysis of the development of strategies. The initial deployment of strategies, and the adaptation of strategies, is a matter of the students' interest in surviving and controlling interaction, in the classroom. Student teachers confront a series of prescriptions from the colleagues, their trainers and the pupils, and according to the interactionists, simply employ one or other prescribed strategy in different classroom contexts. The choice of strategy, the connections between them, the changes and modifications made to them etc., are unexplained within their use of the term.
Pollard argues that "Survival, in the long run, depends on achieving a satisfactory degree of balance of interest satisfaction", yet we are given no idea of the student teachers, for instance, being able to develop an interest of any kind, in their teaching, other than short-term control over the children. Pollard attempts to take the analysis away from mere survival, arguing that teachers must 'juggle' the two goals of control over a class of pupils, and ensuring learning is taking place. "Thus order without instruction, ... and all permutations of long-run imbalance are eventually destined to produce personal or professional crises, when accountability, self-evaluation or stress take their toll... When these imbalances occur the teaching will, subject to an assessment of the survival threat created, attempt to restore the situation by switching to new strategies in order to attain a new balance. He will juggle with his interests, changing his priorities as classroom processes evolve" (Pollard 1980 p50). However, the aim of instruction is relegated to a sub-category of survival, and is not analysed as an end in its own right.

Thus the 'crisis' develops out of an imbalance of the working consensus (whose origin, and the source of maintenance we find in the 'taken-for-granted'), the response of teachers to which is to "juggle their interests", whose origins, other than that of having to survive in the classroom and cope with a reasonable amount of learning going on in the classroom, are unknown, and the process of whose working is a mystery.
This leaves us very little material with which to analyse the actual training of teachers. While their selection is a matter of past educational experience, as is their initial approach to the classroom, the content of their training, and their reaction to it, is unknown. Thus the only definition of strategy which we have, is as negotiation in the classroom, and seems to be based on the fact that the teacher is seen to know more that the pupils, has been around longer, and therefore by default, has had more experience (Pollard 1980 p37). However, this ignores a) the rights and professionalism which the teacher feels that they per se can impose on the structure of the classroom, and b) the real demands that the pedagogy makes of them, in terms of the organisation of the classroom, and the process of learning which they must ensure takes place within it.

Thus, while the interactionists argue that the individual's participation in the ongoing definition of the situation is crucial to the analysis of the situation, the sophistication of pupils in 'reading' the teacher must surely be balanced by the teachers' commitment to developing a long-term successful approach to teaching which involves the organisation of the classroom in line with the demands the pedagogy puts upon it.

In the context of the classroom, then, the picture built up through interactionist analysis expresses the controls and definitions imposed on one another by pupils and teachers. Explanations concerned with the genesis of strategies tend to locate the predictability of teachers responses in the
concept of 'recipe knowledge', which is tried, tested and approved by other teachers and has become part of the 'common stock of knowledge'. This is the common set of practices, stances, reactions etc., which is built up through peer group interaction and is transmitted through teaching practice, presumably while the students are still in college, and consolidated when such student teachers take up their first position.

Mardle and Walker argue "When teachers define situations and negotiate strategies in the classroom they do so by reference to their stock of knowledge at hand, central to which is 'recipe knowledge' (Mardle and Walker 1980) (7). The problems with such conceptualisations, as already sketched out, are many. The power which the interactionists seem to invest in the subjects under study is in fact a completely ineffectual type of power. The subjects' stock of knowledge generates alternative coping and surviving strategies from which the individual student teacher chooses. Such recipes are tried and tested, but their composition, genesis, and development or modification are unknown. In fact, such explanations of the individual's choice of strategies leaves them at the mercy of some unknown determinant, perhaps called 'tradition' or 'professionalism' but which has no connection with the teacher (in this case) directly — such strategies are merely employed.

(7) For further discussion of the concepts used in that article, see Schutz 1967, 73.
Thus behaviour is prescribed by traditions of teaching and the skill of the teacher is irrelevant. The greatest detail of such recipes is given by Hammersley (quoted in Pollard 1982 p28), where he describes the handbook of strategies available to a teacher when in the survival situation of the classroom as "a socio-historical product in large part 'inherited' by new teachers and to a considerable extent already tailored to the circumstances in which teachers work. It is composed of a set of central concerns and a repertoire of accounting procedures, typifications of situations and lines of action".

This, in fact, is prescription and determinism in the extreme. The individual teacher's creativity thus lies in the simple choice from amongst a menu of existing coping strategies; their only skill lies in choosing an appropriate strategy from amongst a limited number of options (which are indeed well 'signposted' through staffroom conversations, welcome speeches etc.).

This problem however, is further compounded when we examine the use of the concept in the context of teacher education. The problem lies in the integration of the young student into the profession. We are left with a picture of young students on their first teaching practice (having resisted the more theoretical input to their course) developing strategies in tandem with their teacher tutors and supervisors on school experience. Then and only then does the young teacher become aware of the real constraints and the real strategies available to enable them to cope with the class
of pupils. The apprenticeship system still survives according to this view, the only 'situational knowledge' the student may conceivably have gathered is through their own school experience, which in reality, may be far more diverse and contradictory than the interactionists imagine. In addition, student teachers may have decided to develop strategies in opposition to the kind of treatment they 'suffered' under while in school, and while such strategies may be abandoned in the long run, they do have an effect on how student teachers approach the classroom.

An example of the difficulties into which such a perspective leads the researcher can be found in Mardle and Walker's study of student teachers, in which they fail to integrate their phenomenological approach with their research interest (the cultural background of the students) and, typical of the confusion of conceptual schemas which dominate in this perspective, they finally attribute the last remaining creative act of the teacher in this perspective - the choice of appropriate coping strategy - to cultural background.

The perspective in which the concept of strategies has been developed therefore, still leaves the teacher in the double bind of prescription of action (the menu of strategies) and motivation (survival in the classroom), in which consciousness is imputed to imperfect ability to choose amongst a small list of prescribed actions, and in fact is determined in some cases, by cultural background.
6. Cultural Reproduction and Learning to Teach.

Although many of the neo-Marxists analysed in the previous section have expressed admiration for Bourdieu, most of them reject the contribution of his conceptual apparatus, which was set up with the aim of developing a sophisticated analysis of the role of the education system in cultural reproduction. Bourdieu has been dismissed by Giroux and others as 'determinist' - "the idea that people do make history, including its constraints, has been neglected" (Giroux 1983, p259).

Giroux accuses both Bourdieu and Bernstein (who has attempted to detail the processes of cultural transmission), of being 'undialectical' in their theorisation - "In specific terms, neither has developed an adequate theory of ideology and concept of hegemony to explain adequately the dialectical relationship between the ideological principles that structure the classroom encounter and the power relationships that characterize the larger society" (1981 p72). He argues that while Bourdieu and Bernstein raise the level of sophistication in 'theorising' cultural reproduction, neither is able to analyse the contradictions and struggles within the dominant culture. The neo-Marxists, as already indicated, theorise these contradictions principally through the use of the extremely dubious concept of 'resistance'.

The central debate of this thesis was originally initiated by the work of Bourdieu. His theory of cultural reproduction represents the starting point of the debate, the work
of this thesis is to clarify one manifestation of the relationship between context and culture - to analyse the pattern of cultural relationships and the contribution to the continuity of that pattern made by individuals through learning and practicing pedagogy; more importantly, the thesis attempts to examine the effect contradictory situations and self-perceptions have on the stability of the education system, and the way in which power is distributed differentially amongst participants in the educational processes.

Bourdieu and Passeron, in their important book "Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society" (1977), attempt to analyse the way in which powerful groups or classes 'impose their culture' on educational definitions and meanings. Through the struggle in the education system to reproduce this 'cultural arbitrary' (8) different groups or classes can secure the differential distribution of power - specifically in educational terms, the power to define educational meanings, accepted practices, evaluations etc. in line with the dominant forms of the system.

Thus the way in which culture is reproduced within educational relations is analysed, and the particular transformations which the process of cultural reproduction makes in

(8) Bourdieu and Passeron argue that by defining a cultural arbitrary "by the fact that it cannot be deduced from any principle, we simply give ourselves the means of constituting pedagogic action in its objective reality, by recourse to a logical contruct devoid of any sociological or, a fortiori, psychological referent" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 p.xi)
the perception (or in the mystification) of the relationship between social relations and definitions of educational success is set up as the focus for analysis.

Bourdieu and Passeron, unlike many of the neo-Marxists who have drawn on their work, conceptualise the interrelationship of social and cultural relations in terms of the specific context of the education system and its transformations (see Figure 1 in Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). They set up a specific relationship between power relations (and the struggles between dominant groups or classes) and culture, which centres on the transformative logic of the education system, in terms of the perceived separation of economic and educational relations, and the resilience of educational meanings and educational practice.

They argue that the education system perpetuates a particular 'symbolic violence'—"All pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 p5). Thus, objectively, there is no logical imperative structuring the particular form of pedagogic relations in particular societies and cultures; however, the arbitrariness of such pedagogic relations is objectively 'misrecognised' (ibid. p31) as representing the legitimate and 'natural' forms of academic knowledge and educational practices. This, they argue, is the basis of symbolic violence in the education system. Thus the particular transformational logic of the education system, and the misperception of its independence by those taking part in educa-
tional relations, form the basis of Bourdieu and Passeron's logical construction of the role of the education system in cultural reproduction.

Bourdieu and Passeron argue that the experience of the young child in the family is crucial in determining the part that child plays in the pedagogical processes, and in the way in which they accumulate 'cultural capital'. The two concepts of 'habitat' and 'habitus' are central organising concepts for the analysis of the relationship between consciousness and experience. Bourdieu argues that the structure/action polarity is useless and irrelevant in conceptualising the struggle between agents who are necessarily engaged in the defence of their position in society and their individual 'disposition'. That is, Bourdieu offers a conceptualisation of subjectivity which at first glance seems to transcend many of the difficulties which both the neo-Marxists and the interactionists have had to confront, and have had difficulty resolving.

The strands of Bourdieu's theory are many, especially given his wide-ranging interest in the study of culture outside the education system (see Bourdieu 1968a, 1984, Bourdieu and Boltanski 1977), however, at the risk of misrepresenting what is an extremely interesting and valuable contribution to the debate over the cultural context of pedagogy and educational practice, I will summarise and evaluate the usefulness of what I see as the core of his theory of cultural reproduction as it would apply to the system of teacher education.
Bourdieu and Passeron define cultural capital as "the cultural goods transmitted by the different family pedagogic actions, whose value qua cultural capital varies with the distance between the cultural arbitrary imposed by the dominant pedagogic action and the cultural arbitrary inculcated by the family pedagogic action within the different groups or classes" (1977 p30).

The first problem encountered here is the level of abstraction at which Bourdieu and Passeron theorise; the situation of 'doxa' (9) is hypothesized as 'real', and the conceptual structures set up in a context of the limiting case (see Bourdieu and Passeron 1979, where their analysis is at the highest level of the elite of French higher education), are set forward as providing an 'ultimate' framework, which in a weaker form, should be applicable to other empirical contexts. More will be said of this later, as we look at some criticisms of Bourdieu's work.

Thus, whereas in the field of doxa the cultural capital accumulated in the family pedagogic action will have a high level of congruence with the pedagogic action of the education system, in empirical analysis such congruence is a matter for debate. "Social origin, with the initial family education and experience it entails, must... not be considered as a factor capable of directly determining practices, attitudes and opinions at every moment in a biography, since (9) "In a determinate social formation, the stabler the objective structures and the more fully they reproduce themselves in the agents' dispositions, the greater the extent of the field of doxa, of that which is taken for granted." Bourdieu 1977b p165-6.
the constraints that are linked to social origin work only through the particular systems of factors in which they are actualized in a structure that is different each time.

Thus, when one autonomizes a certain state of the structure (i.e. a certain constellation of factors acting on practices at a certain moment), by dissociating it from the complete system of its transformations (i.e. from the constructed form of the genesis of careers), it is impossible to discover, at the basis of all these retranslations and restructurings, the characteristics appertaining to the class origin and class membership" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 p88).

Such criticism is made on methodological grounds; the exception to this rule lies in the analysis of the accumulation of cultural capital in early family life: "It is necessary to take into account the ensemble of the social characteristics which define the initial situation of children from the different classes, in order to understand the different probabilities which the various educational destinies have for them, and the significance, for individuals in a given category, of their finding themselves in a situation of greater or lesser probability for their category" (1977 p88-89). Thus, although analysing the transformations which are made through the various actions of the education system, mobility etc. they argue that these transformations cannot be "integrated into the unity of a systematic biography unless they are reconstructed on the basis of the original
class situation, the point from which all possible views unfold and on which no view is possible" (ibid.).

Thus any analysis of the role of education in cultural reproduction which draws on the work of Bourdieu and Passeron cannot accept a priori, a class structure drawn up by political economists as formative of educational experience and performance. Socio-economic groups which are quite distinct when examined in relation to 'capital' (c.f. Poulantzas, Carchedi, Olin Wright) may share aspects of their family background which when transformed through the specific logic of the education system (and in turn, family pedagogic action), cannot easily be distinguished. Similarly different sections of a class may accumulate their cultural capital in diverse ways through engaging the education system in crucially different ways - their past educational experience an important factor in this. Bourdieu and Passeron do argue however, that the origins of the transformations are explained by the 'distance' of the family cultural capital from the dominant culture in the education system. This leads to a number of severe limitations in their conceptual schema.

Class itself is a much more complicated issue. For our purposes it suffices to take the bones of explanation in occupational status and income level, which can by no means be cited as the direct determinants of educational experience, without empirical analysis.
Thus unidimensional categories - such as 'middle class' and 'working class' (or the ruling class/ruled class categories of Connell 1977) are not sufficiently detailed or contextuallised for the purposes of this analysis. Educational definitions and meanings are not imposed by the middle class as a whole (10), but rather arise out of competition between sections of the middle classes, and the highest levels of working class. Of course, there is always a far higher degree of competition at all levels than this suggests. Each teacher, pupil, parent and citizen has the right to participate in the definition of educational meanings and practices. However, for the purposes of this analysis we are confined to analysing the student teacher's power over these definitions and practices.

Bourdieu and Passeron's analysis of cultural capital and its operation in the education system has both theoretical and methodological implications. That is, although the earliest reference point for the analysis of cultural capital is located in family pedagogic action, this itself cannot be reduced to class location - pedagogic action cannot be determined by class. Secondly, the abstraction of cultural capital cannot be reduced to a single principle, i.e. that the transformations and complex 'investments' made by individual pupils and their families, give rise to particular cultural patterns in education which can be the object of sociological study, but which must be firmly located in the

(10) See Bernstein 1977 for a discussion of the competition in the education system between the 'old' middle classes and the 'new' professional middle class)
complex of social and educational relations from which such abstractions are drawn.

However, the particular analogy Bourdieu and Passeron have chosen to conceptualise the cultural basis of the relative ease and success with which individuals engage in particular educational relations - cultural capital - has very great limitations in theorising and analysing the process of entwining between educational and cultural relations, such that the use of the term entails an extremely determinist account of how groups and individuals support, question, perceive, and act on, the creation of educational meanings.

(i) The first criticism which should be mentioned at this stage is that the concept has extremely limited use in analysing the diversity of and contradictions in, an individual's actions and self-perceptions. The use of cultural capital as an organising concept tends to homogenise groups which represent extremely different points of view and actions, and has to be deconstructed in order to explain how the same actions can be used in the same contexts with different results and interpretations, for instance, by using Geertz's method of 'thick description'. However, this point will be greatly expanded in the report on the empirical investigation.

(ii) As Bourdieu and Passeron define cultural capital and cultural arbitrary (the congruence of family pedagogic action with which is the source of effective cultural capital) in the abstract, or at least in the context of
near-doxa, the power relationships which generate conflict over the 'naturalness' of the cultural arbitrary are never fully investigated. The concept of power which Bourdieu and Passeron use is that of 'power over' rather than the more contested 'power to'.

Thus in Britain, for example, the post-Robbins expansion in higher education led to the eventual raising of qualifications for the most sought-after sections of the higher education system, while at the bottom end, students who in the past could have continued in higher or further education with 'O' levels, found they needed to be qualified to 'A' level standard. Bourdieu and Passeron would interpret this as a readjusting of the system to ensure the continuing reproduction of the cultural arbitrary, yet this raising of qualifications needed for entry at all levels was greatly contested and openly debated in journals, parliament, radio, newspapers etc., where the issues were defined and the limits of our assumptions over the operation and objectives of the education system explored. Likewise, the recent dispute of teachers' pay and conditions of service has left many participants in the education system, along with many lay contributors to the debate, with a much clearer commitment to their idea of the work teachers do, and the importance of resources to schools, for instance middle class schools have been seen to be more successful in obtaining money and resources from other sources.

Thus, far from adjusting the content of courses for instance, to secure the continuing power of cultural capital
in the system over educational definitions, changes in the structure of schooling have been public, contested and controversial, (even if such debates have not taken place within Marxist discourse (Giroux 1981, Anyon 1983)).

This is not to deny the effect of social groupings or class on educational outcomes; as Bourdieu and Passeron argue - "Even if (the chances of success in the education system) are not consciously assessed by those concerned, such substantial variations in objective education opportunity are expressed in countless ways in everyday perceptions and, depending on the social milieu, give rise to an image of higher education as an 'impossible' or 'possible', or 'natural' future, which in turn plays a part in determining educational vocations." (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977b p2-3). Thus "Manual workers may know nothing of the statistics which show that a manual worker's son has a less than 2 percent chance of going to college, but their behaviour seems to be objectively adjusted in line with an empirical estimation of the objective chances which they share with all members in that category" (ibid. p22). However, it is argued here that the concept of cultural capital is extremely deficient in explaining the process of 'adjustment' and tends to assume its outcome a priori, although Bourdieu and Passeron's aims are diametrically opposed to this being the case.

(iii) In tying the concept to the analogy of 'capital' and to the early family experience of children, Bourdieu and Passeron use the idea of 'inheritance' to explain the origin
of cultural capital, if not its nature. However, as capital is purely a material possession (whether abstract, such as in the stock market or bank statement, or real, such as in a pillowcase under the bed), cultural capital is tied to the dispositions of individuals or groups of individuals. Thus the early accumulation of cultural capital in the family is defined in relation to the experience or cultural goods the family is able to inculcate in early pedagogic action. Language is presumably a crucial element in such goods, and Bernstein has attempted to outline the transmission of linguistic capital in this setting. However, as the capital analogy ties the theorist to the 'possession of language' as it does to the 'possession of cultural goods' it tends to miss the crux of the early success or failure of children in schools - i.e. in their relations with formal institutions. Tizard and Hughes, for instance, have recently shown that the verbal interaction of working class mothers and children is as great in frequency and content as verbal interaction between middle class mothers and children, but highlight the different responses to children in the context of nursery school (Tizard & Hughes 1984).

Working class 'dispositions' (to use Bourdieu's term) are not socially inadequate, (i.e. 'working class parents don't talk to or with their children as much or as well as middle class parents'), the problem is a contextual one. By defining cultural capital in such possessional terms, and in the context of doxa or near-doxa, Bourdieu and Passeron inadequately deal with the myriad relationships, structures,
definitions and struggles which make up a culture, and the individual's relation to the education system. Tizard and Hughes found that "the most frequent learning context (of young children) was that of everyday living. Simply by being around their mothers, talking, arguing and endlessly asking questions, the children were provided with large amounts of information relevant to growing up in our culture (1984 p249-50). However, the interaction of families with institutions appeared as the central factor. That is, "the working class girls... were particularly affected by the nursery school setting. In their relations with nursery staff they tended to be much more subdued, passive and dependent than at home. The staff responded to this perceived immaturity of the working class children by pitching their talk to them at a lower level. Far from compensating for any inadequacies of their homes, the staff were in fact lowering their expectations and standards for the working class children" (p256-7).

This setting is an extremely interesting one for the cultural capital case, as it is the first observable measure of the interaction of family pedagogic action and the pedagogic action inculcated through the education system.

If the conceptualisation is focussed more on how working class children come to ask fewer questions once in the nursery setting for instance, rather than on the linguistic deprivation of working class homes, perhaps we would understand more of how the pedagogy of the nursery school is shaped by cultural relations and how the particular context
is not one in which the working class child tends to perform well (11).

Finally, the possession of cultural capital means that the outcome of certain educational definitions, practices and interactions can be determined beforehand; yet the complex of cultural and social interactions is such that culture is always 'intersected', giving rise to possible interpretations and actions - culture is always created and sustained through the complex of interaction, such that the interpretation 'chosen' in one particular context is not perceived to be the inevitable determined choice given a particular individual's perception of their 'way of life'. Culture is always more than the sociologist or cultural anthropologist, or functionalist, or Marxist, is capable of determining, and as such requires a level of theorisation which is infinitely more sophisticated than that offered by Bourdieu and Passeron. This is especially true because of the necessity of distinguishing amongst the 'contents' of cultural capital, in order to determine the forces and influences important in its structure, rather than using the concept as a summary (complex or not) of an individual's collection of accumulated goods.

(iv) The concept of the relative autonomy of the education system has been picked up by other sociologists of education, who have criticised Bourdieu because of what they see

as an inadequate account of the *independence* of the education system. Many of the neo-Marxists (Willis, Giroux, McDonald, Dale,) have looked to Bourdieu to provide a non-determinist account of cultural reproduction as a result of disillusionment with Althusser's work (12). Giroux accuses Bourdieu and Passeron of "effectively sever(ing) the dialectic between consciousness and structure", that is, they are accused of holding a "theory of socialisation which described the unproblematic transmission of middle class culture to middle class children" (1981 p24).

In the first place, such theorists tend to confuse the objectivist theorisation of Bourdieu and Passeron in "Reproduction" with the results of their empirical work later in that book; while secondly they tend to confuse habitus - "that system of predispositions which acts as a mediation between structures and practice" (1973 p72), with cultural capital accumulated through early family pedagogic action and experience of the education system. This relationship - between habitus and cultural capital - is one which Bourdieu has taken pains to describe in detail, as it is the basis for his conceptualisation of the possibility of radical pedagogy and for disengaging education from economic determinism.

Thus he argues - "every historical action brings together two states of history: objectified history, i.e. the history

which has accumulated over the passage of time in things, machines, buildings, monuments, books, theories, customs, law, etc.; and embodied history in the form of habitus...

When the same history inhabits both habitus and habitat, both dispositions and position, the king and his court, the employer and his firm, the bishop and his see, history in a sense communicates with itself, is reflected in its own image." (Bourdieu 1981:306-7).

This is the model then, the reality is one of obstructions in the refractions, of history displaced and thus the individual without sense of the historical importance of individual action. Thus to restore to the individual consciousness of their own power, Bourdieu conceptualises individuals' perception of the congruence of personal and objectified history - i.e. that the individual sees the relation between their own experience, cultural background etc. and the historical development of cultures. Thus women's consciousness raising has been based on an attempt to analyse patriarchy, class consciousness examines the determinations and impositions of modes of production.

Bourdieu conceptualises the rich variety of the patterns which emerge in the cultural experience of the individual - "The perpetual motion which runs through the field... stems from the struggle itself, which is produced by the structures of the field and in turn reproduces its structures, i.e. its hierarchies. It springs from the actions and reactions of the agents, who short of opting out of the game and falling into oblivion, have no choice but to struggle to
keep up or improve their position in the field, i.e. to conserve or increase the specific capital which is only created within the field." (ibid).

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of this struggle involves assuming the outcome of the struggle, in addition to the means of the individual's defense. The struggles within pedagogy, and between pedagogies in the education system cannot be reduced to the reproduction of both position and dispositions, and the theory of the reproduction of the struggle does not surmount these problems. The concept of misrecognition (developed in Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) denies the individual and groups of individuals the power to reflect upon and change their practices and beliefs. For Bourdieu, such reflection as is allowed is contained within the limits of assumptions about the education system, limits which, he argues, are reproduced along with the positions and dispositions.

Finally, the process of the reproduction of cultural forms as described by Bourdieu, ignores Geertz' point concerning the number of possible interpretations of actions, interactions and institutions. Bourdieu's categorical framework severely curtails the creative possibilities of cultural analysis, and imposes tradition and ritual on participants in the education system and their practices with very little care for the complexity of the present education system.
For Bourdieu then, the central core of the subject's action in the idealised context, must be consciousness of the history and power of the individual. The cultural importance to our study lies in the conceptualisation of personal history - in the way in which Bourdieu attempts to place the individual's pattern of cultural experience at the heart of their social interaction and creativity, but without purpose so long as consciousness is only of the immediate circumstance, planned action or strategy. Thus he argues "A certain type of pessimistic functionalism which imputes the effects of domination to a single, central will, makes it impossible to see the contribution the agents (including the dominated ones) make, willingly and knowingly or not, to the process of domination, through the relationship between their dispositions - linked to the social conditions in which they were produced - and the expectations and interests entailed by their positions within the field of struggle for which words like state, church or party are shorthand terms". (ibid p308).

To this end, Bourdieu has begun to theorise the concept of 'strategy' and it is this concept, alongside some of the insights of the interactionists using this concept in another context, that we can begin to conceptualise the process of entwining cultural and educational relations, and hypothesise the cultural context of pedagogy.

Using the insights of Bourdieu, and his suggestions for theorising strategy, we can move from the severe limitations of the possession of cultural capital and the restrictions
This puts on the analysis of the heterogeneity of a group, to the examination of the process of developing strategy which is developed out of, but is much more than, the mere cultural context of their practices, while maintaining a commitment to analysing the wider context of culture and particularly of educational relations.

7. Culture and Strategy in Learning to Teach

a) Culture.

One of the clearest findings of this theoretical discussion has been the extreme difficulty in specifying a priori the process of cultural reproduction and the folly of the attempt. If we enlarge on our definition of culture as the symbols, rituals and practices through which groups understand their world, or their way of life, then we must, of course, analyse the relationship between social relations and culture, but always treat culture as problematic.

This in turn means that the definition of culture and its formative impulse, particularly in the context of the education system, can only be analysed in the context of the particular power relations within a social structure and the place of the education system in those power relations. Obviously this not only entails analysis of government policy towards education, although as Salter and Tapper 1981 point out, this has been an area which has been greatly neglected by many branches of the sociology of education, but also analysis of the more covert aspects of the
relations between education and state (see Dale 1983 for instance), and of the actual power which groups or classes have to control educational definitions and relations.

If we hypothesise that it is extremely difficult (as the neo-Marxists have found) and more than a little questionable, to specify the nature of the cultural context of the education system at a theoretical level, the methodological issues involved in this study, an area sadly neglected in the pursuit of this 'more adequate theoretical synthesis of structure and agency', become extremely important.

b) Methodology.

The methodology of the particular research undertaken in this thesis is laid out in detail in Chapter Three, however, there are three stages of the research which, I feel, should be central to any research in this area, and which ensure that research does not disintegrate into the kind of "Jonesville-is-the-USA" theorisation which the interactionists are heavily guilty of, or the attempt to detail the intricacies of a hypothesised reproduction a priori.

This categorisation draws heavily on the methodological work of Bourdieu, particularly as described in "Outline of a Theory of Practice" (Bourdieu 1977). The first stage in any research is to analyse the subjective motivations and interpretations of participants in the research. This must be the basis on which researchers proceed, as to do otherwise
would be to ignore the centre of social relations, and to patronise, without analysing the 'consciousness' of such subjects, those engaged in the creation of culture and educational meanings. To proceed otherwise would be to impose the unexamined values and politics of the researcher on the object of study.

The second stage is the construction of the object of study - the abstraction of the subject's responses into their structural and historical setting. This involves utilising a series of methodological tools to construct a description of the research object, and the uncovering of the consequences as well as the intentions of individual action.

The final stage is one which, I would argue, is central to the status of sociological theory - that is, the researcher must then examine his/her relationship to the object of study, and subsequently set the abstracted object back into the context from which it was taken.

Thus on the one hand, the researcher must be aware of his/her own influence on the construction of the object, and on the other hand, be aware of the effect that such abstraction has on the very nature of the research context. In this particular research study, the abstracted analysis of teacher education which centred on the different cultural contexts of pedagogical forms, had to be set in the context of teacher training programmes and government policy which tend to treat pedagogy as a unified practice, and the con-
sequences of this had to be evaluated as it affected the research object.

c) Strategy.

Finally, some means of conceptualising the connection between culture and educational practice had to be found which took seriously the individual's ability to reflect on their own experience both in the immediate context of action, but also in the wider context of educational debates.

Again drawing on Bourdieu, I hypothesize that the concept of 'strategy' is a suitable liberation from the possessional analogy of cultural capital, which allows the contribution of student teachers to be taken seriously as having real effects on the stability and changes which take place in the education system.

Bourdieu defines strategy only minimally, and tends to draw on the commonsense usage of the term; however, in practice he employs the term as a means of reintroducing time, in the form of the individual's calculation in social action, into sociological analysis, and contrasts it with rules and norms - "It is therefore practice, in its most specific aspect, which is annihilated when the scheme is identified with the model: retrospective necessity becomes prospective necessity, the product a project; and things which have happened, and can no longer not happen, become the irresistible future of the acts which made them happen." (Bourdieu 1977b p8-9). That is, the researcher who does not examine their own
relationship to the object of study fails to examine their own action in 'freezing' the behaviours, practices etc. under examination. They forget that the individual under study may not know, or may perceive differently, the consequences of their actions.

For instance, to look at the rules important in learning to become a teacher, the interactionists have failed to see the longer-term aims of student teachers, who for instance, will adopt a certain set of practices when supervised, but which then, having received a response to these practices, may indeed change their evaluation of that practice. The movement from short-term survival (in terms of being assessed) to the adoption of a strategy would, in rule-based analyses, simply be described as a reaction to the strategy having worked. There is a complex set of relationships which gives rise to the students' practices in different classrooms, which is the subject of the empirical study in this thesis. However, to forget that the students' evaluations, actions etc. all take place within a different context - first and foremost they want to qualify as teachers, not take part in a research study, is to formulate rules concerning their actions, which are a gross misrepresentation of their culture and pedagogy.

Strategy is a central element of practice - whether social, cultural, or theoretical. "To substitute strategy for the rule is to reintroduce time, with its rhythm, its orientation, its irreversibility. Science has a time which is not that of practice. For the analyst, time no longer counts:
not only because ... arriving post festum, he cannot be in any uncertainty as to what my happen, but also because he has the time to totalize, i.e. to overcome the effects of time" (ibid.).

The problem then is how to reintroduce time into the analysis, and Bourdieu chose to do this through the concept of strategy, which is defined by relating the subjective intentions of participants, the consequences of such actions, and the context in which these expectations and reactions take place. The main difficulty here, is how to conceptualise strategy in this particular context. To do so at this stage would transgress the limitations we have put on our theoretical aims - i.e. that the theorisation should not stray into deducing the relationship between culture and education from a pre-set group of principles, or to placing limits on consciousness or structural interaction.

To carry on hypothesizing however, we need an outline of how strategy might be conceptualised, which of course, will be refined through (indeed it emerged in part out of) the empirical investigation of the thesis.

The model I hope to develop sets up a relationship between culture and strategy in the education system, which draws on the ways in which individuals have come to understand the world of teaching, and the symbols and practices which pattern this understanding and interpretation. Thus it is important to consider the past experience of individuals - their own expectations, their perceptions of their own and
others' ability, their commitment, their idea of 'professionalism' etc. These, it is hypothesized, are important in drawing up a strategy which will not only enable student teachers to survive in the classroom and pass their 'crits', but will also enable them to articulate their own ideas about and commitment to, education. Patterns in biography, defined in this more general way, may lead to similarities in the way in which students draw up and modify a pedagogical strategy.

The strategy itself is not goal-oriented, it is far too deeply embedded in the process of social interaction to take on this form, yet the observable constituents of such strategy may appear to be so.

For the purposes of clarification then, we need to make a distinction between the strategy of a student, developed through a commitment to a particular pedagogy and framed by the way in which the student has come to value and think about teaching, and the spontaneous, technical, goal-oriented (even if this goal is 'survival') measures which they use to structure specific practices in the classroom. To this end, I have employed the term 'tactics' to indicate the techniques tried out etc. in this context.

Tactics are not just technical 'instruments' used by teachers in prescribed situations however. They represent the tried and tested techniques of the profession - they are passed on by word of mouth, observation, friendly advice, through the expectations of the pupils, the orders of the
Our interest then, is in the relationship which the students articulate and pose between the development of a pedagogical strategy, and the use of particular tactics. The latter is employed because of the evidence it gives to the participants that the student teacher is the 'dominant' partner in classroom interaction, and as a means of obtaining and maintaining, the classroom control necessary to effective teaching, ensuring such learning is taking place and is seen to be taking place.

It is argued that student teachers are much more likely to try to balance what in reality they think may be achieved through such strategy, and what they perceive is expected or desired from them. The strategy in operation is much more likely than the student is aware to take on a power of its own, as the student is not completely conscious of the symbolic content or message entailed in a particular strategy, yet they always have the potential to reflect on and analyse their own actions, intentions, and strategy.

The strategy is a construction of the research and as such must finally be relocated back in context, so that the forces shaping and maintaining a student's strategy be analysed out with the simple imposition of the researcher.
6. Conclusion

The rest of the thesis explores the cultural context of pedagogy and hypothesizes the use of the two concepts of strategy and tactics in analysing the particular relation of culture and education at the intersection of teacher education.
CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING COLLEGES

The previous chapter analysed some of the efforts sociologists of education have made to describe and explain the relationship between culture and education. The conclusion of that chapter was that it is an extremely difficult, and probably dubious, task to attempt outwith a proper research context. The chapter then suggested the concepts of strategy and tactics, as providing a link between culture and educational practice.

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the historical context in which the present structure is set, and from which it has taken a large part of its character. The argument of this chapter will be that the effect of the early development of the system of training teachers for elementary schools, and the subsequent development of mass secondary education, on the present-day structure of teacher training is important to the argument of this thesis - i.e. that the system of teacher training operating in this country is divided through cultural differences in the levels of schooling, and that these differences are central in the patterns of strategy and tactics developed by student teachers. It will analyse the cultural contexts of each of these developments, and hypothesize the importance of this history for the analysis of students' teaching strategy.

This chapter then, will examine the historical relationship between culture and pedagogy at one particularly important
link-point - teacher education, in particular the development of training colleges. Although the history of the development is such that government policy towards the colleges has not always been the genesis of changes in the structure and working of colleges, such policy has increasingly become important to the stability of the system as such, and the financial dependence of the colleges on government support has had a direct effect on the number, quality, and length of training courses and of students accepted into such courses.

This is a necessary prelude to the study of the selection, training, supervision and evaluation of student teachers in a particular college because of the assumptions which are made about the nature of the system of teacher education in England and Wales, and because of the way in which the analysis hopes to connect culture and pedagogy.

The colleges system was chosen for study for a number of reasons. First, it has proved to be one of the most changeable and vulnerable sectors of the education system as a whole, and as such, an ideal point from which to develop a theory of the relation of culture and pedagogy and from which to construct a picture of the power of individual teacher educators and student teachers over the content and structure of their training, and consequently, their power to structure pedagogical relations in the classroom. In addition, the training college approached was extremely accommodating in granting access, and had a course structure such that students tended to be grouped together in a
separate department for the learning of 'apprenticeship' skills. Thus it was felt that the college provided an ideal context to examine some of the constraints and opportunities put upon and opened to student teachers when learning their professional skills.

The relationship between the state and the education system is central in uncovering the posited systematic structuring of educational chances. We cannot assume by default that the state controls the definition, modification, imposition, withdrawal of authority from etc. competing pedagogies in any educational system - this relationship can only be analysed through detailed analysis of the strength of the defence of the pedagogy and the stability of the education system.

The history of teacher training as a whole however, is one which is heavily coloured by government intervention - whether in expansion, severe cutbacks, curricular reform, grants or inspections. As this history is a rich and fascinating one, this chapter can only hope to briefly sketch in the background of teacher education as a whole, and to engage in a detailed analysis of only one section of that system - teacher training colleges. In this chapter we examine the financial and administrative structures by which they are controlled, in order to put the detail of the empirical study into the context of the college system and of the evolution of the structure of college training.
Thus the chapter will examine the early history of teacher training in the context of the struggle between government control and college autonomy; the more recent aspects of the relations of policy and the development of the professional qualification will then be addressed; finally, it will explore the present financial and administrative structures of the colleges and their formal selection procedures, the state of the professional qualification, and thus describe the system of apprenticeship as it now stands.

1. Early History of Teacher Training

Much of the most early history has been discussed in great detail elsewhere (Rich 1972, Jones 1924, Lynch 1979, Lomax 1973, Dent 1977, for instance) and the struggle of early teachers for a professional body and recognition is well documented by Tropp 1957, Ozga and Lawn 1981. This section therefore, merely sketches in relevant sections of this history, while attempting to explicate the relation between demands on the system of teacher training which have been generated out of the historical complexities of the system, (i.e. explicate the process by which certain types of educational knowledge become part of the college curricula, and the changes in pedagogy which take place over time), and the power of the individual teacher to develop a strategy through which they reflect on their pedagogy and develop teaching practice.

The formation of a national system of teacher education in the 19th and 20th centuries was a slow and complicated
process, and many of the issues which confronted the earliest teacher trainers still form part of the contemporary debate on the structure and content of teacher education courses. Indeed, I will argue that the complexity of the present-day system is in part a function of the divergent cultural, social and intellectual interests which formed the first tentative monitorial systems.

The earliest discussions of the importance of learning pedagogical skills began in the wake of the spread of mass elementary schooling in the early 19th century. Training in pedagogical skills was often seen as a means of giving children who otherwise would have left schooling at the age of 8 or 9, a chance to stay on a little longer, and to learn how to support the schoolteachers' efforts to pass on basic skills to these young children.

Bell and Lancaster's attempts to set up monitorial systems were based on the need for a cheap means of setting up and maintaining a school, and the pupils involved worked long hard hours (1). In 1834 an element of training for teaching was introduced into the education of these pupils, however, this training was for 3 months only, and did little to prepare pupils for a 'career' in teaching. Rich puts the description of their training as follows - "They had not come there to educate themselves, nor even to learn the art of teaching in general, but had come to master the

(1) See Jones 1924 for a more extended description of these early systems.
particular tricks devised by Lancaster to facilitate the drilling of a very large number of children in the mechanical rudiments of learning" (1972 p7).

Stow college has often been cited as one of the earliest British colleges attempting to provide a more systematic training, and was set up in line with 'Normal schools' on the Continent (2). The training for pupils involved observation of classes and teaching practice.

Kay-Shuttleworth's Battersea School was the first English training school to be set up (1840s), and saw the first attempt at a more systematic integration of the pupil's own personal education with the training programme, although the roots of the school in the monitorial system meant that the pupils' personal studies were firmly based on the subjects to be taught in schools.

By the mid-19th century government grants were being given to private colleges whose charter and courses met with government approval. An earlier attempt to set up a National Normal School had met with failure - "The 'students' were anything but promising material, and to bring them to a suitable standard of culture for the work for which they were destined was a serious task" (Rich 1972 p63), however by 1860 there were 34 grant-aided colleges with 2,388 students.

(2) Lomax 1973, Tropp 1957 for instance, give descriptions of these continental schools.
While government grants were supporting the establishment of colleges, the gap between the monitorial system and the fledgeling college system was great, and there was a perceived need to sponsor more young children to the level at which they would be eligible for entrance to a training college. Thus the pupil-teacher system was extended, and scholarships were introduced for the most promising young pupils wishing to take up teaching. In 1952 the first batch of pupil-teachers entered training college.

Thus, even from the start of the development of teacher training colleges we see that there were a number of means of training as a teacher (even at that time, as an elementary teacher), and that there were a number of influences and constraints on the different methods of becoming a teacher.

The earliest separation in pedagogy came in the form of the debate between those advocating that the students should 'learn by doing', and those who argued that the personal education of the pupils was central to their effectiveness as a teacher.

This debate however, was not based on purely methodological grounds - it was closely tied to the social structure and the culture of those sponsoring pupils in the system. Indeed the religious roots of mass education in Britain had an important influence on the debate itself. On the one hand, the 'learning by doing' pedagogy of the monitorial system, and the pupil-teacher system which replaced it, was
strictly tailored to the poorer pupils whose only hope of further education was to continue through the pupil-teacher system. These pupils, while tending to come from the more privileged sectors of the working class, were to be taught that theirs was a special privilege of education which was to be used to help others of their class, and not as a means of social mobility. Thus they worked long hard hours, on basic tasks, with what usually amounted to very poor tuition from their schoolmasters.

Kay-Shuttleworth, who was indeed one of the more liberal campaigners for giving greater support to the education of the pupil teachers, put his vision of teacher education as follows - "We hope to inspire (the students) with a large sympathy for their own class. To implant in their minds the thought that their chief honour would be to aid in rescuing that class from the misery of ignorance and its attendant vices." (Kay-Shuttleworth, quoted in Rich 1972 p56).

The Board of Education shared his view of this system. They described the privilege of these young pupil-teachers as follows: "A young teacher, in the first instance introduced to the notice of the Master by his good qualities, as one of the best instructed and most intelligent of the children; whose attainments and skill are full of promise; and who, having consented to remain at a low rate of remuneration in the school, is further rewarded by being enabled to avail himself of the opportunities afforded him for attaining practice skill in the art of teaching, by daily practice in school, and by the gratuitous superintendence of
his reading and studies by the master, from whom he receives lessons on technical subjects of school instruction every evening" (Board of Education Circular 573 1907, p3).

One justification for this view was that the pupil-teachers should be taught the elementary skills in teaching alongside the basic skills in prescribed subjects, thus tailoring the 'education' of the pupil to his/her future work as a teacher. However, as seen in the quotations above, there was also an extremely strong moral component in the case for pupil-teachers. Pupil-teachers who eventually entered training college were not usually taught alongside the other students, and the quality of their teaching has been examined and criticised by several writers (Lomax 1973, Rich 1972).

The Chelsea college of Derwent Coleridge is an extremely interesting exception to the pattern of colleges that was emerging at that time. The philosophy of this college - set up to produce learned and competent teachers, and to give them an opportunity to teach in a variety of schools, with a variety of pupils, generated a great deal of criticism at the time as the first two years study at that particular college were much more heavily academic than any other contemporary course - "Now Mr. Coleridge has always maintained that his object was to raise the education of the middle grade as well as the lower grade; and hence he endeavoured to leaven the body of teachers of middle class schools with the better article which he manufactured at St. Marks. He has done this with considerable success, and the
friends of education may well be pleased with that success. But this work should be done and paid for by those who wish to do it" (quoted in Rich 1972 p95).

Throughout this period of growth in the small network of training colleges, government action to standardise and monitor the training courses were continually thwarted, because of both the religious basis of much of the system of mass elementary education, and the controversy amongst educationalists in charge of colleges - a debate grounded in morality as well as pedagogy and economics. Later in the 19th century governments did intervene to set up a more 'rational' system of recruitment (the pupil-teacher system of the 1946 committee papers), training, and certification, and H.M. Inspectors developed a more standard measure of the status of courses. The Newcastle Commission of 1858-61 found an extremely inadequate system of pupil-teachers and level of competence amongst teachers, and subsequently the system of 'payment by results' was introduced.

The period which followed had many similarities to the present political situation of training colleges: a series of government circulars and requirements generating great stress in the existing structure, which had been set up in a time when the nature of the teacher's job was somewhat different. However, a central difference of this period was the massive expansion of the elementary school population, and the shortage of teachers to which this gave rise.
Thus, the early history of colleges of education was fraught with heated debate between educators as to appropriate models of education, the prescribed role of government in teacher education, the level of education young elementary teachers should attain, the control of governments over the content of courses - in fact many of the debates which still dominate the discussion of teacher educators today (as described in the Introduction to the thesis). The distinctiveness of the early debate however lies in the explicit cultural and moral superiority ascribed to certain groups or classes over others, being accepted as given.

It can be argued that the moral and social superiority of some pupils and teachers over other sections of the school population is still informally supported. For instance, a recent initiative to standardize homework in the state system has met with hostility from the teachers' unions - among the reasons given was the perception that "deprived" parents could not support their children's work at home and therefore would put those children at yet another disadvantage. However, the formal aims of the present system are to train teachers who are to be drawn from the widest cross-sections of society possible, in the instruction of children to give them the greatest possible chance of a variety of jobs.

To return to the issue of government policy however, the financial dependence of colleges on central government can be traced back to the move to control the content and standard of college courses - the colleges were given grants
and financial support directly according to their students' success in completing and passing this syllabus.

This feature of the system as a whole needs greater inspection. Given that the state system of normal schools had failed, at every turn the State had to cooperate and work with private institutions, even in the staffing of their own Board of Education schools. It is interesting in this context, that the Newcastle committee was given a remit which included both private and state institutions. It will be argued below that this forced cooperation had particular consequences for the development of the system as a whole, and for the present structure of teacher training in Britain.

Government controls over private education and the principles of educators very rarely coincided over this period. The expectations of some teacher educators, for instance, that students teachers should spend 4 years or more in study to become a teacher, was frustrated by the length of government grant - given only for a two year period. Similarly, the concern of some individuals that the student teacher should be identified at the earliest possible juncture of his/her academic career was stifled by the difficulties which arose out of the state system of schools serving as the selection field for private colleges of education. Finally, the government controls put on private institutions through the grant and inspection systems meant that many of the studies preferred by teacher educators were cast aside in order to ensure a sufficient number of passes in the
government certificate, to keep the college running on an economic, or fairly economic basis.

One of the most interesting aspects of this early struggle was the role taken by the early unions. Towards the end of the 19th century more and more teachers felt the need to have a professional body representing their interests in the face of this mammoth struggle between state and private institutions. Elementary teachers especially, not only felt powerless and anonymous in this struggle to determine the structure and finance of popular education, thereby indirectly controlling educational knowledge and classroom practice, but also felt extremely disturbed by the gap in status, training, pay, facilities, promotion opportunities etc., between elementary teachers and secondary teachers.

By the 1890s the Education Department had approved Day Training colleges in Universities and University colleges, and thus by the turn of the century there was an even greater variety of ways in which to qualify as a teacher.

However, we must at this point counterpose this system of training for teaching in elementary schools, recognising that the Schoolmasters were not from the most privileged sections of the working class, but were themselves middle class, secondary educated men for the most part, with the normal path into secondary teaching. "Most secondary teachers entered the profession as soon as they secured their degree, holding the traditional belief that expert knowledge of subject matter gave them licence to teach"
Professional training for graduates was not only expensive at this time, but also scarce, and as long as those individuals entering the teaching profession were seen as sufficiently expert to teach the group of children whose care they were charged with, their professional training was not a priority. This obviously is related to the arguments concerning the function of elementary training – often seen as a means of giving above-standard poor pupils some means of education.

2. Recent Developments in Teacher Training Colleges.

One of the most interesting developments early in the 20th century which arose out of the establishment of an organised system of secondary education, was the relationship which emerged between training centres for pupil teachers and secondary schools. Given the debate which surrounded the personal education of such pupil-teachers, the conversion of many of these pupil-teacher training centres into principally secondary schools is notable.

There were problems in integrating the two potential populations of these centres – secondary school pupils, and pupil teachers, and the courses which they were offered reflected this dysjunction. The relations between private training institutions, School Board elementary schools, and secondary schools was extremely complex, and the clash of cultures which such a relationship posed reinforces the argument that the traditional interrelationship between social and
cultural relations in the education system was extremely important in structuring what were in effect competing and sometimes contradictory pedagogies.

Most pupil-teachers were allowed to remain in secondary schooling until 17 or 18, and by 1914 there were 21 institutions recognised under the School Board's regulations for the training of secondary teachers, of which, significantly, 9 were universities or university colleges.

By 1920-1 there were 116,000 certificated teachers in elementary schools, two-thirds of whom had received professional training, while the rest had the Board of Education's Certificate for acting teachers. In contrast, the secondary schools had 18,800 teachers, the majority of whom had no professional training. Thus the divide between the controls put on the recognition of the elementary teacher's right to teach can be sharply contrasted with the automatic 'right' given to those teachers whose personal education had reached university standard.

The contrast between the training provided by colleges, and the education and training offered by universities, and the cultural divide between them, was a matter investigated by the McNair Committee, which reported in 1944. That report recorded the plight of the training colleges as follows:

"The purpose of the training colleges has always been the preparation of teachers for elementary schools; and the trail of cheapness, .... which has dogged the elementary schools has also cast its spell over them. What is chiefly
wrong with the majority of training colleges is their poverty and all that flows from it" (quoted in Ogren 1953 p81).

The report lamented the division and lack of cooperation between training colleges and university departments of education which in principle, shared the same aims, the latter having the lion's share of resources. Recommendations were made to establish a closer working relationship between the colleges and the universities through the establishment of Area Training Organisations, with the universities firmly in the dominant role. "We do not believe.. that any area system for the training of teachers can be effective unless those who shoulder the responsibility derive their authority from a source which, because of its recognised standards and its standing in the educational work, commands the respect of all the partners concerned and which, because of its established independence is powerful enough to resist the encroachments of centralization" (quoted ibid.).

Another support to this argument lay in the knowledge and control which each of these partners had over the different and diverse aspects of teacher training - 60% of the universities' students were training to teach in elementary schools and 40% for secondary schools, while the colleges produced almost exclusively elementary teachers.

The remit which universities, as leading partners, had in these newly constituted Area Training Organisations was
enormous, and included the supervision of courses in member colleges, 'validation' of such courses, planning for the development of training facilities in the area, providing an 'education centre' for students in training and teachers serving in the area, and finally, to provide in-service facilities.

Thus a complex relationship was set up between universities, central government, and colleges. In 1949 another bureaucratic complication was added, in the form of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers, which was to become an extremely important factor in determining the quality, quantity and nature of recruits to teaching, teacher training courses, and financial support for such courses.

From this point, the debate over appropriate methods of training teachers tended to be focussed on the structure of the training course, the balance of practical placements within these courses, and the emphasis on academic study. The major organisational and practical debate which arose took the form of the consecutive vs concurrent models of teacher training which were in direct conflict. On the one side the argument was put forward that as students were now well educated by the time they entered college they should be put straight into classrooms so that the practical sense of the subjects being taught in college could be seen. On the other side it was argued that the students should concentrate on the subjects in which they had gained some expertise in schools and learn to relate these subjects to
one another to form a general view of education before entering the classroom, after which time the students would be able to learn their teaching skills more quickly because of the general educational expertise they had acquired, and would be able to relate these skills directly to their own expertise in the subjects.

At this time the qualifications of students entering colleges were still held to be lower than those of university students. This fuelled the consecutive argument as far as training colleges were concerned. After World War Two, the rapid expansion in education, the increasing social mobility of the population and the raising of the school leaving age led to a demand for more teachers to be trained, and in 1952 the emergency training scheme was introduced.

By the time of the Robbins Report, colleges of education were still distinctly inferior in status and authority, but also in resources, in relation to both the university departments of education, and the often prestigious institutes of education. The Robbins Report recommended that the system of teacher education be expanded, that the institutes of education and departments of education in universities should be set up as separate schools of education, and that the four year teacher training course be discontinued. In its place, the Report recommended that a four year Bed degree course should be set up, that Training Colleges become colleges of education with the administration and finance of the training of teachers being removed from
L.E.A.s to the universities, and funded from grants from the Ministry of Arts and Sciences.

All the academic proposals of the Robbins committee were implemented, however the financial and administrative recommendations of the committee were not, as a consequence of which the L.E.A.s still had control of the Colleges of Education.

The major central government reform of the training system arose out of the Report of the James Committee, which reported to the Secretary of State in January 1972. Year by year Circulars and financial controls obviously had a cumulative effect, however the Report of the James Committee constitutes the only systematic analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the system of recent years (3).

The Report was crucial in two ways especially. First it recommended the consecutive model of teacher education, and second it voiced an extremely strong commitment to expansion of in-service training.

One of the main thrusts of the Report was to develop the status of the colleges compared with the university departments of education. The James committee argued that -

"For too long the teaching profession has been denied a

(3) The developments in the structure of the system arising out of the White Paper "Teaching Quality" and the most recent circulars will be analysed in the conclusion, as a means of contextualising the study, and of summing up some of the contradictions of the present system.
proper degree of responsibility for its own professional affairs. For too long the colleges of education have been treated as junior partners in the system of higher education" (James report 1972:3).

The recommendations of the report were aimed at giving status to the colleges in the standardization of qualifications - the BEd degree expanded, the DipHEd developed, and the movement towards and all-graduate profession. This involved study of general educational issues, required a high standard of educational achievement by students, in order to assimilate the different professional knowledges in the three years given for the degree (four years for the honours course), which would eventually produce teachers of 'high quality' who could compete on a par with university graduates.

The arguments were as follows: the first two years of the BEd degree should concentrate on the general education of the students - this should lay the ground work for the second 'cycle' of the BEd, - the vocational training. The third and fourth year of the BEd were to be spent in learning the skills of teaching, and in gathering practical experience in the classroom.

The third cycle was one which was seen in a variety of ways, and throughout the debate which followed the publication of the report the third cycle was seen by many educationists as the 'saving' feature of the report. It was perceived as the centre-point of the proposals, and justified the disappoin-
tments and omissions of the report. "To none of its recommendations do we attach greater importance than to these, for they determine a great deal of the thinking which underlies the report as a whole... The best education and training of teachers is that which is built upon and illuminated by, growing maturity and experience" (James report 1972 pl1). The colleges were to play a major part in the development of in-service training, as another means of redressing the balance. The number and locality of colleges, alongside the close contacts with local educational communities meant they were ideally suited to taking on this work.

There were two thrusts to the first cycle - the first was the skills, critical or otherwise, acquired in the general education of the student, the "personal education of the student", and "the acquisition of the theoretical and practical expertise comprehended by the study of education", (ibid:43). Thus it was assumed that the general educational level and experience of the students necessarily preceeded the acquisition of professional skills.

The second cycle was designed to capitalise on the advanced level of the students' education, and was based on three assumptions concerning the nature of teacher education. First, as already mentioned, that students must reach a high level of general and personal education before attempting to acquire the skills of the teacher; second, that the initial training phase was only part of the long and arduous task of
becoming a teacher - that continued in-service work was needed - "no teacher can, in a relatively short, or even in an unrealistically long period at the beginning of his career, be equipped for all the responsibilities he is going to face" (ibid 20). Finally, the report recommended that all status distinctions between the three year BEd and the one year post-graduate course be eroded.

The report recommended that, following the successful completion of the first cycle, students embark on professional studies, the second year of this cycle being spent in schools on a salaried basis. The supervision of the student teacher on this stage of his/her training would be intensive, and set the parameters for learning more professional skills as the teacher gathered experience in school, whether still a student teacher or a licensed one.

The third cycle logically builds upon the strengths, or what were seen as the strengths, of the first two cycles. The aim here was to extend teachers' knowledge of teaching methods and of educational theory, to increase the flexibility of teachers in the face of new needs arising in the school context, and to provide teachers with a retraining facility if they wished to switch from one sector of the education system to another. This could be an important factor in times of cutbacks due to falling rolls in one sector, contrasting with moderate expansion in another sector because of an earlier increase in pupil numbers. For instance, the primary sector was being cut back in the late 70s due to falling rolls, while the Y.O.P. schemes were
being developed in institutes of higher education to meet the demand of the increasing numbers of young people unable to find work.

Increased resources and government encouragement to teachers to participate in these inservice courses would also, it was argued, enable teachers to develop any specialist interests they might have, or gain new expertise - such as in the education of handicapped children, the development of closer home/school links, techniques in remedial education etc.

The government reactions to the proposals are well documented elsewhere (see Anderson, Lynch and Craft 1984 and Lomax 1977 for instance); union reaction mellowed over time, while the attitudes of everyday teachers were mixed.

It was certainly not the Report many educationalists were hoping for - the DipHEd, the qualification gained by those only completing the first two year of the course, was viewed with great scepticism, while the proposals for the expansion in inservice education were universally welcomed. The increase in supervision and apprenticeship of the students was also welcomed. However the overriding concern of those critical of the report was that it did little to enhance the status of the colleges compared with universities.

In December of that year the government produced a White Paper based on the recommendations of the James committee ("Education - A Framework for Expansion") which introduced the 'new' three and four year BEds. The consecutive model
was chosen as the format for the new BEds, but this structure was required to have the flexibility to provide for school experience from the first year of college, if the course tutors required it.

The expansion of the 60s had played a part in the establishment of new training colleges and in the enthusiasm for the BEd (old or new) degree, and post-James there was much activity in restructuring courses. However, although colleges submitted new formats for the BEd and a major restructuring did take place on the basis of the White Paper, the consensus of that time was that the hope that the committee would be able to rationalise the system of teacher training in England and Wales, and elevate the status of the colleges in relation to the university departments and institutes of education, was largely unfulfilled (4). Criticism covered financial and administrative details, the feasibility of the second phase, the implications of the expansion in the in-service field and the overall piecemeal nature of the reform. However, the basic and most common criticism was that the college system was still as fragmented and low in status as it was prior to the Report.

However, the 70s was a period in which the supply of teachers became a major force for the contraction and metamorphosis of training colleges. Cuts in the number of teachers became a major force for the contraction and metamorphosis of training colleges.

(4) See for instance the many and varied contributions to the debate contained in the special edition of the Times Higher Education Supplement to discuss the Report of the James Committee (THES 4/2/72).
students admitted to courses, the raising of entry qualifications, and the lack of expansion in the in-service field led to major changes in the recruitment of students to colleges, and to the resources given to colleges.

Increasing government interest in, and direct control over, college courses meant that an already complex administrative and pedagogical structure became even more complicated, while an increasing number of D.E.S circulars put pressures on an already strained system.

Thus the 70s was a period of great change in the structure of teacher training - colleges merged with polytechnics; others developed into Colleges of Higher and Further education; small colleges banded together to form less vulnerable larger institutions, while the number of government bodies set up to monitor and control supply, training, validation, finance, administration etc. seemed to increase daily, to the point at which we now find ourselves: "At the time of writing, a providing institution developing a teacher-education course will need to look at A.C.S.E.T.'s advice and the Secretary of State's decision on national target figures and the allocation across the binary line; it will need to negotiate with N.A.B. (or the U.G.C.) on its institutional allocations; it will need to secure approval of C.A.T.E. for professional recognition; and it will need to secure validation, either university validation or validation from the C.N.A.A. While the apparatus is intended to secure responsiveness to national need, an increasing number
of teacher-educators feel the proliferation of bodies inhibits flexibility and speed of response" (Bruce 1985 p171).

Thus the complexity of the context of the debates which in fact, emerged in the earliest teacher education initiatives, has reached breathtaking levels. The drive to control the diversity of need and provision in teacher education is still as strong as it was at that time, and such a drive confronts many of the institutional and pedagogical barriers which traditionally gave rise to and sustained, such a diversity. For instance, the James Report did not make any distinctions, within its recommendations for the restructuring of the college system, between students and courses at the primary level and those at the secondary. However, we have seen that the roots of both the pedagogy and the system of teacher training were very different for elementary schoolteachers.

This history was extremely important in the development of the system to that point, and indeed the cultural differences between the elementary and secondary training had provided an extremely resilient barrier to greater rationalisation of the college system. Similarly the analysis of the historical development of the college structure often fails to take into account the further complications and variety in courses. The Schools' Council attempted to back up these personal discoveries with greater research and develop general packages to be used by teachers in classrooms.
The effects of the James Report and the White Paper which followed, were many. However the changes which occurred which are relevant to the argument of the thesis are concerned with the effects the restructuring had on the recruitment of student teachers, and on the composition of college staff. Throughout the restructuring process the sheer number of curricular developments and government circulars put the system under a good deal of stress. Financial cutbacks in higher education led to a contraction of the system as a whole, and the balance of supply and demand of teachers became central to teacher education courses. The staff had to deal with a shift in the types of students entering college - partly an effect of the contradiction of the system of higher education as a whole, but also an effect of the graduate BEd. Staff and managers of the colleges had to look to possible diversification in their role, and to incorporate the many government recommendations into the structure and content of their courses.

Thus the picture which emerges in the 1980s is one of increasing control over teacher education both in terms of policy (C.N.A.A. validation of courses has meant the direct control of what is taught in teacher education courses) and finance. One of the contradictions of this position is that the severe cutbacks of the 70s and 80s have been justified in terms of the fall in rolls in early education, yet the commitment to inservice education expressed by the James committee was never reconsidered or implemented in the light of the hypothesized overstaffing of training courses. The system of inservice now in operation is universally held to
be completely inadequate in terms of the needs of schools today.

4. Implications for College Structure in the Early Eighties.

The argument of this chapter then, aside from simply setting the historical context of the empirical study, is that the social structure and educational debates out of which elementary teacher training emerged is in large part responsible for the debates and the lack of coordination and rationalisation in today's colleges.

The early debates, which arose out of a sense of a moral mission to the poor, have all been transformed with the growth of mass secondary education and the incorporation of secondary training into the training colleges. Lynch puts the problem as follows: "Running through the development of teacher education in the UK is a history of lack of clarity with regard to what the aims of teacher education should be and what content could best seek to achieve those aims" (Lynch 1979 p3).

In the earliest debates then, the moral standing of the student teachers was central. Coming from the higher levels of the working class, their education was often a matter of a brief introduction to the subjects they would supervise in the classroom. The earliest recommendations for training of the pupils were fraught with riders concerning the necessity of ensuring poor pupils did not use teacher training as a means of 'bettering themselves' or of receiving further
education - "wretches of both sexes, that from a natural antipathy to working, have a great dislike to their present employment, and perceiving within a much stronger inclination to command than ever they felt to obey others, think themselves qualified and wish from their hearts to be masters and mistresses of charity schools" (quoted in Tropp 1957 p7).

To summarise, there were three central issues in these early days - (i) the necessity of the trainees to have a reasonable education, and a reasonable grasp of their pedagogical role; (ii) the prevention of 'misuse' of their privileged education - they were to be employed in the supervision of others of their class; and (iii) the separation of elementary school trainees (the "wretches of both sexes") in both training and moral mission, from others training as mistresses and masters, and those training to teach in post-elementary education.

The range of the professionalism debates which developed in the latter part of the 20th century can be traced to this early structure. With the growth in mass secondary education, the colleges took on the training of teachers for other levels of education. The debates were then transformed, and the personal education of the student teachers became a matter of sequencing rather than quantity. An additional factor complicating the picture was the financial cutbacks of the 70s, and the raising of the levels of qualifications needed for teacher training. Finally, the compli-
cated evolution of the relationship between colleges and universities has left the colleges still very much the junior partners, which in turn has consequences for the type of students recruited and the type of courses offered in colleges.

The overwhelming evidence is that the system as it stands serves a number of purposes, some of which are completely inappropriate given the particular development of the college system. The reproduction thesis of Bourdieu is extremely inadequate when called upon to explain the transformations of the debates and the multiple roles of the colleges at present. The reforms of the system have suffered from a lack of clarity in the perception of the aims of the colleges, and indeed in finding a common aim amongst the many types of courses offered by the many types of colleges.

The historical context gives us some explanation of the confusion which now exists in structuring and maintaining a teacher education course, and the variety of masters which such a course must serve - governmental requirements, local needs, administrative pressure, professional values, etc., all combine to give lie to the assertion of the reproduction thesis that the college courses serve to reproduce the existing structure of schools - the functions of the colleges are simply too diverse, and the intersections of culture, pedagogy and purpose too important, to leave the reproduction thesis in any way intact.
Rather, we must look to the practices and particular contexts in which the system of teacher education in England and Wales is embedded, and examine the strands of policy (used here in the widest sense) which form and maintain this diversity.

The latest series of government initiatives, headed by the "Teaching Quality" White Paper, will be analysed in depth in the conclusion, through which we will investigate the present context of the particular course under study.

At this point however, it is appropriate to evaluate the importance of the historical development of the relationship of government and pedagogy, to the particular structure of teacher training. That is, in addition to generating an extremely complex system, which serves a number of functions which are not always clear to either those participating in the system, or those engaged in analysis of the system, we see that the cultural context of pedagogy is extremely important in determining the stability of the system.

Repeated government attempts to rationalise the system and harness it more closely to what they have perceived to be the needs of the education system and society, have resulted in strong disagreements between educational practitioners and politicians, and a dysjunction between Committee Reports and the subsequent government papers, arising out of the recommendations of Reports. The actual implementation of these new policies has often been a further step removed from original Reports. Such transformations then, must be
examined in context, the determination of the 'dominant ideology' and the relationship between policy and practice, seen as problematic.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN RESEARCH IN TEACHER EDUCATION

1. Introduction

This chapter serves two functions: first to describe the context of the research study, and second, to describe and analyse the methodology used in the research. The chapter introduces the population of student teachers who took part in the study, highlights some of the processes and decisions which influenced them in choosing teaching as a career, and introduces the course, trainers, and schools through which they will learn to teach. It then examines some of the assumptions which have been made in carrying out the research, and sketches in the basic principles on which the object of study was constructed.

The historical context in which the particular college studied was set up, and in which that particular form of qualification emerged, was described in the previous chapter; the focus must now turn to the particular political and institutional context of the study. This will inform the generalisations made on the basis of the findings of the study, and will sketch out some important details of the progression of the research.

Given the argument of Chapter One, i.e. that the project of describing the nature, content, purpose and function of teacher education as a theoretical exercise is both
inadequate and illegitimate, concern over the methodological issues involved in this particular piece of research must be great. Hence the decision was made to investigate explicitly the context of the research, and to question the particular methodology used in the process of the study.

Chapter One also demonstrated (drawing on Bourdieu) that a central methodological stage in research is that a researcher examine his/her relation to the data and to the construction of the data as an 'object of study'. Although this exercise is crucial at each stage of the research, it is necessary to examine the form and methodology of the research as a whole in order that the assumptions and processes which are not an evident part of the research report be analysed. The results of this analysis have an important message for the researcher which s/he is required to decode in relation to first, the validity of the research methodology and the implications that the research design has for the interpretation of the data, and second the final reporting of the research.

It is important then that we analyse -

a) the process of developing the hypothesis;
b) the assumptions underlying the hypothesis;
c) the expectation of the status of the data in relation to the hypothesis;
d) the implications which the analysis of the data has for the development of a coherent sociological theory of teacher education in general.
2. Developing the Hypothesis

The earlier chapters outlined some of the main stages which led to the formation of the hypothesis. The methodological issues which have already been dealt with require a dynamic to be set up between empirical study and a theoretical framework. However, a number of research decisions had to be made prior to the fieldwork which were crucial in shaping the research.

The important issues were those of access, sampling, timing, the possible duration of the research etc.; the methods employed in the research; and the final status given to research findings (and indeed to the form of such research findings). I will argue then, that these decisions do bear greatly on the research as a whole, and that analysis of these decisions should clarify the aims, processes and implications of the research for both the researcher and the reader.

a) The Research Design

The discussion of the contribution of the Sociology of Education to the debate hypothesized that the concept of strategy allowed the researcher to investigate the relationship between culture and pedagogical practice which incorporated the possibility of the individual's reflection on their ideas of what it is to be teacher, and on their practices, at both a personal level, and at the level of public, group action e.g. participating in educational debates. The
contribution made by Bourdieu's analysis of the education system using the concepts of 'cultural capital' and the 'relative independence of the education system' was analysed and criticised. Similarly, the interactionists' attempt to secure a sophisticated conceptualisation of individual action through the concept of strategies was criticised on the grounds of the problematic way in which they tended to move from example to 'rule'.

The conclusions of both the theoretical deliberations and the consideration of the historical context of teacher education led to the assertion that the analysis of the relationship between culture and strategy should incorporate a more processual description and rigorous analysis of the system of teacher education, hypothesizing the importance of the cultural context of both the system of teacher education as it stands, and of the development of the students' pedagogical practice.

The consequences which this was seen to have for the empirical study were such that a two-centre analysis was set up, to enable a more relevant analysis of the culturally rich context of teacher education. On the one hand the biography (1) of the student teachers (biography in the full

(1) The term 'biography' will be used throughout the rest of the research, c.f. 'cultural capital'. Biographies have an author, are selective samplings out of the total of an individual's culture, and are organised and categorised out of certain sets of principles. For instance, a political biography and a personal biography would select different aspects of life to emphasize, such principles are always open to investigation and analysis, and are not necessarily part of the individual's own perception of their ideas and practices, their way of thinking about their own life.
sense of the term — the usual sociological indicators such as class, race, age, geographical location, educational qualifications etc. were considered alongside cultural experience, leisure pursuits, reading habits etc.) was hypothesized as central to analysing the context out of which strategy is formed, and as forming a clue to the potential pattern of strategy amongst groups of students which the research study was set up to analyse.

On the other hand, the design was aimed at determining the relationship, if any, between the culture of the students, which had to be temporarily 'frozen' in research context, and the dynamic of college relationships whereby students came to develop skills, to a greater or lesser extent, in planning, structuring and assessing a series of lessons in the classroom.

It is this latter investigation which sets the dynamic of the research — the traditional design application of questionnaires, interviews, monitoring of evaluation etc., was transformed through the major emphasis of this stage of research. That is, the students' biographies were important only inasmuch as they gave clues to their culture, and in the way in which they informed the strategy developed by the students.

This analysis then, will attempt to trace the origins of success or failure in the students' training and to explicate the central issues in their struggle to become 'a good teacher'. It will attempt to analyse the strategy
which the students are able to develop to interpret their own, and the pupils', behaviour, in their first experiences in the classroom. It will examine the aspects of strategy they reject, and aspects of their strategy which they only reluctantly accept. Finally, examination will be made of the various processes whereby the students begin to accept (or reject) the description of their classroom practice as 'good' or 'bad', and their perception of the basis of such categories.

There were two main issues important in forming the research design then. On the one hand issues of theoretical imposition and 'pre-judgement' precluded a 'fixed' or 'experimental' design, yet the demands for scientific rigour in sociological research had to be answered by the research design. This latter demand gave rise to a more considered analysis of what would constitute evidence, a reasonable type and size of sample, principles of categorisation of the data etc. Thus, an attempt was made to relate two distinct types of information in a creative and illustrative way - i.e. the students' cultural biography and their attempts to develop a successful pedagogical strategy in early classroom experience.

Most of the above points can be more usefully discussed in their particular manifestations at the relevant stages of the research programme; the aims of this section are to clarify the process of constructing the research design; and to point to the methodological issues which must be dealt with in the course of this chapter.
b) The Research Programme

Inasmuch as important methodological decisions could only be made once the research was under way, the research programme could only be developed cumulatively. For instance, I was only allowed to interview students in depth after all the tutors on the course were familiar with me and the aims of my research. This is a 'problem' common to research in teacher education (see the discussion in Chapter One). It is important to specify at this stage then, the aims of the research programme as a whole, its component stages, and the effect the implementation of each stage had on the following stages.

(i) Gaining access and introduction.
Access was fairly easily obtained from a College in the Midlands, which had a strong teacher training background. The course under examination comprised three years study leading to a Certificate in Education qualification (withdrawn 1979) or BEd (ordinary), or four years study leading to a BEd honours.

The college had been used by quite a number of research students working on a range of courses and topics, and no restrictions were imposed in the choice of areas - faculties or courses - open to research. However, it should be mentioned that one demand and one request was made of me (aside from the general assumption that I would respect confidentiality); these were respectively, that a copy of the submitted thesis be lodged in the college library, and that I
would feed some information on the adequacy of the course back to the participants in the research. This had implications both for the confidentiality of the thesis and for the conclusions and/or recommendations I hoped to make in relation to the course in particular, and teacher training in general.

The etiquette of dealing with a hierarchy such as the college administration required that I first contact the Dean of the School of Education and Social Sciences for formal permission to approach the departments involved. I was then introduced to representatives of the Education Theory department and to the head and acting head of the Applied Education department. Through interviews with these 'course managers', a much clearer picture of the restrictions placed on the research emerged.

It was impossible for political (explained below) and practical reasons (the physical separation between the departments, the time-scale of students' participation in one department or the other, and the time-tableing of classes), to concentrate equally on the two Education departments. As my interest centred around the processes whereby students developed a strategy to secure certification as a competent practicing teacher, it became clear that I would have to concentrate on the Applied Education department. This focus was supplemented and widened through interviews with members of the Education Theory department, analysis of course material and information on the theory course given by students in interview. The chairman of the Theory/ Applied Liaison
Committee (a lecturer in the philosophy of education) was interviewed in depth over the research in the college, to give some idea of both the theory course, and of the Education Theory department's view of their relationship with the Applied Education department.

It is essential then, to explain the structure of the BEd course, and the relevant aims of each component in that degree, in the particular form it took at this college. This will enable us to set the particular year which was studied - the professional training year - in the context of the rest of the course. For the remainder of the study, unless specifically mentioned, I shall use the shorthand term, BEd, to include both ordinary and honours students, and the very few certificate students on the course, as at that time the students followed substantially the same course, the decision to study to honours level being taken at the end of the third year.

(ii) The place of the BEd within the college.

The college itself was one of the last teacher training institutions to be built before the cutbacks in the mid-70s (it opened in 1972). Because of this, the policy of the college management was always geared towards expansion and diversification. Courses expanded to provide external BA and BSc degrees validated by the local university (20 miles away), and centres for management and local craftsmanship training were set up. The result of this was that in the early 80s there was a spirit of most uncommon optimism amongst the staff and a level of job security very atypical
of colleges in England and Wales, which at that time faced a series of severe government cutbacks - in some cases the complete closure of courses and institutions.

Most of the long-serving staff at the college had teaching qualifications and/or teaching experience (2). This meant that although the institution was now called a 'College of Education', it still retained much of the identity of the 'Teacher Training College'.

The relationship between the subject departments (primarily geared towards producing BSc and BA students), and the education departments (principally producing BEd students), would be expected to be a fairly easy one, given the history of the college. For instance, the ex-teachers from subject departments were keen to comment on and help modify the BEd course as a whole, not just in relation to the teaching of their subject, but in relation to the general content and form of the course. However, in reality, relations between the departments were at best strained. This affected the content of courses, and the continuity between theory and practice taught on the course. However, this point will be expanded further in the description of the course itself.

The common interest in teacher education was emphasized by a split campus. Most of the technical, 'further education', BSc courses were taught on one campus, while the BEd and the

(2) In the two schools of Education and Social Science, and the Humanities, only 18 of the 78 members of staff did not have some teaching qualification.
BA general studies were based on another campus. Thus there was a particularly good opportunity for a close relationship between both staff and students on these two courses – BEd and BA. Because of the common campus, the two groups tended to have considerable social contact, which in turn, tended to result in minor informal recommendations for changes in the course being made without invoking formal consultative channels. All this had, I feel, a particular effect on the setting up and running of the BEd.

(iii) The setting up of the BEd.

The construction of the course itself was an extremely complex organisational task. Because of the period in which the college was set up and the type of management the college actively supported, complicated consultation procedures were undertaken in the initial development of the course. So not only were the Education and Applied Education departments involved in planning the course, staff from local schools, H.M. Inspectors and all the usual education personnel, college management, specialists from all areas of the curriculum, and some parent representatives, were also involved. The result of this was that most of the staff at the college felt they provided a particularly flexible and relevant course, one which enabled the student to prepare more thoroughly for their initial school experience, with much more systematic supervision and better cooperation with school staff while on school experience than they felt was normal on BEd courses.
In addition, local representatives from all sectors of education with an interest in teacher education, had their say in the detailed planning, setting up and modification of the course, so that they themselves tended to have a higher level of satisfaction with the students which were produced. I was frequently told when I arrived that the staff of the Applied Education course especially, would be interested in my analysis and in any amendments I could recommend for the course. In turn, the BEd course managers felt fairly secure that the course they offered was in fact an extremely interesting and practical one, which would prepare the student teachers well for the classroom.

The structure of the BEd was promoted as having the following aims and priorities in mind: "the college is large enough to provide a good variety of courses at a high level and a wide range of extra-curricular activities to suit all tastes. At the same time it is small enough for every student to feel he or she is an important member of a real community" (course prospectus). Thus it aimed to produce a high level of academic competence, specifically, it was argued by staff in the Education Theory department (many of whom were BA or BSc graduates), that the courses provided should be of a similar standard to that of the early years of university. This was to be combined with an atmosphere which would be supportive to the students - one of the main aims of the Applied Education staff was to give very strong support to the students, especially when out on school experience.
Entry requirements were, at October 1982, two 'A' levels and 3 'O' levels (including English language and Maths), so many of the students eligible for the course had sufficient (in some cases more than sufficient) qualifications for university entrance. The BEd students had to go through the same recruitment procedures as the BA students, but with the additional selection procedure of an interview to discuss with the Applied Education department, their motivation for applying to the BEd course, and their reasons for thinking they would be suited to teaching (or make a 'good' teacher).

On registration for the BEd course, all students were entered into the BA general studies degree course, with the requirement that they take Education Theory as one subject in both 1st and 2nd years, plus their subject of interest. Thus those students who, after one or two years on the course decided that they no longer wished to become teachers were easily transferred to the BA general studies course. One of the groups I studied (those who were in their 3rd year, under the supervision of the Applied Education department in 1983) was only half the size of the previous year. This group had originally been about the same size as the first, but during the first two years of their degree there had been a 'scare' over the number of teachers produced, compared with the number of teaching posts available, so that many of this group transferred to the BA general studies degree and left only the really determined students on the BEd course.
Obviously this has many implications in terms of the make-up of this group - the 'survivors', those who despite heavy cutbacks and depressing prospects, chose to continue in their BEd degree. This point will be dealt with more fully in the detailed discussion of the characteristics of the groups studied, as it will be argued, the ease of transfer also affected the make-up of the larger, more stable group. However, it should be noted here that the flexibility of the particular course studied affected the sampling frame of the research.

Once those students who remained on the BEd course reached the end of their second year they were separated from the BA students and became the 'responsibility' of the Applied Education department for the year. This separation and concentration on 'methods' for their third year had implications for the relations between departments, in particular, for relations between the Education Theory department and the Applied Education department. For instance, subject experts (such as Maths or English lecturers) not only taught the students in college, they also supervised them while on school experience; in contrast, the Education Theory department had little contact with the students in their professional studies year, only occasionally teaching specialist courses, or supervising the students. Only the applied education staff supervised the students throughout their three school experiences.

The relationships between departments were further complicated by the fact that some specialist interests such as
Child Development, Theories of Learning, Reading Development, were taught to BEd students by the Education Theory department. Thus, on the one hand sociological, historical and philosophical questions relating to education were handled by the Education Theory department, while on the other hand, practical concerns of classroom management, preparation of materials, etc., and specific education theories, such as Piaget, Donaldson, Tizard, were handled by the Applied Education department. The sociology, philosophy and history students studying for BA degrees were taught in their own specialist departments.

In order to explicate the nature of these relationships, we must look more closely at the structure of the BEd degree and the particular courses students were required to pass.

(iv) The structure and aims of the course.
Once the students had attended two years of classes in the Education Theory department and had decided to proceed with the BEd, they no longer had any teaching contact with the Education Theory department. Aside from certain 'one-off' courses normally lasting a few weeks, they were taught in the Applied Education department, supported by selected subject specialists.

This year with the Applied Education department then, began with the students attending a four-week 'induction' course where they were introduced to other BEd students and the applied education staff, and given an introduction to teaching methods, curriculum management, visual displays,
etc. At this point the students were split into three groups: first school specialists, middle school specialists and subject specialists.

The students in one particular group rarely came into contact with students in another group, as they tended to be taught in the different subject departments, and were taught in 'seminar' (i.e. first, middle and subject specialist) groups when in the Applied Education department. The exception to this was the lectures given by outside representatives of the education system to all students – a practice most common on the induction course, when the students were lectured by such representatives as a local headteacher, a B.B.C. representative, head of education programming on the local radio, special education, Schools Council (it was still in existence at this point) and local environmental groups.

The separation of the students into specialist groups and the corresponding common identity which tended to emerge within the groups is extremely important to our analysis. That is, the selection criteria of each of the groups, the teaching methods and classroom management taught, the elements looked for in their evaluation, and most important, in the eventual criteria the students apply in judging themselves competent teachers, all these different factors were important when examining the context of the seminar groups. This point will be explored in greater detail below.
The professional training year was structured in three 'blocks'. Each block was approximately 10 weeks long, and was fairly evenly divided into college-based training and school experience sections. The structure of the college-based training was geared to dealing with the particular problems and issues which the students had confronted in school experience, and in preparation for the following block. The students simultaneously received training in their specialisms at college, but the bulk of their work was carried out in the Applied Education department.

It was in the 'seminar rooms' that the students prepared for their lessons, set up displays etc., and attended their professional training sessions with the Applied Education staff. The middle school specialists were split into two groups - those wishing to teach younger children in middle schools (7-11), and those wishing to teach older children (9-13). The two remaining groups were split on an arbitrary basis.

All seminar groups were based around classes which were held on Monday and Wednesday mornings, and all day Friday. These seminars were the basis for the development of 'good' teaching practice. The students were taught in these seminars that it was not sufficient for them to be good at their chosen subject alone, they had to learn to 'teach' their subject. So while much of the week was spent outside the Applied Education department during the teaching blocks, all the students articulated the feeling that they were in their 'professional studies' year, and it was from the
seminar groups that they developed a sense of being aspiring teachers, rather than a student learning a specialism.

In addition, the Applied Education department took most of the responsibility for students on teaching practice, helping them to draw up lessons, supervising them (in the main) on school experience, and helping the students build on their previous school experience. Thus it was the Applied Education staff who undertook, primarily, the task of talking over and analysing reasons for failures in schools, advised the students on how to modify their practice, encouraged them, and at the end of the day, certified the students as teachers.

A number of implications in relation to the details above must be considered in relation to the hypothesis and its empirical context.

(i) It was argued in Chapter One that the biography of students can only form an initial starting point for any analysis of their culture and their strategy - especially as the focus is on their educational strategy. There is no simple relationship between class and individual action or interpretations, particularly as we wish to consider the students' ability to reflect on their own experience, and the results of that reflection, as part of the research.

That is, because learning 'teaching methods' or developing teaching practice was condensed for the main part into the year the students were on the Applied Education course,
analysis of this course, and the students' progress through it, provided a focus which would enable the research to explicate the students' interpretations of past experience and its importance in learning to 'manage' classroom relations, and to develop a competent strategy of teaching practice, from a common standpoint. At the same time it would be possible to hypothesize more objective connections between such biographies and the students' strategy.

These theoretical considerations, alongside the logistical problems presented by the organisation of the course led to the decision to spend most of the research time with those students on the third year of their BEd, and to supplement this with interviews with Education Theory staff and college management, alongside interviews with staff and students in schools.

(ii) As far as analysing the culture of the students is concerned, for the main part the research had to rely on the students' providing details of the traditional indicators of their cultural 'biography', setting such interests, practices etc. in the context of how they think about the course, their future, their ideas of professionalism, and their role as teachers. These explanations of how the students viewed teaching and the educational practices they valued were then set in the context of actual classroom management, and their success in developing a recognisably competent practice.
(iii) The limitations on time meant that a college with easy access and cooperation was chosen. This obviously has implications in terms of the generalisations which can be made from the research. However, study was made of a number of other similar research works (some of which were mentioned in the Introduction to the thesis), and a fairly informal comparison with one PGCE course was made. The status of the comparability of the college will always be in the forefront of any general statements made.

(iv) The physical and time-tabled separation of the Theory and Applied Education departments had implications for the research in terms of the problems encountered in studying what were in effect complex relationships between these departments for both staff and students. This problem, however, as it is such an integral part of the setting up and running of any education course, will be considered on its own in the following section.

(v) The sample itself is affected by the strong self-selection of the students, not only to start on the course, but to continue, which means that the groups studied are more than usually certain of their desire to become a teacher.

(vi) Finally, and probably most importantly, the organisation of the groups into age specialisms bears very significantly on the hypothesis, in that the separation of these groups from one another meant that they had to be studied in isolation from one another. As the research developed it
became more evident that the main hypothesis had to be collapsed and separate or sub- hypotheses set up in relation to the different groups studied. That is, it became clear as the research developed that there could be no overall 'blanket' description of the relationships found; the differences found between the groups proved to be too significant to ignore. Each of the groups developed a distinctive 'style' which highlighted the differences between groups and became more and more important in the research.

The organisation of the groups was also important from the point of view of previous research - this was a very rare chance to study teachers in preparation for every level of the education system, and to analyse the process of their learning and to compare the preparation each group made for their practice.

This issue of the establishment and development of the research design is too wide-ranging in nature and consequence to analyse in depth here. Rather such analysis will form a major part of the report on the data. However, it is necessary to point out that changes in the organisation of the course did make a difference to the development of the hypothesis and the research.

3. Assumptions Underlying the Research

There were two main assumptions underlying the way in which the research was constructed and subsequently developed. The first is the assumption (well backed up by previous re-
search), that the mere description of students' biography was insufficient evidence to explain the way in which they began to think about teaching, and construct a more general educational strategy which incorporated their ideas of teaching with an effective, recognised practice. The relationship between culture and strategy had been posed as more complex than this - particularly in the context of British teacher education.

The second important influence concerned the complexity of the relationship between theory and practice, and the importance of explicitly confronting this issue as a means of analysing some of the more subtle differences amongst students, and the different contexts in which they worked.

This section examines the formative influences which the above dynamics have on the process of the research.

a) The Methodology of the Research

The following section takes the first dynamic - culture and practice - and attempts to move from the traditional social survey approach, towards an analysis of the relationship which takes into account the importance of the educational context. At this point the developmental focus of the research must be emphasized; the research analysed the processes whereby students organised their learning, their teaching methods, their classroom, their relationships in school and with their college supervisors over the duration of the course. Thus the modifications the students made to
their way of thinking about and practicing teaching proved central to the research, and the relationship of culture and educational practice had to be taken as a complex one.

This point had to be made clearly because of past interpretations of Pierre Bourdieu. That is, it has been argued that the pedagogic style and presentation of a parent or adult who takes a child on a visit to a museum is preparing, coaching or in effect doing 'home-work' for school where a similar pedagogic style dominates, i.e. one with its origins in professional middle class linguistic and cultural codes. However, since we have collapsed the a priori of Bourdieu's systemic analysis of the process of reproduction, this argument must be developed through investigation of the case in point. Of course we can expect that past experience fundamentally affects the values, attitudes, actions, etc., of individuals, but we cannot assume that because patterns of cultural experience and action exist and persist (albeit in somewhat modified forms), that patterns of social action and educational practice are caused by the corresponding experiences of different classes, sexes, races, ages, etc.

If we carry this point to the research it is evident that there are great difficulties in assuming that the details of an individual's biography will lead to certain kinds of actions and reactions in the classroom. Much of the richness of the experience of the students will be lost in the attempt to 'systematise' their experience; our interest is in the formation of a strategy which enables students to respond to 30 children in a classroom in a way which makes
sense to the students. However, although their strategy is
developed out of their own interpretation and response to
the cultural context, and the immediate requirement of the
classroom, it also has to be evaluated and legitimated by
teacher trainers. This latter requirement imposes con-
straints on the process by which the rich variety of
students' experience is utilised and manipulated in develo-
ping a strategy — which as they know will form the basis for
their certification.

The methodology of the research then, is only begun, not
grounded in the analysis of what appear temporarily as a
'fixed' culture. The methodological problem of analysing
the students' calculations, modifications, compromises etc.,
 i.e. the characterisation of the processual and fluid nature
of strategy-planning and modification, action and reflec-
tion, is the challenge of the research. The first step lies
in the analysis of students' biographies, the way in which
they organised their learning in college, their relations-
ships with staff while on school experience, their relations-
ships with their college tutors, and finally their activi-
ties in the classroom, form the data of the subsequent
stages of the research. This enables us to build up a
picture of how the students manage these constraints in an
attempt to produce a coherent strategy to make sense of
their new role of teacher while maintaining their identity.

b) Theory and Practice in the Research

While the above discussion focussed on the methodological
relationship between sociological theory and sociological
practice, this section examines the consequences the particular empirical organisation of theory and practice in the college had for the structure of the course, the experience the students had of the course, and thus the organisation of the research itself.

There are two general points which are important here, and should be kept in mind throughout the discussion of the research; the first is the physical and epistemological separation between theory and practice. The particular college studied divided the study of education into Education Theory (part of a general BA course for BA and BEd students) and Applied education - the preserve of the practitioners. In addition, the separation of the two departments in the chronology of the students' course i.e. the Applied Education department taught the students for the whole of their third year - had a very particular effect on the relationship between the 2 staffs and the experience of the students.

(i) The separation of theory and practice.
The relationship between education theory and practice is a question which will not be tackled with any comprehensiveness here. The debate has been especially interesting in the context of teacher education, and the recent debate on educational standards and teacher competence have again brought these issues to the fore. However, the limit put on the breadth of analysis by the structure of the thesis confines our analysis to examining the rationale behind the particular separation and organisation found at the college.
One of the more interesting aspects of this separation was the different conceptions of 'education' which the two education departments had. The Education Theory department stressed the more abstract, research elements of the study of education, while the Applied Education department stressed the importance of 'good' teaching methods and personal relationships.

The qualifications of the members of the staff of the two departments were very different, which may have reinforced this difference of emphasis. The Applied Education staff tended to qualify through CertEd qualifications, be experienced class teachers, who then gained further qualifications such as MEd or MSc. The Education Theory staff were all (except 3) BA or BSc graduates, subsequently qualified in education - e.g. postgraduate qualifications such as the PGCE.

Comments gathered from the students in interviews showed that they perceived the tensions between the two departments in this traditional division of labour, seeing the 'theory' as separate from 'teaching methods', and arguing that the two were not developed closely enough. They saw the Professional studies staff as the means whereby some of the 'theory' they had learned in first and second year was 'put into practice', 'put towards good use', 'made relevant'. The staff's view of the induction course, coming at the end of the second year, is explained in their prospectus - "It's purpose is to form a bridge between the theoretical orienta-
tion of the first two units in Education and the professional work of the third year".

To further emphasize the contrast and relevance of the two 'orientations' the following paragraph is added - "The course introduces the concepts and methods which will be developed throughout the whole of the professional studies in Education course. It is anticipated that students will find it interesting, challenging and relevant to their expectations as aspiring teachers".

The staff themselves saw the professional and the theory education departments as two qualitatively different aspects of the course. The language and style of the one was seen to need much decoding and transcription to enable the students to see the relationship between them. Thus, the professional course was set up with the assumption that the theory which students learned in the first two years of the course, needed both interpretation and practical application.

This process of putting theory into practice throughout the professional studies year is central to the research. Indeed this is one of the most interesting aspects of the study. Both staff and students consistently argued that time on the professional studies course was so short that it was extremely difficult to spend time on 'theory', even if that meant looking at the practical application of a particular theoretical point - they argued that the great bulk of time must be spent on practical organisation. Thus the
development of the theoretical points into practical applications tended, because of time, to be rather isolated from re-examination of the original theoretical point.

The issue here is not the respect and expertise that each of the departments recognised in each other (most of the time!), but the time and effort staff were able to put into translating the work of one department to make sense or be 'operationalised' in the other.

The separation of the two staffs frequently led to 'misinterpretation' of aspects of theory or practice, or of the intentions of the other department. Often the students were left to work out for themselves the connection between sociological and psychological research, and the practical teaching methods taught by the professional studies department.

(ii) The structure of the course.
This last point is relevant to the discussion of the separation of education departments. That is, the students' third year in college is spent almost completely separated from the theory department, and substantially with the professional studies staff. For the theoretical input to the course, no distinction is made between those intending to teach younger or older children. However, in this third year - the practical year - the students are separated into groups according to the age range of the children they wished to teach.
This reorganisation is justified purely in terms of the content of the curriculum. The professional studies tutors argued that "teaching methods are mostly the same in all the seminar groups, it is the content of what's taught that's different". However, it will be argued that the separation of students into age-range groups has a particular effect on the patterns of strategy developed initially by students while in their year on the professional studies course, which cannot be explained exclusively by the initial cultural differences. That is, the training the students receive does have an effect on their ideas of professionalism which cannot be deduced from 'static', fixed concepts such as cultural capital.

The central importance of this separation on the practice of teaching for the students will be developed in the main analysis. However, a number of issues must be at least confronted at this stage. Bourdieu argues that the education system as a whole is most effective in maintaining its stability (i.e. both in reproducing itself and ensuring the continued reproduction of itself) when controlling the processes of individuals passing through the system, and in our case, the choosing, training or certification of staff for schools.

In this study, one of the most important aspects of this assertion is the relationships between staff members of the two departments. That is, if the education system is not efficient in ensuring the dominance of a 'cultural arbitrary', which appears as the 'natural way' to those
practising in the education system, then the practitioners who are at the centre of the system, and the theoreticians engaged in criticism of it, must practice in opposition.

Indeed, the Applied Education department were constantly complaining that the courses taught in the theory department were of little practical use, while the theoreticians continually accused the professional studies department of conservatism and intractibility. Yet the students on the course took part in this debate, and articulated a number of standpoints towards it.

Clearly the idea that culture is distributed according to the interaction of social and educational experience, and forms the basis of student teachers' practice, is far too simple an explanation for the many conflicts and compromises we find in this analysis, while the experience the students had in the two years prior to the professional training year must be considered an important variable in the analysis.

When questioned on this point one of the heads of professional studies argued that relations between the departments were very good. However the staff of the two departments articulated a number of fairly serious problems. For instance, the Applied education staff argued - "If only they (the theory department) would tell students and ourselves what their theories mean in the classroom". This was very typical of remarks made concerning the theory department. Similarly, the theory department asked that the students be
encouraged to think and reflect more while in the professional studies department - "They (the professional studies department) want us to tell them (the students) how to teach, they want them spoon-fed". Thus while the theory department were anxious that students planned and reflected on their lessons from a more general stance, the professional studies department put their interest at a much more practical level - they wanted to get students through the course and help them become good teachers.

Some of the problem may be supposed to emerge from the differing backgrounds of the staff - the professional studies department would have liked the theory department to be much more classroom-minded and be themselves more familiar with that situation, while the theory department felt that the professional studies staff had an inadequate grasp of the theoretical interest they discussed with the students.

Another strategy the staff employed which highlights some of the difficulties in the relationship of the two departments, was the misunderstanding or radical modification of some theoretical point to make sense to practitioners. One of the professional studies tutors lectured her class on the importance of the 'hidden curriculum' by interpreting the concept as using the 'hidden' talents of the teacher in the classroom: i.e. if a student has an artistic or musical leaning or talent, then their interpretation of the curriculum would be 'skewed' towards this anyway, in the sense of overemphasizing the subjects in which they were inte-
rested. They advised the students to make use of their talents, hobbies and s/he should utilise this talent in the classroom rather than keeping it 'hidden' or underused.

This interpretation of the concept of the 'hidden curriculum' would make much more sense in first school, compared with the much more closed situation of the upper school curriculum. However, the central issue of the 'hidden curriculum' i.e. the students own assumptions, expectations etc., remains unexamined and continues to operate implicitly in the students' practice, indicating clearly some of the consequences the lack of adequate and cooperative 'translation' work and communication between theory and practice. That is, the power which teachers have to impose their own definitions of educational knowledge, and structure the classroom according to their own interpretation of the world remains unexamined.

Further, these points are important in terms of the experience students have of their BEd and Certificate course. That is, the students in the first two years study education theory as a group, some of the time alongside BA students, while at the beginning of the next they are put into a practically-oriented department which then separates them and classifies them according to the age of the children they wish to teach.

The Applied Education department is physically removed from the others; the students' time-table and curriculum is re-organised while on their professional studies year so that
they start back at college before other students, i.e. when the school term starts, they are separated when on school experience, and then are back in college when other students are on holiday. This has a very particular effect on the students' social life, and understandably, they tended to form new relationships with their classmates.

This separation seems to be the basis for a series of support groups which were formed in an educational context and which, I will argue, were crucial in stimulating and developing educational strategy. It provided alternately competition and solidarity throughout what must be the most turbulent period of their training.

During the analysis of the fieldwork, much closer attention will be paid first, to the way in which the social groups formed throughout the year's professional training, and second, how the separation between the theory in the first two years and the practice taught in the third year, interact to produce patterns in the development of an educational strategy, which are subsequently modified by students in the face of further school experiences in different educational contexts.

c) Gathering the Data

Much of the initial stages of the gathering of the data has already been outlined. However, in view of the conclusions or recommendations made in the theoretical discussions, it is important that we examine the assumptions of the 'status'
of the data, and separate out the two stages of this methodology - the description and analysis of the social situation by the social scientist, and the analysis of the scientist's relationship to the data, qua scientist.

The data was gathered using a number of methods - not because the deficiencies of one method would be compensated for by others, but because it was important that different types of data be collected and treated in different ways. Thus students' own perceptions of the aims of the teacher training course could be collected through questionnaires and interviews, but their experience and 'crisis tactics' for instance, could be most usefully conceptualised by observations of the students in the classroom.

The second question of the scientist's relation to the data has to be considered alongside the discussion of the different methods used, as I felt that my relationship to the object of study changed alongside my methods, and that these differing relationships were connected. For instance, I felt it important, as I mentioned earlier, that I treat the staff's request for feedback from my analysis seriously, at the very least so that they would be willing to receive another researcher to their course. This meant that it was important to give staff some feedback from the analysis of the questionnaire which they knew I had, by that stage on the course, analysed in part. This affected the kind of information they in turn gave me - in most cases, it meant they were very willing for me to accompany them on supervision of their students - they felt confident that I would
not (because of the type of feedback I had given them at this point) stand in judgement on the students (in terms of their professional competence) - a position which they would not accept.

It is very important then, that the relations within the data are handled very carefully, but also that the effects of my role at the collection point be taken into consideration.

An analysis concerned with uncovering the culture of student teachers, must begin with an examination of the students' educational, social and cultural biography. As the students were very well selected by the time I came into contact with them, the only way to collect this data was to ask the students to construct their biography in retrospect, through the application of a questionnaire. The questionnaire design followed, in part, the design that Bourdieu and Passeron used in their analysis of cultural capital in 'The Inheritors'. The questionnaire was greatly modified to make sense in the context of British Teacher education.

This questionnaire was given to students in their 3rd year in 1981 & 2, half-way through their course, for purely logistic reasons. It was also given to students entering their professional studies year 1982-3 while they were on the induction course, and this provided a comparison, both on the reliability of the main group tested, but also illuminated some of the changes (which were observed in closer
detail through observation) in the students' approach as they progressed in the course.

I also attended many of the professional studies seminars with the students and their professional studies tutors, and followed many of their textbooks. I felt this was the only way to develop a deeper understanding of the content of the course, of the tutors' criteria of successful teachers, and to observe the interaction of staff and students. I was occasionally called upon to explain some point of sociological theory which the tutor felt I could illuminate (or defend!) but for the most part I had the status of accepted observer.

I interviewed all the professional studies tutors, some of the education theory tutors, some of the supervising tutors in the schools in which the students were placed during school experience blocks, and a good number of the students. These interviews were fairly unstructured, as I found it extremely difficult to impose a structure on the teachers' discussion, they were erudite in their defence or criticism of issues close to their heart and in the details of their career aspirations, yet apathetic on a great deal more.

Finally, I was allowed by tutors, after they had accepted my attendance at many of their classes, to regularly attend supervision visits to the students on school experience (indeed I did so initially at the invitation of one of the middle school tutors).
Throughout the research I was aware of caution on the part of the staff, which gradually lessened through familiarity. Much of the data collection was cumulative, and the momentum of the research increased greatly towards the end of the academic year. The order in which the analysis is presented reflects this, and falls in line with the logic of the research. First I analysed the details of the students' cultural, social and educational experience to date; I then tried to explicate patterns in the way students draw on their experience, and their reaction to their training, when developing a classroom strategy.

d) Implications of the Research

Because of the length and depth of the study, this thesis cannot provide any comprehensive recommendations for the reform of teacher education in Britain. I hope to examine and postulate certain patterns in the structuring of learning which the students developed in the classroom and draw some tentative conclusions over the consequences of these particular patterns. The thesis may only then comment in a very focussed way on any policy changes or developments which may be conducive to a more effective pattern of teacher training.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE SELECTION OF STUDENT TEACHERS

1. Introduction

The theoretical discussions of the first section of the thesis attempted to explain the focus of the research on one of the most interesting intersections in the education system, i.e. the meeting point of the products of schooling - student teachers, and the production process in schooling, at teacher education. The discussions of the previous chapter were aimed at clarifying the methodological basis of the research and the principles of its construction.

This chapter examines the first stage of the dynamic of the research, i.e. its focus is on the student teachers as products of the education system, it analyses the students' own construction of their social, educational and cultural biographies, and refers back to the researcher/authors's contribution to the construction of the biography. The function of this chapter is to clarify issues central to the research. It describes the group under observation, as a necessary prelude to the study of the students' motivation, skill and success in developing classroom strategy. However, explication of the processes which led to the students' selection for the course is itself problematic. That is, for some students teaching was seen as an option considered because of a lack of alternatives, while for others it was the culmination of a great deal of effort and an indication
of success in their struggle with any number of obstacles placed in the way of their gaining a place at college.

Thus, even when attempting to discover patterns in the description students give of their past in the questionnaire administered in the initial stages of the research, their aims, goals and motivations cannot be imputed to their practice without the first steps of examining the process of gathering such self-descriptions and setting them in context. At a very basic level, the selection, training and evaluation of students in training colleges must be based upon their ability to structure pedagogic relations in an acceptable and recognisably competent way. Only then do they achieve the stated goal of all those entering the course — certification as a teacher.

Asking the students for their own perceptions is one approach to examining the selection process, but one with great difficulties in interpretation. For instance, students on this course were by this time familiar with the basic concepts of social science and often tried to guess the response desired of them. Thus a process already methodologically difficult in terms of the accuracy and adequacy of an individual's perception and generalisations, was made uncomfortably complex by the interruption of the students' desire to address the answer they thought expected of them, rather than the question asked.

The bare statistics gathered through the students' own description of their biographical details, can only provide a
baseline from which a more sophisticated analysis of the students' motivations, interpretations and practices can be constructed; this was to be achieved through consideration of the information, rationalisations, evaluations, etc. which the students offered in interviews, informal discussions, supervision trips, etc. This analysis is then set in the context of the trainers' expectations and evaluations of the students, and their ideas of what the students' experience of the course should be. Finally, this overall picture of the students and their trainers is set against the background of the system of teacher education in this country, which has already been outlined in Chapter Two.

Obviously at each of these stages (which have been collapsed somewhat through the process of analysis), important detail and variety is lost. However, I will argue that such an exercise of contextualisation is necessary to explicate the consequences of the common and the individual in each students' biography, and as a basis for the important task of the next chapter - the analysis of the course structure, and its importance in developing a pedagogical strategy.

Thus the first problem is the students' own interpretation of their past and present position (both in relation to that past and to other students) in the education system, and their ideas of the culture of teaching.

The students are caught at a particular point of the education system. They are training to develop skills in defining and assessing competences; they are learning to
tailor curricular studies to those competences. Their position as student teachers has been won only through attainment of a pre-given level of educational achievement; the pace of their course, and indeed its content, similarly depend on that pre-given level of achievement (i.e. the teaching of specialist subjects at college is constructed in a manner distinct from university and polytechnic courses in preparation for their final training as teachers).

On the whole the students accepted the level of academic qualifications required for entry to the course as appropriate to the demands made on their ability by the course. The one major criticism which was voiced was that the academic 'excellence' they had achieved was not recognised by the Applied Education department who, inappropriately in their view, treated the students 'like schoolchildren'. Such treatment, they argued, threw doubt on both their academic and professional competence. The staff argued that their handling of the students and organisation of the professional training was essential preparation for their experience in schools. However, it should be mentioned at this stage that the term 'the students' was often redundant without the qualification of the seminar group membership - first school, middle school, or subject specialists.

One other point, must be raised in relation to the students' 'acceptance' of the level of education they had achieved as appropriate for trainee teachers. Many of the students (male and female) in the subject specialist group, felt that the younger female students in the first school section were
too young and 'middle class' for the real business of teaching, and could be little more than 'babysitters'. This point relates not to academic qualifications, but to the students perception of appropriate 'experience of life' and commitment to teaching as a career. Indeed, some of the first school students were engaged to be married, which some of the senior group students pointed to as evidence of their lack of commitment - "they're just hanging around schools until they get married and have kids of their own" was a criticism which was made more than once in the time I spent there. These comments rarely questioned the right of the students to teach, but contrasted their own ideas of teaching and professionalism in the 'real' schooling context, with what they/as the 'cosy', nursery-like environment for which the first school students trained.

Thus the subject specialist group tended to define 'educational competence' in terms which included a measure of commitment to the subject studied. This criticism is directly related to the level of academic qualification required and to the conflicting definitions of professionalism which existed between students in different seminar groupings. The subject specialist group were obviously fairly 'expert' in their chosen subject and tended to be committed to the subject. The first school students were much more committed to a general idea of education, based on the tendency for many of the first school students to be trained in general arts-based subjects - not accidentally, but channelled through the advisory structures of the college. This, in the 'expert's' terms was non-professional in its orienta-
tion, it was not sufficiently 'educational' c.f. play-oriented. Thus the two groups had great difficulty in recognising the commitment of the other group, from the very particular position which they occupied in the educational hierarchy.

The only explicit comments the students made concerning the level of educational competence required for entrance to the course was on comparative terms - that the educational qualifications had to be high so that only those who really wanted to teach would be 'let in', and that this commitment, displayed through academic achievement, would ensure the continued 'professionalism' of teaching. Acceptance of the necessity of a high level of entry qualifications applied across the groups, although the senior groups tended to include a degree of commitment to particular studies or subjects as part of the definition of good qualifications. In fact, as we shall see below, those students wishing to teach in the early stages of schooling had a similar level of academic qualifications to the senior school students.

First then, we will examine the academic and 'personal' or personality criteria important to the tutors in the selection process. Through examination of the biographical patterns found in the students' description of their past experience and present interests, an attempt will be made to find connections between their culture and the pedagogical strategy they construct - the plans, rationalisations and practices of the students in their struggle to achieve
recognition as competent teachers by the college tutors, school staffs and finally, other student teachers.

Bourdieu argues that "To possess the name is to feel the right to claim the things normally associated with those words, i.e. the practices... and the corresponding material and symbolic profits (wages, claims, etc.)." (Bourdieu 1977 p1). However, in the first place this assumes that all those competing to claim the title of teacher have a similar conception of what that title is, and second, of what the rights associated with it comprise. The hypothesis of this chapter is that the different cultural context of both the students and the pedagogies they study, are central in the kinds of commitment they have and develop towards teaching. Finally, analysis of the patterns of success and failure in individual student's and groups of students' classroom practice will be considered. Thus the questionnaire was used to analyse whether the students themselves shared a similar social and cultural biography and pedagogical orientation, as a basis for investigating whether this makes a difference to the way they structure their classroom practice.

The first problem then, in examining the hypothesis, was to analyse the composition of the two cohorts studied, then the organisation of the different seminar groups. From this examination we should be able to construct a hypothesis concerning the biographical patterns of the students' lives and their culture. Because Bourdieu and Passeron have already effected a similar study in the context of French higher education, part of their research in "The Inheritors"
and "Reproduction" was used in the construction of the questionnaire administered to the students. The questionnaire collected information on the biography of the students: age, sex, residence, parental and grandparental occupations, school history; their ideas of what teaching entailed, and their ambitions as teachers; their leisure activities and non-academic skills; and a selection of attitudinal questions relating to educational issues in general - teaching personnel, the training of teachers, questions of educational policy, and the relationship between education theory and practice.

Using the data from the questionnaire, and supplementing (and illustrating) some of the findings through information gathered in interviews, I hoped to be able to formulate the parameters of the problem more accurately, and formulate a basis for analysing the importance of the students' construction of pedagogical strategy. This will then be analysed in operation, first in the students' reconstruction of their experiences in college and second, in school, when they attempt to form a coherent and workable classroom practice.

I was able to assess the reliability of the sample through comparison of age, sex (and in the case of specialist teachers - subjects) of the students who responded to the questionnaire, with the complete class list. Generally there was a 65% response rate across the two groups I ap-
proached, with the distribution fairly evenly spread across age and sex parameters (see Table One).

**TABLE ONE - Distribution Across Cohorts**

1A) Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expected value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2 cohort</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-3 cohort</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1B) Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>-19</th>
<th>20-9</th>
<th>30-9</th>
<th>40-9</th>
<th>50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exp value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-2 cohort</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-3 cohort</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 77 student questionnaires were returned, along with 7 staff questionnaires. Of the 77, 46 were students in the professional studies department 1981-1 (referred to as the 'first cohort'), and 31 were students in that department 1982-3 (referred to as the 'second cohort').

Over the two cohorts, 29 students were first school specialists, 25 were middle school specialists, and 23 were subject specialists.
2. Biography of the Students

The students were overwhelmingly female, with only 8 men on the course, only 8 of the students were married. The vast majority of the students (61) were under 23, about half those over 23 being subject specialists.

As will be seen in detail later in the chapter, the immediate impression on examining the biography of the students was the remarkable homogeneity of the group in terms of the gender, age, marital status, nationality (all the students were British, many local), race (only one student was black), occupational background and educational qualifications. In relation to this apparent homogeneity, one tutor remarked, while out on a supervision trip, that one of the joys of teaching students in the past was the 'characters' they used to be able to recruit to teaching. She felt that the students who tended to apply now were mostly "nice, young, middle class girls".

At first sight then, there was a strong degree of homogeneity in the group. This was especially remarkable because of the remit of further education colleges and the proliferation of initiatives such as redundancy training programmes in the county. However it is worth pointing out that the distribution across cohorts tended to remain stable, implying that the samples studied were fairly typical of the groups of student teachers attending this college. Throughout the study, the cohorts are examined as one group. Where there
is a difference noted between the cohorts, such differences are pointed out and analysed in context.

Of the first cohort, only 7 students were registered for the Certificate in Education – the rest were BEd students. The Certificate was withdrawn the following year, so all the 2nd cohort were BEd students.

Almost all the students lived off-campus; however, through interviews with students (and socialising more closely with them over the year's research), I discovered that the professional studies groups became more and more important socially to the students as the year went on, for a number of reasons. The following quote from one of the students is typical of the feeling about the shared experience of the professional studies year:

"You're all together all year, so therefore you've got your own friends. For example, I didn't have any friends doing BEd degree before I started this year, I didn't know anybody really, but being in the situation now where you're mixing all the time you share common problems, you give one another a bit of confidence when you've gone wrong...".

Prior to the year's professional training many of the students (because of their geographical and curricular separation) did not know one another very well at all. The implications of this closer grouping as the year progresses will be examined in more detail below. It is sufficient here to point out that this pattern of attendance at college was common to almost all of the students, and in turn had implications for their placement on school experience, as
the tutors took the students' own residence into account in deciding the schools to which the students were assigned.

3. Social Origins and Academic Qualification

The first problem in the analysis of the data was to group the results according to the patterns and potential groupings which emerged in preliminary analysis of the data. The strongest, most marked patterns in the data were found by grouping the results into 'professional studies' seminar groups - first, middle and subject specialists. Given that overall the cohorts studied looked fairly homogenous in terms of qualifications, age, ambitions etc. when analysed from a general view, the detail of the unexpected patterns gained a new significance.

From the beginning of the analysis then, it was important that the differentiation within the groups be examined much more closely, and possible reasons for differences within the group investigated. In fact, as the analysis progressed both expected and unexpected patterns emerged, and analysis of the latter in turn affected the subsequent coding and analysis of the research.

Beginning with an examination of the students' social backgrounds, it became clearer that the three seminar groups affected the clustering of the data in a very important and formative way. The distribution of the students' fathers' occupations (see Table Two), not unexpectedly clustered around three points: the professions and senior management,
middle management, and skilled manual work; while the students' mothers' occupations (see Table Three) fell almost exclusively into the categories of teachers, skilled non-manual clerical work, and third, housewife, (or 'domestic labourer' - the students all categorised this as 'housewife').

**TABLE 2 - Fathers' Occupation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professions &amp; Senior Management</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middle-intermediate Management</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Small Business Owners/ Managers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Skilled Non-manual</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Skilled Manual</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unskilled Manual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Retired/ Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(There were 4 missing cases in this distribution, probably containing unemployed parents, only 1 of 82 fathers unemployed seems very low).

**TABLE 3 - Mother's Occupations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professions &amp; Senior Management</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teachers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middle-intermediate Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Small Business Owners/ Managers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Skilled Non-manual</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Skilled Manual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Semi-skilled Manual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unskilled Manual</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Retired/ Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Housewife</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinctive feature of these distributions is the level of occupation of the students' parents - with only 35% fathers' occupations falling into the manual category (the
vast majority being skilled), and nearly 25% falling into the professions and senior management category (1).

One factor which is important in interpreting this distribution is the traditional pattern of employment in the local area. In the questionnaire the students were asked for the grandfather and grandmothers' occupations. By collating their fathers' and grandfathers' occupations a distinctive pattern of employment emerged – those students whose fathers' occupation fell into category of skilled manual workers tended to have grandfathers who were employed in the same traditional local industry – mining, textiles, tailoring etc. (see Table Four).

### TABLE 4 - Grandfathers' and Fathers' Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRANDFATHER'S OCCUPATION</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Prof/ Skill</th>
<th>Mid Skill</th>
<th>N-Man Skill</th>
<th>Man Skill</th>
<th>Semi-sk</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mang</td>
<td>Mang</td>
<td>N-Man</td>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Manual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-sk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) N.B. Two general points:
(i) All percentages have been adjusted to exclude missing cases. There were very few missing values throughout the questionnaire, and in the few cases where they do occur, are pointed out as affecting the distribution.
(ii) A version of the Registrar General's classification of occupations was modified to accommodate some of the distinctions important for our own analysis – see the categories given in Table Two.
The age of the students is important in interpreting the distribution of mothers' occupations - that is, the students were all at an age where the vast majority of their mothers could be employed, either part-time or full-time, yet 35.5% were housewives. Of those in paid employment, 27.3% were in the traditionally female clerical category.

A particularly interesting feature of this distribution is that a quarter of all students' mothers were teachers. The effect of this will be examined more closely as we examine this group of teachers in detail; however, at this point we can hypothesize that the size of this group must have some bearing on our analysis of the students' motivations and career aspirations.

The apparent homogeneity of the group of students when examining occupation (i.e. skilled working-class to mid-professional middle class) is misleading. When the parental occupation were grouped according to seminar groups (see Table Five), significant differences between the groups emerged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Teach/ Small</th>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Semi-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof/</td>
<td>mid-manage</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Students in the first school group were much more likely to have fathers' in the professions and senior management; the distribution is much more widely spread amongst the middle school students, but clusters overall around middle management. For the senior group the distribution is skewed towards manual work.

If these two intakes are at all representative of the population of first school students, then we could hypothesize that the struggle in early education which Bernstein (1977) described has resulted in greater numbers of professional middle class students putting themselves forward and being selected for first school teaching.

This grouping then, shows that there is a distinct pattern of differences in the recruitment (and of course, self-selection) of teachers according to the level of the education system in which the student wishes to teach. Thus, whereas (for this study at least) the first school group is solidly middle class (11 of the first school students were at least 2nd generation middle class, c.f. 4 middle students and 2 subject specialists), and the middle school group more management and clerical based, the distribution of the subject specialists would seem to indicate a greater base in the traditional skilled manual occupations than the other two groups.

A similar breakdown of the students mothers' occupations was carried out (see Table Six). Nearly 58% of those students whose mothers were teachers, wanted to teach in the first
school (i.e. 58% were mothers of first school students, 21% of middle school students, and finally 21% were mothers of subject specialists). For such a high proportion to be concentrated in this group in particular requires some further analysis. The result is especially interesting in relation to the postulated importance of early childhood experience on educational careers and on educational aspirations. It could be argued then that familiarity with the culture of teaching at an early age has an effect on the students' value of that profession (as it would presumably whatever the occupation), yet the effect seems to be unevenly distributed across the students, and as such is of interest to this study. The effect that this background has on the students and their confidence in educational debates will be analysed in much more detail later in the chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Mothers' Occupation Distributed by Seminar Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarise then, for the first school group, fathers' occupations clustered around the highest level of this group of occupations; professionals, some company directors, senior management and small business owners. The students' mothers' were likely either to be teachers or housewives. For the middle school group the clustering took place at the
level of middle management and overall had a much wider spread. The students' mothers were most likely to be skilled non-manual or clerical workers. Middle school students' mothers' occupations were more likely to fall into the skilled non-manual clerical workers category, the subject specialists mothers' into the category of housewife.

The senior group displayed the cluster of fathers' occupations slightly 'down' the social scale from the other two, indeed, as already mentioned, quite a significant proportion of the fathers were skilled manual workers in the traditional dying industries of the area - mining, boot and shoe workers, tailoring etc. The students' mothers were most likely to be housewives.

Thus, while at first glance the group studied looked fairly homogenous in terms of social background, almost exclusively from the upper end of the working classes to the mid regions of the middle classes, in fact the distribution is weighted according to the seminar group of the students, and tended to fall into distinct categories within this range.

Obviously this structured distribution would be likely to have an effect both on the early childhood experience of the students, and on their subsequent educational experience. The form such experience takes however, is the subject of detailed analysis later - at this stage the emphasis is on the postulation of possible relations between social and cultural relations.
It is interesting to note here however, that those recruited to early education—where the 'flexibility' in management and pedagogy of the classroom is greatest, are much more likely to be young middle-class females. In contrast, it is the upper sections of the working classes which are recruited to that section of the school system where 'external' (i.e. curricular, discipline, materials, etc.) control over the classroom is at its most rigid, and policy decisions and change are closely monitored—i.e. to the secondary school—where the pupils themselves have reached a fairly fixed self-definition and have much more rigid expectation of their own educational competence, and related to this, their school career.

We have already noted the overall homogeneity of the group in terms of the students' fathers' occupational classification. If the pattern of early family culture is important in eventual educational aspirations and commitment to teaching, then we should expect a fairly strong relationship between educational qualifications, cultural background and early family pedagogy. Bourdieu argues that "the educational system is less and less in a position to guarantee the value of the qualifications that it awards the further one goes away from the domain that it controls completely, namely, that of its own reproduction" (Bourdieu 1977 p98), thus implying that the qualifications and educational experience students require to enter teaching should be fairly structured.
However, we have already argued that the relationship between what Bourdieu calls 'cultural capital' and the educational experience and aspirations of student teachers is a far more fluid, complex and varied one than the cultural reproduction thesis allows for. Therefore, the relationship between early educational experience and culture is one which must now be empirically established.

The school experience of the students, defined initially by types of institution attended, was fairly homogenous (see Table Seven). Very few students attended public schools, either at primary or secondary level, a point considered below. Given the homogeneity of the distribution, we can assume that the institutional contexts of the students' previous educational experience should be similar (excepting geographical variation etc., however it has already been pointed out that many of the students were local).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7 - Distribution of Schools Attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7A) Primary Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Single sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Coeducational</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Single sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Coeducational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Denominational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
78) Secondary Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Single sex</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State school</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Coeducational</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State school</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Single sex</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Coeducational</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Denominational</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualifications of the students were very high, with 86% of the students having 6 or more O levels, and 64% of the students having 2 or more A levels (see Table Eight). This high level of qualifications could of course, have been predicted, given the entry requirements for the BEd. However, aside from their level of qualification being higher than that required, two points should be considered here.

**TABLE 8 - Distribution of Students' Qualification**

8A) O Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of O levels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8+</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8B) A Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of A levels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a) The education system, Bourdieu and Passeron argue, is most effective at regulating levels of certification needed to ensure its own reproduction when such certificates are written and exchanged in educational terms. That is, if entry qualifications required from students are high, this presumes a 'specific pedagogy' whose effective operation is dependent on a high level of education qualification — whatever that level of qualification implies for the actual pedagogical practice i.e. whether the symbolic value of the qualifications is greater than the usefulness of the knowledge signified by them.

b) The level of qualifications, the criteria for selection set up by college staff, and the decision of college selectors to emphasize paper qualifications over other certifiable experience, has a particular historical development which is important to our analysis, and which has been manipulated in the past to 'protect' what have been seen as professional interests. This last point will be analysed in greater detail later in the chapter. It is necessary to point out the traditional 'competition' between the academic excellence of the universities and the practical contribution made by the colleges: during the 1970s especially, when colleges had a greater choice of students applying compared to the number of places available, they were able to choose better qualified students, which in turn had an effect on the structure of the courses, and the kinds of students selected for the courses.
However, it is worth mentioning the past selection of what have been called by college staff, the 'characters', who course tutors have felt should not be excluded because of their tendency to lack formal qualifications. In this context, I found many of the students and staff arguing very strongly that the entry requirements should include a far more thorough search into a students' motivations, general experience and ambition, rather than merely rely on paper qualifications, although they all agreed on the benefits of better qualified students coming into the course.

Overall then, the students were well qualified; when their qualifications were analysed in relation to their seminar group it became obvious that the first school students were very well qualified indeed (see Table Nine), while the subject specialists and middle school students had a reasonable number of qualifications.

**TABLE 9 - Students' Qualifications**

Distributed by Seminar Group

9A) 0 Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>0 Levels</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Four</th>
<th>Five</th>
<th>Six</th>
<th>Seven</th>
<th>Eight or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the number of mature entries in the subject specialist group is considered the middle school students emerge as the most poorly qualified.
### A Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st school</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle school</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject specialist</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possible reasons for this will be examined in greater detail below, as the middle school proved an interesting exception requiring analysis throughout the research, and provided a 'control group' of sorts between the first school group and the subject specialists. At the minute however, the distribution serves to illustrate the 'interruptions' and transformations which the pedagogy can make in considering the relationship of social background and education.

Generally then, the students had a similar social background in terms of the broad strata of occupations, from the top end of the working classes to mid/professional middle class. The characteristics of the seminar groups were very different; the connection of qualifications (in a student population) and early social and educational experience is seen to be interrupted and transformed, through what seem to be cultural forces, and the influence of pedagogy.

Bourdieu argues that "An institution officially entrusted with the transmission of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture which neglects methodically to transmit the instruments indispensable to the success of its under-
taking is bound to become the monopoly of those social classes capable of transmitting by their own means... the instruments of appropriation and thus their monopoly of that culture" (Bourdieu 1977 p84).

This general statement of the tendencies of an educational system sets the context of the debate, but leaves the sociology of education in the pursuit of educational qualifications. Given that schools and their staffs are 'entrusted' (the process under examination here) with the job of judging and certifying the school population as educationally successful and competent, or alternatively, educational failures not suitable for further training, it is central to the working of the education system that such 'judges' reach a specific standard of education. The pattern of social class and educational qualifications of the students which was established in the study between the different seminar groups then, must be analysed in terms of the way in which they might have consequences for the students' interpretation and practice in the education system. Two points should be raised here.

a) The interruptions and intersections in the relationship between social and educational experience affect the way in which student teachers are motivated towards teaching, and their conception of what it is to be a teacher.

b) The particular educational context we concern ourselves with is one teacher training college. This very
small study cannot hope to comment on anything but the forces which seem to play some part in the selection and training of teachers, and the particular consequences culture has for student teachers in their commitment to a particular pedagogy, and the way they begin to formulate classroom strategy.

Bourdieu points out that like economic inheritance, cultural capital can be squandered, in terms of educational certificates (possible yields from this 'squandering' are not of concern here). Central to the argument is Bourdieu's assertion, in the discussion of 'taste' as a type of knowledge, that "hidden behind the statistical relationship between educational capital or social origin and this or that type of knowledge or way of applying it, there are relationships between groups maintaining different, and even antagonistic relations to culture and markets in which they can derive most profit from it" (Bourdieu 1980 p225). As long as a general 'overview' of the students and college is kept, the cohorts studied display a strong degree of similarity in their traits; when focussing down on the group however, the contrasts and differences in the picture become much more prominent and demand a much more sophisticated analysis.

Further, if we set the very small piece of analysis attempted here in the context of educational success, we can argue that teacher training college represents only one possible and yet ultimately the desired option for the students; i.e. compared with university, for which the students are obviously well qualified, and for which the sub-
subject specialist group have a sufficiently focussed interest. In addition, the first school group represent a well-qualified, mainly arts-based, female section of the middle class who are extremely well represented at university entrance level, especially in the Arts and Social Studies faculties.

It is argued here that the social class and educational attainments of the students seems to vary in line with seminar group membership, and so also, it is hypothesized, would the students' practices, ideas etc., concerning teaching, and their view of what it is to be a good teacher. However, the analysis is obviously at a very early stage here - perhaps we should only point some of the possible implications of the distributions among seminar groups.

In summary then, students in the subject specialist group seem to be well qualified in and committed to, in terms of further training and their conception of professionalism, the specific expertise they already possess, and, as will be seen below, are much less explicit about the pedagogy - it is the subject to which they are committed. First school students in contrast, have a good general education, and as will be seen below, are very committed to the general educational context of the first school and are very explicit about the pedagogy and reasons for being in teaching. It is difficult to comment on the more ambiguous position of the middle school students at this stage, however they have
poorer qualifications than the other two groups, and come from a more mixed social class background.

The consequences of this may be expected to be seen in the students' career aspirations, educational practices and attitudes. However, the importance of these patterns in the students' strategy-formation is a matter left until the next chapter when examination is made of the continuity in the development of classroom practice.

4. Career Aspirations and Motivations

Of the subject specialists, over 80% wished to continue their degree to honours level. This high proportion is in line with their commitment to specific subjects, and with the accentuated importance of specialisms and academic qualifications required for teaching at that level. Finally, the pressures on the job market were given as reasons for continuing to honours level.

Only 60% of middle school students and a very few (28%) of first school students wanted to take their degree to honours level. While the reasons given by subject specialists were connected to their job or their frustration at not having tackled their specialism in sufficient depth, the few first school students opting for honours talked of the level of competition for scarce places. The middle school students' rationalisations were a combination of the other two groups of reasons.
Only 12% of the students stated a preference to work in private sector schools, or in single sex schools. The vast majority (65%) of all students claimed they chose to go to this particular college because of the good reputation of the course.

Thus, as far as the relation of educational experience and career motivations is concerned, two points are especially important - the different pedagogical forms prevalent in schools in this country, and the specific characteristics of the groups under study. Bourdieu argues that "In order to escape the trap which the educational system sets in offering for observation only a population of survivors, we have had to extract from this preconstituted object the true object of research, i.e. the principles by which the school selects a population whose pertinent properties, as it moves through the system, are increasingly eliminating" (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 p101).

Care must therefore be taken in the examination of the different stages of the process of selection, lest we impose the patterns of selection upon the expectations of the students. We can however conclude that this analysis of the relation of educational aspirations and social and educational experience is a complex one.

5. Leisure Activities and Non-academic Skills

We have examined the interrelation of educational qualifications and family background. We have also briefly discus-
Bourdieu argues that types of cultural capital acquired in the early years of family life, and that the skills developed in this acquisition have different or transformed values when placed in the educational 'market'—some are pre-determined as priorities and valued as such, others as irrelevant or peripheral. This theory would have a number of consequences for the analysis of students' biographies.

The argument of this thesis is that the interruptions in ways of thinking about teaching and schooling which are involved in the students' reflection on their selection for teacher training, the training they receive, and their rationalisation of their success, has a very important effect on how they set about teaching, and that such transformations go beyond the mere exchanging of their cultural 'capital' on the educational market—they create and support social and cultural relations in a way which go beyond accepting or rejecting the hegemonic culture, or even having a 'close' or 'distant' relation to it.

Thus we must examine not only their selection (and self-selection) as relative 'successes' of the education system, but also the influences and processes whereby they develop their ideas of a profession and their commitment to teaching.

Referring back to the first section briefly, the reproduction thesis argues that middle class children are more likely to pick up and manipulate certain communication
structures and information in the curriculum in such a way as to convert their existing cultural capital into a cumulatively constructed and deployed set of skills and information, which is likely to influence educational performance in a successful way, and be recognised as more valuable in an educational context. However, an additional referent in the context of the college, is that there is a particular interaction between the codes of educational theory and theorists, and the language, codes and practices of the educationalists - the practitioners. One of the most interesting displays of this codification can be seen in the plethora of books which have been written to translate the highly abstract and conceptual language and difficult conceptualisation of educational theory books, into the ordinary language and possible practices of class teachers (for instance, see Boydell 1978, Lancaster and Gaunt 1976).

One of the crucial elements of this analysis, in contrast to Bourdieu and Passeron's analysis, is that the students studied have opted out of continuing their education higher than college level - they do not necessarily represent any kind of educational elite, although they have to be very well qualified. Thus, while we are investigating a group of educationally successful students as were Bourdieu and Passeron, we must always remember (indeed this point becomes crucial in the analysis) that this group of students has moved 'sideways' in educational terms, to channel their energy into the education of others.
Bourdieu argues for the importance of analysing culture removed as far as possible from economic considerations as follows - "In fact, the statistics of theatre, concert, and above all, museum attendance (since, in that last case, the effect of economic obstacles is more or less nil) are sufficient reminder that the inheritance of cultural wealth which has been accumulated and bequeathed by previous generations only really belongs (although it is theoretically offered to everyone) to those endowed with the means of appropriating it for themselves" (Bourdieu 1977 p73).

Bourdieu continues "In view of the fact that the apprehension and possession of cultural goods as symbolic goods (along with the symbolic satisfaction which accompany an appropriation of this kind) are possible only for those who hold the code making it possible to decipher them... It is sufficient to give free play to the laws of cultural transmission for cultural capital to be added to cultural capital and for the structure of the distribution of cultural capital between social classes to be thereby reproduced" (ibid). Given that we have begun to find the simple relationship between social class and culture to be problematic, especially in educational terms, because of what is asserted here as the importance of the cultural context of pedagogy, we must be careful to calculate the specific effect these cultural forces have in the context of British teacher education.

To attempt a more sophisticated analysis of the relationship between social class and culture, three types of categories
were initially set up and investigated.

a) The students' non-academic skills and qualifications were examined, to calculate the importance of the kinds of activities the students' families and schools supported, and the particular interests of the students;

b) Their cultural pursuits were examined, to detail the distribution of their cultural interests and the reasons given for them, and

c) their reading habits were examined; when linguistic competence plays such an important part in education it is crucial that the development of reading and language skills, as seen through the students' reading habits across the range of materials, be examined, (newspapers, journals, coursework, magazines). The nature of the journals and newspapers read also give clues to the political stances and opinions of the students.

a) Pastimes and Formal Qualifications

In the questionnaire the students were asked to detail their leisure activities, any club membership they had, and any other skills or interests - 'hobbies' - where they had achieved some qualification such as a certificate. The purpose of this was to determine more clearly their cultural interests and experiences outside the college. In the event, few of the students had formal non-academic qualifications, and few regular outside interests, aside from the company of friends in a warm pub of a spare evening.
The types of qualifications the students did have however, fall roughly into four categories — music, art, drama and sports. Aside from these more formal qualifications, students also belonged to a number of clubs both inside and outside college (see Table 10).

**TABLE 10 — Distribution of Students' Non-Academic Qualifications**

### 10A) Qualifications in Art

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O level</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A level</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10B) Qualifications in Music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10C) Qualifications in Sport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A. coach</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10D) Qualifications in Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any kind of quals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obviously the distributions generated here are only representative of a more serious commitment to a particular pastime than could necessarily be expected from a group of students at one of the busiest times of their career; however, as this group was fairly middle class in its composition and did represent a wide variety of specialist and generalist interests, it could be expected that the students would support a reasonable degree and variety of cultural activities. We will examine the more informal measures of interest in the sections below where participation and attendance at the cinema, theatre, the pub etc. are examined.

Insofar as they represent a fairly serious commitment, the percentages of students with non-academic qualifications is not quite to low as seems at first sight. These figures were broken down by seminar group membership; the resulting analysis provided one of the central patterns of the analysis. Given the importance of what has been called 'high' culture in Bourdieu and Passeron's analyses (see Hall 1980), and the traditional leisure patterns of the middle and upper-middle classes in this country - that is, the greater the concentration of students from middle class backgrounds, the likelier it is that there is a high proportion of cultural interests such as attendance at art exhibitions, opera, museum attendance, obscure sculpture workshops etc. in the group of students studied - the cultural activities here would be expected to break down in line with both family background, and more central to this analysis - with pedagogical commitment.
The most conspicuously 'high' of the cultural pursuits of the students was their qualifications in art, whether their 'qualification' was in practical skills or in art appreciation.

Overall there were only 26% of students who had some qualification in art. The distribution of these qualifications over the three groups studied was significant (see Table 11) in terms of the concentration of first school students interested in art. This is especially true when we realise that there were 4 students who were studying art as a specialism in the subject specialist group.

Bernstein's visible/invisible pedagogies theory was useful in interpreting this pattern. The demands made on teachers in early education in the county were very different from those put upon subject specialists. In early education creative play was emphasized in constructing an appropriate environment for early learning experiences. Because of the flexibility and greater number of possible types of classroom exchanges, Bernstein argues that the 'logic' of the education system operates to ensure a fairly narrow set of shared assumptions and careful selection of those in early education.
TABLE 11 - Distribution of Non-Academic Qualifications by Seminar Group

**11A) Qualifications in Art**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>O lev</th>
<th>A lev</th>
<th>Comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td>88.5%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**11B) Qualifications in Music**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Piano</th>
<th>Guitar</th>
<th>Theory</th>
<th>Comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**11C) Qualifications in Sport**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Faceach</th>
<th>Medals</th>
<th>Comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**11D) Qualifications in Drama**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Any qual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.5%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another type of interest and qualification which is relevant to the different levels of education in different ways, is any music qualifications which the students might have had. That is, the students training for early education would be expected to play a large part in developing the musical appreciation and skills of their pupils. As such, any training they might have had would come in very useful in supplying ideas, and motivating the students. On the other hand, there were quite a few subject specialists, whose particular specialisms included music (4 as a main option and 3 as a minor option). Yet, when we examine the distribution of music qualifications according to seminar groups, we find again the subject specialists are the most poorly qualified of the groups (Table Eleven).

The long association between formal education and music has so far mostly taken the form of the academic study of the traditional, classical music of the few (c.f. folk and popular songs) in school music departments. This structures the figures given in the music qualifications. That is, many of the students may be ardent music lovers - but of popular music where commitment cannot be so easily measured by qualification, except perhaps through membership of a rock or pop band, or folk or jazz group (which none of the students included).

Thus, although it may be argued that these figures represent a commitment to and knowledge of what Bourdieu and Passeron define as 'high' culture, and thus is part of the argument put forward in analysis of cultural capital, the figures
must be examined in tandem with attendance and participation figures to create a more dynamic analysis of the cultural context of students' commitment to pedagogy. For instance, the fact that a fairly high proportion of first school students' mothers were teachers may have had some influence on the kinds of activities which their family did together when young, and influenced both their interest in such cultural pursuits, but also their interest in early education.

The third type of non-academic qualifications students were asked about were drama qualifications. Only 12% of students had some qualification in drama (mostly R.A.S.P.A. certificates) As Table 11 shows, just under a fifth of first and middle school students had any qualifications in drama, while none of the subject specialists, 5 of whom were drama specialists, had any qualifications in drama whatsoever. Given that it would seem likely that those wanting to pursue a career in drama would be most likely to have a qualification in drama, this pattern needs some explication. The sheer number of students with some kind of qualification is smaller here as a) the range of qualifications generally available is significantly more limited; and b) interest in dramatic arts can be shown in a variety of ways, only one of which is the formal qualification - e.g. attendance at the theatre, cinema, type of television watched etc. are very important in determining interest in the very different types of drama which are available in our society.
However, it is interesting that amongst the subject specialists - including the drama and English specialists, there are no students at all commanding anything other than college courses and experience in drama.

Given both first school students and middle school students will be teaching drama in primary and some middle schools, the low figures indicated for these groups are perhaps some indication of the priority the students involved in early education put on qualifications as an indicator of ability to teach. This should be compared with participation or attendance rates, analysed later in the chapter, where the groups (especially the first school group) score significantly better.

The question of the importance of the pedagogy in selection and self-selection, given the strength of vocation that most of the students put forward in interview, seems to be underlined by the generalist/specialist divide, where generalists are much more likely to have experience of art, drama and music, (but not necessarily qualifications in them). Only the specialists in the particular subject areas in the senior group had a higher level of qualifications - and then in music and sport. Qualifications in classical music requires additional analysis, as participation in this form of leisure in the early stages of childhood usually involves taking exams. This hypothesis is borne out when we examine the statistics of type of qualification; i.e. of the 35% of first school students who have some music qualification 89%
had qualifications in classical piano alone, or alongside other qualifications.

The final qualification examined here - examined because of the relation between academic specialisms and outside-school and out-of-college qualifications hypothesized, are the sport or P.E. qualifications of the students.

As Table 11 shows, a significant proportion of the students have some qualification in sports. Equally significant is the relatively poor performance of the first school students - a fifth of the students compared with half of the subject specialists and middle school students had some qualification. Obviously it is important that we note that 10 of subject specialist students had P.E. as their first or second principal, however, this is not an adequate explanation of the gap between the figures, as the specialists in music, drama and art scored lower than the first school group as a rule.

This table shows a pattern emerging in the leisure and pastime interests of the students. First and middle school students will probably have to teach P.E. in their classrooms, just as they will have to teach music, drama and art, yet their qualifications in this area, especially when considered alongside those of the more senior students, are very poor.

Three of the four types of qualifications examined are traditionally seen as belonging to the 'high' culture of the
upper and upper middle classes; the pattern of students' occupational background would seem to confirm this. Yet when we consider the importance of the pedagogical commitment of students we find that it is the generalists — those who are required to integrate the pedagogic styles dominant in early education, to create an individual learning environment for the individual child in its first institutional context, which score highest. Thus students specialising in early education require a generalist background — the teacher as all-rounder.

The students specialising in middle schools are in a fairly contradictory position. With no established structure and tradition to draw upon, the students tended to feel a confusion in the general aspect of their training and their specialisms. However, many had opted for this level of schooling as they saw it as a way of remaining flexible in a situation where jobs were scarce. Expansion in the county was based on a policy of building new, purpose-built middle schools, and many saw an increased opportunity for employment in these new schools. It must also be pointed out that many other middle school students, and certainly the middle school tutors, were committed to middle school philosophy worked out in practice. They saw it as an experiment, but one which, when given the right kind of resources, could provide the child with the kind of transition the Plowden Report intended.
There are many factors, quite apart from the academic qualifications, professional vocations and attachment to specialisms which affected the students' self-selection and the college's acceptance of the students into the middle school group; however, these factors are more fruitfully examined in the context of the middle schools themselves when the students were on teaching practice.

However, patterns congruent with those existing between first and senior students begin to emerge when we look at the next section of the questionnaire, which analysed the types of leisure activities - including reading in which the students participated.

b) Leisure Activities

The students were asked to detail their leisure activities of 'high' or 'popular' cultural significance - cinema, theatre, museum, exhibitions, etc., concerts, and anything else, such as football matches, social clubs etc. that they attended regularly. These categories were organised into areas - cinema, theatre, museum, concerts, Table 12 shows the results of this analysis.

Within each of the categories, a great deal of variation and contrast can be observed, so we will analyse each of these four broad categories more closely.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTENDANCE -</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AT CONCERTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Classical</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rock or Pop</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chorals/Opera</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Combination</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AT THEATRES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Musicals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Plays</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Comedy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Combination</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AT CINEMAS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Popular</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Art</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Combination</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AT MUSEUMS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Art exhibition</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Historical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. General Interest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Connected schlwork</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Combination</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerts were the least popular of the types of activities studied (see Table 12). The distribution was then broken down by seminar group (Table 13). Underlining this pattern is the distribution of the type of concerts the students attend: the 15% of subject specialists regularly attending concerts was completely composed of music specialists; the group with the greatest percentage of students regularly attending a combination of concerts is the first school group.
### TABLE 13 -

**Distribution of Cultural Interests by Seminar Group**

#### 13A) Concerts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Concerts</th>
<th>Row %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Classical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1stschl</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midschl</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjspec</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 13B) Theatre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Row %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Musical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1stschl</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midschl</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjspec</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 13C) Cinema

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
<th>Row %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1stschl</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midschl</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjspec</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is interesting to note that the senior school students, perhaps those most likely to participate in 'popular' culture according to Bourdieu's thesis, are those least likely to attend rock or pop concerts; indeed the only students (apart from the one attending rock or pop concerts) to regularly attend concerts are the music specialists attending classical concerts.

The distribution of theatre attendance was then analysed (Tables 12 & 13). Again the first school students have a higher average of theatre attendance, the middle and senior school students having a roughly equivalent average.

The third type of activity spans the whole range of cultural pursuits - from 'high' to 'popular' culture - the cinema. Table 12 shows the attendance figures for the different types of film seen by the students, Table 13 shows the distribution by seminar group.

If we look at the most common form of film attended - popular films, the decrease in interest from first school to
subject specialist groups is very marked. This category represents the area most reflective of the students actual cultural interests, and the least contaminated by specialist interest. Interestingly, it could also be argued that this is the area of culture where the students from a lower middle class and working class background would score more highly - given the contrasting definitions given to popular and high culture and the classes cited in their respective support.

Finally, the questionnaire analysed the museum and exhibition attendance of the students. Tables 12 & 13 show the distribution of the students' attendance. In examining the museum and exhibition attendance of the students, it is interesting to note that Bourdieu argues that figures representing museum attendance are highly important in the analysis of cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that "museum attendance, which increases to a large extent as the level of education rises, is almost exclusively to be found among the privileged classes... in short, all of the relationship observed between museum attendance and such variables as class or section of a class, age, income, or residence, come down, more or less, to the relation between the level of education and attendance" (Bourdieu 1977 p78).

Bourdieu is referring to the whole cross-section of class and education, but I would argue that the site of analysis - teacher education, is centrally located to enable a clearer examination of this hypothesized relationship. That is, the
students have different reasons for attendance, different interests there, and different regularities which are important in structuring the kind of familiarity they have with culture as represented there, and in turn, the presentation of those cultures they make to their pupils in schools.

The middle school students again have the poorest attendance record - perhaps as a result of their different position in relation to both culture and the specialist academic interests of the senior group - although the percentages attending a combination of activities declines steadily from 24% in first, 20% in middle, and only 8.7% in senior students, perhaps reflecting the residual specialist/generalist continuum.

It is difficult to set these attendance figures against the occupational/social background of the students without taking into consideration the effect the interruption of their pedagogical commitment has on their culture.

The link is not so strong between their school experience and non-school experience, partly because of the intervening factors involved in studying a specialism (i.e. the specific effect it has on the level at which the students go 'sideways' in the education system into teaching), and partly because of the fairly homogenous school experience which the students had, at least in terms of institutions and qualifications, if not necessarily in terms of the reconstruction of events, activities, and their interpretation in school and in a non-school context.
However, we have left unexplained a major source of information on the students' leisure activities which perhaps will give us some clue to the 'popular' cultural pursuits of the students, an area only covered so far by the sports qualifications, popular cinema attendance, and rock and pop concerts, in which the last two were far more important to the first school students with the mid/professional background. This source is the students' description of the clubs and groups they belonged to (see Table 14).

Again the figures are not terribly high, but given that the students are in an extremely busy year which is structured in a different way from the rest of the courses in the college, perhaps the figures represent a bigger proportion than appears. Table 15 shows the distribution of these figures across seminar groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club Code</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Valid %</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. None</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sports</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Religious</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Music</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Politics or Sociology</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Combination</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The middle school group have the lower level of activities, and, not surprisingly, given the high proportion of membership of sports clubs, the senior group have the highest level of membership. It is interesting that the group with the greatest proportion of first school students as members is the politics/sociology group category.
TABLE 15 -
Distribution of Club Membership by Seminar Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>CLUBMEMBERSHIP</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Rel/</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>P/tics</th>
<th>Comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s/gy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schl</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schl</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spec</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those middle school students who do have some club membership are most likely to be a member of a sports club, and by far the greatest concentration of students at 31% of the senior group's membership, is the sports club.

c) Reading Habits

Because of the importance of language in coding and interpreting educational messages, the 'linguistic environment' of the students was examined.

The final questions in this section of the questionnaire then, looked at the academic and non-academic reading habits of the students. It examined the newspapers they read, the novels, leisure reading such as magazines etc., and the course-related journals they read, alongside the time they tended to spend on reading - both academic and non-academic material.

Table 16 shows the overall performance of the students in terms of their leisure reading habits. The mode average
time spent on coursework reading by the students (which also includes books recommended for the course and homework) was around six hours a week (the mode was used here as the distribution had an extremely long 'tail' - up to 40 hours a week were spent by students on coursework). The average time spent on reading related, but not prescribed, course books, was two hours, and most students spent this time reading material which was related to their specialist interest. Table 17 shows the distribution of coursework reading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 16 - Leisure Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1 to 3 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 4 to 5 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 6 to 8 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 9 to 17 hrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 17 - Time Spent on Coursework Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 2 to 4 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 5 to 8 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 9 to 16 hrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 17 To 49 hrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By far the greatest time spent on educational reading was concerned with general educational issues. Again there was great variation between the groups of students, variation which was an important factor in the linguistic culture of the students.

(i) Newspapers

Two types of newspapers were examined - daily and sunday newspapers, as they seemed to indicate different aspects of
the students' reading habits. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 18.

**TABLE 18 - Distribution of Newspaper Reading by Seminar Group**

18A) Daily Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1st school</th>
<th>Middle school</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>specialist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Tabloids</td>
<td>Heavies</td>
<td>Comb</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18B) Sunday Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1st school</th>
<th>Middle school</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>specialist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Tabloids</td>
<td>Heavies</td>
<td>Comb</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very few students never at least glanced through a newspaper, with from a third to a quarter irregularly reading a newspaper. If the combination category is collapsed across the two other headings, we find that in both categories the first school students had a poorer readership than expected, with the highest percentage reading the 'popular' press. The distribution of the other two groups is more evenly spread, with around 15% reading a combination of papers.

The results of this analysis are fascinating in terms of Bourdieu's thesis of linguistic capital (see Chapter 2 of
Book II, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The groups whom Bourdieu would argue have little cultural capital in terms of their social background - the congruence of the dominant pedagogic action of the education system and family pedagogic action being very little, i.e. the subject specialist groups, consistently score higher on both the number of those who regularly read newspapers and the type of newspapers read by the students.

This is especially true of the middle school group, who until now have tended to score poorly in terms of 'high' culture. Not only do they have the highest readership of newspapers, but they tend to read the type of newspapers which Bourdieu designates as having a greater contribution to 'cultural capital' effective in the education system than the others - that is the 'heavy' daily papers and Sunday newspapers. They also tend to read a variety of papers - 15-18.5% of the students read a combination of different papers regularly.

The gap between the scores of particularly the subject specialist group and the first group widens when we examine the Sunday newspapers - where only one quarter of subject specialists, compared with 38% of first school students, do not read a Sunday newspaper.

At this point, then, we must turn to the particular forces at play in the context of British teacher education. These are particularly the class location (in the sense of competing groups within the middle classes) of the students, the
distribution of pedagogical forms and the educational experience of the students. Although up until this point the culture of the first school students has been displayed as the traditional cultural interests of the bourgeoisie, this explanation of their interests in class terms — or in terms of capital, is inadequate. This group of students had very little culturally relevant current affairs knowledge — especially when compared with Bourdieu's analysis in France. The particular context of this, and the consequences of it, could be extremely illuminating in the examination of Bourdieu's thesis in the British context.

The figures will first be examined in the context of other reading material which the students employed in their year in college.

(ii) General interest journals and magazines.

A whole range of the students' reading interests were examined, in order to illuminate the contrasts between cultures. First under examination were the types of magazines, journals, etc., read by the students on a regular basis. As Table 19 shows, there are differences between the subject specialists and the first school groups. The figures for the first school group and the middle school group are much closer, although the middle school group have still the greater score, except interestingly enough, in the specialist interest category. The largest representation of the first and middle school groups is in the women's magazines
category, while in relation to the senior group it comes under specialist interest.

### TABLE 19 - DISTRIBUTION OF LEISURE READING BY SEMINAR GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>TYPE OF MAGAZINE</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Special</th>
<th>Womens</th>
<th>Comic</th>
<th>Comb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Books read by the students.

The type of books read by the students was the next feature analysed; some extremely interesting figures emerged in terms of the variety and quantity of 'extra' reading done by the students (see Table 20).

### TABLE 20 - Leisure Book Reading by Seminar Group

| Count | Type of Book | Auto- | Semi- | Chris- | Child | Combina-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>biog</td>
<td>acad</td>
<td>tian</td>
<td>rens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schl</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schl</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spec</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern encountered earlier in the research is repeated. That is, the first school group, closely followed by the middle school group score highest on the combination category, perhaps indicating the spread they feel they have to cover in terms of non-fiction. There is a significant gap between these two groups and the figures for the senior
group, whose score on reading children's books interestingly, was 0%.

(iv) Education journals.
Finally, we can examine the types of literature related to teaching which the students read, and examine the time they regularly spent on this reading (see Table 21).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>One Hour</th>
<th>Two Hours</th>
<th>Three+ hrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st school</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject specialist</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again the trend of the early investigation is reversed, with the subject specialists scoring well on this indicator. When the particular journals the students had put down were analysed, some interesting details important to the explanation of the data were discovered. Obviously the subject specialist group would have a greater representation in the section on specialist interests, however, that they scored quite so highly on the category relating to general education, in comparison with both the first school group and the middle school group was surprising.

When I examined the journals the students were reading and questioned them in interviews, I was told that by far the
most popular journals were the Times Education Supplement and The Teacher. The students told me they looked at those journals for the job adverts and to keep up to date with any major developments in teaching. Interestingly, most of the students I talked with said that they read very little of the journals as they found them to be very boring, but they felt it was very important to keep up to date, and to at least know the content of the headline stories.

The first concrete indication of the type of reading of these journals that the students make is that, if the groups are separated into those students coming to the end of their professional studies year, and those on the induction course - just beginning their professional studies year, we find the picture very different. Only one of the second cohort of subject specialists engaged in this kind of reading, in that case, a specialist interest journal. Thus, it would back up the theory that as the prospect of employment or unemployment approached, the students turned to the T.E.S. in particular for notification of potential jobs, interview material and to be kept up to date on the main educational events which will affect their future.

The second concrete indication that this is the case is the amount of time spent reading these journals. In the senior group, this is approximately half an hour a week - only enough time to glance at the papers. When examination is made of the middle school group we find that both the time spent reading, and the types of journals and range read by the students, increases quite dramatically.
It should be noted however, that the middle students stand between two fairly strong and distinct pedagogies, and they occasionally articulate a desire not to be 'hemmed in' by them. The range of journals they read then, may be an indication of their desire and ability to keep track of both pedagogies - through the T.E.S., the Times Higher Education Supplement, Junior Education, to Child Education and the more psychologically oriented journals of the first school.

Again two distinct patterns emerge from this data. The first pattern is the one observed in the subject specialists' group - that the cohort entering the induction course at the beginning of the professional studies year, read hardly any journals, indeed only one student did in this case.

The second pattern concerns the level of school in which the students wished to teach. When the two middle school groups were separated, we found that the students wishing to teach in the lower section of the middle school or in primary schools read more generally, across a wider range of general journals, and spent more time in this reading.

To summarise, when examining the first school students' reading a number of extremely interesting patterns emerged.

a) This group of students did not primarily read the papers for interview material or jobs - a similar proportion of students in 2nd year read such papers as did 3rd year first school students

b) The type of reading popular with the first school
students tended to be of a different kind that of, particularly the subject specialists, but also of the 9-13 group of middle school students. That is, the students, if they read at all, tended to read a number of journals, and spent a greater length of time reading them; e.g. Child Education, The Teacher, Junior Education, reading related to the reading development course given at the college.

Thus, overall it seems that when we examine the type and quality of the response of the students to these questions of course-related material and general education issues in journals, the middle and first school students consistently score better.

However, we must conclude that the specific context of British teacher education transforms the relationship posed by Bourdieu in terms of cultural reproduction, such that the concept of 'capital' cannot support the myriad strands important to specifying the cultural context of pedagogy, particularly students' interpretations of their own interests and culture. That is, we find that the senior school students and those middle school students hoping to teach in the upper end of junior and middle schools, score much higher than first school students.

The suspicion is however, that the type of reading which is popular with the subject specialists is again of a qualitatively different type to that of the first and early middle schools students, i.e. far more current affairs oriented. However, it is difficult to analyse this given the status of
the data here, and I would also argue that newspaper reading has a different location as far as culture in Britain is concerned.

In addition, it is important to remember that the first school students, and the students interested in the early stages of middle school, are exclusively women, and as such, their reading patterns in relation to newspapers and journals may be distinct, so that even in the category of leisure reading, where the first school students score badly, they are mostly concentrated in the category of women's magazines.

This would change the importance of newspaper reading in relation to education, as in Britain, at the college level, it has much less importance in classroom performance and the discussion of educational issues, (compared with the performance of students in 'The Inheritors') than the reading of educational journals. The first school students could be alarmingly ignorant of world and domestic events, but were consistently better informed on educational issues and were able to articulate much more clearly than the other two groups, opposition to, or support for, a particular educational reform, and could document the expected implications in the classroom, as the following chapters will demonstrate.

The senior and middle school groups on the other hand, although better informed on general issues than the first
school students, were not particularly up to date with anything but the headline educational news.

The argument is then, that newspaper reading is significant in analysing the students' approach to their course and their profession. While the overall general knowledge of all of the students was not great - particularly subject specialists and senior middle school students tended to have greater knowledge of of current affairs, even if only through a scanning of newspapers and journals.

I will argue below that the outcome of these variances is important in analysing the students' respective strategy-formation, in their expectations of teaching as a 'profession', 'vocation' or 'job', and eventually to their classroom pedagogy, and does begin to show a specific, concrete linking process between culture, pedagogy and practice.

However, the importance of all this discussion in constructing a research object of the population can be checked in relation to the students' self-perceptions, their attitudes to education (as opposed their reported practices) and to teaching in particular. The final section of the questionnaire was an attempt to specify the nature of this.

6. Educational and Social Issues in Learning to Teach

The final section in the questionnaire asked students to express their opinion on 18 statements. These statements covered a range of issues, from teaching practice, to the
responsibility of parents in schooling, from the abolition of public schools, to the suitability of men for teaching in early education. These statements were divided into four types, and mixed in the final page of the questionnaire.

a) Issues of Policy and Socialisation.

Table 22 shows the distribution of students' opinions on these issues, which covered the government's role in educational policy-making; public schools; and the role of schooling in reproducing the division of labour and the sexual division of labour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 22 - Issues of Policy and Socialisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement One: Government reforms do not substantially change the quality of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% (no) ++ + 0 - --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 3 (1) 59 (17) 0 (0) 28 (8) 10 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 4 (1) 22 (6) 26 (7) 30 (8) 11 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen 4 (1) 46 (12) 0 (0) 39 (10) 12 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement Two: Governments should leave the formation of educational policy to educationists.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>++ + 0 - --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 17 (5) 45 (13) 14 (4) 24 (7) 0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 7 (2) 74 (20) 7 (2) 7 (2) 0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen 15 (4) 42 (12) 8 (2) 35 (9) 0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement Three: Public schools should be severely cut or abolished.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>++ + 0 - --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st 17 (5) 21 (6) 17 (5) 35 (10) 10 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 19 (5) 15 (4) 11 (3) 44 (12) 7 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen 8 (2) 12 (3) 27 (7) 39 (10) 15 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement Four: Public schools have a central role in the maintenance of the differential distribution of life chances and political power.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>17 (5)</td>
<td>52 (15)</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>11 (3)</td>
<td>33 (9)</td>
<td>33 (9)</td>
<td>15 (4)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td>35 (9)</td>
<td>35 (9)</td>
<td>19 (5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Five: Working class children are in a disadvantaged position in the British education system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>21 (6)</td>
<td>41 (12)</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>21 (6)</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>11 (3)</td>
<td>48 (13)</td>
<td>11 (3)</td>
<td>26 (7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
<td>50 (13)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>39 (10)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Six: Schooling contributed substantially to the maintenance of the sexual division of labour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>28 (8)</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>41 (12)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>33 (9)</td>
<td>19 (5)</td>
<td>37 (10)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>27 (7)</td>
<td>27 (7)</td>
<td>39 (10)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>52 (15)</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>17 (5)</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>22 (6)</td>
<td>52 (14)</td>
<td>15 (4)</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>73 (19)</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although a number of interesting patterns arose in the analysis of the students' responses, the main finding of that analysis was that the students' responses varied over a number of issues according to the level of schooling for which they were training. Indeed this was found throughout the analysis. For instance, Statement Two - Governments should leave the formation of educational policy to educationists, was strictly more relevant for students in senior and middle schools, because of the relative degree of autonomy which first school teachers have; this difference was reflected both in how many first students had 'no opinion'
on this issues (14%), compared with their normal strong opinions in this section.

Throughout this section it emerged that the first school students were systematically more opinionated on educational issues than either of the other two groups, and indeed, tended to be critical. For instance, 38% of first school students felt public schools should be abolished, and nearly 70% agreed that they have a central role in setting children in the state system at a disadvantage. Likewise, throughout the analysis, more first school students tended to have strong opinions, and fewer students chose the 'no opinion' category than the other two groups.

It is notable that throughout this section the subject specialists consistently displayed weaker opinions on most issues, and often had a high proportion of responses in the 'no opinion' category (except interestingly, in Statement Five - working class children are in a disadvantaged position in the British education system; even in this category however, they failed to have strong opinions).

Finally, the middle school students' responses seemed more randomly distributed, while over a quarter of these students had no opinion on the effect of government educational reforms, 81% of them felt that governments should leave educational policy to educationalists.
b) Teacher Autonomy.

The students' responses in this section were interesting, in that the two statements drawn up to examine their views on their freedom over the choice of what to teach in the classroom, elicited different kinds of response (see Table 23).

**TABLE 23 - Teacher Autonomy**

Statement Seven: A common curriculum should be more strongly enforced in British schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>24 (7)</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>52 (15)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>18.5 (5)</td>
<td>33 (9)</td>
<td>11 (3)</td>
<td>26 (7)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>50 (13)</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>35 (9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Eight: Teachers should have much more say in the determination of the class curriculum, to enable teachers to adapt and change the curriculum in line with the class's ability and interests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>31 (9)</td>
<td>41 (12)</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>14 (4)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>30 (8)</td>
<td>52 (14)</td>
<td>7 (2)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td>42 (11)</td>
<td>19 (5)</td>
<td>27 (7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first school students' responses were consistent - over half disagreed with a common curriculum, and 72% argued for greater teacher control over the determination of the curriculum - all of which makes sense in relation to a first school classroom.

However, both the middle school and subject specialist students had somewhat contradictory responses. While 52% of middle school students agreed with the imposition of a common curriculum (56% were against), over 82% of the same students felt they should have more control over the
curriculum. Similarly, nearly 60% of subject specialists agreed with enforcement of the common curriculum, yet 54% felt they should have more say in determining the curriculum, (nearly a fifth had no opinion).

One of the most common reasons given by for the subject specialists' in interview, for their dissatisfaction with the lack of flexibility in the curriculum was that the curriculum they were forced to teach was inadequate and forced them into difficulties which, if they had been able to adapt the curriculum more easily, could have been circumvented.

c) Teaching Personnel and the Social Structure.

Most of the 4 statements making up this section gave rise to responses which varied very much according to the pedagogy of the students - hardly surprising as at least 2 of the statements were aimed at a particular level of schooling (see Table 24). Most students disagreed that the family of the pupil should subsidise the school's resources (the greatest number arguing for this being 31% of first school students), and tended to disagree that teachers needed to belong to a union to maintain teaching standards overall (a high number of 'no opinions' occurred on this last question). The remaining two issues concerned the gender of teachers.
Table 24 - Teaching Personnel and Social Structure

Statement Nine: The family of the pupil should have a responsibility to provide that which the state cannot — whether this is a swimming pool, rulers or textbooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Ten: It is important that more male teachers enter nursery, junior and middle schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Seventeen: Women, in general, are more suited to teaching than men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statement Eighteen: It is vital to the maintenance of teaching standards that teachers belong to a union.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>++</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over half (54%) of the subject specialists failed to comment on whether there should be more male first and middle school teachers, while 92% disagreed that women were more suited to teaching than men. Such reticence implied from the students' comments on areas of schooling with which they have no direct involvement is interesting — especially since the students held such strong opinions on the general issue at stake (the gender bias of the profession).
The first school students' responses, although consistent, are fascinating. While over half agreed that more male teachers should enter into competition with them, and 94% disagreed (35% strongly) that women were more suited to teaching than men, it is in this group that we find the highest proportion disagreeing with the need for more men in early education - nearly a quarter in this case. This is very probably related to the difficulty of obtaining jobs in this sector, yet in interview, some students did express the opinion that women were far less frightening to the children, understood them better, were able to detach concern for the children from the pursuit of a career, and on the other hand, were suited to early education because they would be able to bring up their own children at the same time.

d) Teacher Training.

This final section of statements led to some extremely unexpected and interesting findings. Until this section a fairly clear picture of the pattern of responses of the three groups of students had emerged: the first school students had a fairly consistent, strongly held, set of opinions about the nature of teaching and their role in the education system. The middle school students were much more ambivalent, and tended to have weaker opinions and vary their responses greatly. The subject specialists tended to have strong opinions on the few issues they felt directly relevant to their teaching, but most of the time had fairly weak opinions on most other issues.
In this final section we find a large degree of ambivalence from the first school students, a wide variety of very strongly held opinions from the middle school students, and far fewer subject specialists in the 'no opinion' category than either of the other two groups, but still fairly weak opinions expressed in that section (see Table 25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 25 - Teacher Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement Twelve: Educational theory, for all practical purposes is irrelevant in classroom practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Statement Thirteen: Students on teaching practice tend to adopt the teaching style of their teacher tutor (the teacher they are attached to on school experience). |
|                       | + | + | 0 | - | -- |
| 1st          | 3 (1) | 24 (7) | 35 (10) | 35 (10) | 4 (1) |
| Mid          | 19 (5) | 15 (4) | 26 (5) | 30 (8) | 11 (3) |
| Sen          | 0 (0) | 27 (7) | 15 (4) | 42 (11) | 15 (4) |

| Statement Fourteen: The standard of the student teacher is set in the year's professional training, and undergoes no substantial change thereafter. |
|                       | + | + | 0 | - | -- |
| 1st          | 0 (0) | 10 (3) | 17 (5) | 48 (14) | 24 (7) |
| Mid          | 4 (1) | 0 (0) | 15 (4) | 41 (11) | 41 (11) |
| Sen          | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 8 (2) | 58 (15) | 31 (8) |

| Statement Fifteen: Honours BEd is more important for increased understanding of schooling than increased job opportunities. |
|                       | + | + | 0 | - | -- |
| 1st          | 7 (2) | 17 (5) | 24 (7) | 38 (11) | 14 (4) |
| Mid          | 0 (0) | 19 (5) | 19 (5) | 45 (12) | 15 (4) |
| Sen          | 4 (1) | 24 (6) | 15 (4) | 54 (14) | 4 (1) |
Perhaps this reflects the stages of commitment the students had to their pedagogies, and the effect this had on the trainers' structuring of the course. That is, first school students were very opinionated on general educational issues, yet had not really reflected on their experience of their course. In interview the students concentrated on teaching, and not on training.

The subject specialists certainly had opinions in relation to their own specialism, yet in interview tended to talk of the adequacy of their training in those terms, and in the way they were treated by the training staff in terms of status.

The middle school students, as those wrestling with a new pedagogy and a new set of relationships, new curriculum etc., were obviously those who had to reflect on their training and its adequacy for this new situation in which they found themselves. Until the students enter their professional training year, they do not really come face to face with the requirements of a middle school, and on the other hand, have to come to terms with the philosophy of the middle school. This finding is certainly the first which gives us a clue as to the particular position of the middle school students within the system of teacher training.

7. Conclusion

On first sight the group of students appeared to be homogeneous - supporting empirically the reproduction thesis.
which had been criticised theoretically. However, on a fuller analysis of the data from the questionnaire, we found that the students displayed a pattern of response according to the seminar group to which they belonged.

In terms of biography and attitudes, the three sets of students demonstrated that their culture was different, and their initial choice of teaching, their career motivations, and their conception of professionalism were all very different.

We hypothesized then, that the pedagogical forms dominating in the different levels of schooling were important in the selection process. If this study had taken place across the range of training available - in-service, adult, community, remedial etc., then this diversity would have been even greater. The college as an institution probably had an extremely important role in collecting together what appeared to be a homogenous group - if the study had taken in university departments of education and institutes of education, then we would have found a group which was less female-dominated, and which drew more substantially from the professional and upper middle classes.

This diversity amongst the seminar group has important theoretical implications. The reproduction thesis cannot explain the groupings found in the research - it fails to take into account the institutional, historical and personal elements which inevitably mould a course such as this. This
is especially true of England, where the development of teacher training for elementary teachers took place because of the poor education of young elementary teachers. This is in marked contrast to the group of young, well-educated, middle class women which this study found.

The argument so far is this: an initial analysis of the relationship between culture and strategy has uncovered a process which is central to the students' understanding of their work, their profession, and the children they will be teaching. This intersection - the pedagogy of the level of schooling in which they will be teaching - builds on the students' culture, is important in their selection to that level, and informs their thinking concerning their course, larger educational issues etc. However, given the criticisms already made of the conclusions which Bourdieu and Passeron came to solely on the basis of their uncovering of students' biography, we must now move on to examine the relationship between the students' biography, reported and constructed through this chapter, and their practice.
The previous chapter described the student population entering the professional year's training. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate what the professional training aims to teach them, and what they learn from it. Given the findings of the previous chapter, we would hypothesize that the course is structured in different ways according to the seminar group, and that there is a similar pattern in the students' response to it. At the end of the chapter we will try to establish the cultural basis of such differences.

The majority of analyses of teacher education have focussed on issues arising out of the 'theory/practice' debate. The argument here is that such a categorisation has severe limitations, and a more relevant categorisation will be suggested.

In many ways the distinction this chapter makes between the training of the students, and their school experience (which is the subject matter of the following chapter), is a false one, as the professional training course is specifically devised as a preparation for school experience. The hypothesis here is that the structure of the professional training and the corresponding ways in which the students begin to think about school experience, is a product of the interaction of the separation of the pedagogies and the
history of their development, and the cultural basis of the students' response to the course. The chapter then, describes the structuring of the training the students receive in college, and analyses the implications this training has for the different ways in which they prepare for their school experience.

We have hypothesized that the culture of the students is a crucial factor in their choice of, and selection to, teaching, in turn structuring their pedagogical commitment. This commitment was categorised in terms of the level of education at which the students wished to teach, because of the congruence of the way in which the separate seminar groups thought of themselves as teachers, and the way in which teaching was important to the rest of their lives.

It is appropriate then that before we analyse the particular training of the students, and attempt to categorise both the structure of their training and their reaction to it, that we examine the conclusions of the previous chapter, and evaluate Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital as an explanation of the students' culture. This is done to provide a simple critique of the concept, but also as a way of introducing some of the complexities of the analysis, and some suggestions as to how to analyse their practices in a more flexible, positive way.
At a very basic level, the concept of cultural capital fails to make a distinction between biography and culture. That is, cultural capital represents the sum of an individuals' culture, which is categorised according to its 'congruence' with a dominating cultural 'arbitrary'. Thus the complexity of culture, and the transformation individuals make of their culture in social action is lost in a banking concept which is always much less than the individuals' prolific practices, attitudes, the outcomes and processes of interaction etc. That is, while the cultural capital of an individual remains singular, the concept of culture is rather the creation of groups of individuals, of course intensely involved in and affected by political, social and economic relations, but always capable of, and usually in this context engaged in, reflection on such definitions and practices.

If cultural capital structures pedagogical relations in the way described by Bourdieu and Passeron, then pre-structured schooling rituals engage students in prescribed communication which is not of their creation, and does not necessarily have any immediate consequences for them - their actions are firstly part of the whole of pedagogical relations.

The findings of the previous chapter suggest that any concept of culture as built up on the basis of family pedagogic action and prescribed educational relations, fails to give
insight into the particular pedagogical commitment of student teachers, and to the processes by which they begin to think about teaching.

Thus a population which is reasonably homogenous in terms of social class is in fact very richly differentiated in their culture, and in the importance they ascribe to their choice of teaching as a profession, and to their definition of what that profession and its practice constitutes.

In Bourdieu's framework, the greater control which professional middle class groups have asserted over the definition of early pedagogy, is explained simply as a matter of new form of cultural capital gaining exchange value in that section of the education system, and makes no analysis of the struggle, and complex of contradictory relationships which the commitment to this particular pedagogy involves and gives rise to. It especially fails to provide a framework for analysis of the competition between pedagogy, other than as an outcome of hidden contradictions.

However, perhaps most importantly, it fails to take into account the prescription Bourdieu gives to sociological methodology - the importance of practice and strategy in analysing particular theoretical constructs. That is, the concept cultural capital is merely the (mostly unconscious) possession of the individual, which is maintained and transformed through engaging in social and cultural relations. It gives no clue as to the individual's calculation in social action, or to the manipulation of knowledge or
practice or skill made daily in the attempt to maintain a coherent commitment to a very large part of individual student teachers' lives. It gives no clue as to why they engage in what could be called educational rituals, or the students' sophistication in taking part in such rituals. That is, Bourdieu develops the concept of 'strategy' as a means of inserting the dynamic of the individual's calculation into any abstraction from the social world, yet fails to mobilise the concept in his own particular study of educational relations.

Perhaps one explanation for this is the particular situation which Bourdieu and Passeron chose to study - the elite of educational success in French Higher education. In this study the context and culture are merged, and biography is substituted for strategy. Yet even in the mythical context of doxa (compared for instance with the cultural diversity found in the previous chapter), the concept has its difficulties, in that the changes which occur in the system of cultural reproduction are anomalies, rather than the product of the struggle over educational policy, practice, administration etc. - whether at the level of nursery schools, adult education courses, or Oxbridge.

One important contribution which a critique of Bourdieu can make, is in re-emphasizing the relative separation of power to define educational meanings, practices, certificates etc., from the power over the function of the system in society. This in itself however, surely introduces such a
level of complexity in the possibility of changing such definitions, and thus pedagogy, to render his own analysis suspect, and of limited use.

The findings of the previous chapter then, are central to both the theoretical development of the concept of strategy, and to the description of the particular empirical context under analysis - the ways in which student teachers develop and modify pedagogical strategy and the importance of culture in forming and sustaining commitment to, and practice congruent with, such strategy.

In addition, the analysis of what Bourdieu calls cultural capital, in critique of which the construction of biography has been developed, fails to bring to light the different ways in which the students build up such biographies, the importance they attach to to particular instances in their biographies, and importantly, the effect these instances have on the formation of ideas of professionalism and what it is to be a teacher, which the students hold.

For instance, the previous chapter dissected the cultural interests (in the traditional sense of the term, and the sense in which Bourdieu and Passeron develop cultural capital) of the students, and found that although the first school students had the highest degree of cultural capital, such levels were, in general social terms, very low, and had been gathered in many instances in response to their ambition to teach in early education where such skills as music, art, drama etc. are all taught by the one class.
teacher, and attendance at exhibitions, concerts etc. were often seen as ways of gathering material for lessons, rather than valuable in themselves. Thus we must argue that the complexity of the empirical context of cultural 'capital' or cultural diversity, is far too important to set up a simple (or even relatively complex) relationship between student reasons, motivations, practices etc., and the patterns of their strategy as logical constructs - they must be determined empirically.

Finally, the problem of dealing with what Bourdieu and Passeron call a group of 'survivors' generates yet more problems in the analysis of cultural capital. That is, the possession of a certain degree of cultural capital amongst certain groups seems, in this schema, to imply a predetermined outcome in their actions; to possess such cultural capital is to make certain interpretations and types of communication not only possible, but probable. However, the problem of dealing with survivors can only be overcome by examining their strategy - the ways in which they develop coherent or non-coherent practices for structuring the classroom, and the success they achieve in this is not available for a priori theorisation. Rather, we must insert the students' reflection and strategy into the analysis and expect to be surprised.

The students then, at the start of their professional training year could be roughly described as follows.

(1) Although from what looks to be a homogenous class
background, the students educational experiences, culture and conceptions of teaching were very stratified. When analysed in more detail the relationship between class and culture was a complex one, while the pedagogy of the levels of schooling central to the particular relationship required investigation.

(ii) Middle school students seemed to be in a fairly anomalous position: their immediate job prospects were most secure because of the building of new middle schools and the gaps in the teaching force (especially in purpose-trained middle school specialists), these students were more poorly qualified, had fairly confused ideas of what it was to be a middle school teacher, and had reflected on their training and its component parts and the implications of such training.

(iii) While the least interested in particular subjects c.f. the general education of the child, the first school students were the most highly qualified, and had the broadest range of cultural activities etc. They also had a greater familiarity with, and degree and range of opinions about, educational issues.

(iv) Senior school students were well qualified (for university entrance in many cases), and displayed a great deal of commitment to their particular subject, yet had engaged in little reflection on the nature of teaching in general, or on the implications of their training.

It is with this picture in mind that we explore the components of the students' training, their responses to the
training, and the beginnings of their formulation of strategy.

2. The Role of Educational Theory in Learning to Teach.

Although the students are not segregated according to the age range of the children they wish to teach until they enter their professional training year, important differences in their training take place in the first two years of their course. These differences should be listed prior to analysing their experience in their third year, because of the way in which these differences give support to the variety of approaches to the professional training year which emerged.

The Education Theory classes which all groups of students attended, were structured around the classic theoretical concerns of the sociology, philosophy, psychology and history of education. All students covered issues of child development, cultural and social reproduction, theories of learning, the emergence of the system of mass state education in Britain, educational measurement etc. The aims of this course were given as follows:

"The aim of the .. course in Educational Theory is to introduce students to some of the main perspectives of educational thought... Although the course contains disparate elements it has a common goal - the understanding of the processes of education. If this is to occur then the individual student must be prepared to use the insights gained from each discipline to enlighten his or her thinking about education as a whole. This can only be achieved if students are prepared to actively seek such an understanding and are not prepared to wait, passively for it to be given to them" (course outline).
This highlights the difference in approach between the two education departments. The problems this gave rise to for the students were mentioned in Chapter Three, where the roots of such separation of theory and method were analysed in the national context; however, it is important that we not only recognise how typical the two approaches at this college are in national terms, but also the implications this has for the continuity of the students' course.

In the first two years of educational studies, the students were expected to think and act independently of the tutors, and to a large extent, of each other. Not all at that time streamed according to the level of schooling they wish to enter, the implications of theoretical debates had to be worked out through book studies, and individual reflection.

The professional studies tutors favoured a far more discursive approach, exploring educational theory issues in seminars, which were based around only one level of schooling. When the students were asked about the usefulness of their first two years in interview, their responses tended to be rather negative - there was simply not enough time to 'translate' educational theories into classroom practice.

Without wishing to perform a critique of the particular course involved, a word must be said concerning the structure of the educational theory course, and its implications for the students' perception of its importance. That is, the educational theory course was extremely abstract, often thick in highly technical, social scientific language, with
little pre-translation into classroom terms (see Wadd 1982, Webster 1975, Gordon 1980 for critiques of such courses).

The students' time was under a great deal of pressure, while the tutors themselves were under no circumstances prepared to do what they saw as the students' work for them - that is, to explore the classroom implications of such social science theories. Thus on the one hand, the students were expected to reflect on Piaget, Bourdieu, Bernstein, Hirst, Lortie, etc., while translating the ideas from such works which they felt they could agree with, into classroom practice.

It is hardly surprising then, that the students felt there was little practical relevance in many of the theories they examined, and promptly forgot the many less relevant ones. However, the experience which the students had of educational theory classes was more complicated than this.

A number of smaller, short-term courses were available to the students, which presented specific educational theories and their applications in the classroom. The most popular of these were the Reading Development and the Teaching of Reading courses. Table 26 shows the distribution of students attending such courses. Thus nearly all the first school students, about a third of middle school students, and (understandably) only 10% of subject specialists attended such courses. Middle school students often attended the Reading Development course in their honours year,
while the first school students tended to take this class in their second year.

**TABLE 26 - Students Attending Reading Development Courses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Reading Devt</th>
<th>Teaching of Reading</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER IN GROUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>out of 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15*</td>
<td>out of 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>out of 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* these students attended this course in their 2nd year, many of the middle school students who stayed on at college to follow an honours course took the Reading Development course in their honours' year.

Although the figures tell us little concerning the general interests of the students as the subject specialists can hardly be expected to spend valuable time on such reading courses, the actual content of such courses does have an effect on how the students are able to integrate the theory which they learn in the first and second year, and the practice which they learn in the third.

The structure of such courses was geared towards examining psychological and sociological theories of education in terms of teaching children a specific task. This gave these students a lot of practice in reflecting on the importance of such concepts in the way in which they structure the classroom, and on their expectations of particular children. Thus, by the time they began their third year, they had many clues as to how to translate educational theory into classroom practice, and perhaps more importantly, had engaged in reflection on their pedagogy.
This is an important point, as it is the first opportunity the students have to concretise some of the ideas they have about the work of teaching, and to evaluate some practices in a critical context. The fact that the first school students are most heavily engaged in this course in their second year, together with the particular cultural biography which the students as a group tended to share, suggests that this group would approach their teaching practice with a more coherent and personal strategy — or at least the framework of a strategy.

The second component in the students' training which is developed in the first two years is observation of different classrooms in different kinds of schools. This aspect of their training is crucial to their being able to think about prescriptions which arise in their education theory classes, in concrete classroom terms.

By the time the students began the professional studies course, they were required to be familiar with a) several types of teaching style, b) different organisational structures of schools, and c) the difficulty of putting educational theory into practice. While on observation trips the students were encouraged to talk with different teachers at different levels in the schools they visited, and to develop ideas on how they would begin to structure a classroom lesson.

At this point however, we discover another central difference between the educational theory studied by subject
specialists especially (including those in the middle school group) compared with the theory studied by the 'genera lists'.

A great deal of the literature and coursework on the theories of learning and child development were aimed at the understanding of young children's learning, and the stages of their development. The reading booklists for the first two years educational theory course reflected this. Obviously a great deal of work had been done to analyse the stages at which children develop most rapidly - in early education - and it is natural that this formed the basis of studying learning theory. However, aside from gaining an understanding of how to approach remedial teaching, most of the subject specialists expressed the view that this aspect of their training was fairly irrelevant when interviewed, and almost all said they had forgotten most of what they had been taught.

Added to this, the child development and learning theory sections of the education theory course were in fact taught by one of the professional studies tutors in early education, and thus followed to a large extent, her own interest in the early stages of child development.

However, at this point we must take time to draw together the components of this argument, so as to avoid simply providing a set of recommendations for new personnel in the education theory department!
The analysis of Chapter Four began to uncover the theoretical sophistication of the first school students in their familiarity and stances on major educational debates. Such critical reflection on their own position in the education system cannot be deduced from either their social class, or what Bourdieu and Passeron have called their 'cultural capital'. Rather, such students tend to set out in a particular way, to construct what they feel to be a coherent analysis of, and practical approach to, their role as a teacher. They react strongly to the accusation of their performing a 'babysitting' function, and of merely constructing bits of play for children to take part in, and are most conscientious in their articulation of why they would approach certain situations in a particular way. That is, these students want to approach teaching as a profession in the sense of the morality of their position in society (i.e. as experts entrusted with the most crucial stages of a child's learning), and examine their responsibility to focus on the child and to individualise his/her learning, as a central component of that professionalism.

The training in educational theory instills and distills this commitment from them - their training is much more personally supportive and professionally exploratory in terms of the implications of particular theories of learning and child development in the classroom. Sociological theories of the structure of school, c.f. psychological theories of child development were examined rather less frequently.
The middle school students participated to a certain extent in the first school students' obsession with child development and theories of learning, but were in far more ambiguous position in relation to the teaching of educational theory. That is, as already mentioned, the students were not separated in the first two years of their training, except to participate in the teaching of reading course described above.

The middle school students were rarely given the opportunity to analyse their very particular position in the education system together in their first two years training, while the only component of the theory course which explored the historical development of middle schools (which was brief) was taught to the students as a whole group. Obviously the interest of the other two groups of students in the particular situation of middle schools, was, to say the least, minimal.

These students not only had to contend with a series of educational theories which required a great deal of thought and translation from them to make sense in middle school classrooms, but also with a series of observations in schools which had recently been set up, were still exploring the nature and function of middle schools, and an education theory staff none of whom had taught in middle schools. Added to this was the further complication that a split system of middle schools operated in the area: county schools tended to be organised on a 7-11 basis, while borough schools tended to be organised on a 9-13 basis.
Further, many of the schools had originally been first schools, still staffed by first school specialists who were struggling with the new definitions put upon them by reorganisation; while other schools had been senior schools prior to reorganisation, and thus their identity was still largely based on senior school principles.

Finally, the subject specialists were perhaps in the most difficult position. While receiving straightforward training in their subject specialism, they had to contend with more complex theories in their Education classes. Theories of child development and of the process of learning, of course, applied to the older children as much as young children, but the particular implications of the child development course for instance, were more difficult to put into classroom practice at this level, especially because of the separation between the teaching of education theory and the teaching of subject specialisms at the college. Thus their observations in the first two years tended to be centred on particular ways of teaching their specialism, and unless they confronted innovation in particular school settings, the students said they tended to forget most of the educational theory they were taught in these first two years. In interviews, nearly all the subject specialists said they thought what was said seemed reasonable enough, but that they were not given either enough time to think about it, or help in translating such theories into classroom terms. One student put the problem as follows:
"I think we all feel, in fact, I could say without exception, that there's too much. You can't possibly take it all in - you're sitting, funny enough, I suppose it's the old teaching technique isn't it!, the lectures that are backed up with actual practical work... and you work these things out for yourself... and you suddenly think Aahah!. Okay, when you're sitting down and someone's standing at the front talking all this theoretical stuff, it's just an absolute waste of time, because nobody ever goes back to it, I swear nobody ever goes back to it!".

3. Policy, Pedagogy and Practice.

Such were the differences amongst the students as they prepared for their professional studies year. However, the traditional conceptualisation of the problem analysed in the previous section as the dysjunction between theory and practice, does not really describe the variety of ways in which the students were taught, and how they assimilated and reflected upon the educational theory presented to them in their first two years training.

A far more interesting way in which to approach the problem is to investigate the relationship between policy, pedagogy and the formation of practice. I define policy in general terms rather than particular government policy, with the participation of educationalists, parents, children, academics, and citizens, in the process of developing and assenting to, a pedagogy in schools, being central elements. This gives us a means of examining the cultural context of strategy, the coherence of students pedagogical strategy, and the way in which they begin to practice teaching.
The rest of this chapter then, will examine the course the students are presented with, make some analysis of the cultural context of the particular courses on offer to the students, and draft the kinds of responses the students make to these courses.

Although the categorisation of the kinds of activities students learn and take part in during their professional training, are multiple and could be argued endlessly, I have chosen to structure the content and pedagogy of the course under four areas:

a) choosing subject matter;
b) examining how children learn;
c) classroom management techniques;
d) structuring lessons according to the above criteria: first beginnings in microteaching.

Although the content of the course and the experience it provided the students with were varied and fascinating in their own terms, the focus of this thesis demands that we concern ourselves with the fairly narrow line of development of the students' professional training in terms of how they begin to think about structuring classroom relations, and the basis on which they make decisions on how to develop classroom practice.

First however, a point of contrast must be re-emphasized between the approach of the education theory department and the approach of the professional studies staff. That is, the model of university teaching which so many of the education theory staff endeavoured to emulate (their course was drawn up with the specific aim that it educates students to
university standard, implying also that the students adopt a similar independence in their study), required the students to spend much of their research time in book study, developing ideas in isolation from their peers and active practitioners.

In contrast, the approach of the professional studies department was to consolidate a personal relationship between tutor and student; to develop a supportive relationship whereby students would not only feel free to raise any practical or theoretical difficulties they were having in their teaching practice or in thinking about educational issues when they were at college, but also once the students had graduated. The tutors aimed to provide a 'resource' of informed practitioners to the local educational community.

Their seminar approach and the emphasis on support meant that the students' reactions to teaching and to thinking about school experience formed the content and the structure of the course right from the start of the professional studies year, and thus, from the beginning of the research I was able to collect data on the changes in the students' ways of thinking and strategy formation in their seminar groupings.

Throughout the year's research I attended a representative sample of each of the groups' seminars (approximately one third to one half of the total seminars in each group). I also kept up to date with the reading they were given, and
attended joint seminars with other groups. In addition, I attended the compulsory induction course at the end of their 2nd year, before the summer holidays.

Through analysing the data collected in these training sessions, I began to draw up a picture of the kinds of training given to the students. Through comparison with the results of the questionnaire, I was able to investigate more deeply the cultural context of the respective pedagogies, and the development of students' commitments to these pedagogies. The final chapter examines the development of pedagogical strategy in the students' school experience, the evaluation of such strategy, and the modification and developments made to the strategy in different contexts.

The rest of the chapter then, is concerned with the particular training the students received in college, and attempts to explicate the cultural context of both the training, and the students' responses.

a) Choosing subject matter.

This category represents, for the teacher trainers, the main rationale for the separation of the students into seminar groups - as the most senior of the tutors remarked - "it's the content of what's taught that varies, not the methods of teaching." Thus their perception of professionalism is tied to a particularly narrow definition of 'the pedagogy' - teaching methods used in planning, carrying out, and evaluating lessons.
There are two main points I want to raise in this context: first is what Bernstein calls the 'boundaries' between subjects, in this case, the curricular separation of disciplines for the purposes of teaching; and second, the freedom of students to structure particular subjects according to the criteria of e.g. the age, or ability of the pupils, the component stages in the teaching of the subject, the ability of the student teacher to explore possibilities of pedagogy etc.

Through examining these two points I want to conceptualise what I will argue are the differences between groups in the formulation of strategy, and the importance of the cultural context of the pedagogies in a) the ability of the student to approach the subject matter with flexibility, and b) the reflexivity of the student teachers in their approach to a subject.

(i) Subject Specialist Group.
The subject specialist group are obviously those most constrained by traditional distinctions between disciplines. However, this does not necessarily mean that the students do not think about and explore the boundaries of their chosen specialisms. Indeed a number of the subject specialists' seminars were devoted to exploring different ways of presenting their specialism by drawing on the knowledge and specialism of others.

For instance, on one occasion the students were all asked to examine how using techniques in drama teaching could help
them present knowledge from their own discipline. The ideas this gave rise to, and the discussion which took place during this seminar, were extremely interesting in terms of analysing the students' perception of what a teacher is, and how to go about teaching.

Initially, all the students expressed great difficulty in using any of the techniques of drama teaching, primarily because they had no idea of what was unique or particular about drama teaching. This led to a request for the students studying drama to present a seminar on 'ways of teaching drama' which formed the basis for the second seminar in using such techniques in other disciplines.

The maths students had great difficulty, but eventually came up with an exercise in statistics: this involved role-playing interviewers and interviewees in a survey on cat food, through which they explored a 'lies, damned lies and statistics' article. A physics student suggested that the children could act out the changing shape of different water particles when frozen, to explain how water expands at below-zero temperatures. The lessons constructed by the history students and English literature students were more easily presented by role-playing.

After the presentations the whole seminar group was gathered together to discuss what they felt they had learned through the exercise. Despite strenuous prompting from the tutor, and encouragement from the drama students, only one student
felt able to express a positive attitude towards the exercise: the physics student (a mature male who was having difficulty in 'working up a presence as a teacher') felt that it had given him some ideas on 'getting myself over'. The agreement from the seminar was that it was a useful exercise, but there was a unanimous vote at the end, that the likelihood of any of the students ever using such an exercise (at least in their teaching practice) was minimal, because of the organisation involved, the potential discipline problems it gave rise to, and the sheer reconstruction of the curriculum that such an exercise involved.

The purpose of recounting the fairly negative reaction of the students to this exercise is not to criticise them as 'lazy', but to point out that unless student teachers have a framework which is able to incorporate such flexibility of approach and presentation, it is very unlikely that they will use any of the techniques which are not easily replicable and seen as valuable when in the pressurized situation of school experience. In fact, when asked specifically about their use of this exercise in interview, not one of the students said they had thought about or used this approach while on any of their three school experiences.

The important point here then, is that the separation of those different elements of the curriculum did affect the students' perception of the pedagogy, and thus their reaction to the course. Contrary to the tutors' ideas that the method of teaching is the same no matter what the content, and their attempts to encourage the students to adopt a more
flexible approach, the students' initial reaction and their actual practice on school experience resisted, or found it too difficult to accommodate, this wider pedagogy.

(ii) Middle School Group.
The middle school students and their course require a more complex analysis for a number of reasons. Middle school teaching is not so established as secondary teaching; the middle school tutors were very committed to the particular curricular advantages of the middle school system; and the variety of actual schools participating in the course was great.

The previous chapter demonstrated that the middle school students engaged in the highest level of reflection on their training course, and were the group most familiar with what could be called particularly educationalist issues, that is, compared with the policy/social science issues with which the first school students were familiar, and the disciplinary and institutional issues which were the focus for the subject specialists. The structure of their training reflected this sophistication, although it also had to cope with the many confusions and areas of ignorance of the middle school students probably in part because of the scant consideration of specific middle school issues in the first two years' training.

Thus the middle school students had the highest number of outside speakers and specialists, all invited to explain the
latest curricular developments in the surrounding area and to reinforce the commitment of the Local Education Authority to middle school principles.

The middle school tutors had an additional problem: the students taking their courses could either be subject specialists with a little more interest than the subject specialist seminar group in other areas of the curriculum which they may be required to teach, or generalists who had a reasonable knowledge of one or two specialisms. The groups were split into those hoping to teach 7-11 year olds, and those hoping to teach 9-13 year olds. Arising out of this structure there was an extremely complex set of constraints and requirements put on both seminar tutors and student teachers.

In response to these pressures, the middle school tutors opted for the 'package' approach to the curriculum, which was popular with the local H.M. Inspectors, advisors and some of the middle school literature. The students were first asked to clarify the definition of the subjects they were teaching and their relation to one another, and then to build up a 'resource pack' of materials across each of these areas.

The group as a whole spent a great deal of time exploring the nature of the curriculum, the sociological relevance of particular curricula, and how the component parts of a middle school curriculum are built into a coherent whole.
This group made extensive use of reasonably 'non-traditional' techniques, such as visual aids, multi-cultural education materials, questionnaires drawn up by pupils to be administered to themselves at the end of a block of teaching, project work, educational outings etc. To take one example of a typical seminar, concerned with choosing and presenting a particular subject: the group was divided into small study units, each with a particular curricular area to present. The group I joined was to develop higher order questioning though examining 'A day in the life of a daffodil'!

A set of pictures were chosen by the group and a series of questions developed to stimulate the pupils' examination of the pictures. The aims of the lesson were drawn up, and specific objectives set. Throughout the discussion students tried to keep rigidly to the attainment of these objectives.

This little exercise involved defining the nature of higher order questioning, exploring the connections between higher order questioning and other lower order steps towards this aim; the suitability of particular material for this exercise; and the drawing up of steps towards achievement of these aims. The steps the students should follow were made explicit by both seminar tutors, the students were expected to fill in the particular content dictated by the particular curricular concern.

The students were thus being presented with two quite distinct exercises. In the first place they were being asked
to analyse the educational aims of the particular curricular issue under discussion, and were then asked to construct a classroom lesson on the basis of their understanding of this issue.

This led to two kinds of responses, articulated by students in interviews and discussion. In the first place they were extremely frustrated by the abstract concerns of the tutor, who always insisted on examining the wider issues of middle school curricula. For instance, he began a discussion on the specific subjects taught in middle school by analysing and evaluating the present-day implications of the "Sabre-toothed Curriculum" (Hooper 1976). In the second place they said they appreciated the down-to-earth approach of the remaining tutor, but were left in a great deal of confusion as to the connection of the 'high-flying' theory of the one, and the specific curricular explanations of the other.

Although the combination of these two tutors and the effect they had on the students on the course are obviously factors which are incidental to the national system, they are, I would argue, important inasmuch as the middle school curriculum is a new idea (in terms of educational practice at least) and one which will remain slightly opaque for some time, at least until those teachers practicing in middle schools which have worked out a coherent approach to the curricular demands made on them, have begun to feed back information and practices into the teacher education system.
Thus the middle school students had more difficulty than the other two groups in drawing on an existing pedagogy, and were forced to examine the reasoning behind certain curricular structures in a critical way, without having a menu of options to substitute in place of the criticised practice. Their strategy was in many ways the most open - there were countless possibilities for choosing material, structuring such material, and collecting together different kinds of material in project work; yet this group had the most ambivalence and confusion to deal with. The direction given in the course was alternately critical and extremely practical. As seen in the seminars I attended, the students had a great deal of difficulty integrating or connecting the two extremes, and in interview and discussion often put the blame on their tutors, not on the nature of their subject matter or the pedagogy.

The middle school students were taught a number of what they described as extremely useful and reasonably innovating tactics for presenting and evaluating curricular material. The materials used in seminars in this 'resource package' approach were universally welcomed and the students fully expected to make great use of them on school experience. The implications behind using this package type approach were rarely examined, and when they were explicitly discussed, such discussions tended to take place at a very abstract, sociological level, from which the students all expressed great difficulty returning to practical classroom issues.
If we refer back to the arguments of the neo-Marxists, then we see that the middle school pedagogy seems to be sufficiently confused as to warrant their insertion of 'contradictions' which in turn structure individual student teachers' consciousness in a way which produces conflict and 'resistance'. However, the use of the concept 'resistance' and its insertion into the theory of reproduction gives rise to some extremely difficult questions.

The particular problems faced by the middle school tutors in presenting the students with a coherent approach to the subject matter arose out of national, historical and also local, institutional developments. The new middle school curriculum was promoted by government in response to educational debates. However the new structure could not be simply imposed on the school system - it attempted to modify existing arrangements. Thus the L.E.A. made use of a new or changed policy towards 9-13 year olds, in the existing context, but without such extra resources as retraining for serving teachers, local consultations etc.

Finally, at the end of all these relationships, the teacher trainers had to formulate a course which was true to the new policy, made use of the new approach to the curriculum, satisfied the myriad forms of local middle schools, and also was coherent from the students' point of view.

Therefore, when the students attempted to make use of for instance, the new 'package-type' material, and failed to use it successfully, can we really say they are challenging the
system of reproduction? Reproduction itself is difficult to isolate in this extremely complex situation - historically the middle schools emerged out of criticism of the existing system in educational debates, and the necessity of using existing primary and secondary schools and their staff to form these new schools, is central to their development.

I would argue then, that to conceptualise this tension in the schooling system as mere contradictions in reproduction, and the behaviour of student teachers as 'resistance' to the new demands put on them by a variant of the dominant ideology, is completely inadequate.

Similarly, the interactionists use of the term 'strategies' to explain the student teachers' behaviour in this complex organisation is to ignore the cultural context of both the group of students attending college, and their commitment to middle school pedagogy - rather the interactionists merely focus on a need to 'survive' in this extremely demanding context (see A. Hargreaves 1979).

However, although this particular issue - the curriculum studied by middle school students - is an extremely interesting point at which to raise some of these questions, further analysis and comparison with the other two groups is required.

(iii) First School Students.
This group represented the stages of schooling at which the
boundaries between subjects are most blurred, particularly in the construction of what Bernstein calls the 'invisible pedagogy'. That is, the learning of specific skills is not divided into separate areas of the curriculum to be taught at different times of the day, from different textbooks, with different tests to ensure that learning has taken place, but that the various skills to be taught in the classroom are integrated with one another around a topic or activity of interest to the children — often a 'play' situation.

As already hinted by the analysis of the previous chapter, the pedagogy to which the infant staff were committed involved this merging of different 'disciplines', an emphasis on play, and on the creation of a learning environment which is suited to the particular stages, skills, interests, family backgrounds, etc. of individual pupils.

Thus, even before specific issues were confronted in the first school seminars, issues such as how to construct this learning environment, or to develop an integrated approach to the different skills young children must learn in schools, or how to liaise with a child's family to determine his/her existing skills etc., the students discussed policy and pedagogical issues from their most general, right down to their specific implications in classrooms.

The first issue discussed was the structuring of classroom knowledge, and the role of the different personnel in deciding on, and implementing, particular curricular forms. The
core of the curriculum of early education was examined, and the importance of issues of social behaviour to the curriculum was evaluated, e.g. including tidying up as part of the 'lesson'.

Interestingly, this group was the only group to examine the specific role of a headteacher in determining curricula, although the greatest freedom to the head teacher to determine the content of the curriculum was in the middle school, probably because of the experimental nature of these new middle schools.

Thus, the first school students and tutors discussed the role of government bodies, Schools Council, L.E.A.s, publishers, National Foundation for Educational Research, parents, headteachers and teachers, in determining not only the curricula, but all aspects of a teachers' work and role.

However, to return to the specific problem of the subject matter of lessons, a number of prescriptions from psychology and philosophy were evaluated. That is, the students discussed not only the appropriateness of dealing with the curricula of the first school in a child-centred approach, but also in terms such as:

- does the choice provide a useful preparation for subsequent life?
- does it provide a worthwhile contribution to a balanced general education?
- does it provide opportunities to cultivate educationally important attitudes toward one's learning (e.g. in taking responsibility for one's own learning)?
- does it merit a high enough priority to gain a place in "that investment of the community's scarce resources
called schools"? (see Dearden 1976, quoted in seminar group).

Although extremely abstract, the group under study set about analysing these particular criteria in the context of structuring play in the first school classroom, and came up with a myriad of suggestions as to a) how to go about setting up such play situations and the material required; b) the importance of an appropriate concrete focus for such situations; c) how to structure the step-by-step increase in the responsibility of the young pupil for his/her own work; and d) the importance of the young child enjoying such learning activities.

Hints on how to achieve the above in a practical context were exchanged by both tutors and students, who made recommendations such as always choosing something which you would like to do yourself to instill a sense of enjoyment, interest and purpose; how to emphasize discovery; how to avoid requesting or expecting a result or a product from such a situation; how to evaluate success as a teacher, and the success of the child in grasping the required skill/knowledge etc. in the situation.

Particular learning theories and theories of child development were integrated into the discussion, e.g. in exploring the importance of mimicking to learning through play, the concepts involved in learning about the properties of water, sand etc, and the way in which such play experiences provide a practice ground for other learning activities.
The first school students had all, by this point, observed classrooms which were constructed on this basis, as the tutors quite purposefully chose schools which were sympathetic to their pedagogy when sending students on both observation trips and on school experience. This experience, combined with the more analytical and practical context in which they considered particular educational theories, meant that by the time these students were entering their professional training year, they had already some coherent notion of pedagogical strategy. Their early training was spent in both learning the particular tactics which they could use in their strategy, such as reading corners, play sessions, useful materials when teaching in groups, or individually, etc., but a great many of these students were able to take part in and contribute to discussions of the rationale behind particular classroom situations, their expected outcome, and the assumptions on which they were based.

This then, is the initial context of the students' strategy, and the earliest site of their familiarisation with particular tactics they try out, change and adopt in different situations. The basis on which such subject matter is chosen and structured - the learning theory behind each stage of schooling for which the students are training, is the subject of the following section.

b) How Children Learn.

A number of issues are dealt with under this heading - including the evaluation of children's learning. All stu-
Students studied psychological theories of learning in the first two years of educational theory. However, as described above several sections of that course were led by an early education tutor in professional studies, and most of the first school group also attended courses on Reading Development. Therefore, by the time the students are given 'translations' of the educational theory of the first two years in the professional studies class, they are already very differentiated in the level of understanding they have of the more social scientific aspects of learning theory, and in the practice they have had at drawing up implications of educational theories of learning in concrete classroom terms, and implementing particular practices in the classroom.

(i) Subject Specialist Group.
This group talked least about the specific implications of learning theories for their teaching. Obviously this group had the least control over what was taught to the children, regardless of the individual 'stages' of the children's learning, in that they were presented with pre-structured curricula for the most part. The group did however, explore the implications of the different rates at which children learn and the individual differences in intelligence - often the two were taken as similar, if not identical, in terms of teaching this pre-given curriculum.

The discussions which did take place centred around how children learn, rather than either how to manage a classroom in which children learn at different rates, or how to ensure
learning has taken place. Such discussions tended to focus on the choices which the students could make in structuring the material they had to present, the importance of flexibility in that presentation, and in using repetition and analogies to reinforce such learning.

However, the main focus of pedagogy in this group was the assessment of the ability of different children. On this basis the students would be able to devise reinforcing techniques for those children who were experiencing learning difficulties when presented with material in the normal way, and in providing back-up material for 'quick finishers'. Small tests and record-keeping were important in assessing how much individual children were learning, and ensuring that indeed learning was taking place. However there was little discussion of the relationship between particular curricula and the way children learn, either in terms of the stages of child development, or the organisation of these curricula, in this professional training year.

Thus I would argue that the students were taught tactics in their professional training - that is, they acquired a set of control techniques, or techniques for reorganising a fairly inflexible curriculum and for record-keeping, yet their adaptation of these tactics to their own curricular setting was limited, especially in early teaching practice, as we will show in the following chapter. The tutors presented the students with many more complex problems of learning theory than they could assimilate, as they lacked
the frame of reference in which to insert and make sense of such theories. Few of the students were able to detail any of the theories they had learned in the first two years Educational Theory course, still fewer were able to give me any idea of how they would go about changing their classroom practice in line with some of the findings of educational research and theory.

One student put the problem as follows:

"I have reams and reams of duplicated notes and ... its only now (in professional training year) that I think "what on earth was that all about" - because you've got nothing to relate it to".

This is an important point. The argument of the theoretical section suggested a major difference between the kinds of behaviours and motivations covered by the interactionists' use of the term 'strategy'. The use of learning theory in the subject specialists' reaction to their professional training was minimal. It was taken as a matter of common sense that they would be teaching mixed ability classes, and therefore would have to adapt their lesson plans for different groups of children. Yet the implications of this quite major assumption were seen simply in terms of a series of tactics for 'keeping attention' and securing the greatest amount of learning amongst the greatest number of children by repetition, a number of analogies, seating arrangements, etc. That is, such tactics were a means to an end, not part of the total process of learning. By using the concepts of strategy and tactics, such differences in approach and objectives should become much clearer.
(ii) Middle School Group.

This group of students tended to take the Reading Development course in the 'honours year' - the fourth year of their course. However 25% of the middle school group attended the Teaching of Reading course in their second year. This course examined the developmental stages of children's learning, and assessed the importance of such theories in the choice of subject matter and in the construction of lesson plans. However, once into their professional studies year, the students rarely examined such learning theory, or its implications for the classroom explicitly.

Both seminar tutors occasionally interjected relevant information, research or discussion points when they felt that such issues should be considered. However, both tutors, when interviewed, expressed the view that issues of learning theory or development psychology should only be considered in particular settings, such as a particular maths curriculum, or in relation to a particular group of middle school children.

Again then, the emphasis was on the presentation and to a lesser extent phasing, of material in the middle school group. This material required less reflection on the cohesion between their ideas of how children learn and the material presented on the students' part. Obviously very general issues were discussed, however the process under consideration here - the process of relating some of the more abstract analyses of the theoreticians to practical classroom situations - was an extremely patchy and un-
systematic one. This is rather surprising, as the innovative structure of the schools did give rise to a number of discussions about how to cope with the blurring of boundaries between early and secondary education which took place in middle schools. Such discussions tended to arise when the students confronted this problem on teaching practice. However, far from all the students raised this as a problem, and the tutors discussed only the immediate classroom management implications with the students, rather than the theoretical and research background to the setting up of such schools.

(iii) First School Group.
At the heart of most discussions which took place in the first school group was a commitment to evaluating the importance of certain learning theories (particularly Piaget) in the way in which the curriculum was constructed, its presentation, the variety of activities which should be available in the classroom etc. As Bernstein has argued, central to this pedagogy is the "inference the teacher makes from the child's ongoing behaviour about the developmental stage of the child. His inference is then referred to a concept of readiness", (1977 pl20).

Thus, for instance, record-keeping is not a matter of merely ensuring the child has assimilated a particular lesson, but is an important map of that child's progress through a series of stages which have structured the way in which that
child has been presented with material, asked to complete specific tasks, or to take part in particular play situations. Not only does this map of the child's progress inform the way in which the teacher structures what she intends as a creative learning environment for the child, but also forms the basis of her assessment of the development of the child. This is individualised learning and assessment, in contrast to the process of collective teaching and assessment, where the child's achievements are evaluated alongside those of the other children. In this individualised pedagogy however, the focus is on the child's needs, interests and abilities.

The demands which are made on the first school students then, are those which are essential to developing a strategy towards teaching; the students should not be able to pick up tactics and hope to convince either their tutors or their peers of their understanding of their pedagogy. Rather, such tactics they do learn - for instance setting up mini-social situations in the classroom, having materials available for 'free play', etc. are only seen as appropriate in a very closely defined set of circumstances, and if such tactics are not closely tied to a commitment to individualised learning, they are often seen as short-term organisational and 'survival' tactics and assessed as such.

However, as the students learn their pedagogy, they combine a number of tactics, and can attempt to maintain an indifferent commitment to the pedagogy while having all the outward signs of structuring the curriculum, the classroom,
and the pedagogy (in the narrow sense of the term) in line with such theories of individualised learning. The problem in analysing these students on teaching practice is to separate out a series of tactical measures from a more long-term coherent commitment to the pedagogy displayed in a variety of situations, through interaction with different personnel, and through the close supervision given by seminar tutors.

c) Classroom Management Techniques.

This heading was used by all seminar tutors to cover the majority of what they called the professional skills which the students were required to master over their third year. The four main constituents to effective classroom management "whatever the age of the children they are teaching" taught by the tutors are outlined in the main textbook for the course (Cohen and Manion 1977 p139):

- adequate advanced planning, "finding out about the school; getting to know the children he will be teaching; deciding in good time on effective control systems; the organisation of instruction in general and the thorough preparation of individual lesson notes in particular; preparing the classroom; and .. utilising equipment and resources effectively" (ibid. p139-40);

- establishing routines, which contribute to effective classroom management and thereby make life easier for everyone; and second, the children have a better idea of where they stand" (ibid. p140);

- preparing effectively for and presenting clearly, the beginning of a lesson; e.g. receiving the children, organising the classroom, putting forward verbal and non-verbal signals that the lesson is about to begin, handing out books etc.
- ending the lesson; i.e. always making sure that the teacher has enough material to fill in the end of a lesson, or timing the lesson accurately.

This heading then, was used to cover the organisational aspects of class management, which formed part of the professional training year. This section examines the pedagogy, in the narrowest sense of the term, which the students developed.

In theory, classroom management techniques were the same throughout the seminar groups, although the first school tutors felt that the way to organise a first school classroom must necessarily entail thinking about issues which neither middle nor subject specialists confronted. They also felt it would be a good idea for these groups to consider some of the issues they presented to the first school groups.

The students studied these techniques in books recommended for the course, and explored the implications of different methods in their professional training seminars. However, the importance they attached to different techniques, and the way in which they began to merge together some of the different 'tactics' into a coherent or even adequate strategy, can only really be grasped in analysing the process of how the students approached the practice of teaching. That is, we need to study the methods they called upon to try to structure their lesson, and the effect their initial success or failure had on their subsequent actions i.e. when the
students started to think about their first school experience.

Classroom management techniques therefore, will be examined in a practical context: the most convenient, and indeed useful, context in which to examine the teaching and operationalisation of classroom management techniques is in the micro-teaching exercises which the seminar groups undertook in their first block of teaching.

d) Beginning to Structure Learning - Micro-teaching.

Micro-teaching was introduced as a useful way of enabling the students to make all their mistakes before they ever entered a classroom. Basically, micro-teaching sessions involved the students taking turns to present short lessons which they had constructed, in front of the rest of the seminar group, and a video-camera (and operator). The tape was then played back to the whole group, who dissected, analysed, evaluated, and criticised it. The group then explored how to avoid or correct the mistakes made by the particular student on the video-tape.

The way in which sessions using the micro-teaching facilities were constructed and used by the tutors varied a great deal, as did the focus of the lessons from these sessions.

(i) Subject Specialist Group.
Right from the time this particular group of students entered their professional training year, their tutors were
not so much concerned with the content of what they taught but with issues of classroom management. The students had already had a great deal of tutoring on content from their subject specialist classes, taken by tutors who were not only experts in their own area, but also tended to have had teaching experience. The micro-teaching sessions then, were particularly focussed on techniques for classroom management. The tutors felt that it was important that the students analyse in a systematic way, the processes of constructing a lesson, therefore organised the students into groups in which they drew up and filled in a set of observation schedules.

Each student constructed and presented a short lesson, while the rest of the group filled in the observation schedules to evaluate the students' performance, and to pinpoint the origins of any difficulties the student had, (1) and were not modified in any way by the students.

The schedule gives a clue as to the focus on technique of this group. It covered the following types of issues:

- was the student present when the class arrived?
- how did the student, or the class, enter the room?
- how did the student introduce themselves?
- what were your first impressions of their presentation?
- was there effective use of the blackboard?
- did they speak clearly and precisely, with few Uhms, and Ahs?
- did the student explain the point of the lesson in an interesting, clear, and simple way?
- did the student give ample time for questioning, repetition etc.?

(1) The observation schedules were drawn up from a model put on the blackboard by one of the tutors.
The rest of the group therefore acted as both the pupils and the assessors. The discussions which followed these sessions gave a clear indication of the professional skills which the students were learning, in that they centred around what the students saw as most important in the structuring of classroom lessons.

This definition of professionalism in the competent structuring of the pre-given curriculum has its corollary in the evaluation of pupils' performance. That is, such testing and examination which took place was aimed at the generation of a product which was taken to measure the degree of learning which had taken place. The results of the test were interpreted as a simple indication of the pupils' intelligence, and as having implications for the way in which the student manages the classroom c.f. structures the process of learning. That is, it is a matter of the representation of the material in a clear, or slower way, or put in a different form on the blackboard, in a quieter setting, etc. Thus it is concerned with the props of learning - the process of teaching and learning is seen as a matter of syllabus and intelligence, and as such, is outwith the students' control.

Later in the course, when the students began to construct school experience files to structure their lessons, they began to draw up aims and objectives. It is worth mentioning at this point that the early emphasis on the students' presentation of the material, rather than on the
behaviour and knowledge of the pupils they were teaching, was marked by the types of aims they set up, especially in comparison with the other seminar groups.

The subject specialists then, saw themselves, and were seen by the tutors, as being in the professional training year for the purpose of learning classroom management techniques. They focussed their early tutoring on issues of presentation and technical competence, and by enabling the students to make their mistakes on video, the tutors were able to pick a number of what proved to be extremely useful tactics for securing, holding and using, the attention of a class of pupils.

The students' strategy, inasmuch as it could be said to have reached beyond the mere conglomeration of a number of tactics, is concerned only with the competent presentation of their subject, such that pupils find it easy to understand and assimilate the content of what they are teaching. That is, their strategy involves a high level of commitment to the subject they are teaching, but tends to involve a parallel separation between what they are teaching and their competence as a teacher, excepting of course, that being a good teacher, or at least a professional one, involved commitment to the subject taught. However, the latter is defined in terms of the technical expertise in structuring and presenting the curriculum, while the rate of pupil learning is for the most part determined by the pupil's ability.
To carry the analysis back to our original interest in the relationship between policy, pedagogy and practice, the subject specialists were presented with some of the policy implications of the teaching of their subjects, but in discussion of their lessons they did in fact, tend to display knowledge of the latest developments in only their own particular curricular interest, in comparison with knowledge of and opinions on, wider educational issues. Thus, they rarely brought up issues of current policy interest, such as parent involvement, adult learning, community schools etc. which were explicitly related to teaching in general, although such issues were all appearing in the education journals and press. They did however, consider the implications of some of the Schools Council's material for their subject, or any other development when it was specifically related to their discipline.

That is, the subject specialists, in their first attempts at micro-teaching, displayed a concern with the very narrow pedagogical tactics surrounding the learning process. They assumed that their control over the syllabus was minimal, and had an extremely narrow perception of the shaping of pedagogy by policy negotiations at base level. Their practice was a matter of refining techniques for presenting the unquestioned curricula to the given audience. Their dilemma was then a matter of how to make the presentation as clear as possible so that the pre-given and accepted competences of the pupils could be harnessed in production of good test results.
(ii) Middle School Group.

The structure of the middle school students' micro-teaching sessions was roughly similar to the subject specialists, in that each of the students drew up a lesson which they presented to the rest of the group, and in front of a video camera.

The video-tapes were then played back to the whole group, who analysed and criticised the tape together. They also commented on what they thought was good practice, and picked up tactics and hints from each other. Again the main rationale behind the sessions was to make their initial mistakes without an audience of young children.

The subject matter which these groups were organised around tended to be very different from the subject specialists. The tutors used the opportunity afforded them by these sessions to explore curricular areas and the connections between them, provided by a middle school context. For instance, some of the lessons which were presented included - trees, world belief systems, transport, flowers. A number of traditional curricular issues were involved in each these presentation.

However, whereas the subject specialists had a firm grasp of the nature of their subject, the middle school students displayed a high degree of ambivalence over the content of what was taught. There was a core of interests in each of these topics, and a choice of materials which could be used in presenting and exploring these issues, however, the
students all experienced a number of difficulties in selecting suitable, relevant information in each topic, and in the ways they should use the particular materials they had chosen.

Of course, it could be expected that the students would experience some difficulty in choosing material and structuring lessons, simply because of the short tradition of middle schools, in terms of the student sorting out tactics, and beginning to develop a pedagogical strategy.

The middle school students had difficulty in both picking up and using tactics handed on by the tutors, but also had difficulty in beginning to think about themselves as teachers in a middle school setting. The traditional sources - own school experience (none of the students had themselves attended middle school), the trainers and their pedagogical commitment, other teachers in the field (with whom they have not yet come into contact), their peers (who are equally inexperienced), and children in the classroom are either themselves equivocal over the nature and process of middle school teaching, or have not yet come into contact with the students.

Thus the development of strategy, and the accumulation of tactics has a much greater time span than for either of the other two groups. The other two groups inherit a much more immediate tradition to which they must make a response, even if, for instance in the case of the first school students, the pedagogy to which the tutors are attached has fairly
recently evolved out of the larger tradition. Thus greater attention must be placed on this group of students on their initial and subsequent school experiences if we are to explicate the process of their developing strategy and learning tactics.

(iii) First School Students.
The micro-teaching sessions which took place in the first school groups also had a similar structure to the subject specialist group: i.e. students prepared a short lesson, which they presented to the rest of the class, in front of a video camera.

However, the tutors in these groups used the micro-teaching as a basis for analysing in depth both the content of what was taught, and the process of teaching (c.f. the presentation of the subject specialists, and the introduction to a choice of materials of the middle school students). The students made a series of tapes, through which the tutors analysed their professional development. The structure of the sessions was such that the subject matter of the initial sessions was expanded and developed for the second session, and the final session began evaluating the development of a coherent approach from the students.

In the first session the tutors felt it was important that the students merely learned to relax, and how to use some of the classroom management techniques they had studied.
The students were asked to tell a 5-minute story to the class, which they all analysed and evaluated together. The students were asked to think about the following, by telling this story using props:

- timing in delivery and pacing;
- the appropriateness of the material
- techniques of good classroom (or group) management, such as eye-contact, interesting props, level of voice, involving the children in the story, the physical environment of the story-telling session, length of the story etc.

In playing back the video-tapes the tutors concentrated on the students' gestures and mannerisms which were employed or required elimination (i.e. if they were distracting), the quality and speed of the voice, the student's own enjoyment of the story, how personalised the props were. On the whole the students, most of whom had attended the course on Reading Development which involved some story-telling and the choice of material for story-telling, were praised for the competence they displayed in the performance, and in the suitability of the material they had chosen for the age range of pupils they were hypothetically teaching.

The group as a whole praised each others' work, and pointed out a number of tactics which they felt were useful, e.g. how a student handled props, the way the student had moved around during the story-telling, the tactics used in securing children's attention. For instance, one student had used setting up her props as a way of gaining the 'pupils' attention, and by the time she was ready to start the ses-
sion, all her 'pupils' were anxious and impatient for her to
tell them the purpose of the props.

However, the learning of these techniques in this context
was only a basis from which to develop more focussed activi­
ties. The students were then asked to think about what
kinds of activities or skills they could develop from the
story they had told, and were charged with preparing their
lessons for the next micro-teaching session on this basis.

The following week the students all turned up with their
lessons worked out and presented them to the class, in front
of a video-camera. The discussion surrounding the analysis
of the tapes was fascinating. All the students had main­
tained the informal groupings constructed in the story­
telling session, and used material from the story to keep
the interest of the children while presented them with a
'lesson'. The term 'lesson' is difficult to employ here, as
almost all the students made no distinction between the
story, and the activities which followed the story - i.e. in
the 'learning situation' they constructed out of the story.

The tutors' criticisms of the students were minimal, and
were all concerned with the restrictions which the students
would have to deal with had they set up this senario in a
real classroom - e.g. equipment, time, the sequencing of the
story and follow-up, the potential to use other members of
staff in their follow-up etc. One tutor did remark that she
felt the particular group under study was rather better than
in previous years, but she qualified this by saying that the
standard of their students had been increasing steadily over the last 5 years especially.

The students' remarks in the discussion all related to how they might use some of the ideas in others' presentations, and suggestions of additional materials and resources which may have been used in the presentation.

The conclusions of this I will argue, are such that the first school group had achieved a high level of understanding of, and commitment to, the first school pedagogy presented in their training prior to their first school experience. They all were able to manipulate the material which had to be covered in the curriculum in a number of ways, and in any number of combination of subjects. They all were able to deal with project work, and all displayed commitment to the importance of play in early learning.

That is, the students were able to integrate developments in both policy towards, and educational theory concerning, the first school, into a particular construction of a classroom learning experience, and were all able to manipulate a number of possible alternatives, and give reasons for their decisions.


Thus, although at this stage we can only tentatively make the distinction between the tactics students learn in their
training, and their strategy towards teaching, there are a number of important differences between the groups which have definite connections to the cultural context of both the pedagogy presented in their training, and of the students themselves, and their choice of teaching as a profession.

That is, the subject specialists, while able to articulate their ideas of professionalism in relation to their subject, and in relation to their commitment to teaching as a career, found it difficult to explore the assumptions underlying the structuring of knowledge which takes place at the senior level, and their role in this particular structure.

The middle school students confronted a series of great anomalies in both their training and in the way in which the middle school system had been set up in that area. Thus although they were presented with a series of tactics by the tutors, they found it difficult to examine and manipulate these tactics in the context of the classroom. On the other hand, they also found it difficult to articulate the middle school pedagogy as they understood it, and felt that they needed practice to 'firm up' both their ideas of teaching, and their longer-term commitment to middle schools.

The first school students had the greatest degree of ease in articulating their pedagogical strategy, and the rationale behind it. This ease cannot be deduced from their biography alone, it only emerges in the analysis of the way in which the students confront their learning in college, and their
ideas about the nature of the classroom, and their role in its organisation.

This is the first stage then in our analysis of the students' beginning practice. We have observed that the relationship between strategy and tactics is different for each of the groups, indeed for individual members of some of the groups. However, there does seem to be a distinct pattern emerging in the way the tutors respond to the various practices and approaches developed by the students, and this is their first clue of how they are to be assessed.

All three theories examined in Chapter One fail to provide an explanation of the different nuances of the students' practice, and the relationship between the short-term spontaneous tactics which they use, to the long-term commitment to their pedagogy.

It was argued that the history of teacher training was important in understanding the cultural contexts of the pedagogies, and the way in which the students' training was structured. This also gave us clue as to some of the contradictions in the training system.

The methodology displayed in this chapter is very important to the thesis as a whole, and to the critique of Bourdieu, the neo-Marxists and the interactionists. That is, detailing the biography of the students can only be the beginning of an analysis of their culture—competing at-
titudes and practices can often be held by individuals or groups of individuals, and to leave such a rich seam unexamined is to ignore the potential of students to hold contradictory practices and attitudes together in their own beliefs concerning their work. To deny the process of reflection a prominent position in the analysis, and to remove the students' own perception of the constraints on the development of a strategy, is to conflate the consequences of the students' actions and the sociological interpretation of these consequences, with their own purposes and intentions.

Thus we see that the groups of students have chosen teaching as a profession for different reasons and have different commitments to teaching as a career. Similarly, their perception of their importance in the pedagogical process varies, as does the integration of their professional life with their personal life.

To summarise then, we have argued that the students' approach to their training, and the presentation of such training, varies in line with the pedagogy. It is extremely important that any analysis considers the importance of the students' reflection on their own actions, their pedagogy, their culture, and ultimately their strategy.
The focus so far has been on the relationship between the pedagogy presented in college, and the cultural context of the students' approach to these pedagogies. However, a crucial intersection in the relationship, whether it occurs as support or as interruption between the two, is the school experience of the students, and the relationships they develop in the schools in which they are placed.

This chapter examines the way in which the students prepare for their school experience, traces some of the divergent lines of their strategy, and analyses the particular tactics they use in different contexts.

In this way, I hope to establish some patterns in the cultural context of the students' pedagogical strategy, and the particular tactics they deploy and manipulate in their teaching practice, especially in their attempt to liaise between the requirements of their college tutors, the exigencies of the class of pupils, and the expectation of the staff of the schools in which they are placed.

We will also consider the use of the concept of strategy in much greater detail, and explore the relationship between strategy and tactics in terms of the students' own calculations, reflections, politics, perceptions etc. The central methodological aim is to reinsert the idea of process into
the analysis of teacher training. That is, teacher education is neither the simple passing on of a series of skills, nor the unconscious cultural domination of the future producers in the education system.

The concept of resistance is severely limited in analysing student teachers' behaviours, both because of the unconsciousness genesis and instigation of the resisting action, but also because of the connections set up by the neo-marxists between cultural relations and the education system.

The concept of 'strategies' as used by the interactionists in their analyses of teacher education and many other social and educational settings, is superceded by the more technically correct terms of tactics and strategy.

Thus, the focus of this chapter is on how students approach the classroom, the connections of their approach to their culture, and to the way in which they develop an understanding of, and commitment to, particular pedagogies through the intertwining of their cultural and educational experience. By analysing the students' preparation for their first school experience, and the development in their strategy between this first and their subsequent school experiences, we should be able to draw a much clearer picture of the cultural context of pedagogy, and gain some understanding of the part student teachers play in the struggle between competing pedagogies, and the maintenance or change of particular pedagogies.
1. The Structure of the Course.

The professional studies year, as already mentioned, was split into six sections - three 'blocks' of seminar and preparation work in college, and three 'blocks' of school experience. This structure was popular with both the tutors and the students. In interviews, most of the students said that they had to work terribly hard to get to know the 'system' in each of the three schools, and to prepare lessons for the different school experiences. The first school students particularly, reported difficulties in the way that, as soon as they were beginning to establish a good relationship with a class, they had to return to college and then on to another school.

However, generally, the students felt this structure had a number of very important advantages: a) they could make the really bad mistakes that all learners make in their first school experience, and then go on to another school where their previous performance was not known about; b) the students welcomed the opportunity to talk over the different experiences they had in the different schools with other students and with tutors in the intervening periods in college; c) it provided an opportunity for the students to learn about a variety of schools; and d) they were never in a 'rut', or if they were placed with a teacher or a class that they really disliked, it was only for 6 weeks, compared with the 13-18 weeks of block teaching practice.
The tutors supported the system because of the opportunity they had to guide the students through a number of different experiences, and gave the students an opportunity to realise the wide variety of school types and structures which they faced when employed as teachers. In addition, however, it also gave the tutors a greater network of contacts with the local schools, and led to closer relationships between the staff in those schools and the college lecturers.

The first teaching block of the professional year's study was spent familiarising students with the professional skills required of them through workshops, seminars, and individual tutorials, but also importantly, through micro-teaching sessions and simulation exercises (see previous chapter).

The subsequent teaching blocks, based in college, were for the most part spent on reinforcing the lessons of the early teaching through discussion of the students' experience of their first teaching practice block, and in preparation for the subsequent blocks of school experience. Thus although based in the college for the two subsequent teaching blocks, the content of the training course at that point was both derived from, and geared towards, the particular experiences of students on teaching practice.

In examining the process of developing strategy then, we need to follow some of the threads of the chronology of the students' year in professional training, and to look at some of the issues which they confront in the school experience,
the development of their strategy, but most important, the durability and modification of their strategy. However perhaps most important, we must assess the flexibility and the development of the students' strategy formed through their first school experience, and modified in subsequent teaching practice blocks.

2. Preparation for School Experience.

The basic framework around which the students thought about, organised material and detailed curricula for their school experiences, was the School Experience File. This file, which the students compiled throughout their professional training year, was intended to act as a means of clarification and preparation, but also as a resource and a model on graduation, when commencing paid employment.

During their first visits to the school in which they were to be placed, the students were required to gather details on such issues as the school's administrative structure, timetables, class lists, seating plans, lists of children with special tasks or privileges, a thorough situational analysis, and a layout of the school etc. The guidelines for all three seminar groups were as follows:

"1. Administrative details of names, address, dates of school experiences, etc., lists of equipment and teaching aids available, timetables, etc.
2. 'Situational analysis', i.e. a survey of factors related to the work and organisation of the school, e.g. local environment, school buildings, pupil groups, school procedures.
3. Schemes of work which contain,
   (i) previous experience of the children
   (ii) objectives of your work with them
(iii) the new experiences to be presented (first school)
the work proposed for the children (middle school)
the number and length of lessons (subject specialists)
(iv) methods and materials you propose to use
4. Lesson plans (middle and subject specialists)
Topics (first school)" (course handouts on school experience)

It is worth noting the particular issues on which the handouts varied - that is, in the core of their written preparation, in their schemes of work.

Once the details of the above had been established, the students and the college tutors, together with the staff of the school (in greater or lesser cooperation), began to draw up schemes of work and lesson plans. They also worked out record-keeping schemes for monitoring the children's progress throughout the school experience.

After these plans had been drawn up and the lesson taught, the student was required to comment on their own success in the presentation of the lesson, and on the success of the lesson in terms of the knowledge gained by pupils, the relevance of the work done, and the suitability of the material presented to the current work being undertaken by the pupils.

This file was examined by both the professional studies tutors on their supervision trips to the schools, indeed, it will be argued later in this chapter that these files and the students' ability to keep them, were central to the
tutors' evaluation of the students' success in their school experience, but also by the college staff supervising the students' specialism, who visited the students on schools experience.

It is important then, to examine more closely the way in which the students compiled these files, how they used them in their lessons, and reflected on their teaching through them. These files provide the most coherent and comprehensive written account of how the students think about teaching, the issues which are important to them in practical terms, the constraints within which they have to operate, and their construction of a learning situation in the classroom.

a) Preparation Visits to Schools.

The students started their visits to the schools early in their professional training year. They were introduced to the staff, and began to think about particular lessons. The students were encouraged to note relevant information in their school experience file, which was then the focus of seminar work and individual tutorials.

Interestingly, all the students noted down what they saw as the social class background of the pupils in their designated schools, however, most other types of information in the file varied greatly according to the seminar group, and the type of school chosen by the tutors and students.
Most of the subject specialists wrote a little on the disciplinary code of the school, its size, the ability grades of the children they were to teach, the location of their classrooms, and other technical details.

The middle school students tended to have much more detail in the section of their school experience files relating to the organisation and management of the school. This of course, is in part because of the variety of origins of the middle schools in the area, and because of the variety of areas in which they were situated. For instance most of the purpose-built middle schools were situated in the new peripheral housing estates on the edge of the new town, while the middle schools in the centre of town were much more likely to have been junior, first or less often, senior schools in the past, now middle schools because of changes both in local and national policy.

The first school students also had a greater degree of detail on the structure of the school, but in addition tended to have some degree of personal details on the staff of the school, and the kind of personal reception they had received on their preparation visits. For instance, many of the first school students noted down how supportive the head teacher seemed, and a great deal of detail on the class teacher they would be working alongside. They also noted their perception of the 'staffroom atmosphere', and were much more likely to note the physical details of the classroom in which they would be working. This latter concern naturally arose because of the importance to the first
school pedagogy of the flexibility afforded by different types of classrooms - e.g. open-plan and the likelihood of team-teaching; wash-basins in one corner making painting, sand, messy activities more manageable etc.

These details are of course, peripheral to the students' preparation for teaching, however they are important indications of the information required by students when planning for their classroom teaching.

b) Compiling the School Experience File.

The priorities put on the file by each group of students were rather different: the subject specialists were required to work from set books, or set curricula, so they had less freedom to work with their files in terms of the actual content of what they would teach. The middle school students had to develop their file in the tension between the exigencies of the set curriculum of the upper sections of the middle schools (especially in the 9-13 schools), and the more open-ended, project approach advocated in the younger sections of the school (especially the 7-11 schools). The first school students had the greatest number of problems to work out in their file, as their day with their pupils had to be structured around a large range of activities, curricula, and social and moral education issues.

The function of the file as far as the research was concerned however was to give a greater insight into how the students defined their pedagogy, their priorities within
that pedagogy, the plans, actions and evaluations that they made in line with the pedagogy - it was the lynch-pin between the students' approach to their teaching practice, and their training in college.

4. Defining the Pedagogy.

Aside from a profile on the school in which the student was placed and a resume of the children to be taught and the area in which the school was situated, the bulk of the school experience file was concerned with schemes of work and evaluation of that work. The file contained both the required self-evaluation, and the 'crits' of the two supervisors - seminar tutor and specialist. In the case of the first school students this was often someone concerned with early reading development, or another seminar tutor.

Each scheme of work comprised the aims of the overall programme of work, the objectives of the particular lessons contained in the schemes of work, self-evaluations and modification of lesson plans in line with these evaluations, and of course, the comments inserted by the supervisors, which were kept at the end of the file.

a) Aims and Objectives.

The aims of the students' schemes of work were worked out through the process of the student reflecting on what they hoped to achieve in educational terms in their particular lessons. The aims were meant to provide the framework
within which the students developed particular lessons, and provide the rationale for the particular structure of lessons.

In drawing up the objectives of the lesson plans, the students were required to detail the specific skills or behavioural manifestations of learning having taken place which they hoped to elicit, i.e. they were aimed at describing the product of the lessons, and explaining the relationship between the different products required by the different lessons taking place within a scheme of work, i.e. how the different lessons were related.

In specifying what the students hoped to produce through these lessons, whether this was an identifiable product, which then became the property of either the teacher and the school, or the pupil and his/her family, or was a set of identifiable and measurable behaviours, the students necessarily confessed their ideas of the nature of their pedagogy in relation to what was to be produced.

As expected, the divergence between the different seminar groups' pedagogy was greatly manifest and clarified in these files. Indeed the way in which the students used the files, the type of guidance needed and given by college supervisors, the use of the files in developing a strategy and evaluating particular tactics, in short, the way in which students come to understand, develop a commitment to, and skills in utilising, their respective pedagogy, was such that we must analyse each of the groups in separation, and
draw out the common themes in their professional training subsequent to that analysis.

Obviously this is an imposition of the research on the experience of the students and on the overall coherence of the course. However, I will argue that this separation does have a basis in the structure not only of the course, but also of the students' experience on teaching practice, and their final approach to their career.

5. Defining the Pedagogy - Subject Specialists

a) Preparation and Expectations

(i) Aims and Objectives.

To summarise, the subject specialists tended to set up the aims and objectives of lessons in their files with the following hopes and criteria in mind:

A - the promotion of critical thought on the pupils' part;
B - to capitalise on the pupils' interest in and therefore enjoyment from, particular material chosen for presentation;
C - good personal relationships between them as teachers (and therefore as representing authority in the classroom), and the pupils (representing the captive audience!);
D - a smooth relationship between the different subjects and contents presented over the period of the student's school experience;
E - good relationships with the staff in the school.

The subject specialists' aims and objectives as detailed in their first school experience file began with an attempt to specify general aims in the particular curricula they were concerned with. They then went on to detail the objectives through which they hoped to achieve these aims.
In the first school experience, most of the students attempted to knit together elements of A, B and C, into aims and objectives which expressed so much of the early optimism noted in other research work on teacher education (1). For instance, in relation to a series of history lessons on the civil war, one student writes his objectives as follows:

"To encourage the children to think about historical events related to the civil war, the object being to ask themselves why? rather than factual recall"

Both the details of the subject matter covered - a traditional tour of the sets of known 'facts about the civil war', and the evaluation of the lesson however, show the students' difficulty in reflecting on the process of their teaching and the kinds of skills they hoped to 'foster' in the children, rather than teach in a didactic way. The expected product from this lesson was a series of 'marks' - the results of tests of the children's knowledge. The children were to be assessed through the application of worksheets testing them on their knowledge of the war, time spent in the use of reference books, and their contribution to a wallchart on the progression of the civil war.

This dysjunction between the aims and objectives, and the means of assessment was found throughout most of the subject specialists first school experience files, whether by their use of means of assessment inappropriate to their task, or

in confusion over the kinds of 'informal' assessments they would be able to use and find relevant and useful. For instance:

Aim - "1) to improve the pupil's expression and use of language generally, both written and spoken and to encourage them to see the value of clear expression. 
   2) to encourage the pupils to look critically at books etc., that do not express themselves clearly, and to enable them to extract what information there is available in such a situation". [my emphasis] (2)

Evaluation - "Levels of interest shown and the amount of verbal contribution, as well as the written work produced"

In this case the student attempted to use 'informal' measures of understanding, but since she was neither clear as to the criteria for measuring such informal contributions, nor intended communicating this to the class, it is difficult to see how this can form part of a systematic assessment of her teaching and the children's learning. One explanation for this is in the lack of clarity in her objectives - "see the value", "look critically" are both difficult to assess in terms of success in the achievement of objectives.

Yet another proposes "through practical work (improvisation) and discussion the children will explore some aspects of the conflict theme... the children will produce work and gain a deeper understanding of this topic". However this student proposed to assess the pupils' performance through work-sheets, drawn up on specific language uses and punctuation.

(2) My own comments embedded in the quotations from the students are surrounded by square brackets.

298
These dysjunctions are later noted by the students' supervisors, therefore we will re-examine them in the light of both the crits the students receive, and their own self-evaluation.

However, we must note here the difficulty such students had in their initial approach to the classroom. That is, they felt they had to achieve more than the simple teaching of the curriculum out of a book - there were more general educational aims they wished to achieve, mostly to do with the critical faculties of the pupils. However, these students failed to develop a coherent strategy to structure, analyse and demonstrate such reflective learning in their plans. Rather they attempted to formulate grandiose educational aims, but failed to understand the more general context of such pedagogy - i.e. they either failed to grasp the stages in such conceptual manipulation by requiring a result which would tend to preclude such learning taking place, for instance in the filling in of a pre-coded worksheet, or aimed at using what they call more 'informal' methods of evaluation, which were completely open to the arbitrary judgement of the teacher, and in the instance cited did not give the pupils any clue as to which criteria the teacher was operating, and thus any clue as to the performance expected of them.

I am not arguing that the students fail to understand the components of their own subject, however, I feel there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these students had neither the personal (biographical) wherewithall nor the
educational or training expertise to develop such a general pedagogy. Their own self-confessed orientation to their job is to be an effective teacher of their own subject, not to raise the general reflective level of thinking of the pupils.

Similarly, their training attempted to build on their ideas of professionalism as being centred in their proficient performance as technicians, compared with for instance, the 'babysitters' of the first school. As such their training was focused on presentation, phasing, motivating, discipline etc., and not on the redefinition of traditional senior school pedagogy, to enable the pupils to take part in a much more 'open' conception of education. For instance, the role of parents as participants in their children's education was never mentioned in training, neither was any idea of primary/secondary liaison, nor the role of L.E.A. advisors, etc.

This point will be elaborated through analysis of the particular lessons these students constructed, and their expectations of the pupils in this context.

(ii) Sequencing, pacing, providing variety.

The relationship between the vague aims and objectives the students set for the lessons, the details of the curricula presented in these lessons, and the types of skills and knowledge they hoped to develop in the pupils, is a central one.
Although the students attempted to express the overall objectives of their lessons in grand schemes, incorporating such ideas as "developing the critical faculties of the pupils", the particular lessons were concerned with the presentation of the set curricula. As soon as the students were required to consider the sequencing of their lessons in their lesson plans, there was very little or no reference back to the wide-ranging, general objectives they had set. Related to this, the students set up their evaluation schemes in very concrete terms. Few attempted to incorporate the measurement of the pupils "seeing the value of clear expression", or "looking critically" at material — mainly because such objectives are difficult to evaluate as they stand, they must be collapsed and rewritten as behavioural, as changes in behaviour and performance in tests are the kinds of changes which the students were taught to look for and measure.

The crux of the relationship between such general objectives and particular evaluations, can be seen when the students were required to separate out the component stages in the process towards achieving their aims. Thus the sequencing of learning and the teaching 'steps' had to be detailed so that the general objectives were transformed into measurable behaviours. The latter, for the students, were usually observed and measured through traditional mechanisms such as tests, worksheets, exams, question and answer sessions etc., rather than in specified criteria of adequate performance in discussion, or observation, or construction of some other
materials (such as wallcharts, mini-plays, T.V. programmes etc.).

For instance, one students' scheme of work was concerned with the Fire of London, and the plague which followed. Her objectives were very general and vague, as follows:

"To encourage children to think about what it would have been like living at that time".

To understand what life was like at that time, the children would have had to grasp enough of the details of social relationships, work, the environment etc., to imagine themselves in that situation. Therefore, the overall objective has at least two components - that the children have sufficient knowledge of the historical detail to manipulate them in the writing of essays, etc., but also, that they are able to perform the imaginative leap into that period and creatively write about how they thought their own life would have been in that time.

The first of these is presented in "the historical facts" of the event, the second is taken for granted. The students phasing was as follows:

- lesson 1 - describe the different types of plague
- lesson 2 - describe the causes (direct and indirect)
- lesson 3 - describe the flight from London (rich first!)
- lesson 4 - describe what the authorities did about it
- lesson 5 - describe the remedies for the plague
- lesson 6 - introduce Pepys diary
- lesson 7 - describe the deathrate
- lesson 8 - conclusion.
In fact, the content of the lessons was not at all concerned with the way of life of the Londoners, but rather with the usual demographic, medical, and social aspects of the plague.

This rather detailed example is only cited as one instance, of many, of the students' aiming to 'improve the learning environment' of the children they are teaching, whereas, in fact, the detail of their job as they saw it was to give information on certain events, and charge the pupils themselves with the development of certain skills in the creative synthesis of the facts, or re-interpretation of these facts.

Thus although the students' perception of what the college tutors wanted, and the requirements of their commitment to the pedagogical potential of their particular subject, led them to formulate more general objectives for their work, and to attempt to achieve a workable strategy based on such principles, the structure of their planning and the exigencies of the classroom as they forecast them, led to the formation of detailed lesson plans which were very traditional, and which fell back into traditional evaluation techniques.

The students then, had one perception of the strategy which they felt they had to develop to satisfy the college tutors, and another of the particular tactics they would have to use in the classroom to keep the children's attention, and ensure that the pupils had grasped the information which
they presented. Thus if we examine the way in which students structured the lessons, the way in which they planned to pace the lessons, we see that they had thought about many of the presentational issues of classroom management, but had difficulty in concretising the general education issues. We see that they were caught in the tension between the exigencies of being assessed by college tutors, the defence of the subject specialist pedagogy, and their role as caretakers of children's minds. The latter was interpreted as being left in charge of a class of 25 children and being expected to keep their attention and ensure that they learned something. It is interesting that the first school students called the students in this group 'minders', reflecting their opinion of the teaching methods used by this group, and their own conception of professionalism.

(iii) Physical constraints, resources available.
The concern of the subject specialists over the physical lay-out of the school and with the resources available to them was strong - obviously because of their need to walk around the school, and the basis of their teaching in books and other written materials. However, it also had an effect on the way the students drew up their lesson plans. The high profile which the pupils' leaving the room at the end of the lesson, and entering at the beginning within the school as a whole, meant that the students often wanted to strictly order these going-ins and coming-outs (see Denscombe 1980 for instance), and the potential competition for books had to be sorted out prior to their arriving at the school.
Thus in their early visits these students were very concerned with the materials available for them to use, any media equipment available, the time-tables, and the location of the classrooms they were to use.

(iv) Pupils expectations.

Overall, this group of students was concerned purely with the age range and 'banded' ability of the pupils they were to teach. The social class background of the area in which the school was cited, however this was marginal to their lesson planning, except in terms of their general assumptions concerning the 'kind' of pupils they would be teaching.

The students did, however, try to plan their lessons with the interests of the pupils in mind at the level of their objectives and aims. Although they rarely planned their lessons or objectives with the existing interests of the children in mind (they did not know the children involved at this stage), they hoped to harness such interest early in their teaching. For instance the following objectives show how the students hoped to motivate the children by gaining their interest -

"To give children more familiarity with the language of books. To encourage the children to think critically about what they read, to encourage the children to read more on their own by showing that books can be interesting".

Most schemes of work were drawn up with some objectives relating to the interest of the children, indeed this was seen as a means of gaining attention, and thus keeping
control over the class. Thus we are interested in how the students will develop a strategy to systematically build on this interest and motivate and control the pupils through it.

(iv) Summary – issues in classroom management.

The students then, enter the classroom with their neat, planned out schemes of work which have grand general objectives, very detailed specific descriptions of what they will do in the classroom, details of how they hope to gain the children's attention to do this, and how they will evaluate their performance. Of course, such carefully laid plans are always disrupted!

b) Supervision and Self-evaluation

The first comments all students, in all three groups, made, concerned the appropriateness of their planning. For the subject specialists, this usually meant that they had not been specific enough in detailing their lesson plans, had pitched the content at too high or too low a level, or had gone too fast, or too slow through the content.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the first indications given to the students that something was wrong with their plans, was the level of disorganisation in the classroom – specifically the noise level of the children. All the students in this group complained about the behaviour of the children in terms of the noise they had made during their lesson. Usually this was seen in terms of their being
'tested out', an idea usually reinforced by their colleagues in the schools, who all seemed to recommend that they 'don't let the kids get away with it'. As one student commented "Kids will be kids and they will try and play up".

Only one of the files I examined did not have long analyses of why the class made such a noise. Typically, the solutions, or tactics were as follows in the first school experience.

"The lesson went quite well. However the children very soon became over-lively (i.e. noisy). Again I will have to spend less time on discussion and really get them doing some solid handwork to help the control element"

"Noisy... The noise continued and I thought of lots of different punishments, e.g. making the class sit in silence and write lines. Unfortunately this would have been against the school philosophy [This student was very bitter about the 'liberal' nature of this particular schools' philosophy] I became stuck as to what to do for the best. One member of the class hit me on the back with a paper pellet, so I retaliated by throwing a piece of chalk at him; missing by an inch. I then made the point to the whole class that I could be more impolite than them if that was what they wanted. I then made the class sit in complete silence for 5 minutes... I made the class promise to be good if I took them out of school."

"This lesson went very well. 90% of the class produced their very best for me. When I asked for quiet the class responded almost unbelievably well. I can only put this down to the strict talk that I gave to the class at the beginning of the lesson."

"Sections of this lesson were not included i.e. discussion. This was cut to a minimum so as not to encourage too much chatter. The class behaved well, I think this is because of the harsh approach I have now taken with the class. I covered all of the work in the lesson plan"

On first encounter with the pupils the students often expressed dismay at the pupils' attitude towards them - i.e. they could not make them listen to what they were saying. They then discussed this with both their tutors in the
college, and with other members of staff in school, both of whom seem delighted to advise them on how to be 'stricter' with the class, or tactics they could employ in order to make the children listen (after which the students were told they could relax their rules again).

For instance, the following represents a sample of tutor and colleague advice, which the student invariably took.

student - "The lesson went well... the discussion improved - I tried out several of the improvements Mrs H suggested [the class' usual teacher]. I found projecting my voice at a higher level did gain more attention. I also carried out 20 minutes concentrated work with them, and only allowed the kids to the desk 2 at a time, and they had to ask permission".

tutor - "You will need to assert your presence and personality a little more firmly I think. If you are not careful, the class (or at least certain individuals) will take advantage of your nice, pleasant, but rather low-key approach. A little 'bite' with clear 'repercussions' would not go amiss at an early stage. I would even go as far as to say that it would be a good idea to demand a short period of complete silence and concentrated work"

student - "Lively class - must establish control. You showed commendable authority at the right time - you have ability to impose yourself on the class from time to time".

student - "don't be afraid of making a more powerful impact from time to time".

Other students were not only dismayed at this kind of behaviour from the pupils, they were alarmed.

"I don't feel particularly successful with this class;... they don't respond as they should to my role as a teacher - I know this because I have seen their behaviour with their usual teacher and there is a significant difference - they are usually quiet when she wanted them to be"

"All in all, I think the lesson went well, the class teacher sat in on the lesson and was very pleased with the change in the method used to gain discipline and also the general run of the lesson"
The tutor's advice to this students was "don't sit at the desk too long. Be more assertive. Always remember to teach - remember the 'learning outcome'. Always give clear instructions."

A number of tactics were recommended by tutors and colleagues then, most of which involved the students 'imposing their personality' on the class of pupils. The way in which the students adopted such recommended changes in behaviour was important in illuminating the development of strategy by the students. At this early stage, the students' perception of teaching seemed to be in terms of all the constraints put on them - by the pupils, college tutors, school colleagues, disciplinary codes etc. Their role in their first school experience, according to their files, was to keep as many of these groups as happy as possible by collecting together an amalgam of tactics. They rarely argued with the recommendations made to them, either as being inappropriate, difficult or wrong.

Their own sense of 'being a teacher' at this stage then, seems too weak to enable them to develop a coherent, personalised strategy. For instance, some of the recommendations of college tutors were almost impossible to implement, given the disciplinary code of the school, and in those circumstances the students were at a loss which of the particular group making demands on them they should most satisfy. The college tutors were usually the principal audience for the students when they were visiting for 'crits', the usual class teacher being prinple in their absence.
There is clearly visible then, a dysjunction between what the students hope to achieve in their first school experience (see list A - E) and the exigencies of both the school, the classroom, the college tutors, and most importantly, the children. These could be summarised as follows:

A - the imposition of authority on the pupils, as a means of securing attention, and basis for achieving a teaching outcome

B - exacting measurable products from lessons, which tend to be produced individually, and are used:
   : to show learning has taken place
   : as a basis for future planning

C - the smooth running of a quiet classroom, with the children looking occupied.

It is interesting that as their first school experience developed, the students began to use B as a method in achieving A and C. That is, the students would change their voice, change the pace of the lesson, constantly remind pupils of the need to sit exams, use practical or discussion work as an incentive to get through more formal lessons, and formal lessons as a threat or punishment.

Some of the quotations from the students' files illustrate the changes made, and the success they secured both in recognition by the college tutors, and by their colleagues. However, specific examples of all these tactics are available.

"Today's lesson was disruptive from the start. The children refused to settle and work. The lesson was to be of a more practical type, and yet because the children had misbehaved during register and continued to do so, I abandoned this and did a more formal type lesson"
c) Developing Strategy and Learning Tactics.

During the training period in which the students return to college to discuss their previous school experience and plan for their future placement, the students and tutors spent a considerable period covering what were found to be common problems amongst the students.

The first, and most important, problem for the students was the dysjunction between what they had hoped to achieve in their school experience, and what they found it reasonable and necessary to concentrate upon, when they found themselves in the classroom - that is, the relationship between the two sets of criteria detailed above. The students found that long before they could begin to explore the intellectual development of the pupils, they had to secure the pupils' attention.

Thus they were required to 'impose their authority on the classroom'. By the end of their first school experience the students were beginning to feel more confident about their approach to the second school experience. Their pacing of the lessons changed slightly to accommodate much more formal work at the beginning of their experience, followed by the option to relax this 'style' slightly, if the behaviour of the pupils warranted such a privilege.

They all picked up the 'don't smile till Christmas' approach to a greater or lesser degree, and indeed, many of the students were very enthusiastic about the effect it had on
their ability to relax 'once you've established a reputation'. Some of the female students pointed out in discussion that the male students had a distinct advantage over them, because of the children's attitudes towards male teachers - they were able to command better discipline quicker, simply because they were taller, stronger, and more aggressive.

Most students abandoned any explicit reference in their objectives to the enjoyment of children, and substituted it with particular, specific 'treats' that they used to control the children's behaviour. That is, they bargained with the children that "if you're good and do the work I want you to, I'll let you do a little of what you want to do". Correspondingly, much of the seminar work in the second college block was spent discussing tactics for securing good discipline in the classroom - 'to get their attention so that teaching can take place' etc.

When talking with students at this point, it was evident that they were both disappointed in their own teaching, but more importantly, in the children's attitudes towards them. Morale was rather low, and the seminar tutors had to spend at least two sessions convincing the students that they would be able to return to their more ambitious schemes in the latter part of their second and in their third school experiences.

What these trainee students did request from the tutors, however, was a number of seminars devoted to how they would
achieve discipline, and to swap tactics with other students. Many of the students had talked in greater depth with the teacher to whom they were attached on teaching practice, concerning their discipline problems while on teaching practice rather than with the college tutor. This is not surprising as college tutors came as assessors of the students' work, whereas the teacher based in the school knew the children concerned much better. Thus the range of tactics from the different schools they had attended were exchanged and evaluated informally, alongside the more formal sessions from the seminar tutors.

The first change in the way the student drew up their school experience files, and thus in the way they approached their teaching, was to describe the content of the lessons and the methods used, in much greater detail, structuring the lessons such that the type of teaching which demanded handwork, individual study and little interaction (or fun!), were concentrated at the beginning, with a greater degree of flexibility brought into the later schemes. At that stage the students felt able to adapt the programme to more 'informal' teaching methods, which permitted discussion, group work, practical work, physically moving around the classroom etc.

The second change in their workplans, which was related to the drive for greater classroom control, was the substitution of a number of 'informal' measurement tools by very strict adherence to the need for a 'product' from the lesson - in most cases, a product which (unlike for instance pain-
tings made in a first school classroom) then became the property of the teacher and the school. The students expressed the hope that if they constantly reminded the pupils that they had to produce good exam marks at the end of the year by reproducing the exam context through a number of smaller tests, the children would be motivated to work harder on their own, and produce better homework.

A third change was in evidence in the way the students thought about the classroom. It was no longer their classroom, seen in isolation from the rest of the school: a number of the students had suffered being 'ticked off' from colleagues in the school over the level of noise and/or disorder in the classroom, and had made it clear that what went on in their classroom was a matter for concern for the whole school, as it set a bad example, was disruptive for other classes, and encouraged these pupils to behave badly in other classes.

This point reflects practically a particularly important area of disagreement between college tutors and teachers in schools as far as most of the students were concerned. That is, although many of the teachers were described rather uncomplimentarily by the students, they tended to respect their classroom control and tried to acquire many of what were seen to be the most effective tactics. These tactics were usually reinforced by the college tutors only in the short term - because they enabled the student to relax more in the classroom, and thus 'get more teaching done'. How-
ever the tutors were quite explicit over the need to develop a coherent, flexible approach to teaching in the long-term.

Thus, although this group were critical over the staff in schools in general, looking at their colleagues in school as examples of the state of the art, in-service was seen as completely inadequate, and they felt that there was a great deal of 'deadwood' in the schools, they did tend to listen to the advice of their colleagues, and reported any successes they had in their file.

If we return to the original set of criteria out of which the students constructed their files, i.e. the hopes of the students at the start of their first school experience and compare these objectives with the best they subsequently hope to achieve, we can see quite a gap. I will argue that the relationship between strategy and tactics can be articulated by analysing the gaps between them, that is by describing the students' successes and failures.

Many of the students coped with the frustrations they felt while on their initial school experiences, by looking to the future when they would have more time, more confidence, and more experience, to return to their more ambitious objectives. They hoped to rethink their strategy to include a commitment to the wider education of the children by engaging them effectively in topics which interest both themselves and the pupils, using methods which included the pupils in a discovery approach, rather than underestimated
them as passive recipients of the knowledge presented to them by the students.

Whether this will be the case or not is an issue not covered by this thesis. Lortie, Hobgen and Petty, and others have debated the permanence of the students' teachers' approach to the classroom. However, it is interesting to note that while these researchers found a process of radicalisation of secondary school student teachers while in college, which was dropped when such student teachers took up employment, this study found a far more conservative group of students, whose aims were perhaps rather radical in practitioners' terms, but whose first practice was very traditional. Perhaps the research design can account for some of these differences. While previous research has focussed on attitude tests and changes in students' attitudes over time, this study has looked at the relationship between the culture of the students and their attitudes arising out of their culture, and their actual practice.

At the end of the professional training year then, these students tended to be able to control a class through a number of tactics described above, were able to teach a class a prescribed curriculum, and were able to measure the learning which has taken place.

A few of the students returned to their original objectives in stimulating the children to reflect on what they had been taught, but such occasions took place rarely on the third school experience I observed, and were not popular with the
students' school colleagues. Most of the students counted themselves lucky to be able to control the class, present and teach the curriculum, evaluate the pupil's performance, and, if the pupils' behaviour warranted a greater consideration of their enjoyment of a lesson, the students employed a number of tactics to keep control of the lesson while giving the pupils a chance to 'enjoy themselves' or 'skive off' for a while.

Thus, the students would let early finishers carry on with homework, or read their own comics or magazines, or go to fetch equipment etc; and occasionally when the whole class had worked hard, they would present a more informal lesson, based on discussion or practical work. They would joke and cajole the children, personalise the lesson ('work hard for me and I'll let you do something you want to'), and ease off on the imposition of authority. However, systematic presentation of lessons through these techniques did not take place, nor did the students tend to return to their original objectives in the professional training year, although, as I have mentioned, some articulated the desire to reconsider the more general objectives in the light of their experience once they had a job.

6. Defining the Pedagogy - Middle School Students.

In comparison with the subject specialists, the difficulties the middle school students confronted on their first school experience were many and varied.
The difficulties began in the initial visits to the schools, where the students found out which type of school they had been assigned. As already mentioned, the variety of schools in the area was great, from purpose-built brand new schools, headed by innovatory headteachers with a vision of the potential contribution of middle schools, to ex-first or secondary schools, which were experiencing an identity crisis, and which were in the midst of trying to work out this new pedagogy, structure, curriculum etc.

The students were required to draw up the overall aims of their teaching, particular detailed objectives of specific lessons, and proposals for record-keeping and evaluation with a particularly difficult balancing act to perform. Within the college they had great difficulty in developing a strategy towards teaching, one of the difficulties being the plethora of issues and new methods which they were required to confront and master in a very short space of time, while having no clear idea of the principles and philosophy of middle schools in general.

a) Preparation and expectations.

(i) Aims and objectives.

The earliest attempts the students made to draw up general educational aims and specific teaching objectives were rich data which function to give signals of the students' difficulties in confronting the classroom and their first attempts at teaching. The middle school students early aims were extremely vague and general - for instance, one parti-
cular middle school student drew up the following aim for his scheme of work -

"To show the civilising influence effected by a technologically and socially superior group imposing controls over a group of lesser advancement"

This was the rationale and basis for developing a study on 'The Romans in Britain'.

Examples of the difficulty the students had in relating the aims and objectives are many. For instance, one student obviously grasped that the objectives were intended as a framework in which to detail the particular implications of the skills being taught, while the aims were related to how such knowledge or skills related to other aspects of the curriculum. However, he failed to understand that pupils do not necessarily grasp the principles behind mathematical operations by learning the rules of those operations -

aims - "To ensure that the children understand the basic principles in the calculation of angles of a triangle, parallelograms, or polygons"

objectives - "To describe the rules of calculating angles"

Evaluation of the success of the lesson was made in terms of the pupils' knowing the rules of the operation, no assessment was made of their understanding of the principles involved, which would require the pupils' demonstrating the use of the rules in a variety of circumstances, including the perception of situations where the rules could not apply.
Much of this early confusion arose out of the students' attempt to teach basic skills through project work - securing the children's interest in the subject and thereby, hopefully, making the actual teaching and learning easier.

However, the students' understanding of the stages involved in project work, the relationship between the different elements in a project etc. was minimal. The way in which the students' sequenced their objectives showed that the students had not reflected on the subject matter of the project theme sufficiently to enable them to draw on the particular interests which may arise out of the subject matter - it was merely an introduction to the existing materials the students had.

The insulation between different projects the students worked on with the same class was also fairly substantial at this early stage, and there was little reference to material taught under one heading, in any of the other schemes (3). Because of the nature of the middle school classroom, these students' files had the additional category of 'organisation' in which the students detailed their method of working.

The early files all show evidence of the difficulty these students had in integrating the various aspects of their pedagogy. For instance, in many cases the students had tied aims centred around a more informal teaching style, with a

(3) See Bernstein 1977 for analysis of the 'boundaries' between the content of the curriculum.
strict and formal organisation. For instance, in constructing a lesson in art-work with the theme of making an overhead projector programme to illustrate a song, the student had the following aim, and organisation detailed in her file.

aims - "The children will look at another country and how the people live, which will help them to look objectively at other nations"
organisation - "Lessons will be taught from the books available on the country, maps, and the blackboard. Evaluation will take place through the children's written work".

This student later expressed difficulty in evaluating the lesson -

"Problem of how used to the type of lesson the children were. There is a danger with English books to just let the children get on with what they are doing, and not teach them enough".

The students made tremendous changes to their aims, objectives and organisation as detailed in their file in subsequent school experiences. However, this will be analysed later in the chapter.

(ii) Sequencing, pacing, and providing variety.
Although these students would be teaching classes which contained pupils with a variety of abilities, they rarely inserted any flexibility in the lessons described in their early files. The students occasionally attempted to schedule the main teaching time on a subject in teaching the whole class, followed by group- or individual- work. This is the only evidence of flexibility provided in pace and content. However, where the students did try to produce
more flexibility was in their handling of the children's
behaviour -

organisation - "at first mainly formal, but as I build
up my relationship with the children, move to group work,
and more informal methods of teaching."

organisation - "mainly formal at first, but if possible
(i.e. if I can organise the children) I will allow them to
explore and find out certain rules for themselves. I am
hoping that I will be able to cater for both the fast and
the slow learner"

organisation- "the lessons will be class lessons with
everybody working at a similar pace, doing examples off the
board. Anybody who finished early can follow up their work
with a chapter from Beta Maths Book 4"

This early hope of organising lessons mainly around class
teaching, and catering for mixed ability through 'early
finishers' and more informal groups once the 'real teaching'
has been done, was superceded in subsequent teaching prac­
tices, as the students, when on their teaching practice,
found these tactics inadequate.

(iii) Physical constraints.
Many of the middle school students' early lessons involved
using a wide range of resources and media-materials. OHPs,
TV programmes, slide projectors, films, outside visits,
visiting speakers, were all scheduled into the early progr­
ammes.

These were knitted into the lesson plans of the students, in
line with a pedagogy that is based on project work, building
up packages, etc., i.e. one which moves away from the book­
based study of the secondary school, while being more struc­
tured and formal yielding a higher level of 'produce' (for
instance workbooks based round a theme, pupil folders, specific packages) than the first school.

The students also took into account the resources of the school in terms of its space - library, domestic science kitchen, workrooms, communal halls, reading rooms, P.E. equipment, pianos, etc. This was one of the few ways in which the students could grasp the philosophy of the middle school - as the buffer between primary and secondary schooling, as its physical manifestations gave rise to relatively easy programming and use of what were in subject specialists' terms 'anomalous' or 'undesignated' spaces - spaces which had to be filled.

Here again the difference between the students' aims in using these spaces, and the specific objectives of their teaching in those spaces, was marked. For instance, the library was often used for class-teacher storytelling, the kitchen for learning how to cook specific dishes, the communal halls for painting in groups. In these early schemes there was little cross-over in terms of what the class as a whole would be doing, and in terms of the teacher's activity in class-teaching.

Both these aspects - the high degree of use of resources and material available, and the structure of their use of these resources, changed over the school experience. This will be analysed in detail later in the chapter.
(iv) Pupils expectations.

The middle school students approached the classroom with the knowledge that these younger children would not necessarily be interested in the subjects of their projects, so most of them built in some means of securing this interest - often using some of the resources and material described above. For instance one student scheduled television programmes on seal culling as a basis for introducing the theme 'men and animals', which in turn was the theme used to teach writing and reading skills.

"Hopefully this will help bring the theme 'alive' to the children and stimulate more interest in the theme".

Most students who mentioned the interests of the children, attempted to cope with stimulating their interest through the use of new materials at this stage. However, they had little clear ideas as yet, of how the introduction of such materials could affect the classroom, and few students took cognisance of possible scenarios of difficulties obtaining, setting up or operating the systems. Few had backup plans, or flexibility in their programmes.

(v) Summary - issues in classroom management.

The aims and hopes of the middle school students in setting up their first school experience file can be categorised as follows:

A - increased understanding of themes and concepts  
B - more interesting presentation of material, leading to a more effective learning of basic skills, through the presentation of material in projects  
C - degree of flexibility in pacing and content, because of the range of abilities in the class  
D - more informal evaluation of pupils work, so as not
to 'straightjacket' the children.

With greater or lesser emphasis on the components of such packaged-based mixed ability teaching, and an unclear idea of the relationship between components, the middle school students constructed their files with this multi-media, project-based work, aimed at producing packages and workbooks, at the forefront of their aims. They also hoped to establish good working relationships with teachers in the school, but were more reticent about their hopes for their relationships in the school. This is not surprising, given the variety of teaching styles, philosophical commitments, assessment criteria etc. encountered on visits to the school. The middle school students thought it far more likely that they would run into disagreements with the teachers in the schools in which they were placed, than the subject specialists did, for example.

b) Supervision and Self-evaluation.

The middle school students tended to encounter a greater number and variety of problems in their first encounters with the class. They expressed difficulty in teaching mixed ability classes, they found difficulty in detailed evaluation, they gave their lessons at the wrong pace, they found difficulty keeping discipline, the geography of the room often posed problems, their turn for equipment never came, or the equipment was broken, or the class was too
riotous, or could not grasp the purpose of their lesson etc.!

In the fog of frustration and confusion in the early self-evaluations of the students, it is difficult to see the details of their difficulties. However, the points they raised are connected, and must be separated out to analyse in greater detail.

The middle school students shared some of the subject specialists' frustration at the behaviour of the children. However one important difference emerged between their evaluation of the children's behaviour, and their proposed solution to the problem. That is, while the subject specialists saw noise in the classroom as needing the imposition of their authority through the raising of their voice, or more stringent discipline, etc., the middle school students diagnosis of the problem was more concerned with the subject being taught, and also with the process of their teaching.

Although the students obviously employed some of the tactics the subject specialists employed, these students were in a more complex situation. That is, some of their ideas about how to obtain classroom control were not acceptable, formally or informally to the rest of the school staff - either the students were seen as 'too idealistic' or 'too strict'. They found it difficult to balance the requirements of the school and the requirements of the college tutors.
Obviously some of the tactics were the same:

student A - "This lesson went much better, (the pupils) came in very noisy - I had a go at them as soon as all the class was in - after that they settled down very quickly, and the worked well and quietly"

student B - "With quite a few reminders from me the children managed the lesson in almost total silence. It is surprising how the children react to a change of mood. Some are still trying to push me, but I am managing to quash them reasonably well. Made class sit in through break - sat with hands on head in silence."

Interestingly, student A was placed in an ex-senior school which still had a very traditional approach to discipline, while student B was placed in a new, purpose-built middle school, with a more liberal approach to the behaviour of the children. The college tutor's comments on the latter students' tactics reflect the disquiet of both the school and the college at such disciplinary tactics

"You need to relax, and think about the pace of your lessons more. You will not be able to teach unless you get the children on your side".

This student also kept copious records on the pupils in her class, and all marks from little tests she set.

A great number of the students found difficulty grasping the central tenets of their pedagogy - the techniques of teaching mixed ability groups, and the problem of initiating, coordinating and assessing project work. These issues both relate to how the students constructed their school experience files, and the relationship between their aims, objectives and organisation.
That is, the aims and objectives were not couched in terms which suited the project focus of much of their work - their aims were vague, and their objectives related to the component skills and knowledges they wished to teach, nor were they particularly suited to the subject matter under consideration. The students had difficulty in organising project-based classes, and great difficulty in devising efficient 'informal' means of evaluating the pupils' work.

Thus the problems of teaching mixed ability classes, the project work, and the assessment criteria associated with it, all combined to make their teaching confused and frustrating, with the students unable to separate out the component parts of their difficulties.

Their colleagues tended to give advice on particular problems, without reference to the overall rationale of what the students were trying to do, as did the college tutors.

Thus, the students reached the end of their first school experience, still expressing great difficulties, but having reached some way in understanding what kinds of tactics to employ to satisfy their colleagues and the pupils, if not the college tutors and their expectations of the students as potential middle school teachers.

Towards the end of their practice, they put their problems as follows:

"I had difficulty settling the children this morning. Some children failed to follow simple instructions, while
other were very quick to respond, and finished their tasks very quickly. However, I think the rest of the lesson went as I had planned and I am sure that the majority of the class were able to follow and understand the lesson.

"Discussion about seal culling went quite well. Class as a whole came up with some good ideas - discussion a bit difficult to control, i.e. all kept shouting at once... When it came to actual writing of letter [for or against seal culling] class very reluctant to write - said 'I can't think of anything to write'."

"Problem in range of ability - It is difficult to find a happy medium, I found it very difficult to give the slower children the help they needed. I had difficulty assessing the success of this lesson" [discussion-based].

"The content of the questions was reasonable although some children finished very quickly while others were still on the 1st and 2nd question - this degree of difference in ability could be very difficult to cope with unless I start to set separate work for the very slow ones. I get the feeling however, that a lot of the children are not as slow as they try to make out. Shouted at a few, went to break, some stayed, and I had quite a nice chat with them. Its funny how different children can be in different circumstances".

We must return to the list of the students hopes and aims in setting up their school experience file, and their approach to their first teaching practice. The following list of criteria is a summary of the real aims of their lessons, once the difficulties of the classroom had been encountered.

A - sufficient imposition of authority to get the teaching done;
B - the need to progress at a set rate through the topics;
C - priority put on basic skills over the subject matter of project presented;
D - pace set towards the majority of the class, to cater for the highest number of learners, with occasional 'catch up' sessions for the 'slow learners', and extra book-work set for the 'fast learners';
E - quiet, organised, busy classroom;
F - controlling effect books and the blackboard (c.f. other resources and materials) have on the class.

Although some of the above 'real criteria' are shared with the subject specialists, the context in which they are
developed is very different over time, and thus requires a separate analysis.

c) Developing strategy and learning tactics.

The middle school students' seminars, in the period immediately following their first school experience, were fascinating. All the students brought their own problems to the seminars, and most of the period between the school experiences was spent in the middle school tutors' reiterating the general thrust of middle school teaching. That is, how to structure lessons, the evaluation made of the pupils' work, and the appropriate teaching styles.

One of the most interesting, and to the students important, discussions centred around discipline in the classroom, but was really concerned with the wider implications of pedagogy, and the effects different forms of classroom and school organisation have on the learning which takes place.

The discussion began with definitions of discipline - the group being asked to discuss what they meant by discipline. Most of the students did not concentrate on the behaviour of the children, despite their very great concern with the behaviour of the children when they were teaching in the classroom. Rather they focused on school organisation, and the purpose of their teaching. They defined discipline in terms of 'keeping order' in the widest sense - to enable learning, to give children freedom in the classroom, to
enable a number of activities to take place in the classroom at the same time.

This definition was so far from their practical concern over discipline when they were teaching that the tutors again brought the discussion round to the need particular instances of what they meant by 'keeping order'. The students found it extremely difficult to relate their own experience of the classroom back to the ideals of what most of them felt to be their purpose in teaching.

In analysing a school with an 'alternative' disciplinary code - Summerhill - the students found a practical example of how they could not agree with what they saw as a lack of discipline. Good classroom (c.f. pedagogical) control meant the teacher explicitly wielding power over the pupils. That is, they felt that the Summerhill idea of discipline a) had practical difficulties, for instance of when and where the classes would be held, i.e. the teacher losing control over what, where, and the subject matter of what, would be taught, and b) had social implications, in terms of the function of the school as a training for society.

The tutors aimed, over this period, to teach the students the importance of connecting the aims of their teaching with the objectives of their lessons. Given the evaluation of the pupils work was to be contained in the objectives of their lesson plans, they hoped this would solve the problem of evaluation.
In fact, most of the students began to formulate their second school experience file with these criteria in mind. However, this meant that their aims were couched in far more specific, curricular, terms, and that their objectives then became concerned with the particular skills and knowledge they wished the pupils to acquire through their lesson.

The following example was typical of the aims and objectives drawn up in this period.

**Aims** - "to develop via the theme of World War 2, the children's ability in the various areas of creative writing, so as to give precise explanations of events, feelings, and emotions both factual and imaginative.

**Objectives** - "the children

a) should be able to identify some of the events of WW2 that disrupted and affected everyday life

b) should be able to exercise imaginative writing by describing some of the conditions of war

c) should be familiar with some of the factual events of war

d) should be able to describe the after effects of the war with appropriate words through poetry".

This scheme shows quite clearly the relationship between the aims and the objectives, and is clear in terms of what is expected of the children, and therefore, their evaluation.

What this does, however, is to tie down the definition of pedagogy to particular skills without the original aim of the pedagogy, in beginning to relate some of the subject matter and skills acquired through a whole project theme crossing areas of curricula.

Having approached their second school experience in such concrete practical terms, some of the students then encoun-
tered ideological difficulties in their schools, where the approach of the staff was much more 'liberal arts' oriented.

Indeed it is in the students' reactions to their colleagues and to the school philosophy that we can begin to trace some of the students' early attempts to develop a strategy which committed them to a particular idea of teaching and a corresponding set of practices. Others relied purely on tactics which they did not particularly understand, as they did in their first school experience, but which 'kept the rest happy' (i.e. college staff, pupils, colleagues in the schools etc.). For instance, on one particular supervision visit, I observed, with the seminar tutor, a student organise a 'project' on The Sea.

The students' organisation of the classroom looked as if it had a coherent strategy based on project work which gave the children some independence, while obviously was concerned with some of the basic skills. However, on closer examination, the tutor concluded that something else was going on in the classroom.

That is, the student had used the tactics handed on by the college tutors and the school staff where she worked, but displayed a lack of skill in, and understanding of, the pedagogy they wished her to adopt, in the way in which she knitted the various elements together. The lesson was organised around using the theme of fishes to promote creative writing. The student had asked the children to
pick a fish (from a display at the front of the classroom), and to write a story of its journey in the sea.

There was a great deal of activity in the classroom, and the student was extremely agitated over the level of chatter, rustle and bustle. She constantly attempted to engage the attention of the whole class from her position at the front (there was no teacher's desk in the room) to ensure a) that the noise was eliminated, and b) that they were doing what they supposed to. This interrupted the individual and group work the pupils were doing, and naturally, they found it difficult to get back to their story. Her control of the class was based on teacher-to-class work, yet her organisation of the classroom was radically different.

The tutor pointed out to the student that she needed to relax, and not to worry about the level of noise (i.e. change her control tactics), however, the student felt that the children would 'try it on' if she gave them any independence whatsoever.

Other students found that they fitted in very happily to the schools in which they were placed. A number of students found great success with their new approach, particularly in the more traditional schools.

It is notable that nearly all the 'traditional' middle schools which I encountered in accompanying the tutors around their supervision trips, were in the inner city with a high number of working class children. Most of the new
schools were built in more middle class areas, where the new housing estates were mixed developments.

The tutor felt that this was important in terms of the type of teaching that could be done in these respective schools. For instance, in relation to the school in which the student with The Sea project did her teaching practice, she pointed out that the student had even greater difficulty with the pupils because they were middle class, both parents tended to work, and they were 'fairly intelligent'. This meant a lot of cheeky children in the class calling out and making a huge fuss when the student made a mistake.

The difference in culture I would argue is important here, both in terms of the pedagogy and the strategy of the student, but also in terms of the expectations of the pupils. The working class pupils were more likely to play a game the students themselves understood - as the subject specialists displayed. The 'don't smile till Christmas' approach was adopted by many students in such schools, and indeed made sense in terms of their adapted approaches.

However, students placed in more 'progressive' schools, which were trying to work out the middle school pedagogy in practice, were faced with greater difficulties. They could not trust the children to work on their own, and in small groups, without using the traditional forms of controlling the classroom, yet the pedagogy demanded that the children be free to move around the classroom, and take part in groupwork and discussion.
Some students managed successfully to develop a strategy towards these schools which displayed a greater understanding of the relationship between project work and the stages of learning and teaching involved in programming such work. Interestingly, one of the few students to do this in the second teaching practice later gained a distinction (the only student to do so in the middle school group).

In their final school experience more of the students managed to get even more confused over their role and approach to teaching, especially if the philosophy of the school was yet again different. The requirement of the student to survive in the school in which s/he was placed, alongside the overt commitment of the seminar tutors to a specific pedagogy for middle schools, meant that many of them felt extremely tense about their approach, and tactics which they initially had employed to secure recognition, were often seen as 'bad practice'.

The picture at the end of their professional year, then, was still blurred. Although some students had managed to grasp some of the as yet unspecific middle school pedagogy and develop a strategy which accommodated their commitment alongside the exigencies of the classroom, many more students felt that it would take the probationary year to work out their strategy in detail. They felt their year had lacked consistency, and it is interesting to note that this group was the only group which voted for a longer block teaching, rather than the three different school experiences.
Perhaps a study of middle school students in their probationary year would have been more appropriate, as the many strands affecting the strategy they develop in college are intricately connected, and some cease to be important on graduation. However, it is argued here that the strategy the student develop in college is far more resilient than is sometimes assumed, as it is a result of a series of school experiences, which are reflected upon and supervised by a number of educational personnel, with very different roles and criteria. The balancing act which the students have to perform, while maintaining some personal commitment to the strategy they devise, must have an effect of their long-term commitment, if only because of the process of reflection they have participated in to secure some personal commitment to their strategy.

7. Defining the Pedagogy - First School Students.

At the beginning of the professional training year, the first school group represent the groups whose passage through the different classes in educational theory, building on their own interests and observations of classrooms, etc. has been smoothest. These students were familiar with many of the social scientific research work done on early education, with its implications in educational terms, and also had seen practical examples in many classrooms.

Their first block of training in the college attempted to build on their skills and interests, and by the time the students came to construct their first school experience
file, most of the students had an explicit commitment to first school pedagogy supported in college, and a reasonable acquaintance with the relationship between the policy and the pedagogy, especially their own power in affecting young children's educational chances. Their approach to their file shows that much of these students, at this early stage, had thought out the practical implications of the pedagogy, and had explicitly articulated a strategy towards the classroom which incorporated many of the research work with which they had become acquainted. There is always a gap however, between the strategy which is drawn up out of little practical experience, and strategy which is a product of long hard reflection on a series of experiences.

a) Planning and expectations.

(i) Aims and objectives.

The structure of the school experience file in the first school seminar group was somewhat different from the other two groups. The students had a great deal of detailed information concerning the school in which they were placed, but also a great deal on the physical and social environment of the school. The students were encouraged to go for walks in the area surrounding the school, in order to pick up some ideas for relevant material for the classroom, and were advised to constantly build on their own interests and existing materials to construct lessons (c.f. the resources and media used by the middle school students).
The structure of their schemes of work was far more detailed than the other two groups - they relied on the aims and objectives approach to give them the basic framework of their lessons, however, they dealt with many more organisational and personal details in their file.

Thus the typical student's file was organised as follows:

- aims;
- objectives;
- analysis of the children to be taught (in terms of the range of interests, abilities, experiences, background etc.);
- concepts to be introduced;
- language to be used and developed;
- experiences to be given;
- materials to be used and produced;
- method of working.

The files also contained a forecast of the day's work, within which the students were advised to build a great deal of flexibility in order to adapt their existing plans in other circumstances.

There was no particular 'evaluation' section in these students' files, rather they assumed that they would keep 'child studies', over their periods teaching the class. These would be built up from their observations, comments from the pupils, behavioural difficulties, materials produced, difficulties expressed in their work etc. The case studies were sometimes broken down into 'personality record' and 'academic record'.

The students demonstrated in these records, that they were able to deal with the connections between all the sections.
listed above, and to focus on particular children, from the very beginning of their school experience.

A typical file, organised around science lesson was as follows.

**Objectives** - "a) To provoke thought and provide information in a number of areas.  
b) to encourage children to think independently and/or co-operatively, solve simple problems and draw conclusions.  
c) To develop powers of observation.  
d) To explore and satisfy curiosity.  
e) To draw up records of experiments and findings."

**Types of experience to be given** - "a) Experiments concerned with the concepts of freezing and melting -  
    ice expanding  
    ice floating.  
b) Temperature -  
    feeling warm  
    touching ice  
    heating up"

**Methods** - "a) The majority of experiments will have to be done in small, supervised groups.  
b) Encourage children to discover for themselves  
c) Encourage children to ask questions.  
d) Provide work-cards where appropriate.  
e) Record findings.  
f) Ensure that the children act responsibly when handling materials/equipment/objects."

Most of the students, in their first school experience file, managed to relate quite abstract concepts with specific skills to be acquired in the mastering of such concepts, through detailing 'experiences' which demonstrated the children's understanding of such concepts.

All students had a 'language' section in their schemes of work, whether P.E. or maths, and focused on the children understanding their own capabilities, and the material sur-
rounding them. They all had lessons where no particular product was required, except that the children were prepared to talk about the content of the lesson, and display behaviour which provided evidence that they had understood what was being 'taught'.

Similarly, all the students had other lesson where the children produced some material, which either became the property of the 'class' in some display, or had a similar function in being used as a basis for another class, or became the property of the children and their families. That is, the students displayed a firm grasp of the relationship between pedagogy and 'ideal' practice. The reality of what took place in the classroom will be analysed below. However, it is important that we acknowledge the coherence of most of the first school students' strategy when approaching the classroom.

(ii) Sequencing, pacing and variety.
These issues were central to the construction of the first school students' files, but in a very different way from the other two groups. The sequencing of material was based on ideas about how children learn, and the learning stages through which they pass. Their pacing was founded on theories of individual learning, which demanded that the students tailor their teaching, or the provision of 'learning experiences', to cater for the different personalities, skills, interests, and learning abilities of the pupils they were teaching.
In their first school experience file, the students had a great deal of data on the previous learning and experiences of the children, and the areas already covered thoroughly by their teachers. They also drew up a series of formats for keeping records on individual children, and often built in time during their lessons to take little notes on individual children, which are then put into the child's record at the end of the day. The students reflected on their progress weekly, trying to pull together some of their records on the daily performance of children into a more coherent whole.

For instance, some of the students notes on their first school are as follows.

"There is a very great range of abilities in this group of children, most of my work then, will be group work, but this class are used to quite a lot of 'classwork' so I will have to see the whole class from time to time."

"These children have only grasped a very basic concept of number and are still becoming familiar with counting from 1-10. I hope to give them as much practical experience as possible of dealing with small amounts of objects, e.g. sorting, setting, matching, etc."

The details of their records will be examined later in the chapter.

(iii) Physical constraints.

Most of the students' concern at this early stage centred around the tables, desks, boards, and other physical arrangements in the classroom. The students also took cognisance of the physical environment of the children, and used this as a basis for some of their schemes of work. For instance, one student teaching near an industrial estate
with a large number of textile factories, developed a project on 'clothes through the ages', while another based in the new housing development area, constructed a project on what the area was like prior to the new housing. Yet others used the local wildlife for projects and walks etc.

Compared with the other two groups however, these students were not overly concerned about the lack of materials or facilities, although some schools were criticised by them for their stock of out of date or sexist books, and materials etc.

(iv) Pupils' expectations.
Many of the details of the pupils' expectations have already been covered above, e.g. in their interests in the local area, and in the style of teaching they were used to.

Most of the students were concerned that there be continuity between their appearance in the classroom and the lessons planned, and the type and content of teaching the children were used to from their own class teacher. They therefore liaised closely with these teachers early in their visits to the school, built up a file on the children from discussion with them, and planned their own work in conjunction with the teacher. The class teacher was very important to these students throughout their school experience, supplying information on the children, rather than tactics on how to control the class.
As already mentioned, the students' strategy contained a very firm commitment to systematically building on the pupils' interest and extending that interest once the pupils had confidence in the areas that they had some knowledge of. This of course required them to keep extensive records on each of the children.

(v) Summary - issues in classroom management.

The students then, approached their first school experience and the construction of their first school experience file, with the following hopes and aims in mind.

A - presentation and discussion of concepts which engage the children's interest and harness their motivation;
B - development of project work with particular skills related to the subject matter;
C - flexibility in presentation and construction of 'learning environment' to give each child equal chance of learning;
D - evaluation of children's learning though serialising experience, and noting expertise in each stage throughout period in classroom;
E - constructing a bright, interesting, active classroom, with displays and a variety of material available to the children;
F - develop good relationships with the staff as a means of gaining more information on the children and on their teaching.

b) Supervision and Self-evaluation.

The first concerns of the subject specialists and the middle school students was the level of noise in the classroom. The first school students did express some doubts over the level of chaos in their classrooms, but were quickly told by their tutors that such activity was a good sign, so long as they had control over what was happening.
From the first lesson evaluation which this group of students documented, it was clear that their evaluations were not so much to do with their teaching, but with the particular children they were teaching.

"I probably could have done more work on the concept area with them before sending them away to complete the page in the Fletcher workbooks. I hope to keep the children occupied in Mathematics for a longer period tomorrow. Claire is having difficulty in understanding, tomorrow I shall try and check to see if they have really understood tallying. I think that most of them do understand, but I can only think at the moment, and that is not good enough." [This was this students' first day teaching the class].

"I'm concerned about H's progress - he doesn't seem to respond to any of the things I've tried with him. Perhaps I will get him to help me demonstrate tomorrow".

"movement - I am continually surprised by what they children can do! T is the most talkative, I will have to make sure she doesn't exculde C from her group".

"I'm worried about pushing too hard and being too fussy about noise. S.L., S.P. & C.H. will need to be watched - they will get away with doing nothing if at all possible!"

All these were typical examples of the evaluations the students made of their own performance. It is interesting that these students tended to keep the evaluations short, spending far more time on their 'child studies' and writing more about the specific methods they were using in the classroom in consideration of how particular children reacted.

The information available in the case studies drawn up by the students was extremely detailed and contained notes on anything from the pupils' tantrums, to their parents.

J.C. [Child's name], age 10

"A hesitant reader - lacks concentration, tends to guess at words rather than really look at them and read
them. I will have to spend more time persuading her she can do it, and work with her on her own at least once to help her spell words out."

M.T., age 10
"Fairly capable when she tries. I will really have to try to be patient with her, and encourage her."

"She lacks confidence unless I am there reassuring her that her work is correct, she threatens to destroy her work, convinced that it is wrong. Will have to use her work in display."

S.L.
"S. definitely struggles with his language work. He is a fairly poor reader, so I will have to try to hear him daily. He seems to be enjoying it more now that he finds it easier and is more prepared to sit and read on his own. Tha is not to say that he lacks an interest in books. If he has finished all his other work, he will often ask if he can go into the book corner to read. He often chooses books that are above his ability level, but will quietly sit looking and pictures and sometimes asks for paper so that he can trace or copy them. I can't be sure if he fully understood the science lesson because his writing up of them was rather poor, I must work with him to talk about it."

These examples are only a few of what were incredibly detailed and specific records on children. Much of the detail analysed the children's ability across a range of skills and interests, and skill in one (e.g. writing in S.L.) was considered alongside skill in another (e.g. understanding the science lesson).

Often these records were dated, followed by a summary of the child's learning.

S.O. age 10
3/11 "Copy: wrote a sentance beautifully from r - 1"
11/11 "Worked very well in art today - made scales for dragon collage very neatly and was very particular about the way in which they should be stuck on"
20/11 "Looks ideal in his nativity play outfit, wouldn't take it off. Attended English and number in his turban"
25/11 "S made a lovely hat in art this afternoon - he has a nice eye for colour and decorated it very nicely."
The class teacher's knowledge was harnessed in the drive for the greater possible information on a pupil.

"Mrs. H is lovely and spends loads of time telling me everything she can about the children'.

"Need to keep children continually occupied - cannot overplan! Mrs T says they like to be kept busy and stimulated." [emphasis in original].

Whatever the consequences of such a child-centred pedagogy, the students all displayed a remarkable coherence in their practical articulation of the pedagogy in their first school experience.

The crits given to the students by the seminar tutors, and the files completed on them by the headteachers, class-teachers and other tutors (along with the seminar tutors), emphasized their competence in this exercise.

"Dear J, (this students' first school experience was in an school for E.S.N. children)

The story of the 'yellow lion' and the impromptu dramatization of it afterwards has gone very well. You appear relaxed and at ease with the children, and have obviously given thought to our conversation of the speed of your own speech. You have slowed down and the session went very smoothly.

You have been moving from table to table as the children draw their dragons, and it is obvious that you have fitted into the classroom situation.

Have had a look at your file, it shows careful reflection on your own performance, and much more planning and preparing work for the children. Do you need all of your seminar notes from college? It might be easier to find one's way through the relevant planning for this S.E. if some were taken out - or put at the back. All in all, much accomplished in the 7 days of this first S.E."

Thus the tutors' concern was with the organisation of the file (the student was obviously trying to integrate some of the educational theory she had learned very practically in
the classroom), and the pace of her voice. Compared with the crits given to other seminar students, this shows a high level of congruence between the students' practical application of the pedagogy, and the tutor's ideas of the pedagogy.

"The children obviously are well acquainted with your topic, and are behaving beautifully. One of the problems of having all the children do such an activity altogether is the different rates at which they work and their different levels of concentration. You circulated well, encouraging the slower ones, and 'stretching' the more able.

You are using your voice well. It is clear and precise and you pace very pleasingly. You are firm yet pleasant, and I do not foresee any difficulties.

Don't expect each day to be perfect (they rarely are!) and remember you learn a great deal each day. A very good beginning'.

"This afternoon I have seen you in two situations both of which can be quite a 'test' for a student - a) controlling a group in the hall and b) taking discussions following a T.V. programme.

I think you managed both well. You managed to hold the children's attention in the hall, they all had their turn and you used your voice well to control a spread-out group".

c) Developing strategy, and learning tactics.

In a great variety of circumstances - groupwork, class-teaching, moving from room to room, holding discussions, all early in the first school experience, the students are praised for their ability, and few criticisms are made. It could be argued that the first school tutor's requirements are lower than those of the other two groups, yet every situation had the same 'chaos' potential which the other groups of students found difficult to control.
The issue here seems to be the congruence between the pedagogy the students are committed to in college (and, given the experience of the middle school students, its clarity), and the circumstances the students encounter in the classroom. Thus while the subject specialists all attempted to develop a strategy to the classroom which had some relation to what they being taught in college about educational principles etc., they found they had first to survive in the classroom, and that their strategy was insufficiently clear or flexible to remain committed through the whole of their school experiences. Thus they were thrown back to particular tactics, some students hoping to 'transcend' these tactics, to form a more coherent strategy once in the more stable situation of a job.

The middle school students, although displaying that they had grasped some of the requirements of the pedagogy, principally that both class teaching and groupwork would be required from them, from the beginning of their training had little opportunity to develop a strategy, and had great practical difficulties in the classroom.

The first school students then, had the greatest degree of congruence between their own early ideas of education, the pedagogy, and the practical setting of the pedagogy. The few problems which the students encountered which put constraints on the development of the strategy in line with the categorisation given above were issues of particular personality of the class teacher, the materials available in
the school (old books, no tables or boards etc), or of the timetable.

One of the most interesting exceptions to this rule was the students' relationship to the children's parents. In most cases the students found out quite a lot about the home background of the children, as both the college tutors, and the classteachers, felt this was an important factor in drawing up particular work for the children.

However, some students faced frustration from some working class parents over their children's inability to read. These students felt they were not 'teaching the children to read', but providing means whereby the pupils learned to manipulate words, symbols etc. in a meaningful way, this as a prelude to introducing the pupils to reading material. The students referred back to the college tutors, who told them to explain to these parents why they were working in such a way. However the students felt that there was too wide a gap between what they were hoping to achieve, and the 'visible products' that these parents wanted. Thus, rather than capitalise on what was obviously the interest of parents in helping their children to read, they dismissed the parents' interest, and concentrated on the nature of their 'expertise'. It is interesting that the students had all done some work on Joan Tough's School's council project on linguistic environments, yet failed to see the possibility of developing congruence between the environment of the school and the home environment.
This lack of understanding probably has two sources. The first is the cultural dysjunction between the two. The pupils 'home background' in such an area was often described by the students as 'poor' in both material and 'quality' terms. Thus the job of the teacher was to compensate for this, and to try to ensure that they did their best to instill the social attributes they admired.

The second source is an extremely interesting one, in terms of the competition of pedagogy. That is, the students saw themselves very much as the learning experts, and any acknowledgement of the ability of parents to help, or take and active part in the child's learning which failed to acknowledge, or questioned, their expertise, (as they perceived in the reading example) demanded a defense of their pedagogy - i.e. their expertise in 'providing creative learning environments' for young children. Thus the interaction of the students' cultural biography and the pedagogy seemed to cultivate a new strain of compensatory education. The 'child development' expertise which these students all felt the right to claim, recluded any reflection on the role of the school in the community, and the community's participation in the learning process.

8. Conclusion

This chapter has documented the final stages of the empirical research - analysing the students' practice, the relationship between their culture and their strategy. The conclusion will set this research in the context of national
policy, and analyse the effect which the construction of the research object has had on the data within that research.

Through analysing the students' preparation for their school experiences, their initial contact with schools, their reflection on their practice and the modification of strategy through which they try to make sense of their practice in the context of the college, the nature of their training and the pedagogies had been clarified. The problem now is how all these different elements of the pedagogies fit together and contribute to the culture of teaching, and the competition between the pedagogies.

The subject specialists were career-oriented, experts in a subject. These students had least control over their own actions and the classroom situation. The students were frustrated by the constraints put upon them by college tutors, school colleagues, the pupils they taught, the time-scale of their course and placements, headteachers, and even their peer student teachers.

This lack of control is related to their culture - there was a high separation of their professional and personal life, the students lacked the confidence and/or the knowledge to integrate the interests they have outside school, with their profession. The only exception to this was the involvement some students had in extra-curricular sports activities in the schools in which they were placed.
These students had very little knowledge or interest in general educational issues, and in the strategy they constructed, they displayed a high degree of technical expertise, but little consideration of the whole process of learning. They were concerned with the props of teaching, and with their presentation of the curriculum.

The students acquired many tactics passed on by college tutors and school colleagues, the sheer number of these 'hints' which were taken could in part be a result of the strong status and authority structures in secondary school. However, this again reinforces the conceptualisation of the students' strategy as highly subject-insulated, and rooted in a culture which values a separation of the world of 'work' from their own personal life. This left this group of students with little control over their professional life, and unable to shape the development of the strategy which they initially valued.

The middle schools students were an extremely mixed group. Some were failed experts, while others were committed to the middle school pedagogy. The core of the pedagogy for the college training, was the teaching of mixed ability classes, and a 'package-based' curriculum. The students were initially optimistic, if slightly confused, concerning their ability and role in shaping in a positive way, their teaching, and the learning taking place in the classroom.

The students had considered in detail the importance of their own training, but were less articulate over general
educational issues, even on issues of middle school curriculum and pedagogy.

They all experienced difficulties in structuring lessons, a great number of problems arose when the students attempted to de-formalise the lessons, especially if the pupils had not experienced a more 'liberal style' already. Their grasp of their pedagogy was insufficient to allow them to handle the great number of demands put upon them and on their teaching, and their biography is extremely difficult to interpret in this context.

In summary then, this group sustained, in this analysis, the weakest connection between culture and strategy. Their strategy tended to be dictated to a large degree by the school in which they were placed, and they had an insufficiently clear idea of their own pedagogy prior to their school experience to withstand attacks on their particular way of teaching.

If we examine their cultural biography, we see a number of patterns there which would suggest that this group's selection was of a different kind to the other two groups - many of whom had 'always' wanted to be a teacher. They were innovators compared with the other two groups, yet lacked the knowledge, the strength and ultimately as student teachers - the power, to control their classrooms and structure their teaching according to the principles which many of them articulated.
The first school students had the greatest level of continuity between their culture and their pedagogy. They displayed the greatest ability to reflect on general educational and social issues, and were able to dissect the implications of some of these issues for their own teaching. They were well-read on educational issues, and perceived that they shared commitment to their pedagogy.

The dysjuncture between attitudes, biography and strategy was least, and these students perceived that they had a high level of control over the classroom and their teaching. Indeed this control was for many of them, the reason they had chosen first school teaching - they derided the 'technician' approach of the subject specialists.

In terms of their biography, this group of students was surprisingly homogenous, many having maintained the commitment to first school teaching from a very young age.

The implications of these findings for the theoretical frameworks criticised and presented in Chapter One are major. Neither concepts of resistance or strategies can explain the complex relationships in which the students engaged when preparing for and teaching on their school experience. Resistance implies a higher authority which is never analysed or explained, and a level of homogeneity in the 'rest' (i.e. non-resistant) of the students' behaviour which is extremely patronising towards the students, and defective in considering the richness of the institution under analysis.
Correspondingly, the concept of 'strategies' cannot be applied to the range of behaviours, motivations, compromises, rebellions, which the students make while on school experience especially. Of course there are a number of strategies which the students spontaneously call upon to keep order in the classroom, but these have connections to the rest of the students' behaviour, and their own perception of their motivation and objectives.

These issues must only be analysed in empirical context, as to set up theoretical frameworks without taking cognisance of the multifaceted nature of the research object, is to do injustice to the individuals and groups analysed.

Finally, the effect that the such differences between pedagogies presented and maintained in college have on one another must be analysed. However, since teacher training courses have traditionally been analysed in terms of the college/university split, rather than on the basis of the level of schooling, this must be considered in relation to our re-assessment of the effect of the construction of the research object on the research context itself. This analysis then, will be considered in the conclusion to the whole thesis.
CONCLUSION

The methodological assumptions underlying this thesis demand that a number of tasks be undertaken, the first of which should be a reiteration of some of the main findings. Once this task is complete, it is important that this particular study be set in the national context, and critically examined to evaluate the contribution it can make to both our understanding of the system of teacher training in this country, and to the process of reform of that system. Finally, we must set the abstracted 'object of study' back into the particular context of the research process, to examine its construction.

1. Summary of Some Main Findings.

In the early sections of the thesis the contribution of educationalists' studies of teacher training, and of the studies of culture carried out by sociologists of education, were appraised. Both the former and the interactionists' studies provided extremely interesting descriptions of teacher training and cultural processes, but were lacking in their analysis of the connections between culture and the actual practices of teachers.

In contrast, the two reproduction theories examined - those of the neo-Marxists and Pierre Bourdieu, attempted to link culture and practice in a creative way, taking account of the particular forces important in shaping and maintaining
the education system, but failed to take into account the ability of individuals and groups of individuals to reflect on their practice, except where the contradictions of capitalism produces a more complex consciousness (i.e. in the case of the neo-Marxists), or where the dysjunctive of habitus and habitat led to a questioning of 'the natural order of things' - a dysjunction which the structure of the education system for the most part precluded.

As a means of conceptualising the contribution of individuals and groups of individuals to the reform, modification or maintenance of the educational process, a more flexible relationship between culture and practice was set up - and the connections between policy (defined in the widest sense), pedagogy and practice, hypothesized as much more complex, dynamic, and 'open', than the thesis of reproduction purports.

In this context the history of the development of elementary and secondary teacher training was examined - specifically through analysis of the development of the college sector of teacher training, and indeed a much more complex situation was uncovered, one where the role of pedagogy in the development of the system, and government policy towards the system, was extremely important.

The methodological chapter described and analysed the research context, and reinforced the argument put forward in Chapter One, that the component stages in research, and the connections between them, are crucial to both the validity
of the research (as the process uncovers the way in which the research object has been constructed), and the theoretical adequacy of the research. This latter point is important because of the two 'pit-falls' Geertz put forward as tendencies in sociological and anthropological research: i.e. either generalising from one very particular research situation on the grounds that it is, per se, 'typical', or that it is the 'testing case' of the theorist's abstracted construction.

Thus the development of the conceptual schema took place alongside the empirical uncovering of some of the processes important in the development of students' strategies, and the gap between the tactics used and their strategies.

Finally, as summarised in the previous chapter, the chapters which reported the empirical findings, discovered and analysed the differences in pedagogy, strategy and tactics amongst seminar groups at a particular training college. The biographies of the students were constructed and the connections between strategy and tactics analysed.

These chapters demonstrated the patterns in students' and trainers' attitudes and commitment to their respective pedagogies, the separation between their professional and private lives, and the patterns of approach to their training, and the training process itself. The final chapter analysed the connections between culture, pedagogy, strategy and tactics - providing a description of the
richness of the students' experience and their training, and generating a framework from which to analysed and generalise, concerning their experience.

2. Implications of the findings

The first suggestion from the research is that studies of culture which take on a format such as that used by Bourdieu and Passeron in "The Inheritors" are extremely limited in their usefulness. The questionnaire applied in this study generated some extremely interesting results, and also provided the first clues as to the importance of the seminar groups. It also illuminated the way in which the students thought about teaching, their cultural interests, and the range of ambitions, hopes and aspirations which they held. However, these questionnaire results are an extremely difficult basis on which to make generalisations on the student population and their attitudes to teaching. Certainly the information given in their biographies can be checked and rigorous methodology can eliminate many of the reporting inaccuracies. However, it is the use of such information which is problematic, and the status that such information has in research terms.

That is, to impute a culture to these students on the basis of a short questionnaire is not only dangerous, but wrong. The gap between the assumptions made on the basis of the questionnaire and the practices actually observed, was great. Similarly, the complexity of the empirical situation in which the students' found themselves was far greater than
The second point is also related to the process of generalisation. In any social grouping there will always be a point at which the group appears homogenous - perhaps only on one point, but if that point is the centre of a series of questions, then it becomes much more prominent in the analysis, and distorts the grouping constructed through the research. Thus the discovery of homogeneity of the group of student teachers studied should not have been surprising - after all I was studying what they had in common - their attendance at a teacher training college in a town in the midlands, in order to gain certification to practice.

However, the important elements in the analysis very quickly became the divisions between the students, and the competition, intersections in their interactions etc. which contributed to the richness of their experience. In this case the divisions between the groups illuminated the diversity of cultural experience and the competition between pedagogy.

The results of the research show the difficulties which any training college must face. In addition to strict governmental pressures on the number of students accepted, the type of course presented, the place of the college in the community etc., the colleges must take into consideration the diversity of students being accepted to the college. The (mis)perception of the applied education staff that
their methods were the same across the seminar grouping, and the structuring of the course on the basis of these assumptions has particular consequences for the students' experience of such courses.

The polarisation and hostility between the groups is quite marked, and because its source - in the competition between pedagogies - is not recognised by this college staff at least, the common areas between them remains unabridged. Obviously the competition discovered in the particular college is not a locally-generated and maintained phenomena, and as such there are national implications which must be considered.

Similarly, local authorities must take cognisance of the dysjunctions between personnel and philosophies in the education system. Advisors and H.M. inspectors tend to be subject-based (excepting nursery education), and such specialisation often misses the opportunities for better coordination between schools, pedagogies, and thus for a smoother passage for schoolchildren.

However, the above points concern the more general level. If we return to the specific level of the study itself, there are a number of points which should be considered.

By recognising the particular relationship between culture and strategy in the middle school group, college tutors may be able to support them in a more effective way through their school experiences. Given that such students are
extremely vulnerable to using different tactics according to the particular school in which they are placed, longer blocks of school experience may give them the opportunity to develop confidence in their use of tactics, and aid their development of a coherent strategy while still learning to teach.

However, it is extremely difficult to make recommendations without setting the study of the year into the context of the whole of the students' apprenticeship - including their probationary year. While the first school students had the beginnings of their strategy very early in their training, while the middle school students were dithering over the use of particular tactics on graduation. The effect that their training year has on the long-term development of strategy is difficult to evaluate. However, this is the context in which the students try out a number of tactics, and begin to develop their strategy, and even if the students find it inappropriate when taking up employment, such elements of a strategy as they have developed will be important in the development of subsequent strategy.

However, before more definitive statements could be made over the durability of the students strategy, and the formative role of their culture in such strategy, a much longer-term study of their practice should be made (see for instance Jennifer Nias' study 1984).
To sum up then, the research has uncovered a highly differentiated group of students, who approach their school experience and their training in different ways according to their culture and their pedagogy. The initial strategy they develop by no means represents the fixed approach they take to teaching, and the relationship between the students' use of tactics, and the strategy they modify and develop, is an important indicator of the coherence of their pedagogy, and shows how close a relationship exists between their culture and their strategy.

The implications of the findings for schoolchildren's experience of schooling and their educational chances, although important, cannot be evaluated either effectively or legitimately here. The strength and durability of the students' strategies has only been analysed over one extremely formative, but very un-typical, year of the teaching life. However, I have argued that the separation between the pedagogy and the failure of the college to recognise the dysjunction supports the gap between levels of schooling. That is, it contributes to the pupils' discomfort when transferring from primary to secondary school, into what is for them, an alien environment.

However, given the cultural basis of the role of teacher trainers and students teachers in the competition between pedagogies, and their respective power to define and structure relations in the classroom, we can hypothesize that the constraints of the pedagogy in each of the sectors examined - first, middle and senior schools, will continue to shape
their strategy, and thus the content of what is taught, and
the way in which it is taught.
ADAMS-WEBER, J. & MIRC, E.
"Assessing the Development of Student Teachers' Role Conceptions",
British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol 46, 1976

ANDERSON, R.J., CRAFT, M. & LYNCH, J. (eds)
Change in Teacher Education: Context and Provision since Robbins,

ANYON, J.
"Ideology and United States history textbooks",
Harvard Educational Review, No. 41, 1979

ANYON, J.

ANYON, J.
"Social Class and School Knowledge",
Curriculum Inquiry, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1981

APPLE, M. (ed)

APPLE, M.
"Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control: building the possessive individual" in APPLE, M. (ed), 1982

APPLE, M.

APPLE, M.

APPLE, M.
"Work, Class and Teaching", in WALKER, S. & BARTON, L. (eds), 1983

APPLE, M. & WEXLER, P.

ARNOT, M. (formerly McDonald)
"A Cloud over Co-Education: An Analysis of the Forms of Transmission of Class and Gender Relations", in WALKER, S. & BARTON, L. (eds), 1983

ASHLEY, B., COHEN, H., McINTYRE, D. & SLATTER, R.
"A Sociological Analysis of Students' Reasons for Becoming Teachers",
Sociological Review, Vol. 18, 1970

ASHTON, P.M.E., HENDERSON, E.S., MERRITT, J.E., & MORTIMER, D.J.
Teacher Education in the Classroom: Initial and Inservice, Croom Helm, London, 1983

ATKINSON, P. & DELAMONT, S.
"Socialisation into Teaching: the research which lost its way",
British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 6, 1985
BALL, S.
"Beachside Reconsidered: Reflections on a Methodological Apprenticeship",
in BURGESS, R. (ed), 1984

BANKS, O.
The Sociology of Education,
Batsford, London, 1968

BARTON, L. MEIGHAN, R. & WALKER, S. (eds)
Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum,
Falmer, Lewes, 1980

BARTON, L. & WALKER, S. (eds)
Social Crisis and Educational Research
Croom Helm, London, 1984

BENNET, N.
Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress,

BERNBAUM, G.
Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of Education,

BERNBAUM, G. (ed)
Schooling in Decline,

BERNSTEIN, B.
Class, Codes and Control, Vol. I,

BERNSTEIN, B.
Class, Codes and Control, Vol. III,

BISSENET, N.
Education, Class, Language and Ideology,

BOOTHROYDE, W.
"Teaching Practice Supervision - a Research Report",

BOURDIEU, P.
"The Aristocracy of Culture",
Media, Culture and Society, No. 2, 1980

BOURDIEU, P.
"Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", 1973

BOURDIEU, P.
"Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception",
International Journal of Social Science Research, No. 20, 1968a

BOURDIEU, P.
Outline of a Theory of Practice,
Cambridge University Press, London, 1977b

BOURDIEU, P.
"Men and Machines", in KNORR-CETINA & CICOUREL, 1981

BOURDIEU, P.
"Structuralism and Theory of Sociological Knowledge",
Social Research, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1968b

BOURDIEU, P.
A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,
Extracts first published in BOURDIEU 1980

367
BOURDIEU, P. & BOLTANSKI, L.

BOURDIEU, P. & PASSERON, J-C.

BOURDIEU, P. & PASSERON, J-C.
The Inheritors, University of Chicago Press, London, 1979

BOWLES, S. & GINTIS, H.

BOYDELL, D.

BRADLEY, H.W. & EGGLESTON, J.F.

BRADLEY, K.

BROWN, R. (ed)

BRUCE, M.G.

BURGESS, R.G. (ed)

CHERKAOUI, C

CICOUREL, A.V. & KNORR-CETINA, K.

COHEN, L.

COHEN, L. & MANION, L.
A Guide to Teaching Practice, Methuen, London, 1977

CONNEL, R.W.

COPE, E.

COSIN, B.R. (ed)

COULTER, F.
"Effects on Students Teaching on Self-Perceptions, Commitment and Teaching Behaviour", British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1980
CRAFT, M. & ATKINS, M.
"Teacher Education and Linguistic Diversity: a national survey",

CULLY, L. & DEMAIN, J.
"Sociology of Education and the Education of Teachers: a Critique of D.R. McNamara"
Educational Studies, Vol. 4, 1978

DALE, R.
"Education and the Capitalist State: contributions and contradictions", in APPLE, M. (ed), 1982

DALE, R.

DALE, R., ESLAND, G., FERGUSSON, R. & MACDONALD, M.
Politics, Patriarchy and Practice, Falmer, Lewes, 1981

DAVIES, D.
"Popular Culture, Class and Schooling", in Open University, Unit 9, E353 Block 3, "The Politics of Cultural Production", 1979

DEARDEN, R.F.
Problems in Primary Education Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976

DELMONT, S.
Interaction in the Classroom, Methuen, London, 1977

DEMAIN, J.

DEMAIN, J.

DENSCOMBE, M.
"The 'Hidden Pedagogy' and its Implications for Teacher Training",

DENSCOMBE, M.
"The Work Context of Teaching; an analytical framework for the study of teachers in the classroom",

DENSCOMBE, M.
"Classroom Control and Initial Teacher Training" in BARTON & MEIGHAN (eds), 1984

DENSCOMBE, M.
"Keeping 'Em Quiet: the significance of noise for the practical activity of teaching", in WOODS, P. (ed) 1980

DENT, H.C.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Teacher Education and Training (James Report), H.M.S.O., London, 1972a

369
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Education - a Framework for Expansion,
H.M.S.O., London, 1972b

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Developments in the BEd Degree Course,
H.M.S.O., London, 1979

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Teaching Quality,
H.M.S.O., London, 1983

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Circular 3/84: "Initial Training: Approval of Courses",
H.M.S.O., London, 1984

DERRICK, T.
"Teacher Training and School Practice",

DIMAGGIO, P.
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 84, 1979

DONALDSON, M.
Children's Minds,

DOUGLAS, M.
Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology,
Pantheon Books, New York, 1970

DURKHEIM, E.
Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of
the Sociology of Education,
Free Press, New York, 1961

EGGLESTON, J. (ed)
Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education,
Methuen, London, 1974

FERRI, E., BIRCHALL, D., GINGELL, V. & GIPPS, C.
Combined Nursery Centres: A New Approach to Education and
Day Care,

FINDLAYSON, D.S. & COHEN, L.
"The Teachers' Role: A comparative study of the
conceptions of College of Education students and Head
Teachers",
British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol 37, No. 1,
1967

GEERTZ, C.
The Interpretation of Cultures,
Basic Books, New York, 1973

GIBSON, R.
"Commitment to Teaching; the Development of Perspectives
During a College Course",
Durham and Newcastle Research Review, Vol. VIII, No. 39,
1974

GIBSON, R.
"The Effect of School Practice: the development of student
perspectives",

GIROUX, H.
Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling,

GIROUX, H.
"Teacher Education and the Ideology of Social Control",
GIROUX, H.

GLEESON, D. (ed)
Identity and Structure,
Nafferton, Driffield, 1977

GORDON, D.
"Is Pre-service Training Really Necessary?",

GORDON, M. & GROSS, R.J.
"An Exploration of the Interconnecting perspective of Teaching Style and Teacher Education",

GRACE, G.
Teachers, Ideology and Control: a study in urban education,
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978

GRIFFITHS, A. & MOORE, A.H.
"Schools and Teaching Practice"
Education for Teaching, No. 74, 1967

HALL, E.
"School Placement and Teaching Marks"
Education for Teaching, No. 82, 1970

HALL, S.
"Cultural Studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems",

HALSEY, A.H., FLOUD, J. & ANDERSON, C.A. (eds)
Education, Economy and Society,

HALSEY, A.H., HEATH, A.F. & RIDGE, J.M.
Origins and Destinations,

HANSON, D. & HERRINGTON, M.
"From College to Classroom: the probationary year"

HARGREAVES, A.
"Contrastive Rhetoric and Extremist Talk",
in HARGREAVES, A. & WOODS, P., 1984

HARGREAVES, A.
"Resistance and Relative Autonomy Theories: Problems of Distortion and Incoherence in Recent Marxist Analyses of Education",

HARGREAVES, A.
"Strategies, Decisions and Control: interaction in a middle school classroom",

HARGREAVES, A.
"The Significance of Classroom Coping Strategies",
in BARTON, L. & MEIGHAN, R. 1978

HARGREAVES, A. & WOODS, P. (eds)
Classrooms and Staffrooms: The Sociology of Teachers and Teaching,
Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1984

371
HENDERSON, E.S. et. al.
Teacher Education in the Classroom,
Croom Helm, London, 1983

HICKOX, M.S.H.
"The Marxist Sociology of Education: a Critique" in

HILLIARD, F.H.
Teaching the Teachers,
Allen and Unwin, London, 1971

HOBGEN, D. & PETTY, M.F.
"Early Changes in Teacher Attitude",
Educational Research, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1979

HOOPER, R. (ed)
"The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development,
Open University, 1971

HOPKINS, W.
"Measuring General Culture among Student Teachers",

HUSSAIN, A.
"The Economy and the Educational System in Capitalist
Societies",
Economy and Society, Vol. 5, 1976

ILLICH, I.
Deschooling Society,
Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973

JONES, L.
The Training of Teachers in England and Wales: A Critical
Survey,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1924

KARABEL, J. & HALSEY, A.H. (eds)
Power and Ideology in Education,
Oxford University Press, London, 1977

KENNET, J.
"The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu",

KREMER, L. & PERLBERG, A.
"Training of Teachers in Strategies that Develop
Independent Learning Skills in their Pupils",

KUHN, A.
"Ideology, Structure and Knowledge"
Screen Education, 1979

LACEY, C.
The Socialisation of Teachers,
Methuen, London, 1977

LAKAMSKI, G.
"On Agency and Structure: Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude
Passeron's Theory of Symbolic Violence",

LANCASTER, J. & GAUNT, J.
Developments in Early Childhood Education,

LARRAIN, J.
The Concept of Ideology,
Hutchinson, London, 1977

LAUGLO, J.
"Teachers' Social Origins, Career Commitment During
University, and Occupational Attitudes",

372
LAWTON, D.
Class, Culture and the Curriculum,

LIVINGSTONE, D.W.
Class Ideologies and Educational Futures,
Falmer, Lewes, 1983

LOMAX, D.E.
The Education of Teachers in Britain,
J. Wiley, 1973

LORTIE, D.C.
"The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School
Teaching" in ETZIONI, A. (ed), The Semi-Professions and
their Organisation, Free Press, New York, 1969

LORTIE, D.C.
Schoolteachers: a Sociological Study,
University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975

LYNCH, J.
The Development of Teacher Education in the UK
S.H.R.E., Surrey, 1979

McCULLOCH, M.
School Experience in Initial BEd/ BEd (hons) Degrees
Validated by the Council for National Academic Awards,
C.N.A.A., London, 1979

McDONALD, M. (now Arnot)
"Schooling and the Reproduction of Class and Gender
Relations", in BARTON, L., MEIGHAN, M. & WALKER, S. (eds),
1980

McNAMARA, D.R.
"A Time for Change: a Reappraisal of Sociology of
Education as a Contributing Discipline to Professional
Education Courses"
Educational Studies, Vol. 3, 1977

MADDOX, H.
"A descriptive study of teaching practice",

MANICOM, A.
"Feminist Frameworks and Teacher Education",
Journal of Education (Boston), Vol. 166, No. 1, 1984

MARDLE, G. & WALKER, M.
"Strategies and Structure: Some Critical Notes on Teacher
Socialisation" in WOODS, P. (ed), 1980

MARTIN, B.
A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change,

MEHAN, M.
"Structuring School Structure",

MORRISON, A. & McINTYRE, D.
Teachers and Teaching,
Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969

MOUFFE, C.
Gramsci and Marxist Theory,

MUSGRAVE, P.W.
The Moral Curriculum: A Sociological Analysis,
Methuen, London, 1978

MUSGROVE, F. & TAYLOR, P.H.
Society and the Teacher's Role,

373
NASH, R.  
"On Two Critiques of the Marxist Sociology of Education",  

NIAS, J.  
"The Definition and Maintenance of Self in Primary Teaching",  

NICE, R.  
"Bourdieu: A 'vulgar Marxist' in the Sociology of Culture"  
Screen Education, 1978

NOBLE, T. & PYMN, B.  
"Recruitment to Teaching in the Years of Expansion",  
British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1980

OGREN, G.  
Trends in English Teachers' Training from 1800,  
Esselte Aktiebolag, Stockholm, 1953

OZGA, J.T. & LAWN, M.A.  
Teachers, Professionalism & Class: a study of organized teachers,  

PARRY, N. & PARRY, J.  
"The Teachers and Professionalism: the failure of an occupational strategy" in DALE et al (eds), 1981

PARSONS, T.  
"The School Class as a Social System: some of its functions in American Society",  

PERLBERG, A. & THEODOR, E.  
"Patterns and Styles in the Supervision of Teachers",  

PETERS, R.S.  
"Theory and Practice in Teacher Training"  
Trends in Education, No. 9, 1968

PETTY, M. & HOGBEN, D.  
"Explorations of Semantic Space with Beginning Teachers: a study of socialisation into teaching",  
British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1980

POLLARD, A.  
"A Model of Classroom Coping Strategies",  

POLLARD, A.  
"Teacher Interests and Changing Situations of Survival Threat in Primary School Classrooms" in WOODS, P. (ed), 1980

POPPLETON, D.K.  
"The Assessment of Teaching Practice: What Criteria do we Use?"  
Education for Teaching, No. 75, 1968

PUSEY, M.R. & YOUNG, R.E. (eds)  
Control and Knowledge,  
Australian National University Press, 1979

REYNOLDS, J. & SKILBECK, M.  
"Culture and the Classroom",  
RICH, R.W.
Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century,

RUTTER, M., MAUGHAN, B., MORTIMORE, P., & OUSTON, J.
Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children,
Open Books, Somerset, 1979

SALTER, B. & TAPPER, T.
Education, Politics and the State: The Theory and Practice of Educational Change,
Grant McIntyre, London, 1981

SCHUTZ, A.
The Phenomenology of the Social World,
Heinemann Educational Press, London, 1967

SCHUTZ, A.
Structures of the Life-World,
Northwestern University Press, 1973

SCHWARTZ, D.
"Pierre Bourdieu: The Cultural Transmission of Social Inequality",

SHARP, R. & GREEN, A.C.
Education and Social Control,

SHIPMAN, M.D.
"Theory and Practice in the Education of Teachers",

STONES, E. & WEBSTER, H.
"Implications for Course Design of Failure and Retrieval Rates in Initial Teacher Education",

SULKUNEN, P.
"Society Made Visible - the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu",
Acta Sociologica, No. 25, 1982

TABACHNICK, B.R., POPKEWITZ, T.S. & ZEICHNER, K.M.
"Teacher Education and the Professional Perspectives of Student Teachers",
Interchange, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1979-80

TARPEY, M.S.
"Personality Factors in Teacher Trainee Selection",
British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 35, 1965

TAYLOR, G.H. & SAYER, B.
"Attitudes of Teachers Towards the 9-13 Middle School",

TAYLOR, W.
"Teacher Education: achievements, shortcomings and prospects",
Times Educational Supplement, 13th May, 1983

TIBBLE, J.W.
The Future of Teacher Education

TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT
Special James Report Edition, 4/2/72

375
TIZARD, B. & HUGHES, M.
Young Children Learning: Talking and Thinking at Home and at School,
Fontana, London, 1984

TROPP, A.
The Schoolteachers,
Heinemann, London, 1957

VULLIAMY, G.
"Teaching Sociology: a New Approach",
New Society, 8th March, 1973

WADD, K.
"What Theory into Practice?",

WADE, B.
"Initial Teacher Education and School Experience",

WALKER, S. & BARTON, L. (eds)
Gender, Class & Education,
Falmer, London, 1983

WEBSTER, J.R.
"The Implementation of an Integrated Approach to Teacher Training",

WHITTY, G.
"Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change: notes towards a reconceptualisation of the 'new' sociology of education",
in YOUNG, M.F.D. & WHITTY, G. (eds), 1977

WILLEY, F.T. & MADISON, R.E.
An Enquiry into Teacher Training,
University of London Press, London, 1971

WILLIAMS, R.
New Society, 5th May, 1977

WILLIS, P.
Learning to Labour,
Saxon House, London, 1977

WILLIS, P.
"Cultural Production and Theories of Reproduction" in
BARTON, L. & WALKER, S. (eds) Race, Class & Education,
Croom Helm, London, 1983

WOODS, P.
Sociology and the School: an Interactionist Viewpoint,

WOODS, P. (ed)
Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School,
Croom Helm, London, 1980

WOODS, P. & HAMMERSLEY, M. (eds)
School Experience,
Croom Helm, London, 1977

WRAGG, E.C. (ed)
Classroom Teaching Skills,
Croom Helm, Beckenham, 1984

WUTHNOW, R., HUNTER, J.D., BERGESEN, A., KURZWEIL, E.
Cultural Analysis,
YOUNG, M.F.D. (ed)
Knowledge and Control,
Collier McMillan, London, 1971
YOUNG, M.F.D. & WHITTY, G. (eds)
Society, State and Schooling,
Falmer Press, Lewes, 1977
YOUNG, W.H.L.
"Teaching Practice: Effects on knowledge, skills and attitudes of students in initial training",