

TEACHER PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICES IN TWO ORGANIZATIONALLY
DIFFERENT MIDDLE SCHOOLS

By

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The purpose of this study was to understand teacher perspectives and practices, in relation to school context, in two organizationally different middle schools. Two middle schools that were notably different in organization, curriculum, and administration, but similar in community context, student body size and composition, and district-level requirements, were selected as sites for the investigation of four teachers' perspectives and practices. Using ethnographic fieldwork methods, two teachers from each school were observed and interviewed during the 1980-1981 school year as they conducted their daily lives as teachers. Additional interviews were conducted with each school's assistant principal and principal, as well as an additional teacher informant. Artifacts were also collected.

These data were systematically analyzed in order to discover what characterized the teachers' perspectives and practices at each school. The findings revealed that the teachers at the two schools were markedly different and that a number of these differences were associated with differences in the organization, curriculum, and administration of the two schools. School A's teachers defined themselves primarily as

curriculum-disseminators. Classroom instruction was information-centered and teacher-directed. The teachers subscribed to a vision of determined student improvability, acknowledging innate intelligence or social status as variables beyond a teacher's responsibility. They approached student behavior with skepticism, believing that students required a highly structured program and an authority role relationship with their teachers. Teaching was seen as an individual enterprise with limited autonomy.

At School B, the teachers defined themselves with a dual-sided role, responsible for both student socialization and academic learning. Classroom instruction reflected the student's role in learning with curriculum adaptation as common practice. The teachers subscribed to a vision of universal student improvability and were confident about their own effectiveness. They also viewed themselves as part of a collective effort. Classroom autonomy was assumed.

These contrasting findings were associated with school differences in teacher roles and responsibilities in relation to students, history, administration, principal values, student grouping pattern, and organization of teachers in relation to other teachers. These context variables warrant further study if an understanding of teacher perspectives and practices is to be achieved.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Background and Context of the Study

The purpose of this study has been to investigate teachers' perspectives and practices in two middle schools that differ in their organization and curriculum. The rationale for this investigation was generated from two major areas of research. From the broadest perspective, this study accompanies an increasingly active line of research which has addressed the relationship between teachers' attitudes and behaviors and the character of the work setting. This line of research has emerged out of a recognition that classrooms and their inhabitants are not isolated from and unaffected by the larger world of the school (Barr & Dreeben, 1981).

In the last two decades, research on teacher effectiveness has shown that certain teacher attitudes and behaviors elicit more student learning than others (Brophy & Evertson, 1974; Good & Grouws, 1977; McDonald & Elias, 1976; Soar & Soar, 1979; Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1974; Tikunoff, Berliner, & Rist, 1975). While this research has yielded a dependable body of knowledge on the characteristics associated with effective teaching, insights from reform efforts designed to disseminate the research and from more recent research on effective schools have suggested that these characteristics are only modestly portable from one

school setting to another (Rutter, Maughn, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979). Teacher attitudes and behaviors appear to be influenced not only by teacher psychological traits such as personality (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977), personality type (Lawrence & DeNovellis, 1974), self-concept (Combs & Soper, 1969), belief systems (Harvey, Prather, White, & Hoffmeister, 1968; Koenigs, Fieldler, & deCharms, 1975; Murphy & Brown, 1970), and age, sex, and marital status (Lortie, 1975), but by a complex array of variables within the school. Variations in such variables as the composition of the student population, the history of the school (Metz, 1978), the principal (Ellett & Walberg, 1979), the nature of student peer relations (Cohen, 1979), teacher colleague relations (Lortie, 1975), and the school climate or ethos (Rutter et al., 1979) have been associated with variations in teacher attitudes and behaviors.

The research studies which have implied a relationship between the character of a school and the character of the attitudes and behaviors of the teachers who work there are in no way conclusive. In fact, it has only been in the last two decades that researchers have endeavored to identify the classroom contextual variables which affect teachers and their teaching (Doyle & Ponder, 1975). After conducting a large-scale study of secondary schools in inner-city London, Rutter and his colleagues (1979) did conclude that it was far easier to be a good teacher in some schools than it was in others. They hypothesized that teaching was as much a function of the school as a work place as it was a function of teacher personality. In an analysis of the research on effective schools, Purkey and Smith (1983) likewise hypothesized that teachers and students in effective schools might actually be

channeled in the direction of successful teaching and learning by the structures, processes, and climates of values and norms at work in those schools. Their implication was that somehow teachers were socialized while on the job by variables at work in the larger world of the school.

To what extent teachers are socialized while on the job remains unclear (Lortie, 1975; Metz, 1978). While some studies have illuminated global differences among groups of teachers working in schools varying in organization and curriculum (e.g., Ashton, Doda, McAuliffe, Olejnik, & Webb, 1981; Abramowitz, 1977; Cohen, Bredo, & Duckworth, 1976; Charters, 1978; Hilsum & Cane, 1971; Metz, 1978), research has yet to delineate how variations in schools differentially affect teachers' attitudes and behaviors. This is a needed area of research. Consequently, this study was designed to investigate teachers' perspectives and practices in two middle level schools that differed in organization and curriculum. A major goal of the research was to generate beginning understandings and valid hypotheses about the relationships between a middle school's organization, operation and curriculum, and the formation and maintenance of the perspectives and practices of the teachers who work there.

The middle school, the target level of schooling for the study, has provided the second dimension of context and rationale. Before the turn of the century, the predominant school organization in the United States consisted of the elementary school, with grades 1-8, and the high school, with grades 9-12. In the early 1900s, the National Education Association instituted a restructuring which resulted in the

creation of the junior high school which had grades 7-9 (Toepfer, 1982). During the next two decades, as the number of junior high schools began to climb, educators began to question the assumptions behind the junior high school plan. Increasing knowledge on the nature of early adolescent development and a growing dissatisfaction with the existing junior high schools, compounded by declining enrollments and desegregation, moved concerned educators to generate a new and appropriate school model. By the middle of the 1960s, an alternative school model, called the middle school, had emerged (Eichorn, 1966). According to the original conceptualization, the middle school was to be a grade level reorganization, a school with grades 6-8 rather than 7-9. This conceptualization was based on data which suggested that the onset of puberty occurred at an age more closely associated with grade six, rather than seven, thus supporting a 6-8, rather than a 7-9, school plan (Eichorn, 1973). The concept was quickly expanded, however, as knowledge of a broader range of the developmental characteristics of early adolescence became available.

In addition to advocating a school plan with grades 6-8, theorists thus elaborated the middle school concept to include less emphasis on competitive sports, a focus on self-directed learning, and diversity in teacher certification (Alexander & George, 1981). Perhaps most significant were the recommendations for a major departure from the traditional organization and curriculum of the junior high school.

An interdisciplinary teacher organization was proposed to replace the department structure of the junior high school. This was considered to be a more appropriate plan for students in grades 6-8 because it was

believed to facilitate articulation from the self-contained elementary school classroom to the diversified, subject area teaching characteristic of the high school (Alexander, Williams, Compton, Hines, Prescott, & Kealy, 1965). More recently, theorists have also suggested that the interdisciplinary teacher organization encourages teachers to focus on the whole child and provides a community of interpersonal structure that is helpful to the young adolescent student (Alexander & George, 1981).

Theorists have also argued that the junior high school plan as practiced does not adequately address the personal development needs of early adolescents. As a result, they have recommended that the middle school have a curriculum component which addresses affective development (Alexander et al., 1965). Theorists have supported their recommendations with research documenting early adolescence as a time during which an individual negotiates a number of critical and difficult emotional, social, and identity-directing developmental issues (Hill, 1973; Kohen-Raz, 1971; Tanner, 1962) suggesting that some assistance and guidance ought to be provided for students in the middle school.

In addition to the interdisciplinary teacher organization and the affective education focus, theorists have recommended that students in the middle school should be flexibly grouped to accommodate the variety and diversity characteristic of the age group. This recommendation was based on research which revealed an increased diversity in the development of youngsters approaching puberty (Eichorn, 1973; Tanner, 1962). Alternatives to the traditional chronological age grouping such as multiage or developmental age grouping have been suggested, along with

teacher-controlled, flexible, block schedules which make possible the continuous grouping and regrouping of students as needed (Alexander & George, 1981). The middle school has also been theoretically distinguished from the junior high school program by an increased emphasis on student-based exploratory learning experiences. This curriculum facet has been recommended based on an understanding of the cognitive changes which can occur during this time of life (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Kohen-Raz, 1971).

Since the early 1960s, junior high schools nationwide have been adopting the programs and practices advocated by middle school proponents. In 1965, there were approximately 500 middle schools in the United States. In a 1970 survey, over 2,000 middle schools were identified nationally. Today, the number approaches 5,000 (George & Lawrence, 1982). As junior high schools continue to reorganize their programs and practices according to the middle school concept, it becomes increasingly important to understand what life is like in those schools for students and teachers.

Research on the middle school model is still in its infancy. Many of the studies which have compared the middle school to the junior high have based their comparisons on the grade levels served by the schools and not by differences in curriculum and instruction (Toepfer & Marani, 1980). In addition, most studies have focused primarily on the quantitative effects of individual curricular components (e.g., the interdisciplinary teacher organization), with student achievement as the most frequently measured outcome. Only a few researchers have attempted to study the effects of some cluster of advocated middle school

features, and only a very small number of those studies investigated relationships between the middle school as an organizational and curricular alternative, and teacher outcomes (e.g., Ashton, Doda, McAuliffe, Olejnik, & Webb, 1981; Bryan & Erikson, 1970; Draud, 1977; Gordon, 1977; Metz, 1978; Pook, 1981). The existing research is scattered in focus and inconclusive. In particular, it has not provided a descriptive data base from which valid hypotheses can be generated. This study then fills an important need by providing descriptive, ethnographic data on teachers' perspectives and practices in two organizationally different middle schools in an effort to understand relationships between middle school organization, operation and curriculum, and the perspectives and practices of the teachers who work there.

In summary, this research qualifies as an important and needed study for several reasons. In design, it is empowered with the capacity to provide descriptive data on teachers' lives and to yield data on teaching from the perspectives of the participants. This is a particularly important contribution since traditional quantitative research on teaching has often failed to yield the rich description needed to explain discovered results or to provide insights into the reasons why teachers engage in the behaviors they do.

Research on teaching has also demonstrated that teachers are affected by the characteristics of the school as a workplace. Thus, the improvement of teaching depends upon the identification of those variables and relationships between variables that affect the formation, maintenance, alteration, and implementation of teacher perspectives and practices. This study marks an important contribution in this regard as well.

Finally, this research provides a needed descriptive data base for the study of middle school teaching. Hundreds of school districts nationwide are adopting the middle school model with little research knowledge of the implications for teacher attitudes and behaviors. Moreover, as middle school training and certification programs are generated, it becomes increasingly important to have research-based knowledge regarding the special nature of the demands and difficulties characteristic of teaching within a middle school structure.

Research Questions

The purpose of the research was to investigate and analyze teachers' educational perspectives and practices in two middle schools that differed in organization, curriculum, and operation in order to address the following research questions:

1. What characterized teachers' educational perspectives and practices at each middle school?
2. Did teachers in the two school settings differ? What were the salient dimensions of contrast?
3. What factors seemed to be influential in the development or maintenance of the teachers' perspectives and practices?

Through an analysis of the data collected to address these questions, hypotheses were generated regarding the relationships between middle school organization, operation and curriculum, and teachers' educational perspectives and practices.

Procedures

This study has sought to understand what characterized teachers' perspectives and practices in two organizationally different middle schools. It was originally motivated by an interest in understanding how teachers' perspectives and related practices were affected by school organization and curriculum. Phrased differently, the study was based on a need to know if teachers' perspectives and practices differed in two different middle schools, and if so, how and why they differed.

Ethnographic field work was the primary research method used in this study. It was selected because the goals for this research required a method which probed the research questions in an exploratory and heuristic fashion, emphasizing the participants' perspectives. Moreover, an ethnographic approach was selected because it was a method capable of yielding explanations and hypotheses about teachers' perspectives and practices in the two settings through an identification of cultural themes characterizing teachers' lives at the two schools.

The specific research procedures used were observation and interviewing, supplemented by photography and artifact collection. The data were collected in two schools that differed in organization and curriculum. The first school, Hidden Brook, was a middle school with many of the features associated with a traditional junior high school model.¹ At Hidden Brook, the teachers were organized in subject area departments. The students were arranged in chronological age groups so that students were separated by age and number of years in school and changed teachers, curriculum, and location in the building with each passing

¹The two schools were assigned pseudonyms to preserve anonymity. Hidden Brook and Long Meadow are the names to be used throughout the study.

year. A student's curriculum was predominantly academic, with only one class period for either physical education or an elective, out of a total of six daily class periods.

The second school, Long Meadow, was a middle school with many of the features associated with the middle school model (Alexander & George, 1981). The students and teachers were organized in interdisciplinary learning communities. The students in these learning communities or teams were multiage grouped so that students in the three grades received instruction together, with instruction based on ability as opposed to grade level. Beginning sixth graders spent three years as members of an interdisciplinary team. Students had a multifaceted curriculum the majority of which was provided for by the team, including one daily class for personal development and affective education, four academic class periods, and two elective classes alternating every other day, with a single, extended block of time for physical education.

Beginning in August 1980, and ending in June 1981, data were collected on two teachers' perspectives and practices in each school setting. Additional interviews were conducted with the assistant principal and principal at each school. Observations included classroom teaching, special school events, teacher meetings, and teacher gatherings in the lounge and hall areas.

The data collection was guided by the initial research questions and focused by questions which emerged through data analysis conducted while in the fieldwork stages. Additional analysis followed to illuminate salient features of teachers' perspectives and practices at the two middle schools.

Definition of Terms

1. Middle School

The term middle school is used to denote a school that is "providing a program planned for a range of older children, pre-adolescents and early adolescents that builds upon the elementary school program for earlier childhood and in turn is built upon by the high school's program for adolescence" (Alexander et al., 1965, p. 5).

2. Interdisciplinary Teacher Organization

This term refers to a plan for the organization of teachers in which teachers from different subject areas are organized in groups of approximately four with a range from two to seven with an assigned common area of the school plant, a common schedule, and the responsibility for a common group of students.

3. Department Teacher Organization

This term refers to a plan for the organization of teachers in which teachers from the same subject area are organized as a unit. This unit works as a committee in curriculum planning for a subject area or discipline.

4. Advisor-Advisee

The Advisor-Advisee is a middle school program designed to address the personal development needs of early adolescents. In practice, it is an arrangement in which small groups of students meet with an assigned advisor, on a regular basis, for affective education and academic advisement.

5. Homeroom

This term refers to a school structure used for the management of school attendance and information dissemination. Any given homeroom is generally a class of about 30 students who meet for about five minutes at the start of every school day. This class is conducted by an assigned homeroom teacher who checks attendance and disseminates school news.

6. Multiage Grouping

This refers to a student grouping pattern in which students of various ages are grouped together for instruction. In a school with multiage student grouping, students in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades would participate in instruction together in any given class. Teachers would then have two thirds of their former students each consecutive year.

7. Chronological Age Grouping

This refers to a grouping plan in which students are grouped by age or number of years in school. In a school with chronological age grouping, students in the sixth year of school, for example, would follow the same basic schedule for an entire school year, at which point by virtue of completing the sixth grade, they would move to the seventh grade. Classes would consist of same age youngsters. Teachers would teach a different group of students with each passing year.

8. Teacher Perspectives

For the purposes of this study, teacher perspective will refer to a teacher's ideas, values, and beliefs related to the work of

teaching, the process of learning, and student and teacher roles and relationships.

9. Teacher Practices

The term practices refers to the educational methods, instructional means, and instructional technology a teacher uses when working with students during the school day. This would include the teacher's classroom arrangement and decor, teaching methods and materials, means of managing student behavior, and special activities such as field trips or celebrations planned for students.

Limitations

This study is bound by several limitations. While an understanding of teachers' perspectives and practices required the collection of classroom observational data, it was also dependent upon an investigation of the school as the context in which teachers worked. As a result, this investigation had a divided focus even though the unit of analysis was the teacher and not the school. Working as a single researcher, neither focus received as much attention as might be desirable.

Research has indicated that age, marital status, and years of experience play important roles in teacher perspectives and practices (Lipka & Goulet, 1979; Lortie, 1975). As such, it would have been desirable to include these variables in the criteria for teacher selection, thus controlling for those differences and their effects. With the original criteria, compounded by the requirement of participation for a full school year, the pool for the sample selection was too limited

to apply the additional constraints of age, marital status, and years of experience. Generalizations and conclusions must be interpreted with respect to these additional variables.

A final limitation was imposed by the researcher who had a previous relationship with the teachers at one of the schools, Long Meadow, but no previous relationship with the teachers at Hidden Brook. While validity measures were instituted to insure equal data collection, the rapport at Long Meadow seemed to yield more detailed interview accounts. Interpretive comparisons acknowledge this difference and restriction.

Overview of Chapters

The details of this research are discussed in Chapters II through V. In Chapter II, related literature is reviewed setting the context for the study. Chapter III includes details on the methodology and research procedures used in conducting the research, including information on data collection and analysis, site and teacher selection, entry procedures, research questions, validity measures, and details on limitations. The fourth chapter is divided into two major sections by school and contains the findings of the investigation. The final chapter, Chapter V, concludes the study with a summary of the two sections in Chapter IV, a discussion of the findings with comparison and contrast, and hypotheses and suggestions for further research in the field.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This study has investigated teachers' professional perspectives and practices in two organizationally different middle schools. Since a major goal of the research has been to illuminate and explain relationships between two varying middle school structures and teachers' pedagogical perspectives and practices, the focus and need for the study are supported by an examination of two major areas of research. In the first section of the chapter, studies which have examined teacher outcomes in relation to varying school contextual features will be reviewed and discussed. These studies focus on school structure, school size, size of the work group, and contrasting plans for teacher organization in relation to various teacher attitudes and behaviors. In the remaining portion of the chapter, studies will be reviewed which focus specifically on the middle school context with its particular plan for teacher organization and curriculum, in relation to various teacher attitudes and behaviors.

The School Context and Teacher Outcomes

Background

Schools differ on grounds other than their authority patterns. They come in different sizes and with different

divisions of labor; their clienteles vary by socio-economic level and by ethnic and religious background, and by rural or urban settings. Some schools are relatively well established with traditions of academic excellence or athletic prowess. How do such contexts influence teachers and vice versa? (Lortie, 1973, p. 484)

The question Lortie raised has received considerable attention in the past two decades. From an earlier and continuing line of research investigating the school and classroom structure on student outcomes (e.g., Barker & Gump, 1964; Bossert, 1979; Cusik, 1973; Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 1981; Doyle, 1977; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968), researchers have moved to undertake the arduous task of generating knowledge about the relationships between school structure, organization, climate, and teacher outcomes. Most of this research is grounded in varying sociological and ecological theories which attempt to explain environment-behavior relations. Early thinkers such as Dewey (1916; 1966), Waller (1932), and Parsons (1959), who observed schools and classrooms as social systems, paved the way for research on teaching as a function of the school context. Similarly, sociologists like Becker (1964), Wheeler (1966), and Bidwell (1972), who viewed schools as social organizations, offered theoretical contentions supporting relationships between school structure and teacher outcomes. Becker (1964) argued that members of organizations acquire their perspectives as they adjust to the situational demands within the organization. Wheeler (1966) contended that members acquire perspectives, the psychological outcomes of socialization, from the recurrent conditions in which they interact. Moreover, he believed that social relationships and social norms evolve from the structural characteristics of institutions. As a third example, Bidwell (1972) suggested that the social organization

of an institution structures opportunities, activities, and relationships which shape the norms learned by members of the institution.

Some of the more recent research is supported by ecological theory. Ecologists have approached the school-teacher relationship, treating teaching and learning as continually interactive processes rather than as cause and effect processes. They view the school as a system with the classroom as an embedded subsystem, subject to influences from the larger system of the school (Bronfenbrenner, 1976; Goodlad, 1975; Ogbu, 1981). The resulting studies reflect a concern for illuminating the reciprocal relations among variables, the indirect environmental effects, and the participants' perspectives from inside the setting.

Research

Flizak (1967) conducted a study of teachers' role orientations in relation to school setting. He selected 33 elementary schools which he typed according to characteristics of organizations. The model types were Authoritarian, Rationalistic, Humanistic, and mixed models. These model types were differentiated according to institutional structure (i.e., who does what), process (i.e., how it gets done), and end-product (i.e., who gets what, when, and how). Of the 33 schools, 15 were designated Authoritarian-Rationalistic which Flizak described as a school concerned with efficiency in their means-end production, a highly developed power structure, and a faith in leader superiority. The remaining 18 schools Flizak classified as Rationalistic-Humanistic. These schools were less concerned about efficient goal attainment and power relations among members and more concerned about the realization of members' individual goals.

To determine the teachers' role orientations in these schools, Flizak administered the Evaluation Modality test which assesses teacher political, economic, social, religious, and aesthetic values, and the Teacher Practices Questionnaire which assesses teacher priorities in classroom practices. The Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory which assesses a scope of teacher attitudes was administered as well. A sample of 726 elementary school teachers was selected for the study, with 213 males and 513 females in the sample.

Ten dependent variables from the three tests were examined in terms of the two types of schools under study. The analysis of the data indicated that on all ten measures two school types discriminated between teachers. Teachers at the Authoritarian-Rationalistic schools had significantly higher scores on the roles of advice and information giver, disciplinarian, referrer, and motivator. On the other hand, the teachers at the Rationalistic-Humanistic schools attained higher scores on the counselor-teacher role and held more positive attitudes towards their work.

Flizak concluded that school structure partially accounted for the differences observed. When the goals of the school focused on the efficiency of means-end production and were achieved through a highly developed power structure, teachers would be more inclined to view themselves as information-givers and disciplinarians. On the other hand, when the school's goals emphasized addressing the needs of its members, teachers likewise assumed that role, the counselor-teacher role, in relation to their students. He suggested, however, that observed differences could have been related to the fact that school administrators selected teachers with similar philosophies and styles of teaching. In

addition, he added that teachers who were similar may have been drawn to certain types of schools, thus accounting for the observed differences in another way.

An interest in the structural characteristic of school size and its effects on student behavior emerged in response to James Conant's (1959) report recommending school consolidation and larger student populations. Barker and Gump (1964) published Big School, Small School in which a series of studies challenged Conant's assumption of large school superiority. Extending Barker and Gump's conclusions into hypotheses regarding school size and teacher outcomes, Hilsun and Cane (1971) investigated the relationships between school population size, administrative area of control, school neighborhood, and teacher outcomes.

Hilsun and Cane found that the teachers who worked in smaller schools spent less time during breaks and lunch on activities related to organizing facets of their teaching day. In addition, they found teachers in small schools spent more time on supervision, perhaps because there were fewer teachers to share supervising duties. Small school teachers were also found to spend less time on personal and social matters and more time on work matters in conversation. They found small school teachers spent more time on work over weekends and holidays than their larger school counterparts.

They also found that teacher characteristics such as years of teaching experience, sex, number of dependents, or assigned extra school duties appeared to have little influence on actual classroom instruction. Moreover, neither class size nor the ability range of the class appeared to affect the patterns of teaching adopted. They concluded that school size may influence certain elements of variation in the

teacher's day, which in turn may influence a teacher's attitudes towards work.

Like Hilsum and Cane, Abramowitz (1977) hypothesized that school size would affect teacher interdependence and classroom practices by setting the limits on teacher communication, control, role specialization, and coordination. She contended that these size-related factors could directly structure the quality of interpersonal relationships within a school. Abramowitz wanted to also know, however, whether school size or the task structure of teacher teams was the more important variable in predicting teacher task interdependence.

Abramowitz collected survey data from 105 teachers in the second, fourth, and fifth grades. The surveys included questions about the teachers' grouping practices, their use of aides, the amount of time they spent teaching different subjects, and the curriculum materials they used. The survey data were collected in 19 elementary schools representing two different school patterns for the grouping of teachers and students. Ten of the schools were labeled voucher schools or schools where teachers were organized in teacher teams with common students, tasks, and responsibilities. The remaining 9 schools were non-voucher schools without the teacher team plan for teacher collaboration. The voucher schools had almost twice the number of teachers as the non-voucher schools.

Abramowitz found that the teachers who worked in the larger voucher schools with the smaller work units of the teams were more likely to plan lessons and conduct instruction together and also were more likely to engage in more complex teaching strategies. She concluded that teacher task interdependence was more a function of task structure

(i.e., the team organization) than of school size. She noted, however, that school size was an important factor where it was coupled with an environment of required and frequent teacher interdependence.

Other studies investigating school organization and teacher outcomes were prompted by various developments in education. The open space school and the related instructional patterns of the school within the school and team teaching have received a considerable amount of research attention. The Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching has studied the effects of open space schools upon teachers' activities, teachers' relationships to each other and to principals, and teachers' professional orientations. Affiliated with Stanford, Meyer, Cohen, Brunetti, Molnar and Lueders-Salmon (1972) designed a study to address a number of research questions on open space and teaching. Questions researched included: Does open space with a team teacher organization increase the amount of work-related interaction teachers have with colleagues, does open space increase the overall amount of influence of the teachers in school affairs, does open space increase the amount of explicit evaluations of teachers which goes on in the school, does open space increase the level of teacher job satisfaction, are open space schools likely to support the professional ambitions of teachers, and do open space schools usually support teacher interests in curriculum and in formal academic learning and discourage broad identification with or interest in the child as a person (Meyer et al., 1972)? The data were collected with teachers working in either open space schools where the teachers were organized into teams to plan and implement programs in open space or in traditional, self-contained settings where teachers worked individually within the confines of the

self-contained classroom space. A sample of 110 teachers from nine open space elementary schools and 120 teachers from eight traditional elementary schools, all with predominantly middle class, suburban populations, were compared on the variables of teacher sense of influence, job satisfaction, and attitudes towards colleague evaluation.

Meyer and his colleagues discovered that the open space teachers engaged in more teacher-teacher informal and work-related interaction than the teachers working in the self-contained setting. In addition, they found that open space teachers reported more informal evaluation of other teachers than the self-contained teachers. The open space teachers also had an increased sense of autonomy and perceived themselves to be more efficacious in relation to specific task performance and within the total school. Finally, the open space teachers were more satisfied with their work than their self-contained counterparts.

Meyer et al. (1972) concluded that the organizational structure of the self-contained classroom emphasizes isolation and independent work which in turn have adverse effects upon meaningful task related interaction among teachers. In addition, they suggested that the self-contained structure limited the teacher's sphere of influence and rewards to the small universe of the single classroom, thus reducing teacher autonomy and efficacy in larger school affairs.

The Stanford researchers expanded their research efforts to include a study of the relationships between teacher visibility in open space and the amount and types of evaluation of teachers that occurs. It was hypothesized that greater visibility would lead teachers in open space to view evaluation by their colleagues as more soundly based and of more significance than would teachers in self-contained schools (Marram, 1972).

A questionnaire was administered to a total sample of 244 teachers in 15 schools. Four of the schools were open spaced with teams of teachers. Six of the schools had self-contained classrooms without teams. The remaining five schools had self-contained classrooms with teacher teams. Of the total sample, 56 teachers worked in the teamed, open space schools, 106 worked in the nonteamed self-contained classrooms, and the remaining 82 teachers worked in the schools with the mixed design.

The results of the study revealed major differences between teachers in the conventional schools and those in the open space, teamed schools in the teachers' reactions to colleague evaluations. The finding supported their contention that teacher visibility and the perceived soundness and importance of evaluations are positively associated (Marram, 1972). Informal evaluation by colleagues happened almost twice as frequently in open space, teamed schools as it did in the conventional schools. Teachers in self-contained classrooms rejected the importance of their colleagues' evaluations, preferring those of students and principals, whereas the significance of principal evaluation for teachers in open space, teamed schools followed that of colleagues and students, in third place. Marram speculated that a norm for colleague evaluation of work was therefore being established in the open space, teamed schools.

Separating the effects of teaming from open space, Cohen, Bredo, and Duckworth (1976) conducted an investigation of teacher job satisfaction in both open space and self-contained buildings where teachers were organized into instructional teams. Their efforts focused on an identification of the conditions under which intensified relationships among

teachers, and between the teachers and principal, were associated with teacher job satisfaction.

The data were collected from a sample of teachers in 46 teams in 16 elementary schools. They found generally high levels of job satisfaction in both settings. Specifically, they found that frequency of teacher discussion and frequency of sharing materials correlated positively with teacher satisfaction. Second, they found that teachers' perceptions of the helpfulness of fellow teacher evaluations related to satisfaction with the school. Third, teachers who reported more frequent principal observations and evaluation, as well as principal support on a wide variety of tasks, were more satisfied. Finally, they found that the school's policy on discipline related to teacher satisfaction.

Cohen et al. (1976) also examined variations in the nature of the job satisfaction predictors of teamed and nonteamed teachers. They found that more discussion with other teachers predicted satisfaction for nonteamed teachers, but that sharing materials, frequency of teacher evaluations, and perceived helpfulness of teacher evaluations were more important predictors for teamed teachers. In addition, they discovered that the relationships between teaming and job satisfaction were more positive in schools with a high socioeconomic status. Thus, they concluded that the composition of the student population was an intervening variable affecting job satisfaction.

Cohen et al. (1976) also researched variations in the complexity of the classroom technology of teachers in teams. Using the teams that varied in levels of task interdependence (i.e., frequency of joint teaching), they found where teachers exhibited the highest degree of task interdependence the teachers also demonstrated the use of more

complex classroom grouping patterns and a wider variety of teaching patterns. Moreover, these teachers gave students more autonomy and placed less importance on the sequencing of classroom events. In addition, they were more likely than their counterparts to consult with other specialists in the school.

Pellegrin (1969a) also found higher job satisfaction for teachers in schools with teams. Pellegrin collected questionnaire and interview data on teachers in six schools. Three of the schools were schools with interdisciplinary teams with team leaders. The other three schools did not have teams. After comparing the results for teachers in schools with and without teams, Pellegrin maintained that the concentration of decision-making authority in teamed schools was in the team units, whereas the concentration of decision-making authority in nonteamed schools was with the principal. He concluded that teacher participation in decision-making was thus the critical variable in the job satisfaction of teamed teachers.

In a second report (Pellegrin, 1969b), he found that teachers in teamed schools did not see themselves as depending heavily on the principal in their work. In those same schools, the principal reported that his job success depended upon a number of people, indicating a decentralized authority, whereas the control school principals limited their dependence to a few. Pellegrin also found contrasts in the teachers' perceived expectations. In the teamed school, teachers believed experimenting with new teaching techniques and giving individual attention to students would be the principal's primary expectations for teachers. On the other hand, teachers in the nonteamed schools saw insuring that students learn the basic skills as the principal's

expectation. Regarding differences in job satisfaction, Pellegrin found that the teachers in the teamed schools were more satisfied than teachers in the schools without teams, with the following: progress towards goals, personal relationships with administrators, opportunity to accept responsibility for one's work or the work of others, seeing positive results from one's efforts, relationships with fellow teachers, satisfaction in light of career aspirations, and availability of materials.

Verdral (1971) investigated the educational viewpoints and teaching patterns of junior high school teachers in departments and teams. A total sample of 39 language arts and social studies teachers and 1,969 students from nine junior high schools in the Chicago area participated in the study. Twenty teachers and 862 students worked in junior high schools organized with teaching teams and a block time schedule. In that setting, teachers shared common groups of students and the responsibility for scheduling their instructional time. The remaining group of 19 teachers and 1,107 students were in junior high schools with a separate subject or department organization. The teachers responded to Ryans Educational Viewpoints measure which indicated the degree to which teachers were subject-centered. The students responded to the Minnesota Attitude Inventory which assessed their perceptions of their teachers' instructional styles.

Verdral found that separate subject teachers (i.e., those working as members of a subject area department) espoused a more subject-centered view of teaching than the blocked or teamed teachers, whose view was more child-centered. In addition, Verdral found that students in the different settings perceived their teachers differently. The students of separate subject area teachers perceived their teachers as using more

direct and less indirect teaching methods. On the other hand, students of teamed teachers perceived their teachers as using more indirect and less direct teaching patterns. Verdral's results might suggest that teachers develop orientations in relation to what they have in common with other teachers.

Olszewski and Doyle (1976) researched the relationships between team organization, colleague interdependency, and actual teaching performance. They hypothesized that teachers in teamed, open space settings would exhibit a greater number of shared teaching practices and a wider range of practices than their nonteamed counterparts. Their sample was comprised of 16 teachers. Eight of the teachers worked in a nonteamed setting where four teachers had responsibility for about 120 students in open space. The data were collected with Amidon-Hunter's Interaction Analysis Categories.

The results favored the teamed teachers on the shared teaching behaviors but no significant difference was found in the range of teaching behaviors used by the teachers in the two settings. The authors concluded that while their study supported a relationship between work arrangements and professional behavior, caution was in order since the teamed teachers' teaching styles may have existed prior to their employment in the teamed schools.

Interested in the influence of school social structure and school leadership on teachers, Mendenhall (1977) studied the relationships of four structural features of school organization and leadership behavior to job satisfaction in teamed schools. Drawing from social systems theory, Mendenhall delineated the following four structural features: formalization, centralization, complexity, and stratification.

Formalization referred to the range of variations allowed on job performance within the school. Centralization denoted the degree to which decision-making is concentrated in the school. Each school was analyzed for structural complexity which was determined by the school's number of occupational specialists, the level of educational training among the staff, and the degree of staff involvement in professional activities. Finally, the degree to which teachers felt other staff members had greater status was assessed to indicate stratification. She designed the study in order to compare the degrees of influence of these structural features and leader behavior. The data were collected from 41 principals, 41 team leaders in 41 teamed or multiunit schools in 13 states. These schools had teams with team leaders who served as teacher representatives in a teacher-administrator decision-making group.

Mendenhall found that the principal's leadership behavior and the team leader's behavior accounted for 36% of the teacher job satisfaction variance. Regarding the measured structural variables, Mendenhall found that the greater range of variations allowed within job performance (i.e., formalization) and the extent to which teachers felt other teachers had greater status (i.e., stratification) were the structural variables which accounted for 52% of the variance in the teacher job satisfaction. She concluded that there was a significant relationship between school social structure and teacher job satisfaction. The principal's role in determining the nature of those structural variables and the extent to which the team structure promotes formalization or stratification warrants further study.

Charters (1978) combined the interests of the Stanford researchers with those of Mendenhall in his study of teachers in teamed or nonteamed

schools. Unlike the earlier Stanford work, Charters examined the influence of the principal and the team teacher collegial group on teacher autonomy. In addition, Charters ignored school architectural differences and focused on the presence or absence of teacher instructional teams. He administered questionnaires to 430 teachers in 27 schools varying in size and socioeconomic status. Fourteen of the schools were organized in teams and 13 were without teams.

His comparison showed that teamed teachers had a greater volume of classroom-related communication and attributed a greater amount of influence to collegial groups than the nonteamed teachers. While the levels of job satisfaction were the same for both sets of teachers, Charters found lower values on the autonomy index for his teamed teachers.

Charters' results on autonomy were puzzling since teaming would be expected to increase teacher autonomy (Pellegrin, 1969b). Charters concluded, however, that while higher levels of teacher group influence over school affairs increased teacher autonomy, the principal's influence over classroom affairs reduced teacher autonomy. Moreover, Charters concluded that the principal's influence was greater than teacher group influence in determining the teacher autonomy in the school. Finally, he concluded that teacher sentiments in all schools would depend upon the school's particular mix of collegial group operations and administrator behavior, with the behavior of the principal being the more important factor in the mixture. For instance, where open space schools with teams had strong collegial group influences reported by teachers and little principal interference in the classroom, high levels of autonomy and satisfaction could be expected to follow.

An earlier study conducted by Molnar (1971) helped to explain Charters' puzzling findings on the teamed teachers' sense of autonomy. Molnar studied 17 teacher teams in six schools. She observed each of the teams in six planning meetings and recorded the frequency of teacher-initiated, task-related communication. The teachers also completed a questionnaire about their perceptions of their own influence and autonomy. Molnar found that the interaction in team meetings was related to the teachers' perceptions of their influence and autonomy. Specifically, Molnar found that teams varied in their internal status structures and that these variations were related to differences in teacher sense of autonomy and influence. Where membership participation was balanced or members participated equally in team decision-making, Molnar found that teachers felt more influential and more autonomous within their teams. Moreover, she found where teachers felt their teams had decision-making authority within the school, they also felt more autonomous. Molnar's major contribution is her finding that the team organization does not always indicate heightened levels of perceived teacher influence and autonomy, because of internal differences in team dynamics.

Murnane and Phillips (1977) were also interested in relationships between school organization and teacher job satisfaction. They studied seven dimensions of teacher job satisfaction for teachers in self-contained classrooms or departmentalized subject areas. Using a questionnaire, data were collected on teachers' attitudes towards the principal, the curriculum, materials and procedures, colleagues, community attitudes towards education, daily teaching, and compensation. The sample was comprised of 650 teachers in seven schools in a midwest district.

Murnane and Phillips found that the self-contained teachers were more satisfied than teachers in departments, with their principals, the school curriculum, their materials and procedures, and the community attitudes; teachers in schools where there were six hundred and fifty students or more, however, were least satisfied with colleague relations regardless of whether the teachers were organized in departments or self-contained classrooms. Moreover, the teachers in the departmentalized schools with the larger percentage of low achieving students were more satisfied with colleague relations than their elementary, self-contained counterparts. Murnane and Phillips concluded that there are complex combinations of variables in the school which influence teacher job satisfaction. For example, in schools where there was higher than average student achievement, teachers reported higher satisfaction for compensation but less satisfaction with the curriculum than those in schools with lower than average achievement. The study's major weakness, however, was that it did not illuminate what produced the departmentalized teachers' satisfaction with the curriculum, their materials, or their principals. Why, for example, the departmentalized teachers with a larger percentage of low-achieving students were more satisfied with their colleague relations than their elementary, self-contained counterparts remains unclear. Perhaps answers lie within the internal workings of the schools.

The majority of studies discussed thus far have focused on the quantitative measurement of selected variables. These studies were not equipped, however, to illuminate the actual processes which occur in schools that may shape teacher attitudes and behavior. One general conclusion from the quantitative work is that the complexity of

interacting school variables that affect teacher attitudes and behaviors requires a model of research capable of delineating direct as well as indirect relationships and qualitative explanations for relationships between school context and teacher attitudes and behaviors. There are only a very few qualitative studies which have sought to understand the relationships between school context and teaching.

Cusik (1973) conducted one well-known qualitative study of a suburban high school. While the study primarily addressed student rather than teacher outcomes, it did yield some insights on indirect relationships between school organization and teacher outcomes. Specifically, Cusik conducted an ethnographic study of a large suburban high school and discovered a number of unintended consequences for students and teachers. In a school characterized by a staff chosen for their professional qualifications, a large student body, and no discernible sense of community, Cusik found that the students' most active and alive moments occurred in their own small-group interactions and not in instructional interactions with their teachers. Cusik discovered that this phenomenon was, at least in part, a product of the structural features of the high school studied. According to Cusik, the school's hierarchy of decision-making authority, with students at the bottom, the downward communication flow from administrators to teachers to students, the subdivision of teachers by subject matter, and the multitude of rules and regulations governing student behavior all contributed to a series of unintended consequences. Cusik observed that this combination of structural features limited student-teacher interaction, reduced student involvement in school-sponsored activities, created a daily experience marked by the

shifting of groups and relations, and a resistance on the part of students to comply with school demands.

As a result, teachers conducted their classes with a primary focus on maintaining order rather than on teaching students. Teachers often ignored student affective concerns and perceptive comments because they were consumed with managing student behavior. Cusik's major contribution was his conclusion that both student and teacher behavior were affected by the organizational features of the school in ways not necessarily consistent with the school's goals and intentions.

Lortie (1975) conducted a major sociological study of teaching. From intensive interviews with 2,316 teachers in five towns in the Boston metropolitan area, national and local surveys, historical reviews, and data from other observational studies, Lortie generated important findings on the nature of the teaching occupation. Some of those findings are applicable for this review.

As a general conclusion, Lortie noted that the teaching occupation was characterized by the lack of a common technical culture, the mutual isolation of its members, and individualistic orientations. Lortie discovered extreme diversity in teachers' reasons for entering the teaching field, with the perpetuation of this diversity in the nature of teachers' perspectives and attitudes once in the field.

In addition, Lortie found that teachers' sentiments about teaching varied according to life stages and experiences. Age, sex, and marital status seemed to affect teachers' attitudes towards work. Women over forty were, for example, more involved (e.g., stayed to work after hours, took on extra duties) than those under forty, and single women were slightly more involved and satisfied than married women. Men were slightly more

involved than women teachers but reported the lowest levels of satisfaction. Unlike women, men under forty put in longer hours but older men gave teaching a higher ranking in a listing of their life priorities. These findings are significant since they suggest that teachers' perspectives and practices may be influenced by variables outside the context of the school.

Regarding teachers' aspirations, Lortie found that about half of the Five Towns teachers emphasized moral outcomes they hoped would result from their work. Most teachers focused on teaching citizenship and saw the achievement of student compliance to classroom norms as an important means to that end. There was some indication that this orientation was more frequent when the teachers taught students from lower-status homes, suggesting that their experiences in working with those students elicited the desire to focus on socialization.

Lortie also examined what he called craft pride and discovered that over half of the elementary teachers in the five towns organized their discussion of craft pride around a success with one student. Though success with one student was the major source of pride, teachers' described their ideals in terms of reaching all of their students. Lortie concluded that this discrepancy between stated ideals and pride in considerably less is the product of the prevailing psychological uncertainty characteristic of teaching. Teachers are not sure they can make all of their students learn, and while they hope for widespread or universal effectiveness, they receive too little reinforcement to yield assurance.

Lortie also observed that the typical work arrangements in most schools exacerbated the problem by isolating teachers, thus limiting the potential for collegial assistance and support. Almost half of the five

towns teachers reported having no contact with other teachers in the course of their work. Isolation from peers deprives teachers of the opportunity to see others at work and to develop a shared technical culture. In addition, Lortie concluded that the absence of professionally sanctioned goals and scientifically verified techniques leaves every teacher free to make his or her own classroom decisions and ultimately to calculate his or her own professional competence. As a result, teachers are vulnerable to self-doubt which in turn has implications for teachers' sense of efficacy and classroom effectiveness.

Lortie's findings suggest that the school context may be a very viable tool for altering the status and character of teaching. With teachers' attitudes and sentiments largely shaped by the individual experiences and psychic rewards of the classroom, it is plausible that alterations in the organization of teachers and students in the school could alter these experiences and the related sentiments of teachers. In particular, Lortie suggested that a plan for teacher collaboration might reduce teacher uncertainty and promote the growth of a common technical culture.

Metz (1978) conducted one of the few comprehensive case studies which investigated qualitative as well as quantitative dimensions of teaching. Her study examined the social structures and processes that shaped behavior in two different desegregated junior high schools. Metz explored the conditions affecting order in the corridors and the schools at large. She described the collective perspectives and strategies for both education and order developed by the adults at the two schools, the processes which gave rise to differences in the two staffs' approaches, and the

consequences of these choices for the life of the student body and school as a whole.

Metz collected her data through observation in the field, extensive interviewing, and artifact collection. She followed each of four children and fifteen teachers through whole school days. Teacher observations were followed by interviews. She also interviewed 20 children in the eighth grade distributed by sex, ability level in school, and disciplinary record. In addition, she interviewed counselors, deans, vice principals, and principals. From the opening of the school year through January 15 of the year, she made a systematic census of one child's disciplinary referrals at each school. She conducted participant observation in assemblies, faculty meetings, and some committee meetings as well as in the corridors, the teachers' lounges, the cafeterias, and other public places in the schools.

Metz discovered that while teachers' educational views differed within a single school, each school developed a faculty culture with distinguishing and coherent patterns. She found that the teachers' ideas about their goals and the grounds justifying their relationship of authority with students were associated with their diverse ideas about the appropriate roles for teachers and students. These role perceptions were associated with several school social structures and processes. She concluded that teachers adjust to varying school conditions such as the characteristics of the student body, the history of the school, the school leaders, and the particular conflicts of order and control unique to the school. For example, where the school had a history of serving a predominantly black and working, lower class clientele, the teachers were mostly what Metz called proto-authority. These were teachers who

did not expect children to share their educational values. Rather, they hoped to teach them that industriousness and obedience are the line of least resistance. In effect, they saw themselves as sergeants, not caretakers of developing children. Perhaps this posture of distance was related to their difficulty in working with culturally different students who were often less successful in fulfilling traditional academic requirements.

Some studies have attempted to investigate unique combinations of school contextual features under the label of school climate or ethos. While there are a significant number of climate studies, very few have looked specifically at the relationships between school climate and teacher attitudes and behavior. The majority of the climate studies have focused on student outcomes, particularly academic performance.

Though not a major climate study, Anglin (1979) did attempt to study the relationship between school climate and teacher roles. Anglin referred to school climate in terms of school organization and social systems variables including the student grouping plan, the achievement standards, the stated role for teachers, the ways and means of school policy formulation, and the curriculum materials used. Based on differences in these variables, Anglin categorized his sampled schools as four types: traditional, open, academy, and systems. In addition, Anglin believed differences in these variables ultimately reflected differences in the school's assumptions about and level of understanding of the nature of student variability and the nature of the instructional process.

Anglin labeled his sample schools according to these differences, generating four school types which he named traditional, academy, open,

and systems. A traditional school acknowledged efficiency in the instructional program as more important than responding to student variability. In contrast, an open school understood and recognized student variability more effectively than it understood and recognized the instructional process. At the extreme ends of what could be considered a continuum, Anglin typed the academy and systems schools. An academy school was identified as a school that viewed students as uniform and instruction as a product. The systems school, on the other hand, was responsive to student variability and the instructional process.

Anglin observed that teacher instructional roles varied with the type of school organization. Specifically, the way teachers grouped students for instruction, their perceptions and beliefs about academic achievement, and the types of teaching materials they used all varied with the variations in their school organization and social system variables.

Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith (1979) conducted a large-scale study in 12 secondary schools in south London. Using staff and student questionnaires and extensive observation with a sample of 3,485 students, ages 10-14, and their teachers, Rutter et al. (1979) looked at the relationships between student background, school organization, school processes and school composition, and student behavior, student attendance, student achievement, and student delinquency. Differences in the student outcomes seemed more related to school processes than to the specific organizational variables. They found for example that teacher involvement in school decision-making, teacher cooperation, staff socializing, the decoration and care of the school, high levels of rewards for students, and staff consensus were related to higher student

achievement. They also found where the school had shared activities for students and staff, pupils seemed encouraged to accept school norms. If students did comply with teacher demands, teachers might experience less difficulty in managing classroom behavior. Their resulting attitudes and behaviors might be expected to differ from those working in a school where students resisted school norms (see Cusik, 1973). Though they did not identify specific climate variables that affect teachers, extrapolating from such indirect effects, they concluded that

It was very much easier to be a good teacher in some schools than it was in others. The overall ethos of the school seemed to provide support and a context which facilitated good teaching. Teaching performance is a function of the school environment as well as of personal qualities. (Rutter et al., 1979, p. 171)

One specific teacher outcome, teacher morale, has been associated with school climate. Ellett, Payne, Masters, and Pool (1977) reported that teacher attitude toward work correlated with school climate as perceived by elementary school students. They also reported a significant relationship between teacher morale and both attendance and achievement for elementary and secondary students. These conclusions were drawn from a sample of 1,300 teachers and 3,350 elementary students from 35 schools and 3,613 secondary students from 10 schools, who each responded to one of three climate measures. Likewise, using several climate measures and a principal performance questionnaire with a sample of 1,200 teachers and 45 principals from 35 elementary and 10 secondary schools in Georgia, Ellett and Walberg (1979) found that direct principal involvement and interest in instruction not only improved student achievement but elevated teacher morale.

Summary

While the reported studies are in some ways diffuse in focus, they yield a fairly consistent picture of at least some of the critical variables in schools which seem to affect teacher attitudes and behaviors. Certainly among the most repeatedly cited are the size and structure of the work group, the division of labor and authority within the school, and the character of the school leader.

The team organization which provides teachers with a small collegial group, common responsibilities, and the potential for autonomy and influence in larger school affairs was one organizational feature associated with increased teacher task-related communication (Charters, 1978; Meyer et al., 1971), increased teacher interdependence or joint teaching and planning (Abramowitz, 1977; Cohen et al., 1976; Olszewski & Doyle, 1976), teachers' positive perceptions of other teachers' opinions (Cohen et al., 1976; Charters, 1978; Marram, 1972), increased job satisfaction (Cohen et al., 1976; Pellegrin, 1969a, 1969b), and more child-centered and complex instructional orientations and practices (Verdral, 1971; Cohen et al., 1976). The team structure may have yielded these findings because it reduces the size of the work group facilitating collaboration, alters the division of labor within the school elevating teacher authority, and refocuses teachers' roles and responsibilities in relation to self and others, such that teachers have common responsibilities in relation to a group of students rather than a subject area. Moreover, when teachers have the opportunity to increase their knowledge of students through team members' sharing of perceptions, it is possible student variability and student needs become more apparent. This awareness may account

for the increase in instructional complexity or in attempts to meet varied learning needs.

Findings from the other studies suggest, however, that the production of teachers who joint teach, value colleague perceptions, are satisfied with their work, are more child-centered than subject-centered, and who utilize complex classroom technology requires more than the implementation of school teams. Levels of teacher autonomy and satisfaction, for instance, varied in different teams. It appears that student body composition (Cohen et al., 1976), school size (Hilsum & Cane, 1971) and principal behavior (Cohen et al., 1976; Flizak, 1967; Mendenhall, 1977; Metz, 1978) all serve as intervening variables in teacher satisfaction, with smaller size, a higher percentage of high ability students, and a supportive and involved principal who serves as an instructional leader, as the positive variables.

Internal school processes and norms may be just as potent in shaping teacher attitudes and behavior as an organizational feature such as the team. The existing qualitative work illustrates the complexity of the relationships involved. Schools may influence teachers by the norms they sanction, their climates, the values they espouse, their histories, and their administrator's beliefs and practices (Cusik, 1973; Ellett et al., 1977; Metz, 1978; Rutter et al., 1979).

In light of the research reviewed here, it is clear that the search for an encompassing, explanatory model of relationships between school context and teaching should continue. This research study represents an attempt to further illuminate significant variables and relationships and to provide explanations for the quantitative findings which remain unclear.

The Middle School Context: Theory and Research

Background

This study has investigated teachers' perspectives and practices in two contrasting school plans. While both schools are named middle school, differences in the two schools' organization of teachers, the grouping of students, the components of the daily schedule, and the nature of the curriculum sharply separate the two school plans. According to theory in the field of early adolescent education, only one of the schools, Long Meadow Middle School, has incorporated school features associated with the middle school label. The second school, Hidden Brook, appears, according to theory and tradition, to have those features commonly affiliated with the title of junior high school (Alexander & George, 1981). In a sense then, this study compares teachers' perspectives and practices in a junior high school and a middle school. As a result, it is essential to review the background, theory, and research in the area of junior high/middle school education to reveal what is currently known about the relationship of either school plan to teacher attitudes and behaviors.

Before the turn of the century, the predominant school organization in the United States consisted of the elementary school, grades 1-8, and the high school, grades 9-12. In 1888, Charles Eliot, then president of Harvard University, initiated a national movement seeking to lower the age for college entrance. The National Education Association endorsed the movement and helped initiate a new organization of grades 1-6 in the elementary school with grades 7-12 in the high school.

By 1917, experiments were underway with various divisions of the 7-12 plan, resulting in the establishment of over 270 separate schools housing students in grades 7-9. These schools were appropriately called junior high schools. Though it was not until the 1920s that this new organization called the junior high school assumed pedagogical as well as logistical purposes, it was this early transformation of the secondary grades that created the impetus for further change.

The junior high school lacked clear definition. Although early writers (Bunker, 1909; Fullerton, 1910) alluded to the special needs of learners in grades 7-9, virtually nothing in the curriculum or organization of the early junior high school differed substantially from the senior high program. Later theoretical developments included the core curriculum concept which involved the correlation of subject areas under the supervision of a single teacher. In addition, flexible scheduling emerged as an idea to accommodate the core curriculum. Exploratory learning and the concept of a teacher-advisory plan were advocated in the literature. All of these features were much less apparent in practice, however, as the majority of junior high schools still continued to model themselves after the senior high school plan. The junior high school remained primarily a grade level reorganization (Toepfer, 1982).

As numbers of junior high schools increased, attitudes and assumptions about the purposes and effectiveness of this school plan began to change. Housed in separate schools, early adolescent youngsters began to stir the interests of concerned educators who wondered if these junior high schools were suitable for the students they served. New knowledge on early adolescent development became available to educators who began to identify the junior high school plan as a developmentally inappropriate

school (Cooper & Peterson, 1949; Segal, 1951; Shipp, 1951). Though questions were raised about the effectiveness of the junior high school, few research studies addressed those questions. In effect, the junior high school was an unresearched school plan (Toepfer, 1982).

Questions continued though, as new knowledge of early adolescent development and a growing dissatisfaction with the junior high school compounded by declining enrollments and desegregation provided the concerned educators with sufficient impetus to search for a more appropriate school alternative. By the middle of the 1960s, an alternative called the middle school had emerged (Eichorn, 1966). Initially, the knowledge that the onset of puberty occurred at an age more closely associated with grades five or six, rather than seven, led to a limited conceptualization of the middle school as a grade reorganization, a school with grades 6-8 rather than 7-9 (Eichorn, 1973). The concept was quickly expanded, however, as efforts were made to align middle school curriculum and instruction to a broader knowledge of early adolescent physical, intellectual, social, and emotional developmental features (Toepfer, 1982).

In the last two decades, a significant body of theory has been generated in which the middle school concept is defined and clarified. While controversy still exists regarding the nature of appropriate curricular and instructional programs, the National Middle School Association's recent statement (1982) on the characteristics of the middle school suggests a growing consensus. It states, "The middle school stands for clear educational concepts which evolve from a melting of the nature of the age group, the nature of learning, and the expectations of society. There should be then, certain conditions, factors, and programmatic characteristics that are identifiable and that would be present in a true middle school" (p. 10).

Initiating a list of essential middle school elements, the National Middle School Association's committee suggested the following features: "a staff knowledgeable about early adolescent development, a focus on cognitive and affective objectives, varied organizational alternatives to departmentalized instruction, varied instructional technology, an exploratory curriculum, a plan for teacher-student guidance, and cooperative teacher planning" (pp. 10-11). In a similar effort to delineate distinct middle school features, Alexander and George (1981) offered twelve features of the exemplary middle school. In summary, they recommended a "developmental, teacher-student guidance program, an interdisciplinary teacher organization, flexible patterns for student grouping and scheduling to acknowledge developmental diversity and facilitate continuous progress, and varied instructional technology" (pp. 18-19).

Research

While the theory has achieved an emerging clarity, middle school research is still in its infant years. Studies which have examined the impact of the major features advocated by the theorists are limited (Toepfer & Marani, 1980). In addition, most studies have focused primarily on the quantitative effects of the individual components, with student achievement as the most frequently measured outcome. Only a few researchers have attempted to study the effects of some cluster of the advocated middle school features, and only a very small number of those studies investigated relationships between the middle school as an organizational alternative and teacher outcomes. Moreover, the existing

studies of middle school teacher attitudes and perceptions are diverse and scattered in focus and thus do not yield a conclusive picture.

Bryan and Erikson (1970) studied the middle school as an organizational innovation. They contended that, "the middle school concept represents a real effort to provide a new kind of school organization. The implementation of such a program . . . should modify the interpersonal and structural relationships within and between teachers, students and parents" (p. 24). As a result, in their comparison study of middle school and junior high school teacher perceptions and opinions, they differentiated the two school types by instructional organization. The junior high school had a departmentalized teacher organization, whereas the middle school had an interdisciplinary teacher organization.

Bryan and Erikson examined teachers' attitudes about and perceptions of their relationships with other teachers, administrators, and students, perceptions of their role in school decision-making, attitudes towards work, perceptions of students, and perceptions of fellow teacher competency. From their questionnaire data they found few significant differences in the two groups of teachers. Teachers in the middle school plan were, however, more favorable towards teaching students in the middle years, and did describe their students in ways different from the junior high school teachers. They noted that the middle school teachers, more often than the junior high school teachers, applied these descriptive statements to students: will be prepared for next year, will probably go to college, were prepared for my classwork, like to go to school, and have parents that are critical of school. On the other hand, the junior high school teachers were more inclined to apply the following statements to students: discipline is a problem, lacking in IQ

capacity, probably will drop out of high school, and dislike school. In essence they found that the middle school teachers were more convinced of their students' success in present and future schooling. On dimensions of teacher satisfaction, they discovered a slight but not significant difference in favor of the middle school teachers.

Gordon (1977) used the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory to measure teacher attitudes towards students in the elementary, middle, and high school. Unlike Bryan and Erikson (1970), Gordon did not define middle school in terms of curricular or structural features. The three school plans were distinguished by the grade levels served. Gordon's sample was a randomly selected population of 75 graduates of the University of Cincinnati teacher education program who were employed as teachers in the metropolitan Cincinnati area. The subjects responded to the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory.

Unlike Bryan and Erikson, Gordon found that middle grade teachers had more negative feelings regarding their students' ability to assume responsibility in classroom learning. In addition, he found that the middle grade teachers believed that student interests were often at odds with their goals or interests. Gordon concluded that since the majority of middle school teachers were trained for high school teaching, these attitudes may be a product of a discrepancy between secondary teacher training experiences and the actual experience of teaching younger, not older, adolescents. Since Gordon limited his definition of middle school to a school with grades 6-8 and not to a school with organizational features recommended in the literature (e.g., the interdisciplinary team organization, the teacher-student guidance plan, or an exploratory curriculum), and supported in research, it is possible all of the

sampled schools were departmentalized schools with few middle school curricular programs. As a result, the teachers' attitudes towards students may have evolved because they were working in a high school-like setting which was not appropriate for, nor appealing to, middle school students, who thus resisted school norms and teacher goals.

Draud (1977) compared teacher attitudes toward school or teacher morale in junior high and middle schools. Using the Purdue Teacher Opinionnaire, Draud collected data on teacher rapport with the principal, teacher satisfaction with teaching, teacher rapport with other teachers, teacher salary, teacher workload, curriculum, facilities and services, teacher status, community support for education, and community pressures. The junior high and middle schools were located in metropolitan Hamilton County, Ohio. For this study middle schools were those schools with a grade level organization that excluded grade nine but included grade six, with an instructional staff with 30% elementary certified and with an instructional time schedule designed for flexible scheduling.

Draud found that the middle school teachers yielded higher scores than the junior high teachers on attitudes towards teacher salaries, teacher status, and community support. The junior high school teachers had higher scores on attitudes towards curriculum issues and rapport with other teachers. While Draud did glean some significant differences, the results do not illuminate relationships between the differences in specific teacher attitudes and the differences in the two school plans since Draud differentiated the two school plans by the grade levels served and not by major organizational and curricular features.

Since middle schools vary in the degree of implementation of recommended practices, Pook (1981) prepared a study of the relationship

between teacher job satisfaction and the level of middle school implementation. Using a sample of 252 teachers in 60 Colorado schools labeled middle schools, Pook collected teacher attitude data with the Purdue Teacher Opinionaire and evaluated the level of middle school practices with the Middle School Practices Index (MSPI).

Pook found a significant positive relationship between teacher satisfaction with curriculum and a higher degree of middle school practices implementation. Likewise, a positive correlation was found between the school score on the MSPI and satisfaction with community support. A higher score on the MSPI, however, also yielded a negative correlation on teacher satisfaction with teacher load. Moreover, Pook found that teachers who preferred teaching at the middle school level were more satisfied than middle school teachers who preferred teaching at other levels. Finally, middle school teachers working in moderately sized schools with 315-508 students were more satisfied than those working in larger schools with 550-1,039 students, regardless of the degree of implementation.

Ashton, Doda, McAuliffe, Olejnik, and Webb (1981) designed a study to compare the attitudes of middle school and junior high school teachers toward their job and school climate in four areas: overall job satisfaction, expectations of students and perceptions of student academic improvement, perceptions of intergroup conflict, and colleague relationships. Twenty-nine teachers from a school with an interdisciplinary team organization, an exploratory curriculum, and multiage student grouping were compared to twenty teachers from a junior high school with a departmentalized structure, traditional curriculum, and chronological age grouping. The two schools with populations of approximately 1,000

in grades six through eight were located in a small, southeastern university town.

The teachers were asked to report on the stress and satisfaction they felt toward teaching. They completed the Brookover, Gigliotti, Henderson, and Schneider (1973) measures of teacher present evaluations and expectations for high school completion and teacher-student commitment to improve, as well as a measure of student intergroup conflict (Cohen, 1979), and a measure of colleague relationships (Ellett, Payne, Masters, & Pool, 1977). In addition, the teachers responded to a projective measure designed to explore their role perceptions.

The authors found that the middle school teachers considered teaching to be more important to them than did the junior high school teachers. The middle school teachers also reported that they were more satisfied with teaching and were more likely to choose teaching as a career, if they had a chance to do it again. A selection bias of factors aside from school structure may account for these positive results, but Ashton et al. (1981) suggest they warrant further study.

Ashton et al. (1981) also found clear differences in teachers' role perceptions in the two schools. The middle school teachers were more concerned with their students' affective development than were the junior high teachers. The authors suggested that these differences in role perception may account for the differences in job satisfaction levels. They also conjectured that the middle school structure may facilitate teaching rewards and satisfactions which focus on the total development of the child which in turn yield greater teacher satisfaction. In addition, they speculated that the multiage grouping pattern in the middle school may have elevated

teachers' sense of efficacy since teachers were involved in student growth over a three-year period and were thus able to see more marked results.

The middle school teachers reported more difficulties with colleague relations than did the teachers at the junior high. Ashton et al. (1981) believed these results were not surprising since conflict among staff may be indicative of a creative and committed group of professionals. Moreover, team interaction can vary from team to team (Molnar, 1971), producing varying degrees of satisfaction or conflict. In spite of the controversial results on colleague relations, the authors concluded that the middle school with the team organization and affective orientation may have potential for improving teacher job satisfaction and sense of efficacy.

Though not a study of teacher outcomes, the work of Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, and Green (1981) may shed some light on the job satisfaction findings from the Ashton et al. (1981) study. Damico et al. (1981) examined the effect of school organizational structure on interracial friendships among middle school students. Data on perceptions of same and opposite race friends were collected as part of a larger study of interracial climates in five desegregated middle schools in a southeastern community. A sample of 1,526 middle school students, in grades 6, 7, and 8 with 889 white and 437 black students, participated in the study. The students evaluated a white friend and a black friend on a modified semantic differential scale, and reported the number of their other-race friends.

Two of the sampled schools were middle schools with many of the organizational and curricular features experts outline as appropriate

for early adolescents (Alexander & George, 1981). Among those features were an interdisciplinary team organization, multigraded student grouping, and a teacher-student affective education program. In practice, the authors noted that these program features seemed to increase the heterogeneity of classroom populations, reduce the focus on homogeneous grade-level expectations, and increase the time students spent with the same teachers. The other three schools were more traditionally organized: Students were segregated by grade levels, classes in reading, math and language arts were grouped by ability, and a strong emphasis was placed on academic achievement.

Damico et al. (1981) found that white students reported having significantly more black friends in the team organized than in the traditionally organized schools. The difference in the number of white friends reported by black students was not significantly affected by school organization, but the trend favored the team organized schools. In addition, white student attitudes towards blacks were affected by the number of black friends they reported having. The authors concluded that conditions under which friendships were likely to arise were more frequently present in the team organized schools than in the traditionally organized schools. Since positive peer relations in desegregated schools could enhance school climate (Cohen, 1979), and since teachers are in turn affected by climate variables, it is possible to conjecture that working in a middle school with a team organization might be more satisfying than working in a traditionally organized school structure.

In 1981, Joan Lipsitz conducted a qualitative research project of four effective middle schools. She produced four case studies of middle schools that satisfied criteria for effectiveness derived from two areas

of theory and research. Lipsitz first utilized the school effectiveness literature (Edmonds & Fredericksen, 1979; Goodlad, 1975; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979), for a list of school criteria including a high mean level of student achievement on standardized tests, pleasant and comfortable school conditions for students, an academic emphasis set by the staff, and consensus among staff members about curricular expectations, school norms, and discipline. From a collection of theoretical literature on middle grades education, the Center for Early Adolescence's Middle Grade Assessment Program identified seven categories of needs that should be addressed in successful middle schools:

competence and achievement, self-exploration and definition, social interaction with peers and adults, physical activity, meaningful participation in school and community, routine, limits and structure, and diversity. (1981, p. 17)

Using these categories coupled with the effectiveness research list,

Lipsitz selected four schools that met the following criteria:

1. met the threshold criteria for safety, comportment and achievement;
2. responded appropriately to the developmental diversity of students;
3. pursued competence in learning;
4. won community acceptance;
5. function well in response to or despite public policy issues. (p. 18)

Impressionistic case studies were conducted during seven days of observation in each of four schools in an attempt to capture the personalities, histories, goals, work processes, organizational structures, and environmental contexts of the schools. Lipsitz's findings reflect some insights into the organization-teacher relationship and as such

are important for this review. She discovered that all four schools had achieved an unusual clarity about the purposes of middle level schooling. More specifically, the staffs resisted departmentalization and other programs associated with the high school, and insisted that their schools were more elementary in tone than secondary. Lipsitz's findings suggest that part of this staff clarity was the result of school principals who had driving visions about the nature of middle level schooling. In addition, they were schools with principals who acknowledged themselves as instructional leaders and who worked to secure the autonomy of their schools with regard to programs and practices. Moreover, while the principals marked the direction of their schools, Lipsitz noted that they managed to create their own sustenance within their staffs by sharing leadership as well as vision, and by either selecting staff or bringing staff from their former schools, with common goals.

Lipsitz also observed what she referred to as a "striking level of caring" (1981, p. 289). Students acknowledged being known and liked in these schools and teachers and other staff spent hours and hours in and outside of school on behalf of the personal as well as academic welfare of their students. More important, Lipsitz discovered that this level of caring was facilitated by the structure of the schools. The schools were organized in ways that established continuity in adult-child relationships and provided opportunities for students and adults to interact in mutually meaningful ways. Specifically, these schools managed to insure that the size of the group to which students belonged was small enough to insure familiarity and personalization. In schools as large as 1,050, students belonged to teams of approximately 150, and often remained with that group, with the same teachers, over a period of years.

Though Lipsitz only implied the relationship to teachers, it is quite possible that teaching in a school structured in small, knowable communities helps teachers focus on the total development of the child with the level of caring Lipsitz observed.

Lipsitz also observed that these schools had high levels of teacher companionship. Common planning and lunch periods, team meetings, and team teaching seemed to encourage continuous task-related teacher interaction. In addition, Lipsitz found teacher expectations of student success to be positive and optimistic. Teachers were not discouraged by student family background characteristics or innate capabilities. Perhaps the comradery provided by the team structure enabled the teachers to not only feel more effective but to be more effective with colleague assistance.

In the four middle schools, teachers' perspectives and practices were consistent with a school ethos of interpersonal involvement, a focus on the special needs of young teens, a focus on the total development of the child, and school principals who had plans which consistently reflected those priorities. While Lipsitz's work was heuristic and not predictive, her findings suggest that the principal and the school's organization may contribute to staff attitudes, expectations, and priorities. In this respect, her work marks an important contribution to an understanding of middle school organization and teacher world view.

Summary

Though none of the research conducted thus far demonstrates conclusively that teachers' attitudes and behaviors are actually shaped by the

school context, a relationship clearly exists. Now under the middle school framework, the teacher team structure was again associated with changes in teacher perspectives and attitudes including more optimistic expectations of students (Bryan & Erickson, 1970), satisfaction with curriculum and an improved sense of efficacy (Ashton et al., 1981; Pook, 1981), and increased teacher task-related interaction (Lipsitz, 1981).

Aside from the team structure, no other theoretically recommended middle school practices were deemed significant in relation to middle school teachers' perspectives and practices. It appears, however, from Lipsitz's work and the work of Damico et al. (1981), that there is a range of variables which interact to yield teacher outcomes. The multi-age grouping of students in the Damico et al. (1981) study, for example, may have contributed to the positive cross-race friendships that developed, thus reducing intragroup conflict and elevating teacher satisfaction (Ashton et al., 1981).

Chapter Summary

It appears from both areas of research that teachers' perspectives and practices are related to a variety of school contextual features such as the organization of teachers and students, teacher roles and responsibilities, school goals and norms, the size, composition, attitudes, and behavior of the student body, and the character of the school principal. There are some beginning emerging findings which suggest that teacher collaboration in relation to a common group of students, smaller instructional groups, positive peer social interaction, and the

active instructional leadership of the principal work synergistically to yield or support teacher sense of efficacy, teacher confidence in student improvability, teacher job satisfaction, teacher instructional flexibility, and thus teacher effectiveness in terms of student achievement. The middle school model, representing a number of these school features, is currently being adopted in school districts nationwide. This study was generated in an effort to build on what we know about these relationships between school features and teaching, and to provide needed knowledge about the middle school context and teachers' perspectives and practices.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Approach

In the search for a research based science of teaching, many researchers have acknowledged the need for qualitative data to complement and illuminate the voluminous quantitative data now available. For example, Doyle and Ponder (1975) called for qualitative information on the ecological or contextual factors in schools that influence teacher behaviors in classrooms. Likewise, Tikunoff and Ward (1980) suggested the need for qualitative descriptions which could reveal the complex and multidimensional character of teacher behavior in classrooms and schools. Moreover, Wilson (1977) followed by Medley (1978) pointed out that a major weakness of the traditional quantitative research on teaching was its failure to discover the perspectives of the subjects. Elaborating, Fenstermacher (1978) pointed out that if a significant goal of research is to improve teacher behaviors then an understanding of why teachers engage in the behaviors they do must be addressed in research. Altogether, there has clearly been a call from researchers for qualitative descriptions of teaching and qualitative investigations of school contextual factors as they affect teaching.

This study sought to understand what characterized teachers' ideational systems or perspectives and practices in two organizationally different middle schools. Because of its broad exploratory emphasis on

the subjective world of teaching, it required an approach which allowed the researcher to uncover and describe the complex meaning systems the teachers used to understand themselves and others and to make sense out of the world in which they worked. A methodology capable of describing culture, or cultural attributes of teaching, was needed. Ethnography, the hallmark of cultural anthropology, is such an approach (Wolcott, 1975). It has traditionally been the social scientist's tool for understanding culture, but has in the past several decades been applied to the study of public school worlds and their inhabitants (Cassell, 1978).

There are several approaches to ethnographic research, each of which is based on particular epistemological assumptions. An emic approach, like the one applied here, is based on the assumptions that an understanding of culture can best be achieved through a study of the actor's definitions of the social scene, and that peoples' meanings, perspectives, and beliefs or ideational systems offer explanations for their behavior (Harré & Secord, 1972; Pelto & Pelto, 1970). Working to build a knowledge of culture from the participants' point of view, rather than from the researcher's preconceived notions of significant variables to explore, this approach is fundamentally inductive. Thus, using an emic approach is

an attempt to discover and describe the pattern of that particular culture in reference to the way in which the various elements in that culture are related to each other . . . rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture. (Pike, 1954, p. 3)

Since ethnography is the work of describing culture, a definition of culture is a central methodological issue. In this study, a definition of culture was derived from the theory of symbolic interactionism

(Blumer, 1969). Culture is referred to as a cognitive map, mental guide or

set of principles for creating dramas, for writing scripts, and of course, for recruiting players and audiences. . . . Culture is not simply a cognitive map that people acquire and then learn to read. People are not just map-readers; they are map-makers. Culture does not provide a cognitive map, but rather a set of principles for map-making and navigation. (Frake, 1977, pp. 6-7)

Moreover, according to the symbolic interaction theory, culture is knowledge acquired by persons as members of an interacting group, with meanings created from and modified by their interactions and recurrent daily activities within the group (Spradley, 1980).

In this study, teachers' ideational systems or professional world views have been treated as dimensions of a culture of teaching acquired within culturally distinct school worlds. By applying this notion to teachers' perspectives, and employing an ethnographic approach, the researcher was able to understand characteristic patterns of beliefs and practices in each school, to identify potential explanations for prevailing perspectives, and to generate valid hypotheses for future research on teaching. The reported findings are ethnographic descriptions of the cultural themes characterizing the teachers' professional perspectives and practices at each of the two middle schools.

Research Sites and Subjects

The impetus for this study grew out of an interest in understanding how teachers' ideational systems were affected by school organization and curriculum. In particular, the study was based on a need to know if teachers' perspectives and practices differed in two organizationally different

middle schools, and if so, how and why they differed. Consequently, two middle schools with distinct organizational patterns were selected as sites for the research. School A, to be referred to as Hidden Brook, and School B, to be referred to as Long Meadow, were primarily different in teacher organization, student grouping, and special curriculum components. At Hidden Brook, the teachers were organized in subject area departments. Each subject area had a representative unit of teachers called a department that was staffed by teachers from the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Under the leadership of an appointed chairperson, department members met on a monthly basis for subject area curriculum decision-making. Teachers from the same departments shared curriculum plans, equipment, and media materials. Department chairpersons reported department decisions and plans to the administrators in periodic steering committee meetings.

The students at Hidden Brook were generally arranged in chronological groups, so that students were separated by age and the number of years at school, and changed teachers, curriculum, and location in the building with each passing year. More specifically, a student's day consisted of six academic area classes (e.g. science, math, etc.) with one class period for physical education or an elective. The electives were assigned by grade level and a student was enrolled in two electives each school year.

At Long Meadow, teachers were assigned to interdisciplinary teaching teams. The school had six nearly equal size teaching teams, each comprised of a teaching staff of four academic teachers and three specialists. Team teachers shared a common group of students, a similar daily schedule, common planning time, common planning and teaching areas,

the responsibilities of parent conferencing, student diagnosis and evaluation, and decision-making regarding the planning and management of team activities. Teams met weekly under the leadership of a teacher team leader, who also served as a team representative on a school decision-making council that met bi-monthly with the administrators.

Each team had approximately one hundred and sixty sixth, seventh, and eighth grade students who were multiage grouped. Sixth, seventh, and eighth graders were enrolled in the same classes, rather than separated as distinct learning groups. As a result, students were assigned to a team and remained with the same team of teachers for their three years at Long Meadow. Students were enrolled in four subject area classes with two classes scheduled for student-elected exploratory classes alternated daily with two consecutive periods of physical education. These elected mini-courses were rotated three times a year.

The students at Long Meadow were also enrolled in a twenty-five minute daily class called Advisor-Advisee. This twenty-five minute period was designed for teacher-student guidance and affective education. The program's goals emphasized the affective development of students, including objectives in the areas of self-awareness, communication skills, self-concept, and moral development. Teachers were assigned the responsibility of providing assistance and guidance to a group of about twenty-five sixth, seventh, and eighth graders. The role of advisor included tasks such as orienting students to school procedures, providing students with school news, maintaining cumulative records, arranging parent conferences, advising students on elective course selections, and planning and teaching daily activities designed to promote affective growth and development (see Appendix A). Every student and teacher participated in the program that started the school day.

This brief sketch is meant to highlight the organizational features distinguishing the two middle schools. More detailed information on the specifics of these features, as well as additional information on the schools' structures, can be found in Appendix A.

In order to highlight these organizational differences, the selected schools were as similar as possible in other areas. Both schools served approximately nine hundred and fifty students in grades six through eight, from the same county in North Central Florida. Moreover, the student populations were roughly similar in demographic character. Of Hidden Brook's nine hundred and fifteen students, there were 57% white, 43% black, and 0% other. According to the socioeconomic predictions provided by the State Department of Education's annual report, 55% of the students qualified for a free or reduced lunch plan. Similarly, Long Meadow's nine hundred and sixty students were 58% white, 39% black, and 3% other. Approximately 54% qualified for a free or reduced lunch plan. These similarities made the two selected schools desirable sites.

Gaining entry for ethnographic fieldwork was a determining consideration in site selection. At Hidden Brook and Long Meadow the principals were equally receptive and felt this qualitative study would be interesting and useful. There was no entry problem at either school. In exchange for participation in the study, the schools were promised a consolidated report of major findings.

The actual access strategies employed included first a personal contact with each of the school principals describing the nature of the research, and requesting permission to spend a school year observing and interviewing in the school. Following that, a request form was filed with the county school board for approval. Once the county's permission was granted, the entry issue was resolved.

Two teachers from each school were selected as the focus of the study. These four teachers were selected according to the following criteria:

1. Two or more years of teaching in the school.
2. Previous teaching experience in another school.
3. Willingness to participate in year-long ethnographic study.
4. Identified by school principal and assistant principal as "good" classroom managers.
5. In School A, belonged to the same department.
6. In School B, belonged to the same team.

These criteria were established in order to reduce teacher differences that might not be related to school organization and highlight characteristics that might.

Teachers were assigned pseudonyms in order to protect their identities and preserve anonymity. At Hidden Brook, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were selected. Both were social studies teachers who had each been at Hidden Brook for over ten years. At Long Meadow, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters were selected. Both were members of the same team and had been at the school for over two years. Ms. Lane had the team leadership responsibility and had been at the school since it opened in 1974.

Research Methods

Ethnographic fieldwork was the primary research method used in this study. It is a method designed to discover the cultural knowledge people are using to organize their behavior and interpret their experience. As a result, the ethnographer's work is much like that of an explorer trying to map a wilderness area, seeking to describe what exists.

Appropriately, in doing ethnographic fieldwork, both research questions and answers are discovered in the social scene being studied. The research process is cyclical wherein the major tasks of data collection and analysis are simultaneously and interdependently recurring research processes (see Figure 1). Each of these general steps involves specific procedures used in data collection and analysis.

Data Collection

The primary methods of data collection were observation and interviewing, supplemented by photography and artifact collection. Since the study's focus was to understand teachers' perspectives, one of the major sources of data was teachers' verbal descriptions of their intents and perceptions regarding their teaching and the factors affecting it. Teachers' perceptions alone, however, were inadequate for specifying how and why their perspectives developed and were maintained. A variety of studies have indicated that teachers' self-reports about their behavior and their actual behavior are not always related (Evertson & Brophy, 1974). Thus, the interview data were supported with observations of teacher behavior.

The specific teaching context has often been cited as an important determinant of teaching behavior (Brophy & Evertson, 1974; Evertson, Anderson, & Brophy, 1978; Good & Grouws, 1977; McDonald & Elias, 1976) and of teachers' perceptions and attitudes (Abramowitz, 1977; Anglin, 1979; Cohen et al., 1975; Flizak, 1967; Little, 1982). Consequently, teacher observations were not limited to classrooms. The four teachers were observed in all aspects of their teaching work at school. This included

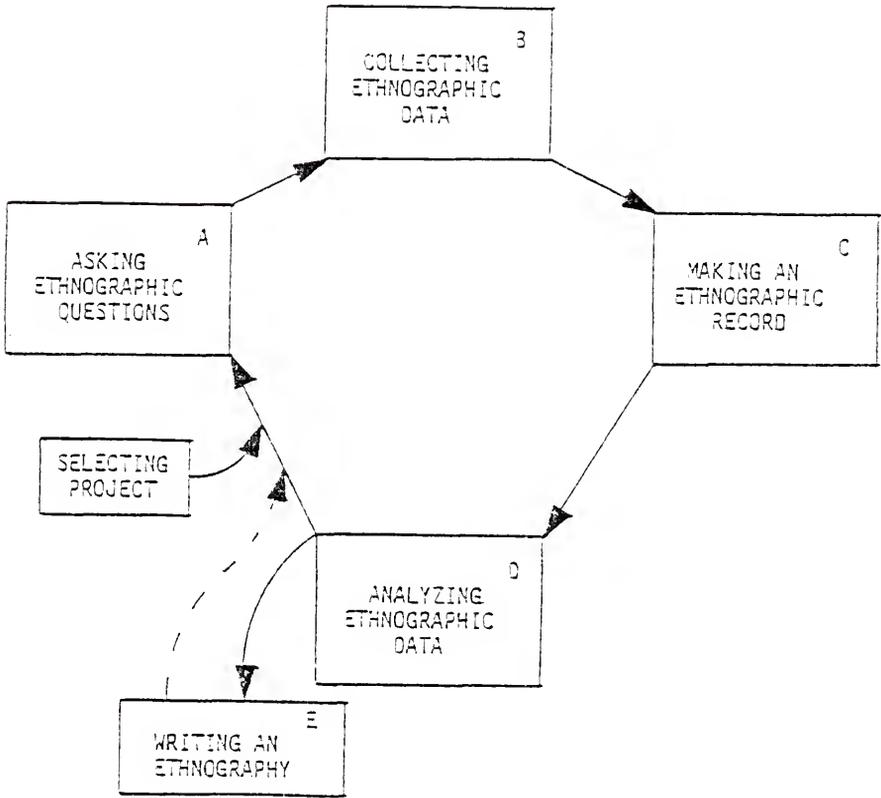


Figure 1. Major steps in the ethnographic research process.

a variety of places and events in each of the two schools. Observations were conducted of formal and informal meetings, interactions with staff, parent conferences, student conferences, school assemblies and events, field trips, faculty events, and lunch meetings. In addition, teachers were observed in classrooms, corridors, lounges, offices, and meeting areas where the above events occurred.

Over a nine-month period, the researcher conducted observations and interviews in the two middle schools focusing on the task of discovering two teachers' perspectives and practices in each setting. Observations and interviews moved from general to specific, addressing over time, increasingly focused questions.

The researcher utilized what might be referred to as a passive participant observer role which involved participation as a teacher-helper in each of the four teachers' classrooms. This enabled the researcher to experience a part of the teacher's job first-hand while continuing with observations. Participation served to reduce researcher obtrusiveness as the role of helper became more apparent than the role of researcher (Bruyn, 1976). The researcher participated in the following ways:

1. Served as a classroom aide (e.g. helping students, distributing materials, grading papers).
2. Prepared classroom materials (e.g. bulletins, worksheets, tests).
3. Substitute taught (e.g. some degree of substitute teaching was done in each of the four teachers' classrooms, ranging from a whole day for Mrs. Reed to a single class for Ms. Lane).

While conducting observations, the researcher kept a written record of all observed phenomena. The field notes included verbal descriptions, drawings, maps, and quotations from actual discourse. The recording of field notes was guided by certain principles recommended in the literature to insure accuracy and validity in fieldwork:

1. Cultural meanings can be distorted during the process of making an ethnographic record. To avoid this, the researcher should identify language differences as observed in the field. For example, in each case where discourse is recorded, the speaker should be identified. In addition, the ethnographer should avoid describing phenomenon in his/her terms as opposed to the participants' terms.
2. There is a tendency to rephrase discourse data when recording fieldnotes. To avoid this, discourse should be recorded verbatim. Even if the entire record can not be recorded, paraphrasings should not be substituted (Spradley, 1980).
3. Finally, when describing observations, concrete language should be used. This is essential to collecting sufficient raw data needed for future generalizations (Smith & Pohland, 1976).

All notes recorded while in the field represented a condensed account of what was actually observed. Consequently, it was necessary following each day in the field to expand the condensed account, filling in details and observations not recorded (Spradley, 1980). Maintaining the same principles for field note recording, the researcher taped expanded accounts. These taped notes were then transcribed and typed onto 5" x 8" note cards for analysis purposes (see Appendix B for sample entry).

In addition to field notes, the researcher recorded questions, problems, concerns, and changes in schedules for observations and interviews in the same notebook. Since the ethnographer is the major research instrument, a section of the notebook was reserved for recording researcher biases, feelings, and attitudes potentially influential in the research. This process of introspection is essential to effective fieldwork as it helps the researcher continually separate personal from professional judgments (Wax & Wax, 1980).

Informal and structured interviews were conducted with the four teachers, the school principals and assistant principals, and two additional staff members in each school setting. All interviews were taped to insure an exact record of responses and questions. Informal interviews were guided by several principles designed to insure that the interviewed individual would feel comfortable enough to honestly report the needed information, and would focus on the interview purposes:

1. Interviews began with friendly conversation about aspects of school life, followed by a clear goal for the interview.
2. Beginning questions were general and descriptive to give the individual a sense that questions would be answerable.
3. Interviews did not confront the individual with direct questions about motive. As a rule, "why" was avoided in references to personal behaviors or practices in question. This could produce defensive rather than factual responses (Spradley, 1979).
4. To avoid the acquiescence response set, where subjects tend to endorse the positive first, questions with positive and negative options were avoided (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966).

A systematic plan for data collection was used, drawing from James Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence model (Spradley, 1979; 1980). Spradley recommends collecting data in phases to be accompanied by the appropriate analysis steps. The preliminary phase of data collection involved the collection of broad descriptive data about the setting and individuals to be studied. Grand tour observations and interviews were used during this phase to scope and survey the research setting. Spradley uses this term to emphasize the collection of data on the major features of the social scene (e.g., events, objects, places, actors, etc.).

In the second phase, the data collection was more specific, addressing particular features within the analyzed grand tour data. This phase involves making focused observations and interviews. Data were collected on certain categories or domains which emerged as significant in the analysis. For the identified domains, Spradley advises the researcher to address structural questions. For example, for the domain, "ways to reprimand students," data should be collected in order to answer the question, "what are all the ways teachers reprimand students?" This procedure was applied to each of the domains deemed significant for further investigation.

Once the key domains have been expanded, Spradley recommends narrowing the scope of investigation by focusing the observations and interviews more specifically. Data across domains were examined for comparison and contrast and categories were consolidated or divided. In conjunction with this final phase of data collection, the researcher began the search for what Spradley calls "cultural themes." A cultural theme is defined as "any principle recurrent in a number of domains, tacit or explicit, and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural

meaning" (Spradley, 1980, p. 141). Cultural themes are essentially assertions of a high degree of generality. The work of discovering cultural themes involves immersion in the cultural setting, followed by a period of immersion in the data.

Utilizing Spradley's model, the data were collected in three phases. The first phase consisted of twenty-four days in the field, six days per teacher, during the months of August, September, and October. During this time, the researcher conducted nonparticipant observations for the purpose of answering broad descriptive questions. Sample descriptive questions included what is the physical setting in which the teachers' work, with whom do teachers interact, what is the nature of these interactions, what are teachers' daily tasks? To answer these questions, each teacher was observed for six full days. Each of the twenty-four day-long observations involved shadowing the teacher from the time he/she arrived at school until the time of departure. Thus, observations were conducted in the office, teachers' lounge, halls, meeting areas, and teachers' classrooms.

Following each day of observation, the observed teacher was interviewed. The interviews conducted with each of the four teachers during this first phase focused on grand tour questions or questions about the descriptive observations. The teachers were asked to describe a typical day in detail, recounting what they did from arrival to departure. In addition, teachers were asked to describe specific aspects of a typical school day. Sample questions included could you describe how you plan your lessons, could you describe how you evaluate student work, could you describe a typical parent conference, can you explain the arrangement of your room? Moreover, questions about the history of the school, its organization and their teaching schedules were included. In

addition, background data on the two schools were collected. Documents were secured from each school, including a statement of school philosophy, a copy of the school's map, and the daily school schedule (see Appendix A).

The second phase of data collection took place during November, December, January, and February with sixteen days of fieldwork, four days per teacher. During this second phase, observations became more focused, attending to specific domains acknowledged in the analysis. Examples of questions included what are ways teachers differentiate students, what are teachers' instructional priorities, what teaching strategies do teachers use? Observations were extended during this second phase to include teacher meetings, faculty meetings, and teacher contacts in lounges. In these sites, observations focused on teacher participation, topics discussed, how and what decisions were made, teacher tasks and responsibilities, and teacher-teacher interactions. Sample questions included what tasks do teachers do with other teachers, what decisions do teachers make alone and with other teachers, how do the teachers participate in meetings?

In addition, interviews were conducted during the second phase with the four teachers and with one informant staff member from each school. Information on teachers' perceptions of themselves as teachers, their beliefs about teaching and learning, and their goals and related practices were the major issues addressed in the teacher interviews. Informal interviews were conducted with each of the four teachers following observations, with the questions addressing observations and the above issues. A structured interview was developed at this time to insure that sufficient data were collected on these important issues (see Appendix B for interview questions).

The researcher talked with a number of staff members before selecting the informant in each school. Certain criteria for the selection were applied. All of the informants were currently involved in the school and had a significant history (i.e., more than five years) of involvement. The informants had to demonstrate a knowledge of the school and staff and an articulateness in describing both. Informants who did not attempt to analyze the school from an outsider's perspective were selected over those that did. In addition, the informants selected had the time to devote to interviews.

With the informants, the questions were a combination of grand tour questions and questions about being a teacher at the respective schools. The informant interviews served three purposes: to learn how the school operated from a different perspective; to search for counter evidence to emerging hypotheses, checking the perceptions of the four teachers against the informants' views; and, last, to gain helpful leads regarding new questions yet unexplored and to collect data from school participants less directly involved in and thus less self-conscious of the research endeavor. Sample informant questions were could you describe a typical teacher's day, what is expected of a teacher here, where would a teacher find support or assistance at school, what problem plagues teachers the most?

The third and final phase was the most intense, taking place during the months of March, April, May, and June. Data were collected for seventeen days, evenly distributed between the two schools and among the four teachers. During this phase, observations were primarily conducted in the four teachers' classrooms, but included as well schoolwide events, meetings and out-of-class activities in which teachers were

involved. Observations continued to focus on teacher-student, teacher-teacher, and principal-teacher interactions, and classroom instruction. Specific questions addressed included what kinds of activities do teachers and students do together, what responsibilities do teachers have at the close of the school year, what do teachers do with other teachers, how does the principal interact with teachers, what do teachers and administrators do together? Interviews following observations addressed daily practices, school events, and teacher beliefs. At this point, it was necessary to know if teachers had felt successful during the school year and in what ways, what rewards they had received from their year's work, and what they would have liked to change and why?

To gain additional information about school leadership and organization, structured interviews were conducted with the principals and assistant principals. The principal interviews addressed beliefs about teaching and learning, goals for the school, criteria for hiring teachers and defining effectiveness, perceptions of school history, perceptions of students, expectations of teachers, and the decision-making system. The assistant principal interviews focused more on curriculum and school organization. Questions addressed goals for the school, the physical organization of time, space and persons, the school philosophy, the curriculum and rationale, beliefs about students and learning and the decision-making structures at school. Each of the administrator interviews was a minimum of one hour with two hours being the average amount of time (see Appendix B for interview questions).

During all three phases, additional data were collected through artifacts, photographs, and incidental observations and interviews. Specifically, copies of actual student lessons and sample handouts were

collected, and photographs of the halls, walls, and four teachers' classroom areas were taken. Over the year's time, the researcher became a familiar face and made contacts with school members not specified in the schedule for data collection. These were recorded as field notes, serving to enrich the data base of the study. Examples included secretaries, individual students, interested teachers, and the school deans.

One final item was used in the data collection. Since teachers' role perceptions emerged as a major domain for understanding teachers' perspectives and practices, two open-ended questionnaires were used (Fox, Schmuck, Egmond, Ritvo, & Jung, 1973). These instruments focused on the teachers' perceptions of what they did as teachers.

Data Analysis

Like data collection, data analysis was an ongoing research process which involved several procedures. The ultimate goal of the analysis was to produce ethnographic accounts of the four teachers' perspectives and practices in the two middle schools. Two major analysis functions were the search for guiding and illuminating questions to direct the data collection and the search for cultural themes which offered connecting explanations for the teachers' perspectives and practices.

The methods used in the analysis applied suggestions from several sources (Cassell, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; LeBar, 1970; Spradley, 1980). Similar to the data collection, the analysis proceeded in phases. Concurrently with the first phase of data collection, the analysis focused on defining relevant domains or categories which emerged through

continuous readings of the field notes. Referred to by Spradley (1980) as domain analysis, this phase involved identifying organizing features of the teachers' perspectives and practices (see Appendix C for a sample list of domains).

During the early stages of domain identification, field notes were studied and domains listed as they emerged. As recommended by Spradley (1980), semantic relationships were applied to data in selecting domains. Referred to also by Spradley (1980), the first relationship, called strict inclusion, involved the search for data which could complete the X is a kind of Y semantic skeleton. The second most useful semantic relationship used in domain analysis was a search for data which could complete the X is a way to do Y semantic skeleton. These two relationships were the most useful though others were used (see Appendix C for a complete list). To facilitate the process of domain identification a recording sheet was used (see Figure 2). An actual example can be found in Appendix C.

As domains were listed, a file card system was created for the recording, sorting, and retrieval of ethnographic data. Since all of the data were originally recorded on 5" x 8" note cards organized by school and teacher and arranged by date, each field note entry could be referenced with the teachers' code initial, date of observation, and page number, and recorded on a separate domain file card. For each discovered domain, a file card was created. A domain card like "Kinds of Tasks Teachers Do With Other Teachers" had twenty-five field note card citations for future reference (see Figure 3).

All eighty-five domain cards had citations as seen in Figure 3. This meant that for all discovered domains of meaning, field note

RED (3) TASKS TEACHERS DO WITH OTHER TEACHERS [domain]

HB		LM	
J 2/4,2	B 5/22,17	Q 3/31,9,10	L 5/7,20/28
J 4/1,11	P 5/21,13	L 3/31,4-18	L 5/7,29
B 4/9,8	D 10/28,2	S 8/25,1	Q 5/22,29,30
B 4/10,1		L 1/19,2	Q 5/27,37,38, 43,57
J 4/15,9	G 6/1,3	Q 4/6,14	G 6/2,1
J 5/5,1	J 6/3,3	L 4/16,6	
G 5/11,1			
J 5/21,20,21		G 4/29,6	G 6/4,1,3

Figure 3. A domain file card, used to record, sort and retrieve fieldnote data references.

excerpts were read and recorded. The code, Red (3), was recorded on the field note card where the excerpt was located.

In the second phase of analysis, domains were clustered and consolidated into a more manageable number of larger categories. Teacher role perceptions, teacher colleague relations, teacher-student relations, and classroom instruction were the final list of consolidated categories. This clustering process involved continual rereadings of field notes referenced on domain cards to safely limit the categories. During this phase, consistency and contrast were studied among the domains within categories from each school's data.

Once the categories were selected, the search for relationships between aspects of the teachers' perspectives and practices and the search for connecting themes began. This was the final analysis phase. Several procedures were used here. First, the final week of the school year was devoted to immersion in the two school worlds. Through immersion, assumptions about possible themes were tested. Second, several domains were examined in detail from both school sites in order to clarify themes with contrast. For example, "Topics Teachers Discuss With Other Teachers" was selected for closer examination, and revealed that teachers at Long Meadow spent time discussing their work and devoted much of their conversations to talk about their students and instructional plans. Hidden Brook's teachers talked very little about their work and rarely discussed specific instructional plans for specific students. This led to the discovery of one distinguishing cultural theme. Finally, domains within categories were examined looking for ways the various domains related to each other. In the category of "Classroom Instruction," the domains "Kinds of Students" and "Ways

Teachers Group Learners" revealed a consistent theme about the teachers' views of students as learners and about their role perceptions as well.

A list of potential themes characterizing teaching at Long Meadow and Hidden Brook was generated. Subthemes were consolidated and dubious ones deleted. Using the selected themes, the search for supporting examples began and consisted of reviewing domain cards, and then field note citations, for appropriate examples. The examples were typed on 3" x 5" cards and sorted by themes for writing purposes. Just prior to writing the actual ethnographies, theme papers were drafted to organize generalizations and data for the final report.

Validity Measures

In ethnographic research, where the researcher is the instrument of data collection and analysis, special measures are needed to insure validity. Several important validity issues were addressed in this study.

Researcher values, beliefs, and assumptions pose a threat to validity. Measures must be employed to insure that the data collected and analyzed are not distorted by the researcher's biases (Webb et al., 1966). In this study, where data were collected in two schools and four different classrooms, preferences for one setting over another had to be controlled. A fixed schedule of observations was designed to insure equal attention and time for each teacher, in each school. In addition, the schedule was designed to account for prime times during the school day and year. Observations were scheduled for varying days of the week and during varying times of the school day.

While a schedule insured equality in time, it did not equalize the breadth, depth, and quality of observations or interviews. In order to guarantee that sufficient raw data were being collected in all settings regardless of researcher interest, an outside individual periodically reviewed the field notes. This was an extremely useful measure as it alerted the researcher to several areas where additional data were needed (Webb et al., 1966).

The role of researcher in the field is critically related to the collection of valid data. How the participants perceive the researcher can greatly affect the kind of data they are willing to report or reveal (Webb et al., 1966). Consequently, a supportive, peer relationship was established with the participating teachers. The researcher guaranteed anonymity so that the teachers could talk openly about their lives at school. Moreover, the researcher served as a teacher helper providing assistance with instruction and discipline. As a former teacher, the researcher had additional credibility in this role.

Acknowledging the problem of what has been called the reactive arrangement effect (Campbell & Stanley, 1963), the researcher employed additional measures to reduce discrepancies between real teacher behavior and research setting teacher behavior. At the outset of the study, the participating teachers were told the study sought to understand teaching in the middle grades. The researcher also conveyed the message that the research was intended to be descriptive and not evaluative.

One additional means used to reduce the reactive effect was the length of time in the field. When a researcher appears only periodically, it is far easier for teachers to alter behavior to suit the perceived needs of the researcher. The continued presence of the researcher makes

alterations more cumbersome, and thus less likely (Becker, 1952). A period of ten weeks was spent in the field in order to maximize the possibility of collecting valid data.

As a final strategy, the search for counter evidence to emerging hypotheses was continually conducted. As themes emerged, additional observations or interviews were conducted to retest the suspected conclusions.

Limitations

An ethnographic study of teaching usually employs one of two approaches--macrocosmic or microcosmic (Talbert, 1976). Macrocosmic studies generally focus on the school system as a whole, while microcosmic studies direct their attention to actual events and behaviors in the classroom. In this investigation of teaching, the level of attention was divided. An understanding of the perspectives and behaviors of the teachers was the fundamental data base, but their meaning was only fully understood through some exploration of each of the two schools' contextual features. Working as a single researcher, neither level received as much attention as might be desirable. Furthermore, with more attention given to the microcosmic level of study, generalizations regarding the two schools as whole entities were limited.

A year-long ethnographic investigation requires extensive participation and cooperation on the part of the subjects, particularly when the number is limited as in this study. This contingency reduced the pool of teachers who could willingly participate. With the additional constraints of the original selection criteria, the pool was further

limited. The final four teachers met the criteria and were willing and eager to cooperate but several characteristics of the four suggest additional limitations.

Ms. Reed and Ms. Cassidy represent teachers with almost twice as much experience as either Mr. Waters or Ms. Lane. Moreover, Ms. Reed and Ms. Cassidy represent an older range in terms of chronological age than Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters. Ideally, having a younger and older, less experienced and more experienced teacher pair at each school would have yielded a more balanced sample. Research has indicated that age and years of experience may play important roles in teacher perspectives and practices (Lipka & Goulet, 1979).

Researcher-subject rapport and teacher personality were additional limitations. It was discovered that the teachers at Long Meadow answered questions with more detail and elaboration than the teachers at Hidden Brook. In some cases this meant that more data were collected from the teachers at Long Meadow. Teacher personalities may have accounted for some of the discovered differences. Furthermore, the researcher had previous professional associations with the teachers at Long Meadow, whereas the research project constituted the first association with the teachers at Hidden Brook. This too could account for the discovered difference in the data collected.

Summary

In the study of teachers' perspectives and practices, a variety of methods were applied:

1. Passive participant and nonparticipant observations of teachers.

2. Observations of teachers in school events, meetings, lounges, classrooms, offices, and corridors.
3. Interviews with teachers.
4. Informant interviews.
5. Administrator interviews.
6. Paper and pencil instrument.
7. The collection of artifacts.
8. The collection of photographic data.

As the major purpose of this study was heuristic and not predictive, these methods were believed to be most useful in providing an understanding of teachers' perspectives and practices in the two middle school settings.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Overview

Teacher attitudes and behaviors are influenced by a number of complexly interrelated variables. One clear message from research is that the organization and administration of a school creates conditions which can influence teachers and their teaching (Anglin, 1979; Charters, 1978; Cohen, Bredo, & Duckworth, 1976; Metz, 1978; Meyer et al., 1972; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979). In addition, research suggests that the effects of a school's organization and administration are mediated, paralleled, and even challenged by a range of other influences such as the nature of the school's history, the composition of the student population or teacher background training and experience (Bell, 1979; Brookover, Schweitzer, Schneider, Beady, Flood, & Wisenbaker, 1978; Charters, 1978; Lortie, 1975; Metz, 1978). The implication from the existing research is that teachers' perspectives and practices may be influenced by many and varied school contextual variables.

This research investigated teachers' perspectives and practices in relation to school context, in two organizationally different middle schools. Since this study was heuristic and not predictive in nature, the analysis and interpretation focused on a search for significant

relationships between school contextual features and teacher perspectives and practices. The findings revealed that the teachers working in the same school were more similar than dissimilar in their beliefs and practices. Moreover, it was discovered that teacher role identities, relationships with others at school, pedagogical perspectives, job attitudes, and classroom practices seemed to be influenced by interrelated school contextual variables such as school history, the instructional and physical organization of teachers and students, administrator priorities, the daily teaching schedule, and the program of curriculum and instruction.

In this chapter, the results are reported for the teachers at each of the two schools. Within each school section, the results are organized so as to highlight major themes characterizing the perspectives and practices of the teachers at that school. In addition, the results reported address the study's two initial major questions: What characterized teachers' perspectives and practices at each middle school, and what school factors seemed to influence the production and maintenance of those prevailing world views? Global comparisons, interpretations, and conclusions regarding middle school organization and operation, and teacher perspectives and practices will be reported in the following and final chapter.

Teaching at Hidden Brook

Introduction

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed worked in a middle school whose organization, administration, and curriculum seemed to elicit and support a

highly structured, subject-centered approach to teaching based on two assumptions: that teaching was foremost the work of transmitting a body of knowledge, and that school and classroom order required limited student freedom and a distant, authority role relationship with students. As members of subject-area departments, with an administration that promoted subject-area specialization and academic achievement, and with a principal-endorsed standardized and textbook-based curriculum, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed approached the work of teaching with a complementary focus on curriculum content and academic achievement. Moreover, in a school with a history of difficulty with innovation and student discipline, and an administration determined to preserve order, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed approached students with an on-guard posture designed to "keep students on their toes."

This overall posture, however, did not clearly mirror Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's professional aspirations and beliefs. In fact, instructional practices may have more nearly reflected the priorities and norms at work in the larger world of the school. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed seemed to have aspirations which addressed teaching as a moral and humanistic enterprise. They preferred to identify themselves as student-centered rather than subject-centered teachers, concerned with both student socialization and academic achievement. Yet, somehow in the context of school pressures, administrative expectations and practices, a turbulent school past, former high school subject-centered teaching experience and training, and an uncertainty about teaching middle school students, they seemed to have sublimated those beliefs and aspirations in exchange for the assurance and order insured by a

standard, predefined, and administrator-sanctioned approach. What characterized Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's professional perspectives and practices and how were they related to the character of life at Hidden Brook?

Curriculum vs. Student: Conflicting Interests

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed conducted themselves as teachers in ways that reflected a commitment to curriculum coverage above other instructional considerations. Classroom life was highly structured, teacher-directed, and information-centered. One typical example from the record of Mrs. Reed's classroom teaching reads:

The students enter the classroom and take their assigned seats. The bell rings and some students are seated while others are at the pencil sharpener waiting to or sharpening their pencils. Mrs. Reed is at the front of the room standing behind a tall lectern. She is referring to her attendance book and starts to call the students' names, one at a time to see if they're present. Then she moves to the center of the front and says, to a student, "Put your art project away or Mrs. Reed will take it away and you won't have it." Another student retorts, "He could bring another one from home." Mrs. Reed says, "We don't need your one, two, threes." Moving ahead she says, "Tomorrow we'll be going to the Teaching Auditorium and we all must follow the Teaching Auditorium rules or you won't be allowed to participate." One student asks, "Does this mean we'll be sent out?" Then, she says, "Yes, that's true." Then, she says, "Please turn to page 79 and read pages 79-80 and 81 [in the textbooks]. You have ten minutes to read this." The students open their books and start to read. During this time, Mrs. Reed is doing some writing at the lectern. The classroom is quiet. After ten minutes, Mrs. Reed says, "Everyone should have finished, so take out a sheet of paper. While you're doing that I'm going to pass back some graded papers and you should put these in your social studies notebook." Mrs. Reed continues, "We're going to go over what you just read and I am going to show you an outline of the Chang dynasty." She puts an outline of facts on the overhead projector and the screen. She reads the

outline aloud, asking a few questions. Then she says, "I want you to copy this outline." The students start writing. After about ten minutes, Mrs. Reed says, "Class, everybody is probably finished copying this now. Take out another sheet of paper because I'm going to give you some questions." She takes a tape recorder and starts to play a tape which is her voice asking questions. The students have to answer the questions on paper. The questions are about the Chang dynasty and China. When this is done, the tape provides the correct answers, so students exchange papers with their neighbor and check the work. Then Mrs. Reed says, "Please call your score out when I call your name." They do. The bell rings and she says, "All right, you may go." (Reed 10/28, 1-5)

Mrs. Reed had a business-like style of teaching which focused on information-dissemination. Her class lessons generally involved the presentation of information with written exercises for students. The evaluation of student work was generally a public affair. The emphasis during instruction seemed to be on the product rather than the process of learning. Interaction between the subject and students appeared to be secondary to the major business of disseminating the social studies curriculum.

Information-dissemination also seemed to be Mrs. Cassidy's primary goal. Her instruction generally involved the presentation of information with written, seatwork activities for student practice. The record reads:

The students enter and take their assigned seats. Mrs. Cassidy calls roll. "All right, open your books to page 237," Mrs. Cassidy begins. "We're going to talk about art. I have a book with pictures I am going to show you." She opens up several books and holds up pictures. She says, "These represent art from the Renaissance." She shows the Mona Lisa. One student says, "They showed her without clothes on one time." Mrs. Cassidy frowns and turns her back to the student and says, "Thank you for sharing that with us, Wally." "Now, we'll read from the book, page 237, Marlene will you start?" Marlene reads. After three students have read and Mrs. Cassidy says, "There will be things

I am going to be writing down on the overhead. I want you to copy them down." One student asks, "Are we going to have more questions? I hate questions!" The students start to copy the definitions. Mrs. Cassidy writes on the overhead projector. She finishes and says "Keep your papers. We're going to have a quiz tomorrow on what we've done these past few days." The bell rings and students leave immediately. No one asks about the quiz. (Cassidy 4/15, 2-5)

It seemed that Mrs. Cassidy had planned to provide a stimulating, open-ended lesson introduction with her pictures and yet she turned to her textbook plans almost immediately. Was she discouraged by Wally's response? When asked about this event, Mrs. Cassidy explained:

I'd like to have more time for those kinds of things, you know, but we've got just so much to cover and sometimes I think it just gets the kids off track. (Cassidy 4/5, 20)

Mrs. Cassidy seemed to feel pressured to attend to the required curriculum content above her concern for student motivation.

Again emphasizing content-coverage another class observation illuminates her commitment to teaching the information specified in the textbook. The record reads:

Mrs. Cassidy says to the students, "Let's take out our books [textbooks]." The students all reach underneath their individual chairdesks and pull out their copy of the social studies textbook. Mrs. Cassidy continues, "Turn to page 87." Then Mrs. Cassidy takes a seat at her desk and continues, "Look at the map on page 87. We're going to answer questions 1-6 together using the map." She reads a question, looks up, calls on a student to answer, and continues until all questions are done. When all of the questions have been answered, Mrs. Cassidy moves to a stool in the front of the room and talks for about five minutes on the nature of cities and civilizations. She asks, "What things promote the development of cities? Why do cities pop up in certain places?" One student says, "People are maybe there or travel together and then start a place." Mrs. Cassidy says, "Well, not exactly but Brad?" Brad responds, "It's the weather." She says, "That's close!" Calling on another student she says, "Wilma"? Wilma says, "Maybe because of the rivers and the farming"! Mrs. Cassidy

says, "Right that's it!" Then she says, "I want you to do the Under the Chapter questions in your books. Use a separate sheet of paper." The students begin to write. (Cassidy 10/28, 1-3)

Mrs. Cassidy's lesson seemed to emphasize content coverage and very specific answers to what appeared to be somewhat open-ended questions. In this observation, Mrs. Cassidy searched for a specific answer until she found a student who could supply it. None of the suggested answers were wrong; however, the answer she approved was the answer provided verbatim in the textbook chapter reading.

In addition, much of Mrs. Cassidy's teaching time focused on preparing students for testing. In fact, Mrs. Cassidy essentially taught many of her tests to her students. One example from the record reads:

Then Mrs. Cassidy puts a list of questions on the overhead screen. She says, "You need at least the questions down right now. This is what the test is on tomorrow." Some students begin to copy the list. Mrs. Cassidy sits at her desk. Some students are still talking. From her desk, Mrs. Cassidy calls, "Pam, have you gotten them all answered?" Pam says, "No." Mrs. Cassidy continues, "Then you should be studying." Pam still talks to her neighbor and Mrs. Cassidy says, "The test tomorrow Pam, Pam, Pam, will cover everything about Christianity, the Dark Ages and all the rest." In about fifteen minutes, Mrs. Cassidy gets up from her seat and moving to the overhead projector, says, "Let's correct our papers. Okay, number one Alex." Alex says, "Crusades." I realize now that all of the students are supposed to have finished their answers to the questions at this point. They worked on these questions yesterday as well. Mrs. Cassidy continues to call on students, "Number three, Rachel." Rachel says, "Baghdad." (Cassidy 12/18, 2-4)

Mrs. Cassidy's end of the year review and final exam clearly illustrated this test preparation teaching theme. The record reads:

I enter the room and Mrs. Cassidy is writing at her desk. She says, "I'm writing out questions for our final exam and the students are reviewing." There is a list of questions on the screen and I observe that the students are copying

the list. There are one hundred questions. The students are looking in their textbooks for answers too. I ask to help and Mrs. Cassidy let me type up the review questions #25-100 so the ". . . students have something to look at and take home with them," she explains. I type questions noticing that for every question, there is a factual, recall answer. Examples include: Where do Moslems worship? (220), What was feudalism? (137), What were the crusades? (152-153), What is the Koran? (126). The numbers were the pages in the textbook where the answers could be found. The questions for review were the same questions on the final exam, only reordered and stated in the form of a multiple choice. (Cassidy 5/28, 1)

Mrs. Cassidy explained to me that, "The final exam is just the same questions in multiple-choice form" (Cassidy 5/28, 3).

Mrs. Reed's instruction reflected much this same thrust. Like Mrs. Cassidy, she seemed reluctant to attend to student needs in light of curriculum requirements. On the first day of school she made an effort to address her students as persons but rushed through that portion of her lesson in order to address the content lesson for the day. The record reads:

She places a stick figure drawing on the overhead projector and flashed a skeletal person on the screen and said, "This is you on day one. I don't know you yet. I need to call roll and see who you are." She proceeds to call roll. Following that, she says "We have certain rules I want you to copy. These will go in your social studies notebook." Then, she displays a list of rules on the screen for the students to copy. The rules list was as follows:

1. I enter quietly.
2. I leave when the teacher dismisses.
3. I listen when someone is speaking.
4. I do not interrupt the teacher or classmate.
5. I remain seated.
6. I sharpen my pencil before class.

When she sees that most of the students have finished, she proceeds to say, "We're going to be studying maps and

mapping. I want to explain about our homework. It's done when I call for it and not ten minutes later." Then, she said, "I want you to complete this inventory about yourself." She displays the following on the screen:

My name is _____ . Those of my family
who live at home are _____ .
_____ . I like to _____
_____ ; _____ .
I am good at _____ . When I select a
TV program, I turn on _____ .
One extra thing about myself is _____ .

The students copy and complete the inventory from the overhead. In about ten minutes, Mrs. Reed says, "Pass these to the front of your row." She collects the papers. Then, she says, "We'll be studying maps so let's look over here at the map." She stands near the large map in the room and the students turn to face her. She asks the students to name ". . . the oceans of the world," and many students raise their hands. She calls on students to answer, and they do. The students name the oceans she identifies and then the bell rings. Mrs. Reed says, "All right you may go." The students leave. (Reed 8/25, 1-4)

Mrs. Reed acknowledged the need to know students as persons, yet she only allowed a minimal amount of time and provided very narrow specifications for students to tell about themselves. As she explained later that day, "There's hardly enough time to teach what I need to teach so we don't waste much time" (Reed 8/25, 12).

If we were to look strictly at Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's perceptions of the effective teacher, their observed focus on subject matter content would not surprise us. Both teachers described the effective teacher according to traditional assumptions about the role of the teacher as a disseminator of knowledge. Mrs. Cassidy said:

The effective teacher is someone who knows subject matter or what they're teaching; has a knowledge of their area or discipline. I think that's the first step. (Cassidy 5/21, 39)

Mrs. Reed described the effective teacher with the same regard for knowledge. She said:

The effective teacher should have the ability to plan interesting lessons and a knowledge of your subject matter, and more than what's in the textbook. (Reed 6/3, 32)

Yet, apart from the implied congruence here, neither Mrs. Cassidy nor Mrs. Reed saw themselves as devoted to curriculum content coverage or academic test achievement. In fact, both teachers rather emphatically rejected the identity of subject matter teacher. Mrs. Reed believed she had moved away from subject matter teaching when she had begun teaching middle school students. She described her instructional program as a plan to teach skills, not content, and emphasized a concern for students rather than subject. She said:

I think we're all geared to students you know and not just subject. . . . I try to give a student confidence to try. When I started out [teaching], I was really interested in subject matter, but then I was teaching senior high school and I was teaching elective courses in special history and they [students] had the study skills and they had the desire and they had the brain power, so I was really teaching subject matter. But you have a completely different grasp when you get down to the middle school. I think I mostly try to teach students the skills they need to study. I don't think you could possibly teach sixth graders subject matter content alone, because they don't know how to study. They don't know how to do anything on a secondary level. (Reed 5/22, 1-2)

Likewise, Mrs. Cassidy's descriptions of her instructional intentions suggested a focus on student understanding rather than factual knowledge, and on student social and emotional, as well as academic, growth. She said:

I'd like to help them appreciate and understand history, social studies, geography, whatever. To give them some knowledge of other places, other times. . . . I feel good when like one of my girls this morning . . . asked me this

morning, "What do they mean by no charter?" She had at least realized it had something to do with what we'd been talking about in class. When one of my students, a real low one, would come in and say, "Oh, there was a movie about Romans, did you see it?" Even if they realize that this had some association with something. I mean they aren't going to know facts like Julius Caesar, but that's okay if they just understand a little. That's one of my major goals as a social studies teacher. . . . As a teacher of this age child, as opposed to a social studies teacher, I just would like to see a person grow and reach whatever potential they can have. Like this one particular girl in 5th period, I've been so worried about . . . who's so full of hate and dislike and so quick to get spiteful. I would feel like my year had been successful . . . if I could see that kid be more positive. So I think that's to help the person, rather than teach social studies. (Cassidy 5/5, 17)

Why did Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed focus almost exclusively on the goals of curriculum content coverage and test preparation in practice, when they expressed far broader intentions?

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's adopted style of teaching may have been more responsive to the conditions of school life than to their personal pedagogic beliefs and ideas. They worked in a school that seemed to have a number of conditions which invited subject-centered teaching. On the most obvious level, it seemed that Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed had developed a style of teaching that effectively accommodated the curriculum plans they were assigned to teach. The plans they used projected an emphasis on content-mastery and implied a textbook approach to teaching. More importantly, both teachers seemed to believe they had to adhere to the plans. When asked to describe what she would teach during the year, Mrs. Reed, according to the record

handed me a folder and said, "Here's our [social studies department's] plans for the whole year in case you'd like to know." Inside the folder, I discovered several typed sheets. It was an outline of topics to be covered during

the year. Each topic had the title of a unit in the social studies textbook and under each unit were the titles of individual chapters in the textbook. (Reed 9/11, 1)

When asked how these curriculum plans were generated, Mrs. Reed explained:

for the most part Mrs. Cassidy has been teaching world history for a long time and she knew the area so she said if you want me to, I'll set up a schedule for us [the teachers in the social studies department] and we said all right because we hadn't been doing that and definitely not with this book this new textbook, . . . so we set off at the very first of the year the entire year's curriculum and calendar. This four weeks we're going to do this unit and use these films and this two weeks is this and so on. I follow it, but it's too rigid because where I might like to spend more time on the Renaissance, we didn't give time for that, where maybe I might want to spend less time on the study of Ancient China. (Reed 6/3, 31-32)

Mrs. Reed felt obliged to follow the social studies curriculum plan, though she believed in some ways it was restrictive. A strict adherence to a social studies plan, which was more a list of textbook chapters to present than a set of objectives to interpret, could have contributed to the content-centered style of teaching observed.

Some of the pressure Mrs. Reed described here and Mrs. Cassidy suggested earlier (see 4/15, 20) could be related to the principal's very recently implemented school plan designed to organize and standardize the school's entire curriculum. The principal, Mr. Howard, explained his plan and his rationale for the school's curriculum improvement project:

It's sort of been a tradition in this school over the past years that people kind of taught . . . what they wanted within the broad area [of a subject]. Essentially, they could change things around. We are finding that creates gaps in the child's curriculum. It's no wonder our test scores weren't what they should have been. We're in the process of developing some things [curriculum plans] and

we're going to expect people [teachers] to follow that, you know, to teach in the seventh grade, these kinds of things. (Principal 5/21, 7)

With such a clearly stated expectation that teachers follow the revised curriculum, and with the intention of reducing teaching variability, it's not surprising to find it applied so directly and similarly in Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's classrooms.

From Mr. Howard's remarks, it seems that the curriculum improvement project was ultimately generated to improve school achievement as measured by the standardized tests. Mr. Howard associated the school's former curriculum plan, which allowed for varied teacher instruction, with gaps in the students' knowledge of the required curriculum, which were in turn related to the school's former undesirable achievement test scores. Likewise, the assistant principal explained the school's current curriculum focus in terms of school test results:

Our curriculum . . . is determined a lot by the state assessment. Every year after the state assessment, . . . the director of research . . . takes out the data and, of course, the paper [news] gets hold of it and puts it in the newspaper, and everybody says, "Oh, look at Hidden Brook, they did terrible!" based on that one thing which forces you to begin to concentrate on basic skills. That's something we're doing this school year. We have improved our basic skills, we've improved in the MAT [Metropolitan Achievement Test] and all that kind of stuff, but, because that's what the public is looking at right now. . . . We've developed our curriculum to enhance our basic skills and content knowledge. (Assistant Principal 7/21, 53-54)

Perhaps because the curriculum was geared towards the improvement of school tests results, it emerged as a content-centered plan with enough specificity to insure teacher consistency in preparing students for the standardized tests.

It appeared that Mrs. Cassidy's conception of the school's curriculum also reflected the administration's concern for school achievement success. Mrs. Cassidy was a member of a three teacher committee assigned the work of rewriting the school's curriculum. She explained her job and the committee's priorities:

I work with two other teachers on a curriculum development project. . . . We've done a great deal to get ready for the triannual review. The school is to be reviewed next fall and we are working with that. The curriculum project is really designed to improve our academics. . . . When we started, we looked at county guidelines which tell what's taught in each grade and we looked at the tests we have to take, because that's how we're measured and we came up with what to teach in each area. (Cassidy 5/5, 1-4)

To what extent the school administration's impetus to standardize the curriculum and boost achievement influenced Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's style of teaching is unclear, but it is clear they could find administrator support for a curriculum-focused, content-centered style of teaching. In addition to the values and focus implied in Mr. Howard's curriculum improvement project, Mr. Howard stated explicitly his hiring priorities which emphasized subject-centered teaching. He said:

I look for a teacher who is willing to commit herself to her subject. She believes that everything else is kind of secondary. I like to see a teacher who has that kind of commitment. (Principal 5/21, 3)

Moreover, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed expressed a felt obligation to meet the principal's expectations. Mrs. Reed described her expectations of the principal and her perceptions of his expectations of her:

[I expect for him] to definitely keep me informed as to what I'm supposed to do because you can't function without that. And secondly, to back me up when I think I'm going what I should do. And, I need to do just the reverse. To

do whatever they [administrators] say [to] do even though . . . I don't agree with it. It's the rule so you do it. And, you don't tell the kids that I don't want to do this because I don't believe in it, but . . . you have to be very supportive. . . . Oh, usually I see him every morning. I usually see him off and on during the day . . . I feel very free to say anything to him if I have any concerns, I let him know. (Reed 6/3, 37-38)

Similarly, Mrs. Cassidy explained:

Well, it's a two-way street. I need to support him so that he can in turn do the same for me. If I'm doing my job, if I'm fulfilling my obligations, and if I'm performing the way I should be, then I'm supporting him. (Cassidy 7/23, 75)

These remarks suggest that the teachers relinquished some authority to the principal whom they believed rightfully determined rules and obligations for teachers. Suggesting this more directly, Mrs. Cassidy said:

When you get down to it, it's his neck on the line; not ours. So granted he's going to have to make some decisions . . . I feel like I'm heard and I'm not always, you know. That's okay. We don't make all of the decisions you know, and we're not the decision makers, but I think that there are things that we have within our power. (Cassidy 7/23, 84)

From Mrs. Reed's perspective:

The administrators do ask us "what do you think"? off and on. But then the teachers don't care just as long as something filters down. That doesn't bother me. (Reed 6/3, 41)

Neither Mrs. Cassidy nor Mrs. Reed expected to be school decision-makers. Mrs. Reed seemed to believe it was her responsibility to implement what filters down. Mrs. Cassidy acknowledged the public dilemma the principal faced and believed that it legitimized his authority. In either case, the teachers may have sublimated some of their professional values or goals to fit their perceived role of teacher in relationship to the principal's authority, or to attend to perceived principal expectations.

In addition to the school's curriculum improvement project, the school had recently purchased a computer which may have also indirectly influenced the style of teaching Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed adopted. The computer was purchased to assist teachers in grading student work. In order for the machine to serve in this capacity, however, special answer sheets had to be used. These answer sheets could only accommodate single option answers so in order for teachers to use the computer for grading they would have to design their assignments or tests with single answer options. While this was not inherently restrictive, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed seemed inclined to prepare tests which focused on factual recall.

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed used the computer to assist with the grading of quizzes and tests. Mrs. Cassidy described her attitudes about the system:

These scantron sheets are great because there's all that time saved and it's easy to give quizzes and tests now.
(Cassidy 5/21, 22)

Mrs. Reed confirmed:

We've only really started to use it but it's a big help.
(Reed 9/11, 2)

If Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed used factual recall questions in order to accommodate the computerized grading system, an impetus to supply complimentary instruction may have emerged.

It is altogether possible that the teachers' right-answer pedagogy or factual, content-centered teaching orientation would have existed without the computer, but both teachers expressed frustration over a lack of planning time and viewed the computer as a time saving aid.

Since finding time for planning and grading work was a major problem the teachers had to successfully negotiate, then perhaps the ready-made curriculum and school computer both had an additional significance. Describing her daily schedule, Mrs. Reed pointed out her limited time for planning:

We're due here at 8:15 a.m., legally and that gives you a half hour by the time you get your classroom set up and chairs placed back after the custodians have moved them around and open our windows and all that stuff, unless you come early, there's not much chance of doing planning. (Reed 5/22, 12)

Mrs. Cassidy shared this problem. She believed she had no actual planning time during her work day:

From 8:15 a.m. to 8:45 a.m. you're supposed to have [planning], but that doesn't really exist. By the time I get here and write the date on the board and see if I have Marlene [a student who helps in the morning] . . . and before when I allowed students in, one of things I said, I told them when they first came in, "This is my time, you can only come in there if you don't infringe on my time." But, of course, somebody would always come up to talk to me, and I wouldn't say, you know, I can't talk to you. So, there is . . . practically zilch . . . time which is a problem. (Cassidy 5/5, 16)

On another occasion when Mrs. Reed was asked about the time she spent on schoolwork at home, she responded:

I would say practically none, because I just make a point of no. And as to during the week, . . . I do type my tests up at home because this typewriter doesn't run off too well, so I use my own. . . . You're not supposed to do anything like that during school hours but that's a joke. (Reed 6/3, 25)

Mrs. Cassidy likewise said:

I don't do much at home. I have two children and a husband at home. My life has changed since I started teaching. There's lots more you know, at home. I'm also in school one night a week and then there's social things so there's not lots of time for work at home. (Cassidy 9/11, 2)

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's strict adherence to the curriculum might also be explained as a time-pressured approach to teaching. It would seem from their remarks that both teachers would have to rely on a teaching approach which could be executed with little preplanning. Relying on the textbook and adhering to the curriculum plans might rule out other considerations for planning such as identifying and attending to student differences or varying instructional strategies, which involve more time.

To some extent, Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's teaching approach seemed rooted in their assumptions about the capabilities of their students. They seemed convinced that regardless of how they behaved as teachers, some students will succeed while others will not. As a result, they applied the same instructional treatment to all students with the expectation that there would be an inevitable gap between those who were capable and those who were not. In describing her way of differentiating students, Mrs. Cassidy said:

Well, I probably group them behaviorally [in thought] but behaviorally comes from academically whether they are able . . . , whether they are frustrated by the material, whether they are able to perform and when they're not, they become problems in one way or another, either, not producing or . . . not trying . . . it's easiest for me to group them on what ability or lack of ability they have to cope with the particular level [of work], our 7th grade social studies, let's say. (Cassidy 7/23, 63)

Mrs. Cassidy seemed to believe that student success or failure was more the product of innate capabilities than the result of teacher efforts. Elaborating on the kinds of students she taught, the perspective is more clearly revealed. When asked to describe her students, she said:

and then there are others who are just simply nice kids that you'd like to give them a few more things [brains] to work with. They don't have enough up here. And a couple of them whose parents are trying and are concerned and interested and want them to do better and yet every test, you know, they are just not capable of functioning in a regular classroom setting. What else can you say? In a couple of cases, one is an extremely poor [student], however, the older brother of this child was really smart. And, it's kind of distressing to see. And you know something about the family and know that, one of em has it together and then there is this other one that just might as well be outside playing marbles. (Cassidy 5/5, 7-10)

She added:

The problems with students don't come after they get here, they come with them! When they arrive . . . they all get off the bus and rroocaaar you know . . . they get here in a big group and there has maybe already been a confrontation of some kind because they waited at the bus stop for awhile . . . or they've piled up on a bunch of junk food . . . and that's how their day starts. That's a lot of the things we've got in first period. A larger number of blacks in there and they come in loud and you know already with problems from home or on the way to school . . . so that's a barrier that there is no way around; you just have to deal with that. (Cassidy 5/5, 19-20)

These remarks suggest that Mrs. Cassidy believed that if a student did fail, it was due to lack of intellectual ability, social or racial background, or a troubled homelife. Since these variables were beyond the teacher's control, it is not surprising that Mrs. Cassidy did not readily acknowledge a responsibility to vary her instructional approach to accommodate her less successful students. Instead, she lowered her expectations or criteria for evaluating the work of those students.

She explained:

Well, . . . if I assign a written report, or if I assign anything outside I don't expect as in-depth or as thorough or . . . what you would really call a report from certain . . . students. I mean if they copy something straight out of an encyclopedia I feel I'm lucky. (Cassidy 7/23, 64)

Similarly, in accounting for what she perceived to be a lack of student interest or motivation, Mrs. Cassidy did not consider it to be a product of her instructional treatment. Rather she believed it was related to the nature of the age group she taught. She said:

Kids at this age are more inactive than active learners. Their biggest thing is just not learning in the class period. You know, they're more supporting their own social thing or what they're interested in. It's just that my thing, you know, like history, is not important to them. It's a minor thing in their lives. (Cassidy 7/23, 70)

Perhaps an analysis of student attitudes and behaviors would reveal a reciprocal effect. If student needs were in fact neglected, negative student behavior might be expected to follow, thus making curriculum-centered teaching more difficult and frustrating, and making students appear less manageable.

Mrs. Reed's attitudes reflected this same theme as she seemed to gauge expectations for herself and for her students according to her perception of the students' inherent capabilities. She described her sentiments about one of her slower students like this:

Gary . . . can do nothing practically. I mean he can't even copy and he is one that never wants to do and he's always wiggling around. . . . But he really doesn't slow me down . . . I don't get much out of him, but then he doesn't have much to give. (Reed 5/22, 13)

Mrs. Reed was concerned about her slower students and like Mrs. Cassidy tried to make concessions. She too lowered her expectations for evaluation. She explained:

Dean. Dean is a very, very slow reader and a very, very slow thinker. Now, when I ask a student to write out a sentence and fill in the blank, if Dean gets the blank filled in and doesn't write the sentence, I don't count off. Although for anybody else I refuse to read it. (Reed 5/22, 7)

Yet like Mrs. Cassidy, she believed that the prerequisites for school success were somewhat beyond her control, thus differences in students were seen as inevitable and not as data for her use in instructional planning. Instructional planning originated with the curriculum to be taught, and not with the nature of the learners receiving the instruction; hence, the curriculum-centered, rather than student-centered, classroom atmosphere. She described the different types of students she taught like this:

Well, you have the ones that are interested, you have the ones that are after high grades, you have the ones that are parent-motivated and that's different from student-motivated. You have those that are lazy. You have those that are very intelligent and are not motivated at all. They are motivated only to the extent that you know, like if they pass, that's it. Oh, then you've got the ones that wish they weren't at school at all and they do everything they can to get out of school. . . . you can just go on down the line because they're different. Practically every child you teach is different because some of them are from divorced homes, a lot of them are from divorced homes. With a lot of them that makes no difference and other ones that are from divorced homes--it's their excuse for everything. There's not much you can do to change these things. (Reed 5/22, 5)

Though both teachers relinquished some responsibility for student success or failure to nature or external forces, they seemed to recognize that planning from the curriculum to the student and thus providing a standard treatment for all students was not entirely successful.

Mrs. Cassidy shared her frustrations. She said:

I think the basic problem that there is here is that the kids aren't grouped . . . just mostly heterogeneous grouping and some of them are capable and some of them are totally you know. You've got everything from EMR [Educably Mentally Retarded] to gifted in the same room and it's very difficult to handle their needs. . . . Meeting this great disparity is totally beyond me. I just can't. You've got kids that are consistently failing . . . when they can't accomplish tasks that are 7th grade level, then there's something you're not getting to. (Cassidy 7/23, 72-73)

Similarly, Mrs. Reed recognized the inadequacies of whole class teaching. She explained:

I'd like to just let them finish [an assignment] and work on it til they finish, rather than stopping, but I just never know when is enough time for my slower students, and we can't all wait. (Reed 4/28, 10)

And, later she continued her discussion:

If a child can't do what we're doing, I try to give him more work . . . but it's never possible to give him enough individual help. (Reed 6/3, 35)

Perhaps neither Mrs. Cassidy nor Mrs. Reed knew how to organize an instructional program based on student needs. In either case, classroom instruction focused on curriculum content-coverage, and though Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed would choose to refer to themselves as student-centered teachers, evidence points to a more solid commitment to curriculum dissemination; a world view supported by the school's administration.

Perhaps the school's organization and the teachers' consequent affiliation with a subject area department added another layer of influence. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were members of the social studies department; an organization designed for curriculum organization, evaluation, and dissemination. Explaining the function of the school's departments, the assistant principal said:

The departments get a handle on what they have to teach. They share films and tests and that sort of thing. It's geared towards making that curriculum area strong.
(Assistant Principal 9/21, 5)

For Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed, the department was one of the only school vehicles available for teacher, task-related communication and collaboration. Meetings, however, were generally scheduled once a month

and more often, less frequently than that. More importantly, from recorded observations and interviews, these meetings were events of limited dialogue with teacher talk centered almost entirely on the character and dissemination of the subject matter curriculum. One brief excerpt from the record sketches the character of these meetings:

Mrs. Cassidy, the chairperson of the social studies department, is leading the meeting. She has already explained about a film that might be available for all of the social studies teachers to use. One of the teachers present says, "Why don't we just divide up with work and get it ordered?" Mrs. Cassidy, "Yes, okay, but I'll give a call. We'll have to pick a date. . . . Another teacher adds, "This will fit well with the Middle Ages now and we've needed something like this." . . . Mrs. Cassidy says, "I'm still waiting to hear from the SCA [Society for Creative Anachronism] group but it looks possible. Any other business?" One teacher says, "Did we get the maps?" (Cassidy 9/21, 2-4)

Conversation revolved around what these teachers had in common: the social studies curriculum. While it is impossible to identify this affiliation as a force shaping the professional priorities of the teachers, it seemed clear that teacher department interaction did not draw teacher attention to student needs.

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's teaching schedules also made it difficult for them to talk with other teachers about the students they taught in significant ways. Lunch time was the only other regular opportunity they had to talk with colleagues about their work. It appeared from observations though, that lunch time was not a chance for teachers to abandon curriculum and focus on their students' needs. The lunch break was a time of scattered conversations, often devoted to social issues or general school concerns that all present could share. Here are two excerpts from typical lunch sessions in the teachers' lounge:

The teachers filter in a few at a time. Several check their mailboxes. The two round tables quickly become full and teachers are seated with their lunches, shortly after the bill has rung. I sit at a round table. Mrs. Reed sits off to the side. Two teachers are talking and one says, "It was a good idea to have the student council give us apples." The other responds, "Yeh, but it's weird how they can't take any responsibility in social studies or science." Another teacher adds, "Mr. Howard also gave us lollipops after the Metropolitan achievement tests." I think she's said this for my benefit. The counselor walks in and sits down. She starts talking to the teachers at her table. The counselor says, "That makes three [who are pregnant]. The counselor continues, "Oliver [a school film] great." (Lounge 5/21, 9-11)

I am seated next to a science teacher. Another science teacher walks in. The seated science teacher says, "Congratulations on your journal article. Great!" Returning to talk with those at the table, she says, "I have an idea for the school calendar change for next year. Let's have the teachers' workday directly after the holidays so that we could get organized before the kids return." Another teacher responded, "That's good. Maybe if we suggest it too it would be more highly considered." The conversation shifts to food and several recipes are described. I suggest a recipe too. A teacher says, "How about that attorney case in the paper?" Referring to a local news report. "Isn't he the counselor's [at Long Meadow] husband?" Another teacher says, "Did you get your Scantron sheets?" [special computer answer sheets]. (Lounge 2/4, 5-6)

Like numerous observed lunch conversations, the teachers here talked about general school business, some common subject matter concerns, social topics (e.g., recipes and news), or personal issues. On occasion, teachers would make general complaints about students to the group such as, "Boy, the kids are wound up today," or "If you think that's bad, wait til you take them to the library." The specifics of troublesome situations were rarely discussed, but complaints were aired in general terms.

Perhaps teacher conversations were general since variations in teaching assignments as well as the students they taught made it difficult

for teachers to share the specific details of their teaching lives. Moreover, the thirty minutes at lunch was the only relief teachers had from teaching classes. It may have been seen as a time for relaxation and sustenance, not for planning and problem-solving.

The lunch time conversations suggest that Mrs. Reed's and Mrs. Cassidy's daily teacher contacts were comfortable but not intimately connected with the specifics of their daily work with students. Mrs. Reed confirms this suggestion:

Well, I think since all the sixth grade teachers must have lunch at the same hour, we usually hobnob as to problems. We also share if anything helps . . . I think the relationship of all the sixth grade teachers, I think, it is pretty nice, pretty even. No dog-eat-dog. But we don't really do anything as far as planning is concerned. (Reed 5/22, 16-17)

Mrs. Cassidy echoes Mrs. Reed as she elaborates on her colleague relationships:

Well, I think a lot of the teachers each lunch with the same group of teachers. It I had a regular lunch and if I had it third period and if I ate at the time that I would be eating . . . [if she didn't have the period for curriculum committee work] mainly with the other seventh grade teachers, I would be eating when most of them eat. Most of them . . . have some sort of a strange schedule or split with people or something. But, I think with most of the ones that are like usually in the lounge, we usually eat together; it's a pretty good relationship. And then with some of them, there are teachers that carpool together. . . . I have a particular group of us that usually go out, just the girls, once a month, right around or after payday. They went last night . . . Sal, Katy, Belinda, Beth, Susan, Lane, Paula, Willa, and Arlene, that's the basic core of us. But there are a lot of things that a lot of us do socially, like outside of school completely but like you know, I'm social friends with a number of people from here. . . . And, it's built up like over the years. You know I've known Wayne and his wife you know, Margie next door and the two kids. And Claire on the end of my wing, my husband works with her ex-husband and her kids have been my babysitter and some of it's just tied over a period of time. (Cassidy 5/21, 20-22)

For the most part, Mrs. Cassidy's acknowledged colleague relationships were more social than professional in nature. She did explain that in addition to her social school friends, she had a working relationship with members from the same department:

This year [since I am on the curriculum committee], I've worked extremely closely with other social studies teachers because I've more or less planned it all and then ordered the films and done all this so we work closely. . . . We started off meeting on a periodic basis, but because there have been so many other demands in the afternoons that June and Beth [the school counselors] started off in the beginning of the year. . . . It just got to where there were so many demands on the afternoon planning time that; that [teacher department meetings] was just one thing that could be eliminated. So we haven't done that much. (Cassidy 5/21, 19)

In many respects then, teaching for Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed was an individual enterprise. This individuality may have made it seem risky to venture away from clearly defined curriculum requirements provided via the department. At least to some extent, such clarity could serve to protect teachers, if only modestly, against the burden of individual failure in the classroom. As such, the structure of the subject area department might have perpetuated a curriculum-centered approach.

Never a Free Day at School

Maintaining classroom order may not have appeared to be a major problem for Mrs. Cassidy or Mrs. Reed. Day in and day out, most students arrived on time, followed basic classroom rules, and did not make excessive amounts of disruptive noise. Yet Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed behaved in ways that suggested they believed the maintenance of order

required a constantly activated posture of defense and a highly structured and restrictive environment for children. On the first day of school at Hidden Brook, I entered a classroom just in time to hear some of the teacher's first words to her students. She said, "You will never have a free day at school" (Informant 8/25, 1). Only much later did I discover that her words told a much larger story about life at Hidden Brook.

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's classrooms were arranged in a manner which would seem to accommodate their instructional style of whole class presentation. The record reads:

In each room, chairdesks are lined in neat, even rows, facing blackboards, a lectern, and the teacher's desk. An overhead projector and large screen sit at the front of the room as if fixed there for regular use. Most of the walls are bare with the exception of a large world map and a couple of posters (e.g., pictures of Japan or Ireland). The bulletin boards are not distracting, but are displayed with information about social studies (e.g., posters of middle ages, maps, and charts). In a small shelf beneath every chairdesk a social studies textbook is safely tucked away. A globe sits on a table near a bookshelf of social studies books and magazines. Above the blackboards hang an American flag and a large round clock. (Cassidy and Reed 8/25, 1-4)

When asked about this arrangement, however, Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's remarks emphasized teacher control and ease of management.

Mrs. Reed explained:

The screen has to be at the front and there's no other way you can do it, otherwise the kids can't see. . . . I could organize differently, like in groups, but I have no tolerance for group work because it seems I've never figured out how in working in a group, you have two people doing work for the other three. (Reed 6/3, 27-28)

Mrs. Cassidy explained:

It's the standard row thing which is kind of a rut, but I don't know, maybe some of these kids do better in a rut. I think sometimes a lot of them operate better in the standard

way . . . I don't like big tables. It's the best way to get the work across to everyone . . . I know too that these are new desks . . . and I don't want them all written up and everything. They are nice desks. And this is the way that I can keep up with who sits in them. These are brand new books, so it's [the standard row plan] a way that is easier for me to handle the whole situation . . . I like to keep up with the textbooks. I have just a classroom set of books. They're numbered and I have a book assigned to each desk, and I am responsible for them and I can't keep up with them any other way . . . so I have students assigned to desks.
(Cassidy 5/21, 41-43)

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's preference for an arrangement that insured a high degree of teacher control and order may be rooted in a fundamental uncertainty about and fear of disruptive student behavior. Classroom technology reflected these same sentiments. Mrs. Reed frequently used the pace of whole class teaching as a means of managing student behavior. Here is one poignant example from the record:

During this exercise, the students are locating longitude and latitude points on a dittoed map and are marking the names of the places accordingly. There seems to be some difficulty during this exercise because the students cannot keep pace with the teacher, who is calling the points aloud. The teacher says, "Let's fill in all the degrees so everybody has them clearly marked on the paper." The teacher continues and tells the students to mark the names of the places that she refers to when she gives them the latitude and longitude. The students are told where Greenland is according to longitude and latitude degrees but many, fifteen or more, students seem confused and they don't know how they're supposed to find this [Greenland] on their maps. One student calls out, "What are we supposed to be doing?" But the teacher doesn't stop to explain. She just looks at the student. With the confused students, there is more noise. Several students go up to the teacher with their maps for help. Some stay in their seats and brood in confusion. The teacher says, "Let's go quickly now. Are you listening?" The teacher continues and when the class is almost over, says, "Tomorrow we'll be going over the oceans," indicating they will be moving on in spite of student confusion. The teacher adds, "You should study these new places so you'll be able to fill in these if I ever gave you a blank map." One student says, "Gosh!"
(Reed 9/11, 6-7)

Many students were clearly exasperated by the demands of the pace, yet Mrs. Reed persisted. When asked about the difficulties the students had during the lesson, Mrs. Reed explained, "You've got to keep them on their toes." It seemed in her effort to prevent problems with student discipline, to keep them attentive, Mrs. Reed made it more difficult for students to keep up. The result, however, in this instance as in others observed, was that classroom control became more important than student learning.

Mrs. Cassidy associated what she referred to as her "standard approach" with her perception of students. She believed a highly structured approach was necessary for her students. She explained, as noted earlier:

I really think these students need some sort of textbook and they do better with a standard approach. . . . Kids at this age are more inactive than active learners. Their biggest thing is just not learning in the class period. You know, they're more supporting their own social thing or what they're interested in. It's just that my thing, you know, like history, is not important to them. It's a minor thing in their lives. (Cassidy 7/23, 70)

Mrs. Reed also felt that her students required a highly structured program. She said:

These sixth graders need something like a worksheet to keep them going. They need some sort of textbook too. (Reed 4/9, 15)

Later, she added:

At the sixth grade level, they don't make choices real easy, so you're better off to stick with a straightforward approach. (Reed 6/3, 30)

Both teachers seemed to believe that instructional alternatives to their whole class, teacher-directed, content-centered approach might yield

problems with student behavior. On one occasion when Mrs. Cassidy planned and conducted a special instructional program for the students, the teachers revealed their uncertainty about student behavior. Mrs. Cassidy had invited a local group to visit the school and dramatize the Medieval era. During the program both teachers seemed more concerned about student discipline than about the value of the learning experience. The record reads:

The group members are dressed in middle age attire and are acting out a typical fight in the center of this open field near the front of the school. Some students are seated in a circle watching, while others are standing near several long tables where special items are displayed (e.g., chain mail, crowns, jewelry) which typify items from the era. Social studies teachers are gathered there too. Some are seated. A few are standing. I walk over to Mrs. Cassidy and ask, "How are things going?" She says, "Well, everything's fine for now." I ask her what she means and she says, "Well, you know I just don't want somebody to take anything from those tables. I can just see it." I then leave and walk over to where Mrs. Reed is seated. She says, "Have you seen the display?" We walk over to the tables and she says, "I sure hope the students don't really think those are real pearls or they might steal them. These tables really need to be guarded." (Reed and Cassidy 4/10, 1-2)

Why were Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed untrusting of and uncertain about student behavior? Why did they believe it was necessary to teach on guard? Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's daily teaching schedule made it difficult for them to know students as persons. Relationships with students not mediated by academic demands or changing classes were rare.² Mrs. Cassidy described the general state of her relationship with students:

²Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were assigned two basic responsibilities in relation to students. Each served as a social studies teacher for five out of six daily periods. One period was reserved for independent teacher planning. They were also homeroom teachers during their first social studies class. This involved a five minute attendance check and the dissemination of school news. Aside from the five minute homeroom, they were only in contact with students as instructors.

Well, to most [students] I'm just the teacher. To a few, I'm more . . . because well, there's really not anything that we do together besides what we do in class. I don't do that much; this year I haven't done anything with any of them outside of class. There have been times when I'd sponsor clubs [after school] but I haven't done anything this year. Well, I have cooked out with a small group from each class during lunch time [as a reward for group work they did once]. But there are not that many other things along that line that I do with students. (Cassidy 5/21, 18)

Similarly, Mrs. Reed suggested that relationships with her students were generally defined by and limited to the classroom instructional setting. She said:

Well, I talk to them; some of them I see at church. I buy their tickets. I sponsor them to run [pledge money]. All that kind of thing, but as far as doing social things at school or outside of school, no. (Reed 5/22, 16)

For Mrs. Cassidy, limited opportunities to know students better was a possible explanation for her general skepticism about student behavior. In cases where she had established a special relationship with a student, she also seemed to feel free to let down her teacher guard. She seemed to demonstrate a heightened sense of trust in those few cases where she'd been able to spend time with a student apart from the instructional setting. Describing her sentiments about one such case, she explained:

Well okay, Marlene. I think I'm more to Marlene than a teacher. I think I'm somebody to her. We have a relationship outside of the classroom situation. With most students, just the fact that there's so many of them and no time, you don't really develop any more . . . than that . . . some people need and demand more than that. And maybe there [are] others out there who need it that you never really get to . . . know about . . . but, like with Marlene I've really been able to trust her. She comes in here and helps me before school. I give her odd jobs. You know, a lot of her teachers have trouble with her but I've really been able to make some kind of difference. (Cassidy 5/21, 17-18)

Comparing that experience to her general experience with similar students who may have been behavior problems, Mrs. Cassidy said:

But, with most students like Marlene, maybe because there's no time, I don't feel effective in changing attitudes or their negative interaction. I don't know that there's much I can do. . . . I talk to them sometimes but, it doesn't seem to matter. They still think like, violence is the answer to violence. (Cassidy 5/21, 56)

It may be possible that Mrs. Cassidy's on-guard posture was a means of managing the behavior of many students she was unable to know. It appeared that the basis for classroom order could not be special relationships with students. Mrs. Cassidy might view student discipline somewhat differently if she felt about many of her students the way she felt about Marlene. On the contrary, student cooperation and classroom order seemed to be achieved through an on-guard posture and a highly structured academic program. The last day of school was indicative of her relationships with the majority of students. To most, she was "just a teacher," for when she no longer had authority by virtue of remaining academic requirements and was no longer teacher because school instruction was over, relationships with students were simultaneously dissolved. The record reads:

It's 12:30 a.m. and the students are all seated, writing at their desks. Some just sit and stare. Mrs. Cassidy says to me, "They're doing their final exams." After a while, Mrs. Cassidy interrupts the silence to say, "When you have finished your exam, you can complete the evaluation that's on the overhead." I notice there are three questions [on the screen]. (1) Rate this class on a scale of 1 to 10; (2) How would you recommend this class should be taught in a better way; (3) Do you feel you have learned social studies this year? Why or why not? As the time ticks away, I notice some students starting to chat. The teacher says, "Those of you who are talking, you're being very selfish. There's still some people trying to finish. I really think we need to give them the same time to finish. I'll come and

get your test [a few students get up[, I'll come and get it!" Mrs. Cassidy walks up and down the aisles collecting papers. The time is 1:10 p.m. The assistant principal's voice suddenly comes on the intercom and says, "It's time for the afternoon announcements" just as he had always done during the year. He made announcements about report cards, football in the summer, never making note of the day as the last school day. After the announcements, Mrs. Cassidy has collected the last paper. It's 1:15 p.m. The bell rings. Immediately, students jump up yelling "Yeah" and within thirty seconds the classroom is empty. The students are gone. Only one student's "good-bye" could be heard over the yelling. One student [Spanish] returns to ask Mrs. Cassidy about the summer school dates. She leaves. Mrs. Cassidy collects her books. She tells me, "There's a surprise party for Henry [Mr. Howard, principal] in the library." (Cassidy 6/5, 1-3)

Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's concern for order may also have been energized by memories of an unpleasant school past when chaos and disruption prevailed. Both teachers remembered years when teaching at Hidden Brook required a constant focus on discipline. Mrs. Cassidy recalled:

I started teaching here in 1967 and it was a very different kind of school then. There was no curriculum; no textbooks. It was tough. Then it was a seventh, eighth, and ninth grade school. In 1973, the school had junior high school kids in the morning and Evermount kids [local high school] in the afternoon. Long Meadow [then a high school] had closed [during school desegregation] and Evermount had to share the Hidden Brook building. Things were very bad for some time past desegregation. Lots of discipline problems. The students had quite a bit of hostility. . . . Since I've been at Brook, I've seen seven principals. We've seen a lot of changes. We're more settled now with Mr. Howard and the current program. (Cassidy 2/4, 608)

Mrs. Reed recalled:

I can remember one year we had thirty-six bomb evacuations from Christmas on. (Reed 5/22, 10)

The principal was aware of and seemed to share their sentiments about the past. He said:

We still have a few around that still remember the good ole days and you know that remind some of the others when things get . . . hectic that, you know, you should have been here in so and so [past] and they can recall when things weren't as good. (Principal 7/16, 27)

Moreover, he supported a highly structured school atmosphere in part because he recalled a time when instructional alternatives and a lack of school discipline created problems. He said:

There were a lot of program changes that came about as a result of the middle school and they went into exploratory type things--special interest groups. We had one telling us how to learn how to play poker, that kind of thing . . . you had advisory groups--thirty minutes and they would just meet like a regular class and there were interdisciplinary teams. But they [administrators] saw the program [middle school] and the possibilities and tried to do all of them. . . . The auditorium would be packed with parents who were just out to get everybody. . . . They were angry because of the lack of academics and discipline. And the teachers felt that too. They told the parents, "I don't have enough time to teach them." (Principal 7/16, 28)

Since he has been at Hidden Brook, it seems Mr. Howard has worked to insure school discipline and to establish a highly structured academic program. He explained his view of school priorities:

I think student behavior is probably the biggest problem [teachers] that they face and that's improved over the years. . . . It's the biggest problem . . . the one we spend the most time on. We all work the hardest on it. (Principal 5/21, 6)

The assistant principal shared the concern for student discipline. He said, "Discipline is our number one concern!" (Assistant Principal 7/21, 61). The school's history seems to have created a heightened desire on the part of the teachers and administrators to establish and maintain school order.

Providing an additional layer of explanation, it was found that the administrators also viewed students with a degree of skepticism.

This skepticism may have given impetus to their approach to discipline, while fostering a school milieu conducive to the maintenance of those same attitudes among teachers. The assistant principal and principal seemed to believe that students were not to be trusted or entrusted with responsibility. Mr. Howard believed that an on-guard stance was necessary because of the nature of children in the middle school. He said:

I'm not sure that you'll ever get things [discipline] really the way it should be if you have 900 or 1000 kids this age together. I think it is just this age that is really the peer reinforcing type thing. (Principal 5/21, 6)

Continuing later, he said:

You've got to remember the kids are still kids and if they find some way to screw it up, they'll do it. They love to do those things. So we really have to maintain a lot of control. (Principal 5/21, 26)

When asked about the school's approach to maintaining discipline, the assistant principal explained his philosophy and that of the school's administrators. He said:

We carry a big stick . . . [laughs]. Well, I don't really want to say this on tape, but you've got to just tell kids what to do at this age. They can't decide. Like, you've got to look at their . . . test scores and then tell them what they're supposed to take and that's it. . . . I really feel strongly about that. We really emphasize that here and good discipline. (Assistant Principal 7/21, 61)

The administrators' attitudes of skepticism and their beliefs about the need to restrict student freedom were communicated through a number of channels. As an example, a sign was posted for the teachers in the teachers' lounge. It read:

TEACHER TRANSLATION OF THE DAY "James is an individualist; which is a nice way of saying, James is a troublemaker."
(Lounge 2/4, 1)

Faculty meeting discourse often reflected these attitudes as well. On one occasion when the students were following a special schedule with two class periods blocked as one, problems were occurring in returning students to class from the midperiod break. It seemed Mr. Howard handled the incident with the "big stick" approach. He told the faculty:

You're going to have to shepherd them right back to class. They don't get an extra five or six minutes. A four minute break is a four minute break. They need real tardy penalties, if they don't get back into class before the bell rings. . . . So you need to push real hard. (Faculty Meeting 5/11, 1)

On another occasion, the principal told the staff:

I have to sign those promotions to high schools and those students who are causing problems should not be allowed to go away feeling that they can cause a rumpus and walk away. I have threatened to retain them if they begin to misbehave. (Faculty Meeting 6/3, 1)

During another faculty meeting, in preparation for the last day of school, the principal told the staff:

Well, there is likely to be a bomb scare during the final exams. Would you like the students to leave their exams on the table or take them with them? (Faculty Meeting 6/1, 2)

While no bomb scare occurred, this communicated message of uncertainty seemed reflected in teacher attitudes. During a brief discussion from another faculty meeting, the kind of approach and perspective the principal sanctioned was illuminated. The record reads:

One of the teachers says, "Well, I told the students that if they didn't behave in exams, that they would be suspended. Am I off base?" And the principal says, "No, No, I guess not." (Faculty Meeting 6/3, 1)

The principal may have conveyed his attitudes as clearly through his own relationship of authority with the teachers. His role was primarily bureaucratic and paternal. In some ways, teachers were

treated like students who were disciplined in faculty meetings or provided with more than necessary instructions on appropriate teacher behavior. In one faculty meeting, while the principal was distributing stacks of letters, he said:

I've got them counted out in stacks of fifty, and I know that nobody has that many so I'd like for you to count just what you need and kind of be conservative. When you get the number you need, give the extras back." As the letters begin to be circulated, he attempts to continue talking, but stops to say, "Let's go back there. You can count without talking, can't you? Let me go through the instructions while you're counting, please folks! Com'on now. Cut out the noise so I can talk to you just a minute. You go ahead and count but you don't need to talk while you're counting. (Faculty Meeting 5/11, 10)

During one afternoon when the school's yearly standardized testing was interrupted by a bomb scare, the school had to be evacuated. When the students were allowed to reenter the building, the principal addressed teachers through the intercom system:

Be sure your classes are settled down as we'll be making an announcement shortly. (Principal 4/1, 5)

Apparently, he believed teachers might fail to settle their students if not told to do so. Regarding parent conferencing about the test results, the principal believed it was necessary to say:

If the kid comes in with all of his stanines [scores] low, don't say [to the parents], "Well, you've got the dumbest kid I teach"! He might be, but don't start off the conference with that. Is there any questions about that? (Faculty Meeting 5/11, 14)

Mr. Howard seemed as reluctant to relinquish freedom to teachers as to students. In his office, a poster was hung which seemed to hint at his role perception and his perceptions of teachers. It read, "How can you soar like an eagle, when you've got to fly with a bunch of turkeys?"

Even the assistant principal felt the extent of the principal's authority. When asked how school decisions got made, he said, smiling, "Mr. Howard says you're going to do that and it gets done" (Assistant Principal 7/21, 46).

Both Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed seemed to accept Mr. Howard's authority. It may have been because Mr. Howard complimented his authoritative style with paternalistic protection. In exchange for his authority, he offered teachers support and protection. He made efforts to promote morale. The record reads:

I arrived at school about ten o'clock to talk with Mr. Howard. He was in the teacher's lounge helping the secretary make cones out of paper. He said, "These are going to be used for popcorn that we're preparing for the teachers. We used to do hot chocolate, but that ran into large sums of money." This is during teacher appreciation week. (Principal 2/4, 1)

I discovered that he'd also been instrumental in encouraging the student council to give apples to the teachers during this same week. During a faculty meeting, his authority and concern for the teachers were simultaneously portrayed. He seemed to direct and protect. The record reads:

The principal says, "We're having some problems with kids coming out of class to use the pay phone, and then standing around for awhile. So don't let your kids out of class to use the pay phone. . . . We had last week, three cases of kids who have gotten into trouble down to the dean's office with the phone problem. That's one of the faster ways to have the pay phone taken out so you might say something to the kids. . . . I won't hesitate to put a plastic bag over it . . . so they can't get to it. So, we're not going to move something in here that's going to be a headache to you. . . . And the reason that we put the phone in was that in the afternoons, they would come in and tie up lines that you needed." (Faculty Meeting 5/11, 5)

The staff seemed grateful to Mr. Howard for his almost paternalistic leadership. They held a party in his honor the afternoon of the last

day of school. Almost immediately after the students left, the teachers proceeded to the media center where champagne and teacher-made paper balls and the entire staff awaited the arrival of Mr. Howard. The record reads:

Tables were displayed with punch glasses and the teachers have made paper balls to throw at Mr. Howard. When Mr. Howard entered the room, everyone yelled "surprise" and threw the paper balls at Mr. Howard. He smiled and blushed. Then, they sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" and one of the teachers, who was the in-school suspension director, made a speech. He expressed "thanks" and "appreciation," ". . . for all you've done." Then, opened a bottle of champagne. Some left within a few minutes of the speech. Others stayed to chat. (Faculty Meeting 6/5, 3)

The principal's skepticism towards students and demonstrated model of authority in relation to the teachers may have contributed to the maintenance of Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's skepticism. Conversations with other teachers may also have supported their skepticism, since teachers rarely talked to one another about students and when they did, the conversations highlighted problems with student behavior. Of any given observed lunch period of twenty-five minutes, teachers talked about students less than five minutes. Comments from the record indicate the nature of teacher talk about students and the milieu of skepticism that seemed to exist. An excerpt from the record of one lunch period reads:

Mrs. Reed and I go to the lounge at 10:40 a.m. and about ten teachers are assembled there at two round tables, eating lunch. This is the one daily occasion when Mrs. Reed has contact with other teachers. A social studies teacher seated near Mrs. Reed says, "Isn't it weird how kids can't take any responsibility in social studies and science?" Another teacher replies, "Don't think it's any different anywhere else, cause it isn't!" (Reed 5/21, 9-10)

A second example from the record reads:

I enter the lounge and notice that a group of teachers at one table are discussing a student who has been fighting. Mrs. Cassidy and I sit down at that table. One teacher says, "I don't think some of them [students] know how to do anything but fight." Several teachers nod in agreement. (Cassidy 5/5, 2)

Perhaps because teachers only interacted once daily and had no other regular daily opportunity to discuss specific students in detail or to solve the problems which promoted their skepticism, they were forced to discuss students in general and frequently negative terms. There was a means of sharing frustrations involving students with no means of resolving frustrations shared, hence the perpetuation of skepticism.

To some extent, this skepticism may have supported a curriculum-centered teaching style. It might be easier, for example, to conduct a curriculum-centered instructional program when the norms that shape classroom life (i.e., the on-guard teacher posture) limit the social and affective aspects of teacher-student relations. At the same time, though, while those norms might enhance the process of curriculum dissemination, they might also reduce teaching to a repetitive business void of some of its more endearing human rewards (Lortie, 1973). Mrs. Cassidy seemed to believe this was so. When asked what made teaching worthwhile, she identified her relationships with students as the paramount reward. The record reads:

Well, I mean this Stephany out in the hall. Stephany . . . that I had last year. Out in the hall, she says, "Hi, Mrs. Cassidy," and I say, "Hi, Stephany." And she says, "You're still my favorite teacher," and I say, "You're still my favorite Stephany!" I mean it's just those people . . . kinds of things. I saw one out in the mall this spring who came up to me . . . this big boy, and grabbed me and started hugging me and I thought, Ah, wait a minute. I

didn't recognize him at all. . . . This kid was now in the 11th grade. You know I had him in the 7th grade. I really didn't remember him at all, but he said he would come over and see me. He hasn't come, but it was kind of neat to see him. It made me feel all right that he was glad to see me. . . . After, I came back home and looked up his name and remembered some stuff about him. That kind of thing makes me feel like it's all worth it. I just wish there was more of that in teaching. (Cassidy 5/21, 54-56)

This enthusiasm did not seem to color her more general attitudes about her teaching. When asked how she felt about her work, Mrs. Cassidy said:

Oh well. I don't know. Most of the days I don't ever, well maybe Monday mornings . . . or if I'm especially tired or something like that or just don't feel good, but most times I don't dread it . . . or if there's maybe something particularly exciting, but most days are just you know. (Cassidy 7/23, 67)

Similarly, Mrs. Reed responded:

I think I kind of do look forward to each class as it comes in. I don't look forward to anyone in particular, because I try to change my pace . . . so I won't get bored. I try not to bore myself. Sometimes I do but after six classes of the same, I get bored. (Reed 5/22, 8-9)

Perhaps this was an inevitable result of the dissonance between the professional goals and beliefs of Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed and the goals and norms of the school in which they worked, or perhaps it existed because they were unwilling or unable to achieve congruence.

Summary

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed seemed to have evolved perspectives and practices that fit at Hidden Brook. Though Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed viewed themselves a child-centered teachers, they seemed bound to a curriculum-centered style of teaching. They seemed to have sublimated

long term goals such as fostering student social development or encouraging life long learning skills for the short term goals of curriculum coverage and academic achievement as measured by tests. Though they expressed caring and concern for the students they taught, they seemed to find it difficult to tailor instruction to students. The interpretive aspect of teaching seemed to involve planning from the curriculum to the student rather than from the student, through the curriculum to the instruction. This approach, coupled with an on-guard posture in relating to students, produced a teaching style and orientation which emphasized the efficient dissemination of the academic curriculum in a safe and orderly environment.

Teaching at Long Meadow

Introduction

Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters worked in a middle school with an organization, administration, and curriculum that seemed to elicit and nurture a child-centered approach to teaching based on three assumptions: students are active, developing individuals with intellectual, social, and emotional needs they bring to the classroom, middle school students are developmentally unique and require special help in the social and emotional areas; teachers and schools have a responsibility to prepare students for life as well as for future schooling. As members of a teaching team that shared a three-year responsibility for the instruction of a common group of students, as advisors assigned the role and responsibility of overseeing the affective needs and development of a

group of their students, and as academic instructors in specific subject areas, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters approached teaching with a concern for interpersonal affiliation and a commitment to the socialization as well as instruction of the students they taught. To them teaching was as much the work of shaping student attitudes towards self and school, facilitating an enthusiasm for learning, and promoting responsible social attitudes and behaviors as it was the work of teaching the academic curriculum.

Their professional perspectives and practices formed a fairly coherent pattern or style of teaching which appeared to be related to the character of life at Long Meadow Middle School. What characterized that style and how was it related to the contextual character of the school?

"We're Teaching Kids"

Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters had a vision of what they hoped to achieve in teaching. It was a vision characterized by a faith in almost universal student academic progress and inspired by a commitment to teach children as total human beings with social, emotional, and intellectual needs. For Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters, teaching was both a moral and technical enterprise: a job designed to provide students with the qualities essential to full and productive human life, as well as the knowledge and skills of the academic subjects. In essence, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters embraced a dual role perception and saw themselves as agents of both social development and academic achievement.

Mr. Waters described his vision of teaching, his aspirations, and his commitment to a broad teaching role this way:

I think teaching is an inspired profession, I really do. . . . I feel like teaching is a gift and a unique opportunity to help other individuals. You know, it's a great contribution that we can make to our fellow human beings and to our society. . . . We're developing . . . not only their intellect but their total being . . . we're entrusted with their development and that's a great responsibility and yet a great opportunity and I consider my position [as teacher] an exalted one. And when you think about teaching for the total development of the child . . . we're talking about self-concept, . . . moral development, values, and how he relates to other people and is he going to be a contributing member of society, we're talking about a lot more things than just his [student's] mind. (Waters 7/17, 9-10; 30)

Similarly, Ms. Lane explained her felt responsibility as a teacher.

She said:

Our job is to educate the kids, and we care about subject matter very much, but the most important thing is that we're teaching kids! Like for example, our academic classes might be well, they are shorter than I would like for them to be, but the only way we could get for them to be longer would be to take out our Advisor-Advisee [A.A.] time and nobody wants to do that. Everybody sees the importance of having A.A. because it's our time to help kids, and to know them well enough to do so. (Lane 5/7, 4-5)

Listing some of the specific goals and intentions, which implied her perceived responsibility as a socialization agent, she said:

I think before you can teach them anything you have to teach them how to live . . . if they don't know how yet, and unfortunately, a lot of them don't. And you have to teach them to take responsibility, to teach them how to continue learning after they leave me at school. . . . And I think it's very important to teach them how to get along with each other not just in the school setting, but in other settings too. . . . You can't teach kids how to read or do math or anything else if they don't know how to live. (Lane 5/7, 1)

For Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters, teaching subject matter was just one of the many tasks included in the more global and important work of "teaching kids." Being a teacher involved enacting a many-sided role with attention to the needs of students as persons and as learners. Consequently,

student social growth was as important a goal as student academic learning.

This central commitment to teaching the whole child, to addressing multiple and varied aspects of student growth and development was manifested in their assumptions about teaching and learning. Both teachers were convinced that effective academic instruction was rooted in adequate attention to the social and emotional welfare of students.

Ms. Lane explained:

I would say that on this team and probably across the school, we have to make sure that the kids are happy first because otherwise they aren't going to learn anything anyway, and we've come to recognize that. So we do something about it. (Lane 5/7, 41)

In a similar vein, Mr. Waters considered self-concept development to be both a socialization and an academic goal. He explained:

My goal as a teacher is to produce positive self-concepts in my students. . . . Self-concept, for example, is extremely important to an adolescent because they go through a lot . . . at this age it is easy to picture yourself as the ugly duckling . . . so we help students realize that there are good things about him. And having a positive self-image is extremely important. You can't work on an academic level if you're frustrated with yourself and what's happening in your life. (Waters 3/31, 3-4)

How did Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters weave together in practice their responsibility to teach their subject matter curriculum with their concern for total student development? Their instructional programs were designed in ways that acknowledged students as developing persons as well as learners. For both teachers, teaching and learning were regarded as interactive processes subject to human sentiment.

Ms. Lane worked to create an instructional program based on affect, affiliation, and individual progress. The decoration of her classroom was a first clue to her style of teaching:

Ms. Lane's classroom is brightly colored. One whole wall of the classroom is windows and Ms. Lane has made and hung green and white checked curtains. Plants are dispersed throughout the classroom. On one corner, pillows are stacked beneath a sign that reads "Reading Corner." Magazines, comic books, and paperback books are shelved in a bookcase nearby. Colorful posters and bulletins cover wall space. Ms. Lane has made signs. One sign reads, "You can do it if you try!" Another has the first two stanzas of Langston Hughes' poem, "Hold Fast to Dreams." On the outside of Ms. Lane's door is a display. It reads, "Ms. Lane's Lightening Bolts." Underneath are about twenty-five paper cut-out bolts with a student's name written on each. Ms. Lane told me these are the names of her Advisor-Advisee students. She said, "It makes them feel at home." The blackboards are covered with written assignments for different reading groups. The tables are arranged in three seating sections. Ms. Lane has the textbooks and workbooks shelved in sections of a long bookcase. (Lane 8/25, 2)

When I asked about the decoration and care of her room, Ms. Lane explained:

I think the way a room looks and is organized really matters. I've got to have my tables arranged so that I can teach two or three groups in one class. I'm also trying to make this a place we can enjoy being. I care about the kids and the curtains, the signs and the names on the door are my way of saying so. (Lane 8/25, 5)

Ms. Lane's caring for students as persons was reflected in her instructional practices as well. She believed her responsibilities as a teacher included attending to student affect such as stimulating drive and interest, shaping productive work habits, and inspiring progress. As a result, she planned instructional experiences designed to make school enjoyable for students. When asked what she would do with extra funds if they were provided, she said:

I know this probably sounds strange coming from a reading teacher but I wouldn't buy that much more for my classroom if we had extra money. I'd spend the money to take the kids on more field trips. (Lane 5/7, 41)

For Ms. Lane, field trips were useful in mobilizing positive student attitudes and in cultivating positive student-teacher relationships.

Reviewing the plans made for her students, she said:

We [she and the other team teachers] like to have fun with the kids. . . . So we have two field trips that are coming up . . . the one field trip they're going to go and spend the night at Camp Cressida, and we're taking about one hundred kids with us. . . . And so that trip is going to be a lot of fun and there is going to be learning there too. . . . We're also going to have a talent show. We're going to cook together. You know, they're [the students] going to cook. We're going to have a scavenger hunt, . . . the teachers and the kids there together. And it's pretty easy for us, I've noticed, to stop being teachers. You are able to drop your wall and just be yourself with the kids but part of it comes from so much contact with them. We're able to stop worrying about being their teacher: telling them to get in line, do that and that. . . . If the kids know how to behave, you just have to go and have fun with them. And we have another field trip that we do every year as a reward for the kids who get a high grade point average. . . . And they get to pick where they want to go on that trip. And we [the teachers] take them in our cars. Last year we went to Disney World. That was one of the most fun times I ever had. We sang the whole way there. You know, it made kids and their teachers ready to come back here and work. They like school when they can enjoy times with their teachers outside the classroom. (Lane 5/7, 20-23)

In addition to her felt responsibility to make school fun, Ms. Lane believed it was her job to make learning happen for all of her students regardless of their various backgrounds or abilities. As she said:

You can't let problems be an excuse for why kids don't learn but you still have to take the other problems and extraneous things into account or you can't teach them. And there's a difference between using those things as an excuse, and saying "This kid can never learn, because look at his homelife," and I totally disagree with. But I still think you [the teacher] need to look at those things and work on those things before you teach kids. (Lane 5/7, 2-3)

So Ms. Lane designed instructional practices to assist and support students and to insure their progress. She described the varying needs of the students she taught, and the varying roles she tried to assume accordingly:

I have some kids who don't come from a supportive environment, so whenever they get to school, before they can learn anything, they've got to have the supportive environment established at school, because nobody at home is telling them it's important for them to learn this or that or the other thing. So I have to first of all convince them that it's important [learning], and make them trust me enough so that they would want to learn whatever it is that I have to teach them. And so besides teaching those kids reading, I also have to teach them values about learning but you also have to teach them life values, because they don't know . . . that there's a way to live where you take responsibility for your life and you can really do things about your life and they have to be shown that . . . they can control their own lives. So then you have to teach them that learning is important, you have to teach them that they can control their own lives and you also have to teach them whatever it is that you're supposed to be teaching them. (Lane 5/7, 7-8)

Based on this orientation, Ms. Lane employed a number of practices designed to help students socially and academically. She described one procedure she used:

I send home a weekly progress report on every kid that I teach. And I do that because I want them to do well. I know they like class better and they learn more if they are making good grades. Grades, I don't think really have anything to do that much with what you learn except for the fact that you want to learn more if you're making better grades. So I want them to make good grades. And that's really how I help them make better grades. (Lane 3/31, 6)

Ms. Lane also conducted instruction in ways that attended to differences in student abilities. In order to accommodate her less capable students, for example, she would repeat lessons. The record reads:

Ms. Lane is talking to a group of twenty students who are seated in a separate area of the classroom. Ms. Lane returns graded test papers to this group and says after she's

finished, "I want to go over the questions with you. I want you to see where you went wrong. I want you to understand this cause and effect concept that the test covered. We'll just go over and over it until everybody understands it."
(Lane 10/29, 1-2)

Likewise, Ms. Lane tried to keep up with individual student needs and progress. Individual assignments were frequently seen written on the blackboards. For example:

On the blackboard near one reading area, I see written, "Mod 1 Studybook, except Rich and Tim--finish your mastery tests."
(Lane 5/29, 1)

Moreover, in any single class her students worked on varying tasks with different materials. During any one class period, it was common to observe three distinct instructional activities occurring simultaneously.

The record reads:

The students are seated in clusters or groups. It appears that there are two groups in this class. One group of students is reading a play. Another group is taking some tests. In a short while Ms. Lane says, "How many of you have finished all of your tests?" Several students raise their hands and then Ms. Lane says, "Let's see, I want all of you who have finished to sit over here" and the students who are done move to different chairs. (Lane 5/29, 2)

When asked about her efforts to match student needs with appropriate instructional methods and materials, she said:

We have to give students work they can do. If we don't, how can we expect them to be successful at school? (Lane 3/31, 14)

Mr. Waters' instructional program also reflected a concern for student affect, affiliation, and individual progress. For Ms. Lane, the work of teaching involved paying attention to student attitudes towards learning, student emotional needs, and varied student abilities. He was continually shaping his practices according to perceived student needs in those areas.

Mr. Waters believed he was responsible for generating student interest. Moreover, generating and maintaining student interest ranked as a higher priority than meeting district or county deadlines. He discussed his orientation:

To me education should be exciting and stimulating and you know, you don't always have to analyze what you're doing in the classroom by saying "Kids, do you like this?" but if you see a lot of dull eyes looking at you and a lot of bored expressions then you haven't caught their imagination and that's what you've got to do as a teacher. . . . I never write my lesson plans on a daily basis. I write them on a unit basis and then break it down into what I anticipate is the time level. And it's because I believe in what everybody calls the teachable moment and it means if you hold to your schedule, you're stuck and . . . some kids love something you did and they want to do it again, or sometimes I get an inspiration and the kids are interested so my examples run on and on and, therefore, it throws a schedule out of whack. I don't feel under any pressure . . . if they [district] tell me I have to teach the year 1812 by the end of the year, I could care less. (Waters 7/17, 4; 44-45)

He deliberately varied the nature of his instruction to stimulate student interest. The record reads:

Mr. Waters begins the class period saying, "Today we will be working in pairs. It's the responsibility of each of you in a pair to teach your partner and prepare him or her for the quiz." The students seem to have selected pairs at some other time because they almost immediately start to work. He continues, "Today's material is tougher than the material you covered on Friday. So you'll need to give each other more complete explanations." The students read quietly for about fifteen minutes and then students begin their peer teaching. There is a lot of talking. I notice that four students leave at this point and Mr. Waters tells me, "These students are off to the library for some more advanced independent work." As students finish their peer teaching, they go to a table at the front of the room and ask for the quiz. One pair approaches Mr. Waters and a student says, "Me and Chris need our tests." Mr. Waters says, "Ok" and goes over to the table where small sheets of paper are stacked. These are the quizzes. Mr. Waters continually walks around the classroom. After about ten additional minutes, Mr. Waters has distributed and collected all the quiz papers. He said, "Tomorrow we're going to be doing something different, I think you'll really enjoy." (Waters 4/6, 17)

When asked about his use of peer teaching he said:

Working in pairs alleviates boredom. It helps to motivate and they get to choose their own partner; they like that. (Waters 4/6, 6)

Later, he described his instructional methodology this way:

I try to use novel approaches to communicate the material, not just traditional methods; more hands-on, more individualized with respect to differences in students. (Waters 5/27, 53)

According to Mr. Waters, motivating students often involved more than varying the instructional methods he used. He believed that his effectiveness with some students was dependent upon the establishment of a positive interpersonal relationship and his continuous provision of supportive experiences and opportunities. Describing how this approach worked with one student, Mr. Waters said:

With children who don't seem to be motivated by what I teach and even with those that do, the first thing I try to do is win the child over. Like with one student, I had to throw out school stuff [as a tool] . . . because it wasn't going to be important to him just because I said it was. So what I had to do was get him to work for other reasons. There was not the love of learning there that's going to inspire him to do what I wanted him to do. I had to find other ways--what I call Chips in the Bank. In other words, I wanted to have something that I could have him work for that was of value to him. I try to give him special responsibilities . . . some special task, say like, why don't you run to the library or would you mind taking this to the office or anything to build up a rapport with the student. Then I would come back and say, "It's very important to me that you try. You don't have to do it all or get it all right, but I want you to try!" I'd like for you to do it for me, is basically what I'm saying. Then, I'd try to structure activities where he could succeed. Usually, kids who don't do anything are frustrated because of failure. Second, they have so many personal problems in their life, that you can maybe help by building up a rapport and making them feel secure with you and then you can begin to work with him. (Waters 7/17, 41-42)

Mr. Waters approached his work with determination. Like Ms. Lane, he worked to make learning happen. This often not only involved attention

to motivation but a recognition of the role of student feelings in the learning process. Mr. Waters did not hesitate to postpone a student's instruction if attention to a child's emotional welfare was needed. During one class when a student was a victim of a practical joke performed by a peer, Mr. Waters became a helper and comforter rather than instructor. The record reads:

A student, Scott, had his chair pulled away from him so that when he fell, he hit his lip on the edge of the table. When this happened, Mr. Waters immediately covered his lip with towels and sent him to the clinic. I volunteered to go along. When we returned, Mr. Waters said, "It's the next class period, but you still seem very upset. Why don't you go outside and relax and get yourself together." Scott nods yes and proceeds to leave the room to find a spot outdoors to sit. (Waters 4/6, 9)

Mr. Waters' instructional program also reflected high expectations for student achievement. Like Ms. Lane, Mr. Waters' aspirations for students were not determined by his perceptions of a student's background or ability. Rather than viewing those qualities as determinants of learning potential, he viewed background and ability as data to be used in planning for an appropriate instructional program. Mr. Waters seemed confident that all students could succeed with the opportunity and necessary support. He explained his philosophy this way:

You've got to start where the student is at and go from there. . . . Unless you allow for individual differences in a classroom you've defeated yourself. . . . I was told once to imagine when the kids come to your class they've come with a bucket and each one has the bucket filled so far, so you can only add so much to the bucket. You can't fill all the buckets to the brim, so you just content yourself with filling it to whatever level you can reach that year. And if you look at it that way then you don't consider the kid whose bucket is only half filled at the end of the year to be a failure. (Waters 7/17, 7)

When asked how he instituted this philosophy, he said:

I would like for every child to make an A. And it's set up so that everyone could make an A. . . . The only students who fail are those who generally have not worked up to anywhere near their potential; who have just been lazy trying even with my help and attention. . . . But, I set it up so that students can redo assignments, can have more time to work, can hear a lecture or lesson repeated. It doesn't come out perfectly but I believe in having my teaching in line with the kids first and our curriculum second. (Waters 5/27, 35-39)

Since Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters were committed to facilitating social as well as academic student growth, it's not surprising that they saw classroom discipline as a vehicle for teaching students social skills and attitudes. Ms. Lane explained how a field trip, used to reward good behavior, would be essentially a tool to teach students the value of self-discipline:

We have got kids who are working specifically towards the overnight field trip [reward for students with satisfactory conduct grades]. They know that they have to control their behavior so that they can get to go on this field trip and that's exactly what school is all about. You know, learning how to manage yourself so that you can get where you want to be in life. That's the thing we have been trying to emphasize the whole year. It is not that we owe them something as a way of telling them, "Thank you for being good," but to show them that you get certain things by learning how to control yourself. Taking responsibility for yourself; nice things happen to you if you can learn to do that. (Lane 3/31, 11)

In addition, Ms. Lane viewed student infractions in class as evidence that students were not yet adequately schooled in the virtues of responsible behavior. As a result, in discipline situations, her objective was not merely to stop the distracting infraction, but to teach students the appropriate behavior. Very often, an average of two times per week, Ms. Lane was observed talking to a student in the hallway just outside her classroom. These conversations were not recorded; however, when asked about this practice, Ms. Lane said:

I feel like some days I spend my whole period out in the hall talking to a kid [about his work, his behavior, or his attitudes]. That's because at that moment, that needs to be done. I consider that part of my work. You can always come back and learn subject matter tomorrow. (Lane 3/31, 5-6)

Later she elaborated further:

It doesn't do any good just to yell at the kids. . . . There is a lot of counselling going on in this team. We take the kids outside [in the hall] and we talk to them about their behavior. (Lane 5/7, 19)

Like Ms. Lane, Mr. Waters considered himself to be a socialization agent with regard to student discipline. During one class incident when two students were engaged in a disruptive struggle, Mr. Waters acted as a counselor attempting to guide students into reflection about their behavior. The record reads:

At 1:35 p.m., most of the 30 students present are writing quietly. Mr. Waters roams around the room, leaning over the students' shoulders to observe their work. Suddenly, two boys are engaged in a tug of war with a book. Just before Mr. Waters approaches the scene, a chair falls over. Mr. Waters says, "Boys, you know it really upsets me when you behave like this. What were you doing? Let's have a talk outside." (Waters 5/7, 12)

Though his moral-laden lecture was only partially overheard, it was clear from a few remarks that Mr. Waters had every intention of precipitating a change in his students' attitudes and behaviors. He said:

You know guys, we've had this talk before, but I'm not giving up . . . it's just as important to me that you learn how to behave as it is that you do social studies. . . . I know you understand how unfair it is for you to disrupt us all and we're gonna have to make some sort of plan to work this out. (Waters 5/7, 13)

When asked about this method of managing student behavior, Mr. Waters said:

I bet you I send less than a dozen kids to the Dean in a year. You see, it's a last resort. We counsel students an awful lot instead. We take them into the hall and talk to them. That's a big part of what we do--counseling.
(Waters 5/27, 43)

How did Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters develop this broad, child-centered teaching orientation? Why did they view themselves as agents of student social development? The school context seemed to play an important role in the development and maintenance of this perspective. The school program, backed by administrator values and practices, complimented by school norms, seemed to result in opportunities, experiences, and supports which encouraged this dual-role perception and a holistic, long-term perspective on student growth.

Perhaps one reason why Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters actively and openly pursued affective teaching goals was because they believed those goals were sanctioned by the principal and shared by other members of the staff. In effect, they acknowledged a supportive school ethos. Mr. Waters described Long Meadow as a school where the "stress was on the total development of the child." He elaborated:

I think if you taught in a high school or let's say in a junior high school as opposed to a middle school like ours, where the stress isn't on the total development of the child, you'd see yourself as instilling a certain amount of intellectual knowledge, but that's all. Now if you only perceived your role that way, it doesn't give you a full feeling.
(Waster 7/17, 30)

Ms. Lane believed that the norms at Long Meadow sanctioned her teaching focus and thus made it not only easier but more satisfying to maintain.

She said:

One of the most important things at this school is making sure that the kids are happy and comfortable here and that they feel safe. And whenever that's a really important thing at

the school, you feel better about trying to make it happen. You don't feel like you're short-changing the kids. I think there are other schools where the subject matter or whatever you're supposed to teach as far as content goes, overrides other concerns, and so you focus on that. (Lane 5/7, 20-22)

Were their perceptions of Long Meadow accurate? Confirming Ms.

Lane's and Mr. Waters' perceptions of the school's character and mission, one teacher informant said:

I think this is a real humanistic school and that wanting kids to grow in responsibility-taking and life success is a real humanistic thing to want to happen and here we do. I think teachers here are interested in having an impact. (Informant 5/5, 8)

The principal more than agreed. He advocated an affectively laden program. Identifying a unifying goal for Long Meadow, he said:

There is a teaching goal in this school here, that we teach the whole child. I think that's important! Affect as well as cognition. . . . Teaching here involves influencing a child with your own behavior in a positive way towards being a good citizen and your avenue here is the tools of the curriculum. . . . Our curriculum is . . . all of the seven cardinal principles with a heavy emphasis on attitudes and values for the middle level youngster. (Principal 7/22, 25-26)

In addition, his hiring priorities reflected this same orientation emphasizing teacher-student rapport and attention to affect. He described the teacher qualities he deemed most desirable:

Modeling behavior. First of all, I look for a person who . . . I would want kids to emulate. . . . Also, the major thing will be communication skills. Because I don't think, I think if you have excellent communication skills a lot of other things are possible. Without good communication skills, other things fall apart. Once you get communication skills which build rapport and interaction with children, then how do you manage a classroom? Are you efficient in planning, are you thorough, do you have materials available and are you easily accessible to kids? So there's communication skills and then management. I put it in that order because I think a person could be an excellent manager, but if they can't talk to kids, it's not going to do any good. And the bottom line is a person who really cares about kids. (Principal 5/15, 16)

Perhaps more important than these supportive norms are eliciting experiences. It seemed that Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters viewed themselves as agents of student development at least in part because the school program had an established time and designated teacher role for that purpose. The assistant principal described the school's affective education program and noted the teacher's role as well. She said:

The first thing that would happen to a student when he comes into the building in the morning is to report to his homeroom, homebase, A.A. [Advisor-Advisee]. . . . It's his home away from home. . . . Immediately after the tardy bell rings then the principal comes on the intercom and gives everybody a little pep talk. . . . Then the A.A. teacher is responsible for an activity. . . . We have a couple of days that are devoted to silent reading to try to emphasize to the children that it is important for them to read. Then the other three days . . . the teacher is responsible. . . . She may plan a values clarification activity, a career education . . . idea. . . . It could be a lesson, and particularly at the beginning of the year, getting to know one another within your classroom. We want to build a sense of identity in our A.A. and so we do things to get them to mingle with one another and learn about each other. An A.A. teacher might plan a special activity for her kids to go outside and do something or to have a Chinese snack because there are Chinese kids in there or they might have a birthday cake to celebrate. Those things are legitimate so it doesn't have to be a curriculum need; it can be a personal or emotional need that they're working on with those kids. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 4-6)

The principal valued, supported, and worked to sustain this program. He communicated the expectation that staff members take their advisor role seriously. During one faculty meeting he said:

We need to assess what we are doing in A.A., Advisory group is important to me. You know that. We wouldn't have it if it wasn't important. We have a big obligation at this age to teach things like citizenship. The students here have good attitudes towards school and A.A. is part of the good attitudes we are able to produce. (Principal 2/2, 7)

In the context of the Advisor-Advisee program, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters seemed to have been exposed to facets of student growth and

development not necessarily visible in the academic classroom. Ms. Lane believed that serving as an advisor made her more aware of student emotional and personal problems. She explained:

As advisors, we see . . . certain areas that we see a lot of kids having trouble with. We try to focus some of our advisor-advisee activities around those kind of specific problems that they're having. . . . We see our role as dealing with whatever problems there are . . . and we've got plenty of them right here. . . . Sometimes I have got four kids standing in front of my desk in A.A. time telling me they need to talk to me in private about something. . . . And so I see my role as an advisor to just be here to fill their needs whatever they are. . . . And it changes your whole relationship with the kids. I don't know how to put it but it puts teaching on a more personal basis. You know things about the kids, and so you feel the need to help them.
(Lane 3/31, 8-10)

While she was only an advisor to about twenty-five of the one hundred and sixty or so students she taught, she seemed to transfer this helping role into her instructional practices. She described one practice she generated as an advisor that was carried over into her academic classes with other students. The record reads:

For example, one thing I discovered in A.A. with some of the kids that were making poor grades is that they were just not doing their work. They weren't keeping themselves organized. They didn't even know what they were supposed to. So I made up this little contract system. Anybody who had a D on their report card for that six weeks, I put them on this contract. And they have to write down their homework in every class and then they have to get the teacher to initial it to show that they've really written it out accurately. They've gotta write . . . what they're supposed to do. Then, they do it. If they don't do it, then I make them have lunch detention [chuckles]. They don't get to go outside for recess at lunch. Instead, they stay in here [classroom] and work with me. I've used this now with lots of my kids. (Lane 3/31, 8)

Mr. Waters acknowledged the Advisor-Advisee time as his opportunity to build relationships with students. He frequently relied on the time as an opportunity to attend to the personal lives of students. An

observation of one of Mr. Waters' Advisor-Advisee classes demonstrates Mr. Waters' concern for the personal aspects of his students' lives.

The record reads:

On the second day of school, Mr. Waters distributes a worksheet to his A.A. students. He says, "To start out, I'd like to give you an inventory which will give me information about you. Your favorite class, subject, your hobby, and so on." He continues, "I'll be calling a few of you up to talk with me while the rest fill out these inventories." . . . In about ten minutes, Mr. Waters says, "After you've finished look around the room to see if you know everybody's name. . . . I'll call on Tonya to name everyone in here." Tonya does this. (Waters 8/26, 1-4)

Mr. Waters tried to use the scheduled Advisor-Advisee time to know his students better. He also viewed the time as his chance to address broad socialization goals. He described the program like this:

You know, I really feel that if you're going to have any really affective development of the child, on the emotional level, . . . you have to have a program that is laid out very clearly and then is encouraged. That's basically what Advisor-Advisee is all about. It sets the format where certain types of activities are set up so you can work with student values; help them clarify their values. And it works with self-concept, which is extremely important to an adolescent. . . . It's hard to work on an academic level when you're frustrated with yourself. So A.A. helps us work with that. (Waters 3/31, 3)

The Advisor-Advisee program is the first of many layers of school life which seemed to have nurtured or fostered Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' commitment to address a broad range of educational goals. It appears that an additional layer of explanation could be uncovered in the grouping of students. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters taught the same students for three consecutive years. They referred to this as multiage grouping. Their perceptions are the only data, yet the suggestion is that teaching students for three years made it possible for them to acknowledge long-

term student growth and to become involved in the personal lives of their students. Mr. Waters offered his own assessment of multiage grouping:

Multiage grouping gives me a student for three years. I really get to know him, can really help him, really influence his life. You know, when you're passing through for just a year, you don't get the same opportunities. (Waters 5/22, 22)

He believed the three year commitment made it possible to have an impact on students as persons. He also believed that the continuous, long-term involvement encouraged a perserverance with less capable students. He explained:

It takes a long time to find out what really makes some students click, and what is really going to be a successful technique in working with them. A lot of times that takes you half of the year; maybe longer. I think we run into problems in most schools with students that seem to frustrate you on every hand, to write him off. If you get through six months . . . you say, "Well, all I have is four to go." You let it go; you just let it slide for the rest of the year. You can't do that here, because you know you've got them two and a half years. (Waters 3/31, 1)

Ms. Lane's sentiments echoed those of Mr. Waters. She believed that working with students for three years sustained her enthusiasm for teaching, yielded satisfaction, and enabled her to relax and experiment in instruction. She described how her extended involvement with one student worked:

Did I tell you about Lee? Lee Thompson. Lee was a student who was at Long Meadow for four years because he was retained. And he was required by D team's teachers to take one exploratory class and a remediation class for math. Well, Lee wanted to take a double-mod of Voag [two periods of vocational agriculture] and no remediation and he complained to me. And I told him, "Lee you're going to get a high school diploma if it kills me." He gave a big grin whenever I said that. Later we talked and he said he'd be the first one in his family ever to graduate from high school. I know he will and I know I did

it. He came to this school in the sixth grade and I've had him for three and a half years. He was a receptive kid. He came to me and told me things that I didn't ask, but he wanted somebody to give him advice, to tell him what to do and I did. I didn't give up and for three and a half years I hounded him. Sometimes it takes that long. (Lane 4/15, 7; 5/7, 45)

When Ms. Lane was asked what was most satisfying about her work or why she had stayed in her current job, she said:

I like the fact that here, I get to know the kids and the teachers so well. It's been impossible for me to leave [take a leave of absence] because every year I have to stay for the kids that would still be there. . . . Like if I get a kid in the sixth grade, then I think I want to stay for two more years until I get through and they're ready for . . . high school. And that is really what has kept me here so long. (Lane 5/7, 4-25)

Finally, she explained how she believed the three year relationship with students had affected her instructional program:

In the past five years here, because I've known the kids better and having had them for three years, you do, I've been willing to try off the wall things. . . . To me that's [multiage grouping] the single most important thing at this school, because what we've accomplished through multiage grouping is that you get to have the same kids for the whole time they are at school. You don't have to spend the first two months of the year getting to know one hundred and sixty new kids because three fourths of them you already know. (Lane 5/7, 4-6)

Perhaps the fact that Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters had an extended relationship with students contributed to their focus on long-term teaching goals. Over a three year period it might be possible to witness student social and emotional, as well as academic, growth. It is certainly possible, too, that the three year relationship encouraged the development of more intimate teacher-student relationships. It appeared that Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters not only looked to establish positive relations with their students, but succeeded as well. As

evidence, the last day of school was full of intimate exchanges and affectionate farewells. The record reads:

I observed that many small gifts were strewn across Ms. Lane's desk. Ms. Lane said to me, "Oh look," and she holds up a wooden heart and it says in carving, "Best Wishes Ms. Lane! Andre, Lester and Casey." She says, "This is a going away present from three of my students" [Ms. Lane is taking a leave of absence to pursue a graduate degree]. She says, "I also got a letter from my former high school student who is saying "goodbye." There is a bouquet of flowers on her desk. She explains, "These are from my D Team students. The class is a brief [thirty minutes] class since this is the last day of school. She begins the class saying, "I'd like for you to evaluate your reading class and this has no relationship to your reading grade." She continues to pass out papers and says, "I'll be giving out grades while you're doing the evaluation." Students are writing quietly. Ms. Lane walks around from student to student giving each one their final grade. Then a student walks in and gives Ms. Lane a plant. She says, "Oh it's beautiful! Thank you." Then, she collects the evaluations. I look through the stack and find personal notes written on almost every paper. Examples like, "Good Bye Ms. Lane," "We'll miss you Ms. Lane," "You're the best teacher I ever had, Ms. Lane." Then Ms. Lane says, "All right everyone, two books over the summer months." Then she says, "All right it's time to go." Immediately three girls hug Ms. Lane and many crowd around waiting a turn. Ms. Lane says, "Okay, line up" [with a chuckle] and the students form a line to hug Ms. Lane goodbye. A few girls are crying and Ms. Lane's eyes are watery. Ms. Lane says, "Now come on no crying, no tears." The crying students hold on to Ms. Lane even while others proceed to hug her goodbye. (Lane 6/5, 1-2)

Other aspects of school life seemed to encourage teacher involvement in the lives of students as persons. In addition to serving as student advisors, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters had numerous opportunities to be involved with students in noninstructional ways. One opportunity was built into the daily schedule. Ms. Lane explained this time:

We have this one period of time everyday that's about twenty minutes or so after [the students] come back in from lunch, and it's like study hall time and that's the time, you know, different from just teaching. That's when the kids can come up and get extra help from you or lots of times . . . you in

this time can be different with the kids. They can see you in a different light. . . . And somehow, I'm not sure how but they do understand that there is a difference between you in the classroom as the teacher, and you walking down the hall, eating lunch or something like that. And they can be different too. They can joke with you, . . . they come up and show you magic tricks and everything that they wouldn't try to do . . . in class. And I think that what it is is that you have to make kids see that learning is important to you but there are other things that are important too. . . . That who they are apart from students matters too. . . . And it just seems like the kids find somebody on the team who they can talk to and for different kids, it's a different teacher, and whenever they need to talk to a teacher about something, it doesn't have to be about schoolwork, they do. (Lane 5/7, 18-19)

The majority of opportunities seemed to have evolved as a function of the organization of teachers and students in groups called teams. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters were members of a teaching team comprised of about 166 students and seven teachers. The team of teachers often planned and executed whole team activities which made possible the noninstructional interaction of teachers and students. Describing how one of the team's field trips altered his relationship with students, Mr. Waters said:

My family went with me and they [students] saw that I was a father and a husband and that I was a person they could talk to and you know . . . we went fishing together, and those things were important to me. There's certain things I want to be able to teach and I wouldn't be able to reach those students in a special way if I'm just a teacher all the time. (Waters 5/20, 7)

During one lunch conversation with her team, Ms. Lane recounted their team events and noted their plans:

We are really loose this year and we've done some crazy things. I've been thinking about all the neat things we've done. We've really had fun. We've had the election debate. Let's see, what else? Then we had the drug awareness unit. Mr. Waters interjects, "Yah, the drug unit." She continues, Tornado unit. Then we still have our 3.4 field trip coming up. [3.4 grade average students will select a trip.] We'll have our team awards assemblies and A.A. parties too. (Lane 4/29, 6)

In addition to the noninstructional interaction these events made possible, they represented, by their character, the team's concern for the affective side of teaching. One example of this in action was seen in the planning process for the team's awards assembly. What kind of student qualities were recognized? The record reads:

The team's seven teachers are seated around the tables in the planning room. The team's social studies and science teacher, Mr. Waters, the reading teacher and team leader, Ms. Lane, the math teacher, Ms. Post, the Language Arts teacher, Ms. Berkley, are all present. The team meeting begins when Ms. Lane opens saying, "Let's talk about our plans for the awards assembly, June 3rd. Who could lead the pledge of allegiance?" One team member suggests, "How about Tom Wells?" Mr. Waters interjects, "No, his religious belief won't let him salute the flag." Another teacher adds, "Oh, that's right, he's a Jehovah's Witness," "I think so," Mr. Waters responds. Ms. Lane says, "How about Trudy?" A chorus responds, "Yah." Then Ms. Lane says, "Judy has made some special award forms for our D team Hall of Fame awards." Judy stands up and gives each teacher a pile of these forms. Ms. Lane continues, "Patty will conduct a slide show which is a photographic collage of the entire school year and she is going to do this at the assembly. Now, we have to decide on awards and the D Team Hall of Fame awards. So let's get our report cards and see what we've got." The teachers begin looking through their cards. Ms. Lane says, "Most improved. That's always my biggest award! Shall I begin to pass around the sheet? D Team Hall of Fame. How do you want to do this? You want to call out names and then discuss each one?" The teacher, Wendy, says, "Last year we gave too many of them and it didn't mean as much." Ms. Lane says, "Oh really? I didn't feel that way. You all are going to have to say something." . . . Then Patty says, "Okay, we're ready now. Ms. Lane [Fran] says, "Well, I'll go ahead cause I've got a list I've already made. I have a list of names a mile long." So she begins to read off names for the D Team Hall of Fame awards. She says, "Tony Pierce." The teacher Ann responds, "He tries very hard to help teachers and people on the team." Several others nod affirmatively. Ms. Lane checks his name. Then she says, "John Hamilton. He's such a role model and a help to his teachers." Patty adds, "Yes, but maybe next year because he is just a sixth grader." Ms. Lane, "You're right." One teacher reminds the group, "We've got three minutes." Ms. Lane says, "I know, but I don't want to rush through this. How about Clair?" Patty [the physical education teacher] says, "I think she'll get an athletic

award, but she's very positive." Then Ms. Lane adds, "What about Camp Cressida?" You know the kids that really helped out a lot?" The bell rings so Ms. Lane says, "We'll finish discussing this at lunchtime." (Lane 6/2, 1-3)

The team members shared a common awareness of the social behavior of the students they taught. Since reference was made to one of the team's field trip experiences where such behavior was evidently witnessed, it's quite possible that both the events and dialogue about the events contributed to Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' perspectives.

Mr. Waters believed this was so. He explained how the team facilitated his attention to all aspects of student growth. He said:

I want to be able to teach the total person. With the team and the cooperation and views of the team members, it helps us do things with students and for students, we wouldn't otherwise be able to do. (Waters 5/22, 22)

More specifically, Ms. Lane believed that the dialogue she had with the other teachers on her team continually kept her attention focused on the welfare of the students. She said:

On my team we always get together every Tuesday morning for a formal meeting. Lunchtime is really our social time. As a matter of fact, we even have special lunches, like once a month we bring in some things and eat together. But every day, we eat lunch together and we get a lot accomplished at lunchtime talking about the kids. We don't necessarily sit there with the intention of talking about the kids, but when you've just spent four periods with them, that's what you're thinking about, so that's what we talk about. We get a lot done that way. I just feel like there's almost no time here at school when we're not talking about something that'll benefit the kids in some way. (Lane 3/31, 3)

Lunch conversations did indeed focus on students or plans for the instruction of the team's students. One excerpt from a lunch conversation is indicative:

Wendy says, "Should we invite some teachers from other teams?" Mr. Waters says, "Yeh, but I think they should come in togas." Ms. Lane says to Mr. Waters, "Oh Chad, you'll have to wear a toga. Oh, please Chad. Please Chaddy." Mr. Waters responds,

"I won't wear anything under it." Everyone laughs. Wendy returns to planning, "Next week we have the volleyball play-offs Friday." Mr. Waters says, "I wouldn't have it on Friday." Wendy, "Okay, we'll have it on Thursday, then." [They are having a Greek lunch for the students.] . . . Mr. Waters says, "The last time I did this, except it wasn't Greek, it was Roman, we ate exotic foods: peacock, flamingo. The Romans ate exotic foods. So what I did is try to make white mice meatballs. And I got marshmallows and then I brought in some sugar smacks," and Ms. Lane interjects, "Oh, and those were honey covered ants." Mr. Waters said, "Yes and we had all these things labeled and I kept them in bags and they had to take one thing out of the bag without really knowing what it was. . . . Wendy returns to planning, "what are we going to have to drink?" Ms. Lane adds, "We've got to have wine." Wendy says, "Welch's grape juice." Ms. Lane says, "Yeh and it'll be wine. And the teachers will have real wine." Everyone laughs. Wendy continues, "I'm going to have everything set up . . . so the students can just bring the food." Ms. Lane says, "We could take turns monitoring the kids." (Lane and Waters 4/29, 1-4)

Working as a member of a team with the shared dialogue and common interest in the same students may also have contributed to Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' high expectations for student success. Perhaps one reason both teachers were optimistic about their own capacity to make a difference was because they had the support and assistance of a special group of colleagues. When a student on the team was failing, it was a responsibility, shared by all of the team's teachers. Describing the team's strategy, Mr. Waters said:

We all sit down with a student who fails and say, "Now this next year we're gonna to expect this, this and this." At the beginning of that year we, as a team, remind him of what we talked about at the end of the year; how we set these goals. We try to get a commitment from him. With struggling students, to prevent failure, we use contracts a great deal. Almost 40% of our team [of students] have been on a contract at one point this year. (Waters 5/27, 38-39)

The process occurred much the way Mr. Waters described it. One parent conference, conducted by the whole team and led by the student's advisor, demonstrated this strategy at work. The record reads:

Five teachers, the student, Marcy, and her mother are seated at some tables in Ms. Lane's classroom. Ms. Lane says, "Ok, why don't we each share our concerns and bring Mrs. Foster [Marcy's mother] up to date." Each teacher shares some concerns. . . . Ms. Lane asks Marcy, "Is there anything said that needs explanation, Marcy?" Marcy nods, no. So Ms. Lane says, "Well, then, Marcy, we need for you to make a contract to change. Here are the things we want you to do. First, you must keep this contract [slip of paper which will have the plan], and it's your responsibility to be sure that it gets signed [by her teachers] by us everyday. Second, no more Girl Scout cookies can be brought to school and no money or other unnecessary items should be brought to class. And, three, you're going to have to sit by yourself so that you're not working with other students you've been bothering or who have been bothering you. What do you think of this plan?" Marcy says, "Okay." Another teacher adds, "Marcy, we'll try to help you stick to this plan but you've got to give it your best effort. Okay?" Marcy says, "I know." (Lane 3/31, 26)

As team members, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters also supported one another's instructional goals. Ms. Lane, for example, was not only aware of Mr. Waters' instructional plans but emphasized their importance to her students during her instruction. The record reads:

Ms. Lane's reading group has just finished reading a story on prehistoric times. During the discussion of the story, a student asks Ms. Lane, "Were there men back then? Howard Cosell said there wasn't!" Ms. Lane chuckles and says, "I think he's off base. Don't pay attention to him. Pay attention to Mr. Waters. Remember the time line you did in social studies?" The student smiles and answers, "I'll never forget it." Ms. Lane laughs and continues, "I want you to ask Mr. Waters about this and find out for Monday." (Lane 4/15, 5)

Similarly, Mr. Waters assisted Ms. Lane. On one occasion when Ms. Lane had to leave a class unattended, Mr. Waters stepped in. The record reads:

There is some movement of chairs across the hall in Ms. Lane's classroom. He immediately leaves, steps across the hall, and looks into Ms. Lane's classroom. Ms. Lane is not there for some reason. Mr. Waters says to the students, "Class, let's get quiet! You know what you're supposed to be doing." He returns to his class and says to me, "We have to look out for each other here." (Waters 4/6, 12)

In addition to this kind of technical support and assistance, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters shared a sense of pride in the team's accomplishments. Since the team's teachers frequently planned team events jointly, the accomplishments were shared as well. The team planned a special unit for all of the students to do in their Advisor-Advisee classes. The record reads:

Just after the Advisor-Advisee class was over, Mr. Waters and Ms. Lane were both in the team planning room. Mr. Waters said to Ms. Lane, "We really got into a discussion with this [the unit's worksheet] today!" He's waving his hands, smiling. He continues, "They really seemed to enjoy it?" Ms. Lane says, "This has been a good one!" (Lane 2/5, 1)

On another occasion, following a team assembly in the auditorium, several of the team's members convened in the team planning area to discuss their success. The record reads:

While walking towards the team planning room, just following the assembly in the auditorium, Ms. Lane says, "The kids were so good today and we didn't ever have time to talk about behavior beforehand. I'm so proud!" Mr. Waters agrees, "Yeh, weren't they?" Wendy, another team teacher adds, "We must be doing something right." (Waters 4/6, 5)

The team seemed to provide support when teaching was discouraging or difficult. Mr. Waters said:

After the students leave, I usually sit there and collect myself. Then we usually get together as a team and there is a lot of communication about frustrations and what's succeeding and what's going on with the team at that time. I think it's constructive because we talk about, you know, this is driving me crazy, I'm about to lose my mind, and that's when the team becomes very important. When a particular teacher is having a bad day, we really pull around and lift their spirits. There is always a lot of that going on. There is also a lot of pats on the backs. We get a lot of encouragement in that area. (Waters 3/31, 13)

It seems fairly apparent that the team's teachers worked collaboratively largely because they had the welfare of a common group of students as a connecting base. As Mr. Waters confirmed:

In my spare time or when we're together, we talk about students; how we can help them with problems they are facing. On the team, if I become aware of a problem, it is very easy for me to communicate with other members of my team about that student and that problem. Team meetings, conferences bring us together constantly. Also in the fact that as a team we have a sort of comradery or friendship, we lunch together every day. A lot of communication gets done during that situation. On our team we are constantly involved in the process of trying to help students and they're the same students. (Waters 3/31, 7)

The frequency of interaction, however, might also have been facilitated by the fact that most members of the team were housed in neighboring classrooms which were only a few steps away from the team's common planning area. A map reveals this situation more clearly (see Figure 4). Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' classrooms were only yards apart. All of the team's teachers were neighbors. This proximity may have made it more likely that these teachers would interact on a regular basis. Thus, the location, as well as the organization, of teachers may have contributed to the development and maintenance of active teacher collaboration, which in turn may have supported the high expectations for students and the child-centered teaching orientation observed.

Summary

Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters thought of themselves as teachers of children, responsible for both academics and socialization. They designed their instructional programs in ways that reflected a broad range of student needs, treating the curriculum as the variable to be tailored to the students. Instructional flexibility characterized their approach with process concerns such as student interest, rate of learning, or student understanding as the shaping considerations. This

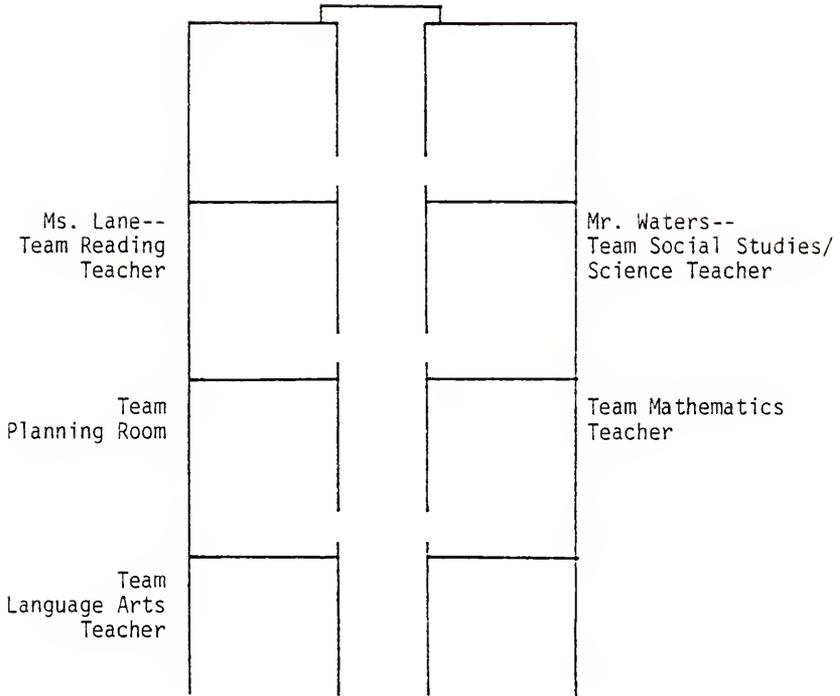


Figure 4. School hallway area showing proximity of teamed teachers' classrooms and the location of the team planning room.

style of teaching seemed, at least in part, to have been generated through teaching experiences that occurred in the context of the school's interdisciplinary team teaching structure, the existence of multiage student grouping, which produced a three year teacher-student relationship, and, the teacher-advisor role and experience in the school's Advisor-Advisee, affective education program. Moreover, these experiences were complimented by an administration committed to creating and sustaining a school program and ethos capable of educating the whole child. In this context, Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' beliefs and practices were congruent and in harmony with the larger mission of the school.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand teacher perspectives and practices, in relation to school context, in two organizationally different middle schools. The ultimate goal of the research has been to illuminate and explain relationships between elements of school life and teacher professional perspectives and practices. As a result, the investigation addressed the following specific questions:

1. What characterized teachers' professional perspectives and practices at each middle school?
2. Did the teachers in the two schools differ? What were the salient dimensions of contrast?
3. What school factors seemed to be related to teachers' professional perspectives and practices?

Many studies have contributed to the identification of school context features that seem to be related to teacher perspectives and practices. The majority of those studies, however, have examined isolated process-product relationships and global similarities and differences among groups of teachers. As a result, much of the research has been unable to fully delineate the complexity of discovered relationships. Through extensive observation and interviewing, this study

probed the teacher's world from the perspective of the teacher. It was designed to not only illuminate relationships between school contextual features and teachers' perspectives and practices, but to yield potential explanations and beginning understandings essential for the generation of valid hypotheses for future research on middle school teaching.

This chapter includes a summary of the characteristic perspectives and practices of the teachers at each middle school. In addition, a summary of the most salient dimensions of contrast will be discussed in order to clarify the suggested differential effects of various school features. A more general discussion of conclusions will be presented with reference to related research. Finally, suggestions will be provided for further research in the field.

Summary of Teachers' Perspectives and Practices at
Hidden Brook Middle School

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed worked in a middle school whose organization, administration, and curriculum seemed to elicit and support a highly structured, subject-centered approach to teaching based on several assumptions: that teaching was primarily the work of transmitting a body of knowledge, that school and classroom order required limited student freedom and a distant, authority role relationship with students, and that the teacher's and the school's major obligation was to prepare students for future schooling. As teachers assigned to subject-area departments, with an administration that valued, highlighted, and encouraged subject-matter specialization and concentration, and with

a principal-endorsed standardized textbook-based curriculum, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed approached the work of teaching with a complimentary focus on curriculum content and academic achievement. Classroom instruction highlighted curriculum coverage, emphasizing a body of knowledge to be learned. Both teachers utilized a highly structured, teacher-directed approach focused by subject matter content. While both Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were concerned about meeting the needs of their students, they did not actively practice instructional responsiveness and flexibility. Instead, they modified their expectations for students, expecting less, for example, from those students they perceived as less capable.

In addition, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed approached their students with an on-guard posture, backed by a certain skepticism about student behavior. They believed that middle school students required a structured, teacher-controlled setting for learning. As a result, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were reluctant to deviate from their whole-class, teacher-directed approach, considering alternative methods to be risky. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed judged the merit of certain approaches based on their capacity to insure classroom order and ease of management.

In relation to the larger world of the school, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed felt somewhat independent of the other teachers with whom they worked. Daily colleague interactions were generally not task-related. This independence, however, did not indicate teacher autonomy in school affairs. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed believed the positions and responsibilities of the teacher and the principal were clearly separated, with an expectation for limited teacher influence in school affairs.

This overall teaching style did not clearly reflect all of Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's professional goals and values. For example, while both teachers expressed a desire to affect student social as well as academic growth, there was little evidence in practice that these goals were actively pursued. Similarly, while both teachers preferred to identify themselves as student-centered rather than subject-centered teachers, observations revealed few demonstrations of student-centered instruction.

Many variables have been associated with this lack of congruence and with the prevailing character of teaching observed at Hidden Brook:

- an affiliation with subject-centered teacher departments
- the principal's expectations for subject-area commitment and uniform curriculum dissemination
- the administration's concern for academic achievement and evaluation
- the pressures of limited planning time and the related ease of implementing a predefined curriculum requiring little teacher interpretation
- the school's history of disruption and disorder associated with a responsive, student-centered program innovation
- a general skepticism about the behavior of middle school students among teacher and administrators
- limited opportunities to know students as persons.

Summary of Teachers' Perspectives and Practices at
Long Meadow Middle School

Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters worked in a middle school whose organization, administration, and curriculum seemed to elicit and support a

child-centered approach to teaching supported by three assumptions: that students are active, developing individuals with integrated intellectual, social, and emotional needs, that middle school students are developmentally unique and require special assistance in areas of social and affective growth, and that teachers and middle schools have the responsibility to prepare students for life, as well as future schooling. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters approached their work with a concern for interpersonal relationships with students and a dual-role commitment to student socialization and academic learning. They viewed teaching as the work of making learning happen through a consideration of the social, emotional, and cognitive facets of student growth. As a result, they approached student differences as data for instructional planning and included learning process variables such as student motivation, attitude, self-concept, understanding, and readiness, in planning for and in adapting classroom instruction. The curriculum was acknowledged as a flexible guide subject to interpretive teacher use.

With a focus on student socialization, teaching was viewed as a profession with long-term implications. Consequently, classroom discipline was considered to be more than a necessary prerequisite for the teaching of academics. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters treated the work of managing student behavior as an opportunity to teach students social skills such as responsibility and self-control. They also viewed student delinquency as an indication that a student needed additional guidance, support, or interpersonal teacher involvement, and made efforts to address those needs.

Finally, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters defined themselves in terms of a collective unit of teachers. They discussed many of their beliefs and

practices as shared and believed their successes and failures were shared as well. As teachers, they considered themselves to be responsible to collaborate and communicate with the other teachers with whom they worked. They also believed that they were individually and collectively influential in shaping school-level decisions in collaboration with the administrators.

Many variables have been associated with these discovered perspectives and practices:

- an affiliation with a team of teachers connected by the common responsibility for the instruction, management, and evaluation of the same students

- a decentralized, teacher-based system for school decision-making

- the principal's expressed concern for student affective growth and development, and his expectation that teachers address this area

- a teaching role in a daily class designed for affective education

- the collegial interaction and support provided through the team structure

- the opportunities to witness and discuss students in holistic terms

- the three-year teaching responsibility for and relationship with a group of students.

Salient Dimensions of Contrast

On Being a Teacher: Academics vs. Socialization

Though the teachers at Hidden Brook and Long Meadow shared certain similarities germane to teaching, their characteristic perspectives and

practices were sharply different. Several main points of contrast can be identified as significant. The teachers at the two schools differed in their perceptions of the responsibilities they associated with the role of teacher. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed believed that their primary responsibility was to disseminate a body of knowledge to students. Teaching involved responsibilities largely defined by that objective. While other objectives, not defined by the curriculum, were expressed, such as long-term goals in the area of student socialization, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did not seem to be able to integrate those objectives in a coherent and logical way, with their more clearly expressed academic goals. In addition, they viewed these long-term goals that addressed student social growth as largely unachievable.

In contrast, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters saw their role in broader terms, with equal responsibility to student academic learning, and personal growth and development. Teaching was considered as much the work of shaping student attitudes towards self, school, and others, as it was the work of teaching knowledge and skills. Most importantly, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters had confidence in their capacity to facilitate growth in either domain, believing that the two were vitally connected.

This role perception difference resulted in related differences in the management of classroom instruction and student behavior. For Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed, instruction was content-centered, designed to be aligned with the demands of the curriculum. The curriculum was considered to be a uniform body of knowledge for all students to learn, with the textbook as the most reliable resource. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed most often used whole-class, teacher-directed, undifferentiated instruction with the textbook at the center of their instructional

planning. Though not entirely satisfied with this instructional approach, neither teacher seemed willing to explore alternative teaching styles.

Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed worked to establish and maintain orderly classrooms. They both advocated a highly structured approach to teaching because they believed that their students could not behave responsibly without adult supervision. In fact, both teachers may have been unwilling to explore alternative instructional methods because methods aside from a whole-class, teacher-directed approach generally make it more difficult to supervise student behavior. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did maintain a distant authority stance that they believed was necessary for effective classroom control.

At Long Meadow, Mrs. Lane and Mr. Waters incorporated their dual role perception in an instructional program which reflected an effort to integrate the demands of the curriculum with the needs of their students. Their concern for student socialization was seen in an instructional approach which considered student readiness, motivation, and attitudes in instructional planning. The goal of curriculum coverage did not overshadow the goal of instructional responsiveness. Classroom technology was characterized by the frequent use of a differentiated instructional program, with frequent use of a multigroup and multitask classroom structure. Instruction was often tailored to groups of students within a class that varied in ability. In addition, both teachers expected progress among all students, rather than aligning expectations according to uniform standards for academic performance. Moreover,

they treated differences in students as data for instructional planning with the thrust on making learning happen.

In the process of making learning happen, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters believed that it was necessary to attend to student personal and affective needs making provisions for support, affiliation, and guidance. Correcting student behavior was thus seen as more than a means of maintaining classroom order. It was in fact a very fundamental part of teaching. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters considered themselves to be agents of student socialization capable of and responsible for teaching youngsters appropriate social skills and life-long attitudes. From this perspective, teaching was seen as a job with long-term impact extending beyond student achievement or school success. In addition, both Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters endorsed positive relationships with students as an instructional objective and as a prerequisite for effective teaching. This was reflected in the amount of time and effort they devoted to the planning and conducting of experiences designed to promote reciprocal caring and involvement among teachers and students.

A number of variables can be identified as influential in the development of these diverse role perceptions. Why did Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters share a heightened sense of commitment and responsibility for student socialization and for student affect, when Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did not? Why were Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed more concerned with meeting the demands of the curriculum, at the expense of other educational considerations? Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed expressed concern for student socialization and for affective needs, yet these concerns were not actualized in their day-to-day teaching. This lack of congruence may be associated with the fact that the daily schedule at

Hidden Brook did not include an opportunity for teachers to act on these concerns. In addition, as noted in Chapter IV, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed felt a certain degree of pressure to devote their classroom instructional time entirely to curriculum coverage. In addition, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did not believe that they were expected to serve as agents of student personal development. Moreover, they harbored serious doubts about their capacity to effect real change in student social attitudes and behaviors. Finally, the principal's expectations emphasized a teaching commitment to academic priorities.

In contrast, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters had an assigned teaching role in a school-wide program designed specifically to promote student affective growth and development. This role involved teaching a daily class in which teachers were expected to conduct learning experiences designed to foster affective growth. Both teachers acknowledged the program's merit and its endorsement by the school's administration. Most importantly, it was during this daily class time that Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters may have generated a concern for the affective needs of students, which was then carried over into their academic instructional program. Both teachers believed this daily nonacademic contact with their students, which legitimized teacher attention to student socialization, encouraged their overall focus on student affect and personal needs. Student academic growth was considered then in relation to a knowledge of students as persons with a whole range of personal needs, rather than as an independent and unrelated area of growth. It is possible too that this focus on student social development was enhanced by the three-year teaching relationship they had with their students.

With this extended amount of time it seems more likely that teachers could witness and thus become involved in long-term student social development.

One final potential school factor associated with these role perceptions is the teacher organization. At Hidden Brook, teachers were affiliated with other teachers by a common subject area assignment. These teacher groups, called departments, met irregularly and did not bring about teacher attention to students. In addition, there were few regular opportunities at school for teachers to discuss the specific details of the students they taught. Essentially, teachers were not organized in ways that facilitated dialogue that centered on students. Perhaps this made it more difficult for Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed to see their students in relation to other areas, or to view students as whole learners with cross-discipline needs.

At Long Meadow, teachers were organized in interdisciplinary teaching teams which frequently met to discuss the needs of the common groups of students they taught. Perhaps in that setting, it was far easier to recognize and respond to student needs. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters believed this regular, student-centered dialogue with teachers who shared the same students, encouraged the development of their student-centered, responsive instructional program.

Colleague Relations: Independence vs. Interdependence

The teachers at the two schools also differed in their perception of themselves in relation to the larger world of the school and its staff. Colleague relations were markedly different. For Mrs. Cassidy

and Mrs. Reed, teaching was primarily an individual enterprise conducted in the privacy of the classroom with students. Knowledge of other teachers' beliefs and practices was largely limited to a recognition of similar obligations with regard to curriculum content. Both teachers spent the majority of every school day isolated from interaction with other adults in the school. With the exception of bimonthly faculty meetings or monthly department meetings (i.e., usually less than monthly) interaction with other teachers was limited to a daily lunch break where teacher talk generally focused on personal or social topics. When school-related topics emerged during this time, they were discussed in general terms. Teachers were only rarely observed sharing the specific details of their daily work with students. When teachers did meet formally in subject area departments, these meetings were focused by decisions regarding the curriculum being taught and as a result did not facilitate teacher dialogue regarding actual daily teaching experiences with students.

At Long Meadow, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters were continually observed in interactions with other teachers from their teaching team. Before, during, and after school, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters talked formally and informally with one another and with other teammates about the management, instruction, advisement, and evaluation of a common group of students. Their daily lunch break was commonly used as a time for teacher dialogue about specific students, specific plans for those students or specific beliefs, ideas and practices related to the instruction of those students. At least once a week, both teachers participated in formal teacher team meetings which were devoted to collaborative

teacher decision-making regarding the socialization, discipline, instruction and evaluation of the team's students, discussions of related beliefs and practices, and the sharing of sentiments about school policy or program issues. Thus, while Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters worked independently within their classrooms, they perceived themselves to be engaged in a collective teaching effort.

Teacher-Administrator Relations: Cooperation vs. Collaboration

The four teachers also differed in their perceptions of the teacher's role in shaping school policies and programs. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did not view themselves, nor their fellow teachers, as potential shapers of school policy or program. They sharply separated the responsibilities of the teacher and the principal, assigning responsibility for the school to the latter. Only a few select teachers who were delegated authority by virtue of a special leadership role were assumed to play an active role in school level decisions. It appeared, however, that even though Mrs. Cassidy held two assigned positions of school leadership, that she believed her influence was limited. She believed, for example, that although she was invited to express her ideas regarding school policy, there were very few occasions when her ideas were actually reflected in school policy.

Decisions and directions seemed to flow directly from the administration to the teachers. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed seemed to accept this arrangement, only regretting a few felt restrictions on classroom autonomy. For example, in conducting classroom instruction, they were reluctant to deviate from what was acknowledged as the sanctioned

curriculum plan, even when following the plan contradicted their own personal teaching priorities.

In contrast, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters saw themselves as influential in school policy formation. In fact, they even occasionally felt burdened by their added perceived responsibility in school level decision-making. They identified the team as an autonomous unit capable of influencing school policy through the representation of the team leader. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters believed their ideas were invited as well as implemented. Neither Ms. Lane nor Mr. Waters delegated school level decisions solely to the principal. Aside from the school budget, they claimed an involvement in all other domains of school decision-making.

At Long Meadow, decisions and directions seemed to emerge from the teachers and administrators who both seemed to perceive themselves to be collaborating parties. Teams of teachers were delegated school level decisions by the principal, on a regular basis. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters believed the principal valued their professional judgement in curriculum interpretation and they believed he also valued instructional responsiveness above curriculum adherence. The teachers believed that few serious restrictions were placed on their classroom autonomy.

Several school context variables have been associated with these differences. At Hidden Brook, teachers worked primarily alone because they were assigned teaching responsibilities and tasks which could be performed without extensive teacher collaboration or dialogue. Once the agreed upon social studies curriculum was determined, social studies teachers did not need frequent interaction in order to conduct their classroom affairs. The occasional sharing of materials or special events could occur with minimum teacher interaction. Thus, there was

not a perceived pressing need for more frequent and intimate colleague interaction. Moreover, teachers were only connected to one another by a common curriculum area; an entity that may not have been perceived as requiring continuous and responsive attention. If the teachers were connected by a phenomenon requiring continuous responsive attention, collaboration might be more essential and thus more likely to occur.

The degree of school autonomy Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed believed they had could also be related to their principal's administrative style. The school's decision-making authority was primarily localized in the administrative core group of the three school administrators, with assistance from a few selected teachers. There was not an organized vehicle for on-going teacher dialogue and decision-making at the school level. Teacher input was largely individualized and selectively solicited by the administration. Regarding classroom autonomy sentiments, the principal valued uniformity and had established a curriculum committee to insure that subject area teaching would be uniform from one classroom to another. With this expectation, it is not surprising to find Mrs. Cassidy's and Mrs. Reed's reluctance to experiment with or deviate from the set plan. It may be, however, that in light of their noted lack of planning time and personal life demands (e.g., family, outside commitments, etc.), and their independence and relative isolation from other teachers' experiences, that a certain degree of support, assurance, and simplicity could be gleaned from a predefined, uniform, and principal-sanctioned curriculum plan.

At Long Meadow, Ms. Lane's and Mr. Waters' task-related interaction, such as their joint decision-making and planning, were associated in

part with their mutual responsibility for a common group of students, their organization in teams of teachers with their associated belief that teachers in teams were expected to collaborate, and with the frequent opportunities available for teacher interaction because of common scheduling, weekly team meetings, and teamed teachers' classroom proximity.

Their felt autonomy both in school and classroom affairs seemed to be associated with the principal's delegation of decision-making responsibilities to the teams of teachers. In addition, this broad, team-level, dispersal of leadership within the school resulted in a greater number of teachers actively involved in assigned leadership positions. Furthermore, the six team leaders who guided team decision-making represented the team's ideas and practices in regular collaborative decision-making with the principal. Thus, teachers were continually involved in the development of school policy and program.

Their sense of classroom and instructional autonomy seemed related to the principal's belief in the importance of a responsive, student-centered instructional program, and to his expressed respect for teacher wisdom and judgement. Even in light of felt district pressures to adopt a standardized textbook-based curriculum in a number of subject areas, the principal endorsed the adaptive and creative use of what he perceived to be restrictive plans. Moreover, the continuous dialogue with other teachers may have provided the comradery necessary to exacerbate the burden of individual teacher failure, thus encouraging teacher acceptance of classroom autonomy.

Conclusions and Implications

The current findings suggest a number of significant relationships between middle school contextual characteristics and teacher perspectives and practices. These relationships generally involve a combination of school factors and clusters of interrelated teacher perspectives and practices. Moreover, these relationships have implications for school effectiveness, teacher effectiveness and middle school organization, administration, and curriculum.

Perceptions of Students

Teachers' perceptions of and attitudes towards students seemed to be associated with the character and range of opportunities the school provided for both physical and vicarious teacher-student contact. Where teacher-student contacts were largely limited to the classroom instructional context, like at Hidden Brook, teachers' perceptions of students primarily reflected a knowledge of students as participants in and recipients of academic instruction. Moreover, the subject-area teacher organization at Hidden Brook did not result in opportunities for student-centered, cross-discipline teacher dialogue, which could provide teachers with vicarious knowledge of student growth in other areas of learning.

At Long Meadow, teacher-student contacts were diverse, as teachers served as student advisors, exploratory class instructors, and academic instructors for a three-year period of time. These diverse and long-term noninstructional and instructional contacts seemed to have enabled

the teachers to witness and become involved in multiple areas of student growth and development, including long-term areas such as student socialization. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary team teacher organization resulted in daily and weekly opportunities for student-centered teacher dialogue. This class-to-class sharing of teacher perceptions of students may have further enhanced the teachers' knowledge of and concern for total student development. The conclusion that teachers organized in interdisciplinary teaching teams have perceptions which highlight student-centered rather than subject-centered concerns is supported by Verdral's (1971) research which noted student-centered educational viewpoints among teachers organized in teams and subject-centered viewpoints among teachers organized in subject-area departments.

Teachers' perceptions of students also appeared to be related to school history as well as school structure. The teachers at Hidden Brook seemed to believe that their students were resistant and difficult to manage. This belief seemed rooted in the difficulties teachers experienced in the past, compounded by the lack of current opportunities for experiences that might challenge that skepticism.

The particulars of the school's history, while not thoroughly explored in Chapter IV, seem important to an understanding of the specific nature of the teachers' perceptions. It is possible to speculate, for example, that Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were both slightly skeptical of black students, and perceived students from lower status backgrounds to be generally difficult to manage and teach, because they associated the noted history of school unrest with school

desegregation and the resulting acquisition of a larger population of black students and students from lower status homes. In addition, difficulties with student discipline were perceived to be associated with a period of school history when a series of nonacademic innovations which focused on the role of the student in learning were temporarily and unsuccessfully implemented. The perceived failure of those innovations (see Appendix A) seemed to have been partially attributed to student inability to manage the nonstandard teacher-student relationships and experiences associated with the innovations. Consequently, the teachers' current perceptions which do not focus on the student's role in learning, and assume that a standard, structured authority role relationship is necessary for the management of student discipline, may be rooted in beliefs and perceptions generated in the past.

At Long Meadow, Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters did not experience a past characterized by difficulties with student discipline. Unlike Hidden Brook, Long Meadow did not undergo such a dramatic change in the character of its student body. In fact, it began its history serving a large population of black students and students from lower status homes, and in recent years had only modestly reduced the size of that population. Moreover, it opened as a new school with a new staff, without a history, post-desegregation, and so avoided potential difficulties associated with that transition. Also, Long Meadow opened with a school plan designed to attend to the student's role in learning and both Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters believed that the plan had been successful. Thus, they may have been more inclined to perceive students as capable

of responding positively to a school experience based on nonstandard teacher-student relations and developmentally responsive learning experiences.

Data on student behavior were not collected but it is safe to speculate that these diverse perceptions of students were also associated with actual differences in student behavior, past and present (Brookover, Beamer, Elthim, Hathaway, Lezotte, Miller, Passalacqua, & Tornatsky, 1982). Findings from several studies imply that student compliance and acceptance of school norms is more likely to occur in a school organized like Long Meadow, where students and teachers are arranged in smaller subgroups within the school (Cusik, 1973; Lipsitz, 1981; Rutter et al., 1979; Wynne, 1980). Moreover, there is some indication that this might be particularly true for schools serving minority students (Hoover, 1978). Conversely, where students and teachers are segregated by separate subject area responsibilities and classes, the sense of community needed to encourage cooperative student behavior may be more difficult to achieve (Cusik, 1973; Phi Delta Kappa, 1982).

Furthermore, several studies suggest that schools with an organization of vital subgroups experience less intergroup student conflict (Cohen, 1979), and have improved student race relations (Damico et al., 1981). Thus, teachers working in a team organization could be expected to experience more positive student interactions which might foster more positive perceptions of students. Consequently, differences in the two schools' capacities to nurture and cultivate a sense of community with organizational leverage may have produced distinctly different patterns in student behavior and the associated teacher perceptions.

Teacher Role Perceptions

A second cluster of conclusions is that teacher role perceptions seem to be related to the nature of teacher tasks and responsibilities within the school, the character of colleague relations, the pattern of student grouping, and the principal's leadership style, priorities, and expectations. At Hidden Brook, the teachers identified themselves primarily as agents of the curriculum, committed to the academic growth of their students. While they expressed a desire to affect student socialization, they did not translate that desire into a professional commitment. Moreover, while they regretted the fact that many of their students came to school ill-prepared for academic learning, they doubted their capacity to affect real social growth. Ms. Lane and Mr. Waters, on the other hand, assertively subscribed to a dual-role perception, with responsibility to both student socialization and student academic learning. They believed that they were responsible to do the work many families failed to do in preparing students for school, while also teaching their academic area.

The findings of this study suggest that teachers are more inclined to perceive socialization as a teaching function, when they work in a school that enables them to spend time legitimately dealing with socialization goals. Moreover, teacher awareness of student needs in this area might only lead to teacher discouragement, and student labeling if there is no opportunity to significantly address those needs. This conclusion is interesting in light of research which has suggested, though not conclusively, that a socialization orientation is more frequently observed among teachers who teach a significant

population of students from lower status homes (Lortie, 1975; Metz, 1978). This would not explain the current study's findings, however, since at the time of the study, the teachers from both schools taught approximately equal numbers of students from lower status homes.

One alternative explanation is that the teachers' current role perceptions may reflect adjustments made in the context of earlier teaching experiences which have remained stable over time. The teachers at Hidden Brook, for example, had at one time taught a student population characterized by students who were predominantly from middle class homes. While both teachers believed they had modified their aspirations and educational viewpoints since they had been working with a larger population of students from lower status homes, the findings suggest that such accommodations were imperceptible, if present. They still approached the work of teaching and their responsibilities with the assumptions that students ought to come to school prepared to learn the academic curriculum, and that readying the unprepared is not the work of the classroom teacher nor the responsibility of the school. Similarly, the Long Meadow teachers' commitment to student socialization may be related to their early teaching experiences with a student population characterized by a large percentage of students from lower status homes. Perhaps these early role perceptions remained relatively stable in spite of the influx of varying kinds of students at the two schools (Lortie, 1975).

One additional explanation is that the adoption of a socialization responsibility implies that a teacher is responsible for the success or failure of even the ill-prepared students. Perhaps unless a teacher

works in a school where the burden of that individual success or failure is shared through teacher interdependence and collegial support, the threat to a teacher's professional competence is too great to make the assumption of that role desirable (Webb, 1982). This explanation appears to be supported by the findings of this study. Teacher role perceptions seemed to be related to the character of colleague relations within the school. Colleague relations characterized by limited contact with other teachers, little or no opportunity to exchange perceptions of the students with whom they worked, and meetings largely focused by a common responsibility to an area of the curriculum were related to teachers' perceptions of themselves as agents of the curriculum. When the curriculum is central to collegial relations and to the division of labor within the school, it emerges as an outstanding element in teachers' felt roles and responsibilities.

Likewise, at Long Meadow, the teachers' two-sided role perception can be traced back to their affiliation with a teaching team. In the context of the team structure, where teachers with different subject-area teaching responsibilities are connected by the shared responsibility to collectively manage the instructional program of a common group of youngsters, in a common part of the school plant, insuring classroom proximity, and with a common daily schedule, teachers engaged in regular talk, focused on the students they shared. Subject-matter sharing was essentially irrelevant in the team context so teachers were encouraged to talk about students in cross-discipline terms. These conversations often addressed student socialization and total student progress. The team structure thus provided an ongoing opportunity for teachers to be involved in student socialization.

Finally, principal expectations appeared to be congruent with the teachers' role perceptions at each of the respective schools. To what extent the principals actually influenced the development of the teachers' role perceptions while on the job remains unclear, though this is an area that warrants further study. While none of the teachers credited their perceptions to their principals, they did seem to respond to the principal's leadership style in ways related to role perception. At Hidden Brook, where the principal centralized leadership within the administration, relying only on a few select individuals, teachers were less inclined to see themselves as influential decision-makers in school affairs or as autonomous professionals in classroom instruction. The latter seemed particularly related to the principal's attempts to direct teacher professional judgement on a number of classroom issues. This conclusion is consistent with Charters' (1978) work which suggested that the principal's influence over classroom affairs reduced teacher autonomy. In contrast, at Long Meadow, where leadership was decentralized within the school, with the delegation of authority to teacher groups, teachers not only perceived themselves to be influential in school-level decision-making, but believed they were almost exclusively responsible for determining the nature of their instructional programs. This conclusion is supported by other studies which have associated teacher perceived autonomy, relative to the principal, and the existence of teacher teams within the school (Meyer et al., 1972; Pellegrin, 1969a, 1969b).

In addition, teachers' role perceptions were consistent with the values and expectations inherent in principal practices. At Hidden Brook,

the principal organized a committee expressly for the purpose of creating a standardized, accountable subject area(s) curriculum. Inherent in that effort was his expectation that teachers would uniformly follow that plan. Also, he implemented a computerized grading system reflecting his concern for efficiency in means-end production. These practices could have yielded pressures and opportunities that indirectly channeled teachers into educational perspectives that emphasized efficient and uniform curriculum dissemination. This is consistent with the results of a study by Flizak (1967). Flizak found that teachers who worked in schools that were institutionally structured in ways that emphasized efficiency in means-end production, and had a highly developed power structure based on a faith in leader superiority, were more inclined to see themselves in the roles of information-giver and disciplinarian than those teachers who worked in schools structured in ways that emphasized the realization of members' individual goals with less concern for efficiency in goal attainment. In the latter case, teachers had higher scores on the counselor-teacher role.

The principal's practices at Long Meadow did not seem to highlight efficiency in means-end production. His priorities focused on school responsiveness to student needs. He actively monitored the school's affective education program. Moreover, he utilized a decision-making process that often involved an extensive amount of time because he referred decisions to the teachers and even to students. This system for decision-making reflected, as an example, his desire to operate a school that was instructionally responsive. Membership satisfaction

superseded his secondary concern for efficiency in means-end production. In line with Flizak's (1967) research, the teachers then might also be expected to emphasize process concerns involved in instruction such as the student's role in learning, rather than product concerns such as efficiency in curriculum dissemination.

Teacher Expectations and Classroom Instruction

These differences in role perceptions extended into other domains of teacher perspectives and practices. The findings suggest several affiliated conclusions regarding teacher expectations for student performance. Ms. Lane's and Mr. Water's universally high expectations for student achievement and their belief in student improvability seemed to be related to the school's structural recognition of student variability (e.g., multiage student grouping), the organization of long-term teaching relationships, and the organization of teacher teams which provided frequent teacher task-interdependence and a source of collegial confirmation and support. On the other hand, Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed viewed student improvability as a relatively predetermined phenomenon. If students had difficulty learning the subject matter curriculum, both teachers engaged in an analysis of why those students could not be taught, as opposed to why they had trouble learning. Student difficulties in learning were attributed to variables over which the teachers had little or no control such as innate ability, home life conditions, motivation, values, and social class background.

At Hidden Brook, teacher expectations appeared to be related to the discrepancy and difficulties that resulted from the school's

attempt to apply an undifferentiated curriculum with uniform performance standards to a widely diverse student population, the lack of opportunities teachers had to interact with other teachers regarding the needs of their students, and their prevailing role perceptions which did not include the socialization function. Students were expected to come to school prepared to learn what teachers had to teach. As noted earlier, this may have been a remnant perception from the teachers' earlier work with a predominantly middle class student population. This is consistent with Metz's (1978) findings that where the school had a history of serving predominantly middle class children, the teachers' perspectives were characterized by a conception of knowledge to be taught as a separate entity, a commitment to the passing on of knowledge, and a certain despair towards less capable children.

Clarifying this conclusion further, it may be that at Long Meadow, where the teachers had the same students for three consecutive years, they were able to witness and be more involved in progress and improvement over time, and were also able to observe social growth more clearly; hence, their confidence in improvability. In addition, the associated grouping pattern which grouped students of differing ages and grades together for instruction may have encouraged teacher use of a differentiated instructional program. Ms. Lane's reading program was based on assumed student variability. She used multilevel materials with a multitask structure for classroom learning. Mr. Waters also consistently adapted the curriculum to varied student needs, using a differentiated approach more often than not, even though his curriculum area was not inherently set up as an adaptable scope and sequence. The use of a

differentiated instructional program could, in turn, also affect teacher expectations as it focuses on individual progress as opposed to a hierarchy of academic performance standards (Bossert, 1979).

The teachers at Hidden Brook did not, however, use differentiated classroom instruction. They relied on the use of a recitation mode in which the teacher stands before the class and directs a learning activity. Research indicates that the use of an undifferentiated task structure results in a classroom status structure that ranks lower achievers at the bottom (Bossert, 1979; Rist, 1970). This might have further fueled the teachers' expectations for limited student improvability.

The differences in the complexity of classroom instruction in the two schools appear to be related to the teachers' expectations, which can also be traced to differences in the teacher organization and character of colleague interaction. The findings implied, for example, that one reason why Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed did not explore a differentiated approach to classroom teaching was because they did not have a knowledge of how to organize instruction in that way, nor did they trust themselves to be effective with that kind of approach. Perhaps, if they had been able to have regular daily contact with other teachers in order to talk about students and instructional technology they might have been encouraged to reflect about alternative methods. Research has suggested that where teachers are organized for and engage in regular task interdependence, they employ a wider range of teaching patterns and utilize more complex instructional methodology (i.e., differentiated tasks and patterns of in-class grouping) (Cohen et al., 1976; Olszewski & Doyle, 1976). While those studies did not show how

colleague interdependence was actually related to teacher classroom performance, the findings from this research suggest that classroom technology is related to the nature and range of roles teachers assume within the school, the teachers' instructional role perceptions which are in turn affiliated with teacher and school histories, the frequency of student-centered teacher interdependence, and the school's norms regarding effective teaching (i.e., curriculum dissemination versus instructional responsiveness). In light of what is currently known about the importance of high expectations for student achievement in total school effectiveness (Brookover & Lezotte, 1977), these relationships indicate significant variables for future research.

Teachers as Persons and Professionals

Finally, the findings also warrant modest speculation about the degree to which the teachers' perspectives and practices reflect a teacher's negotiation of professional values and aspirations with personal life conditions. Ms. Lane was single and as a result may have been personally free to assign a larger portion of her life space to her work as a teacher and so more willing to operate an instructional program which was flexible and responsive. This is consistent with Lortie's (1975) findings which suggested that single women were more professionally involved than married women. Mrs. Cassidy and Mrs. Reed were both far more involved with family demands. Specifically, Mrs. Reed was approaching an early retirement the year of the study; a decision possibly prompted by the deaths of her husband and mother that same year. Likewise, as Mrs. Cassidy explained, she was committed

to her two children, her husband, and her life apart from her work at school. Mr. Waters' commitment to teaching is not congruent with his family demands. He was the father of three young children, but his status as a young male teacher and household provider may have altered his sources of commitment for professional involvement. This is consistent with Lortie's (1975) finding that males were, in general, more involved than females, particularly those males under forty. These personal life variables represent an area of factors which, in conjunction with school contextual conditions, may have indirect effects on teachers' perspectives and practices.

Implications for Research

Several school contextual variables have emerged as significant to the character of teachers' perspectives and practices:

- the frequency and range of teacher-student contacts
- the frequency and range of teacher-colleague interactions
- school history and the teachers' experiences in that historical context
- the teacher's assigned roles and responsibilities in relation to students and staff
- the composition of the student body
- the student grouping pattern
- the principal's leadership style and the division of labor and authority within the school.

There are a number of implications for research on teaching. In the search for a research-based science of teaching, it seems apparent

teachers' beliefs and practices should be investigated more fully in relation to school context. As Purkey and Smith (1983) have clarified:

If the locus of the educational process is at the lowest structural level, the classroom, it is nevertheless the adjacent layer, the school, that forms the immediate environment in which the classroom functions. The quality of the process at the classroom level will be enhanced or diminished by the quality of activity at the level above it. (p. 428)

Investigations of teaching in the context of the classroom, while helpful in understanding the dynamics occurring there (Doyle, 1977), will not lead to effective models of teaching unless school variables are also taken into account.

A second general implication refers to the research currently addressing school effectiveness. While much of the research converges on several characteristics associated with school effectiveness, including instructional planning that emphasizes communication and collaboration among teachers, comparative monitoring of student progress on a class-by-class basis (Levine & Stark, 1981), and high expectations for student achievement (Brookover & Lezotte, 1977), the research has yet to demonstrate how those characteristic behaviors and perceptions might be cultivated among teachers in a school. Since this study has suggested that those desired teacher behaviors and perceptions among others may in fact be cultivated by teacher task structure (e.g., the interdisciplinary team structure), the pattern of student grouping (e.g., long-term teaching relationships with the same students), and the principal's expectations and priorities, these represent important school contextual features which should be researched for their potential leverage on school effectiveness. In addition, it seems apparent

from the complexity of the variables related to teacher perspectives and practices that research will need to address the processes associated with individual elements of school context and the way in which combinations of elements differentially affect teachers.

The recommended features of the middle school model include an interdisciplinary teacher organization, a responsive, affective education program, and a flexible pattern for student grouping and scheduling (Alexander & George, 1981). This model is currently being adopted by school districts nationwide. Very little is actually known, however, about how such a model, in its totality, affects teachers. Additional qualitative studies are needed to reveal how these middle school program features work synergistically in shaping the quality of school life. Moreover, quantitative work will also be needed to test hypotheses regarding supposed relationships between middle school organization and teaching.

Many questions have surfaced from this study. The following questions have emerged as significant:

1. What internal teacher-teacher dynamics actually result in teacher task interdependence?
2. Is teacher labeling of students minimized by a pattern of student grouping which facilitates long-term teaching relationships?
3. Are teachers more inclined to adopt long-term goals in a school organized for long-term teaching relationships?
4. How are teacher perceptions of students generated and maintained?
5. What organizational variables seem to boost teacher sense of efficacy?

6. What is the impact of teacher personal life variables on teacher perspectives and practices?

7. What school pressures dramatically affect teachers and under what circumstances are those pressures perceived as significant?

8. What school variables facilitate congruence between teacher beliefs and practices?

9. What is the influence of curriculum plans on teacher practices?

10. How are administrative beliefs and expectations communicated to teachers?

Teacher perspectives and practices appear to be affected by a variety of school contextual features. Thus, the character of the work setting stands out as a target area for future research. Perhaps this line of research will then illuminate more clearly how schools channel teachers and students into effectiveness or ineffectiveness. This study has delineated relationships between school context and teaching, and has identified critical school variables that warrant further attention.

APPENDIX A
SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL DATA

Hidden Brook Middle School

Historical Background

Hidden Brook is a middle school serving students in grades 6-8 from a university community in north central Florida. In the last two decades, the program at Hidden Brook has changed in significant ways. In 1962, when the building was first constructed, Hidden Brook was a junior high school for students in grades 7-9. It remained so until 1970, when court ordered integration and the subsequent closings of local high schools forced it to accommodate high school students in grades 10-12. Under a split session format, Hidden Brook conducted programs for both junior high (7-9) and high school (10-12) students.

During the next year, changes in the local county enrollments gradually relieved Hidden Brook of the split session responsibility, moving the students in grades 11 and 12 to other high schools in the community. Hidden Brook then became a school for students in grades 7-10. Since prior to the split session arrangement, Hidden Brook had only been equipped to serve students in grades 7-9, more permanent changes in curriculum and materials were made to accommodate the 10th grade students. As the current principal reflected:

that meant the library had to be changed, and the science program had to be changed because now they were offering high school credits for graduation and that kind of changed the structure of the school. They brought in a lot of . . . 10th grade textbooks and the library had to be upgraded for the 10th grade. The school's population was then up to about 1250. (Principal 5/21, 11)

Life as a 7-10 school was short-lived, for almost as soon as the school was equipped to serve the additional demands of the 10th grade, it was returned to its nearly original stature as a 7-8 school. Within a year of returning to a 7-8 structure, the school was to face another transformation. Since the county was then adhering to the "middle school concept" which advocated a 6-8 plan and the adoption of a number of new programs, Hidden Brook became a "middle school." As the current principal recalled:

When they dipped back to the 6th grade and dropped off the 10th, it created a lot of confusion because you were trying to weed out all of those 10th grade books and bring in something the 6th graders could read. It was just a massive change and they did that all in one year. I guess it went through a very difficult period then because you had a number of teachers that had taught junior high from the year one of teaching and they were thoroughly convinced that was the way and when they gave them a new program and said this is the way we are going to do it, they were completely lost. (Principal 7/16, 25)

In clarifying further the specific changes that were made with the middle school, the principal continued:

There were a lot of program changes that came about as a result of the middle school and they went into exploratory type things; special interest groups. We had one telling us how to learn how to play poker, that kind of thing . . . you had advisory groups: 30 minutes, and they would just meet like a regular class and there were interdisciplinary teams. But they [administrators] saw the program [middle school] and the possibilities and tried to do all of them. . . . But the auditorium would be packed with parents who were just out to get everybody. . . . They were angry because of the lack of academics. And the teachers felt that too. They told the parent, "I don't have enough time to teach them." (Principal 7/16, 28)

This turbulence, the parent and teacher reactions, and noted but unidentified administration problems seemed to be associated with a return to the department teacher organization, the absence of advisory groups, and a prescribed electives program familiar to the earlier junior high program. Today, however, Hidden Brook is still referred to as "middle school" by virtue of the grades served and not by the presence of those programs affiliated with the middle school concept.

Student Population

During the 1980-1981 school year, Hidden Brook served approximately 920 students in grades 6-8. The racial composition of the school was 57% white, 43% black, and 0% other. According to socioeconomic predictors provided by the State Department of Education's annual report, 55% of the students qualified for a free or reduced lunch plan.

Grouping, Scheduling, and Curriculum

The school's 920 students were chronologically grouped by age or number of years in school. There were three resulting distinct student grades: the sixth, seventh, and eighth. Students were differentiated by grade level according to the subjects they studied, the teachers they had, the schedules they followed, and their classroom locations. While the majority of students participated in six, fifty-minute daily classes, differences in the classes per grade were as follows:

	<u>Sixth</u>	<u>Seventh</u>	<u>Eighth</u>
full year	reading language arts social studies science math	reading language arts social studies science math	language arts social studies science math
$\frac{1}{2}$ year	physical education	physical education	reading and physical education or
$\frac{1}{2}$ year	art	agriculture	business education and home economics
optionals	band	Spanish/Latin	Spanish/Latin

Variations in students' schedules across grades and with a single grade level reflected differences in grade level priorities as well as differences in ability levels as estimated by results on the Metropolitan Achievement Test given yearly. Placements in reading and math classes were determined by the student's standardized achievement test scores as well as by former placement in the county's two textbook programs. Math classes were generally homogeneous, one level per class, with compensatory classes for the students needing remediation, and algebra classes for those needing advanced work. Reading classes had two levels with some cross-graded grouping among sixth and seventh graders. In the sixth and seventh grades, the students' reading and language arts classes were blocked which meant the entire class stayed together for those two consecutive subjects. According to the assistant principal, the arrangement was intended to help the two subjects "reinforce one another," and to provide the language arts and reading teachers with one continuous block of time for "coordinating their instruction." Placement in language arts for the seventh and eighth

grades was similar to the sixth, with the addition of an honors class for students scoring in the highest percentile on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Students who were identified as deficient in language arts were scheduled into a compensatory language arts class.

Students were not grouped by test scores in social studies or science classes; however, honors classes were available for qualifying seventh and eighth graders. In the science honors class, the assistant principal explains, the "teachers were pretty much committed to the science fair."

In addition to placement in these basic academic areas, students were scheduled into elective classes. Students in the sixth grade were assigned to physical education and art, each for 18 weeks. Seventh graders had instead physical education and agriculture, also 18 weeks long each. In the eighth grade, students took business education and home economics, each for half the year. The eighth graders only had a half year of reading alternated with physical education, as opposed to the full year of reading in the sixth and seventh grades. Students who took band generally substituted it for their prescribed elective. For students with exceptionalities (e.g., learning disabilities, giftedness, and handicaps) special classes were available. These students were enrolled in classes for special instruction.

All students started the school day at 8:40 am and were dismissed at 2:45 pm. The teachers' official school day was from 8:15 am until 3:15 pm. Lunch time was about thirty minutes long with approximately four minutes between classes designated by bells. The first period class was called the Homeroom, by virtue of the fact that the first five

minutes were devoted to an attendance check and the dissemination of school news. An additional feature of the daily schedule was the morning announcements and pledge of allegiance which took place at the start of the day's second period class.

Special Activities

In addition to the basic curriculum, there were a number of extra curricular activities for students during and after school hours. During the 1980-1981 school year, these activities were on-going:

ESP Program (Exceptional Student Performance)

Special rewards were given to students whose conduct in school was considered to be exceptional. Rewards included films and field trips.

Honor Roll

The "A-B" honor roll identified those students whose grades were a mixture of A's and B's during a single grading period.

National Junior Honor Society

Students in the seventh and eighth grade were eligible for membership in the National Junior Honor Society. Students who "had a grade point average of 3.7; an outstanding record of character, leadership, citizenship and service" were selected by the faculty.

Junior Academy of Science

This is an academic organization dedicated to encouraging students to participate in scientific research.

Student Government

The student government was composed of four student-elected representatives from each grade level who maintained a C average and satisfactory conduct grade while in office.

Student Publications

Students were enrolled in a special language arts class if they had a "B" average and were recommended by three teachers. The newspaper and school yearbook were produced in this class.

Student Aides

Students could serve as aides in various areas of the school. The aide positions were generally substitutes for the standard electives.

Clubs

Future Farmers of America

Future Homemakers of America

Staffing and Teacher Organization

Each teacher was assigned teaching responsibilities in an academic area for one and in some cases two grade levels of students and belonged to a representative unit of teachers called a department that was staffed by same subject-area teachers from all three grades. Departments met monthly under the leadership of an appointed department chairperson for curriculum decision-making. Teachers from departments generally shared equipment, texts, and media.

There were thirty-seven classroom teachers staffed in the following way:

<u>Language Arts Department</u>		<u>Reading Department</u>		<u>Mathematics Department</u>	
Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers
6,7	3	6,7	3	6	1
6,7,8	1	7,8	1	6,7	1
8	2*	6,8	1	7	1
*One teacher is part-time gifted.		Title I & Aides			

<u>Social Studies Department</u>		<u>Science Department</u>		<u>Physical Education Department</u>	
Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers
6	1	6	1	6,7,8	2
6	1	6,7	1		
7,8	1	7	1		
8	1	7,8	1		
		8	1		

<u>Art</u>		<u>Vocational Agriculture</u>		<u>Latin/Spanish</u>	
Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers	Grades	Teachers
6	1	7	1	7,8	part-time 1
<u>Business Education</u>					
Grades	Teachers				
8	1				
Media & 2 Aides -1	Gifted - 1		EH - 1	SLD -1	PH - 1

Aside from monthly department meetings, department members had little contact with one another during the school day, unless they shared the same lunch hour. Teachers were assigned to teach five academic classes with one period for individual planning (see Figure 5).

The administrative staff consisted of the principal, assistant principal of curriculum, assistant principal of discipline, and two guidance counselors. In addition, there was one staff member who organized and executed a full-time In-School Suspension Program and who worked cooperatively with the administration. The staff was also assisted by two secretaries, a guidance assistant, and an exceptional education program assistant, plus the food and custodial services personnel.

Leadership and Administration

The formal leadership structures in the school included the three administrators, the steering committee, and the curriculum committee. The steering committee was comprised of department chairpersons, two

GRADE 6																		
8:45	1	9:36	9:40	2	10:31	11:00	3	11:30	11:56	12:00	4	12:56	1:00	5	1:51	1:55	5	2:45
Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7			LUNCH		Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-7	
Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5			LUNCH		Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5			Lng Arts 6 & 7 C-5	
Reading 5 & 7 C-3			Reading 5 & 7 C-3			LUNCH		Reading 5 & 7 C-3			Reading 5 & 7 C-3			Reading 5 & 7 C-3			Reading 5 & 7 C-3	
Reading 6 & 7 C-1			Reading 6 & 7 C-1			C D					Reading 5 & 7 C-1			Reading 6 & 7 C-1			Reading 5 & 7 C-1	
Reading 6 & 7 A-1			Reading 6 & 7 A-1			Read. 6 & 7 A-1	LUNCH	Read. 6 & 7 A-1			Reading 5 & 7 A-1			Reading 5 & 7 A-1			Reading 6 & 7 A-1	
Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-2			Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-2			LA 6 & 7 A-2	LUNCH	LA 6 & 7 A-2			Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-2			Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-2			Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-2	
Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-3			Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-3					(7)						(8)			(8)	
Reading 6 & 7 A-4			Reading 6 & 7 A-4					(7)						(8)			(8)	
Math 6 C-6			Math 6 C-6			LUNCH		Math 6 C-6			Math 6 C-6			Math 6 C-6			Math 6 C-6	
Math 6 C-8			(7)			LUNCH		Math 6 C-8			Math 6 C-8			Math 6 C-8			Math 6 C-8	
Science 6 B-3			Science 6 B-3			LUNCH		Science 6 B-3			Science 6 B-3			Science 6 B-3			Science 6 B-3	
Science 6 D-1			(7)					(7)			Science 6 D-1			Science 6 D-1			Soc. St. 6 D-1	
Reed 6 C-2			Soc. St. 6 C-2			LUNCH		Soc. St. 6 C-2			Soc. St. 6 C-2			Soc. St. 6 C-2			Soc. St. 6 C-2	
<u>Vacant</u>			(7)			LUNCH		Soc. St. 6 C-4			Soc. St. 6 C-4			Soc. St. 6 C-4			<u>Vacant</u>	
Art 6 X-3			Art 6 X-3			LUNCH		Art 6 X-3			Art 6 X-3			Art 6 X-3			Art 6 X-3	
(8)			(8)			Gifted 6, 7 & 8 D-6	LUNCH	Gifted 6, 7 & 8 D-6			Gifted 6, 7 & 8 D-6			Gifted 6, 7 & 8 D-6			Gifted 6, 7 & 8 D-6	
PE 6 Gym			PE 6 Gym			PE 6 Gym	LUNCH	PE 6 Gym			PE 6 Gym			PE 6 Gym			PE 6 Gym	

Figure 5. Master schedule at Hidden Brook Middle School.

GRADE 7										
	8:45 1 9:36	9:40 2 10:31	10:35 3 11:00 11:30	11:56 4 12:00 12:56	1:00 5 1:51	1:55 6 2:45				
	Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-3	Lng Arts 6 & 7 A-3	LA 7H A-3	LUNCH	LA 7H A-3	(B)	(C)	(B)		
	Reading 6 & 7 A-4	Reading 6 & 7 A-4	Read. 7C A-4	LUNCH	Read. 7C A-4	(B)	(B)	(B)		
	Pre-Alg. 7 D-4	Pre-Alg. 7 D-4	Math 7A D-4	LUNCH	Math 7A D-4	Math-C 7 D-4	Math-C 7 D-4	Math-B 7 D-4		
	Math-A 7 D-2	Math-A 7 D-2	Math 7AA D-2	LUNCH	Math 7AA D-2	Math-A 7 D-2	(A)	Math-C 7 D-2		
	(6)	Math-C 7 C-8	(6)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(5)			
	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	Science 7 F-1	Science 7 E-1			
	Science 7 D-3	Science 7 D-3	Sci. 7 D-3	LUNCH	Sci. 7 D-3	Science 7 D-3	Science 7 D-3	Science 7 D-3		
	(5)	Science 7 D-1	Sci. 7 D-1	LUNCH	Sci. 7 D-1	(6)	(5)	(5)		
Cassidy	Soc. St. 7 D-5	Soc. St. 7 D-5	C D			Soc. St. 7 D-5	Soc. St. 7 D-5	Soc. St. 7 D-5		
	(8)	(8)	(8)	(8)	Soc. St. 7 D-5	Soc. St. 7 D-5	Soc. St. 7 D-5			
	<u>Vacant</u>	Soc. St. 7 C-4	(6)	(6)	(5)	(6)	<u>Vacant</u>			
	Agri. 7 X-2	Agri. 7 X-2	Agri. 7 X-2	LUNCH	Agri. 7 X-2	Agri. 7 X-2	Agri. 7 X-2	Agri. 7 X-2		
	PE 7 Gym	PE 7 Gym	PE 7 Gym	LUNCH	PE 7 Gym	f. 7 Gym	f. 7 Gym	PE 7 Gym		
	<u>Vacant</u>	<u>Vacant</u>	(3)	(3)	(8)	Expl. Lat/So 7 X-1	<u>Vacant</u>			
	(8)	(8)	Gifted 5, 7 & 8 D-6	LUNCH	Gifted 5, 7 & 8 D-6					
	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	LUNCH	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	Reading 6 T-1 C-10	Reading 6 T-1 C-10		

Figure 5. continued

GRADE 8													
8:45	9:16	9:40	10:11	10:35	11:01	11:35	11:55	12:25	12:56	1:00	1:51	1:55	2:45
(6-7)	(6-7)	(6-7)	(7)	LA-A SH A-3	LUNCH	LA-A SH A-3	Lng Arts B A-3						
<u>Vacant</u>	<u>Vacant</u>	<u>Vacant</u>	Lng Arts B E-4	Lng Arts B E-4	LUNCH	Lng Arts B E-4							
(6-7)	(6-7)	(7)	Reading-C B D-8										
Math B-B E-8	Math B-A E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8	Math-C B E-8
(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Math B-A E-6	Math-C B E-6	Math B-BA E-6	Math B-B E-6										
Science B E-1	Science B-H E-1	Science B E-1	Sci. B E-1										
Science B E-3	Science B E-3	C D	Sci. B E-3										
Soc. St. B M-1	Soc. St. B M-1	Soc. St. B-H M-1	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Soc. St. B E-5	Soc. St. B E-5	Soc. St. B E-5	SS B E-5										
PE B Gym	PE B Gym	PE B Gym	LUNCH										
Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10	Business B B-10
Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B	Home Ec. B B-4 & B
Lng. Arts B D-6	Lng Arts B D-6	Gifted B, 7 & B D-6	LUNCH										
Band - C B - B M-2	Band - I B - B M-2	Band - B B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2	Band - W B - B M-2
<u>Vacant</u>	<u>Vacant</u>	Latin I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1	Span. I B X-1

Figure 5. continued

counselors, representative specialists, and the principal and/or assistant principal and met periodically (i.e., less than once a month), for information dissemination and decision-making. The curriculum committee, comprised of three teachers who were also department chairpersons, was assigned one class period per day for the task of revising and rewriting the subject area curriculum plans so that each area's curriculum could be standardized and recorded. Teacher input was solicited by the curriculum committee members through the department structures during their meetings.

The administrator group operated as a team with the principal in the leadership role. When asked how decisions got made, the assistant principal responded, "The principal says you're going to do that and it gets done [laughs]" (Assistant Principal 7/21, 46). He continued:

We're like the team management concept. Although the principal is in charge, he'll never, at least I don't think, make a decision without consulting us. (Assistant Principal 7/21, 47)

The entire staff was involved in regular faculty meetings. According to the assistant principal, "the principal solicits teachers' opinions informally or formally at faculty meetings" (Assistant Principal 7/21, 48). He added:

At faculty meetings the principal . . . would ask for peoples' opinions and we would discuss it there sometimes or ask if anybody has anything to say about this, see me later. Sometimes the faculty are involved. Sometimes they are not. (Assistant Principal 7/21, 48)

Building and Spatial Organization

Hidden Brook had a large campus area of six square street blocks. The building was a wing formation with uncovered corridors and walkways.

The map in Figure 6 reveals the basic design of the plant. The space was essentially divided into five wings: A, B, C, D, and E. While there was no consistent theme which explains the arrangement of teachers in space, wings generally housed students from the same grade level.

(A) wing basically housed teachers and students in the sixth and seventh grades for language arts/reading. The south side of (C) wing served this same purpose. All remaining classes for sixth graders were on (C) wing's north side with the exception of one science classroom on (B) wing. For seventh graders, math, social studies, and science classes were held in (D) wing.

Eighth graders' classrooms were located on (D) and (E) wings with an additional classroom M-1 located to the east of (E) wing. The facilities used for electives were located throughout the building and the specialists requiring special facilities were placed accordingly (see Figure 6).

School Philosophy

The school's stated philosophy for 1980-1981 was as follows:

1. To provide an environment in which both teaching and learning may take place.
2. To help our students acquire and/or further develop basic communication and reasoning skills which we hope will ultimately equip each student to become an independent learner.
3. To strive to recognize the uniqueness of each of our students in terms of intellectual, emotional, social and physical characteristics; and to, insofar as is possible, provide a curriculum that will adequately meet the wide range of our students' needs, abilities, and interests.
4. To inculcate in our student body a value system which respects the dignity and worth of all peoples.

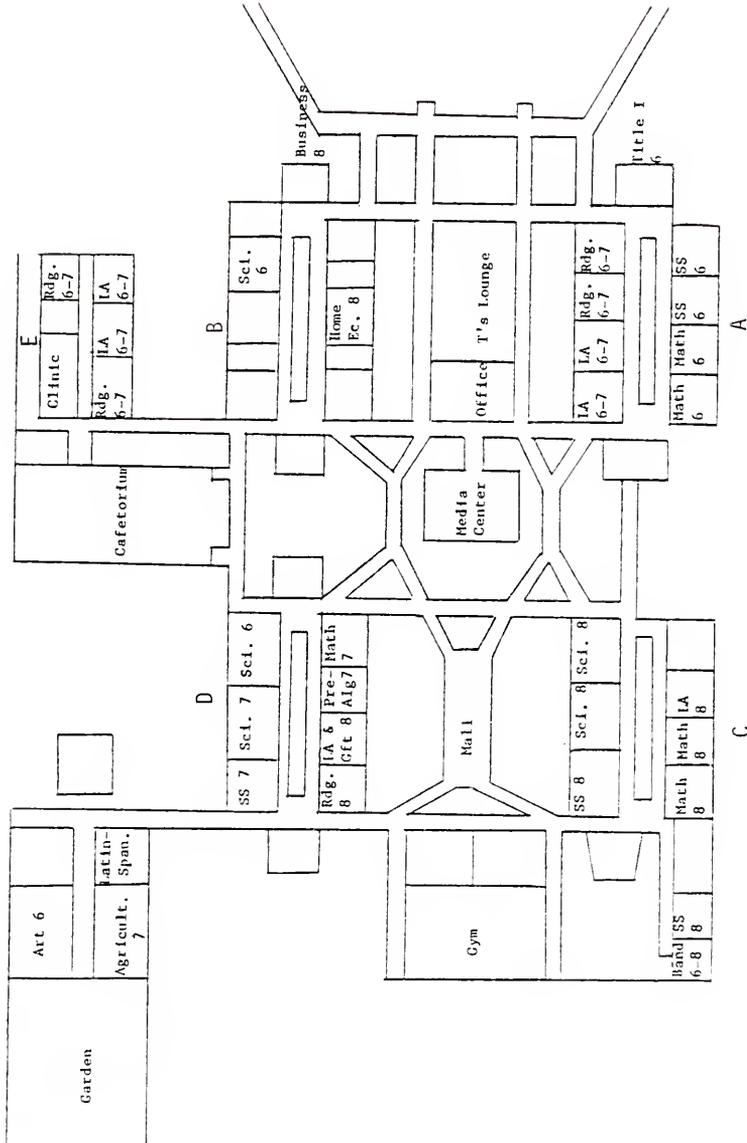


Figure 6. Map of Hidden Brook Middle School floorplan.

Long Meadow Middle School

Historical Background

Long Meadow is a middle school serving grades 6-8 and has been since its opening in 1974. In 1974, Long Meadow was essentially a brand new school program finding a home in an older building which had an altogether separate history. At that time, a new administration with a newly selected staff were given county funds to refurbish the school plant that had been closed for several years. Before 1974, the school was a segregated black high school which was closed with court ordered integration in 1970. It was, in fact, Long Meadow's black high school students who were moved to Hidden Brook among other local school locations during that transitional period. Long Meadow was opened because the county's student enrollments in schools with grades 6-8 called for the opening of another middle school. Appropriately located in a section of the community not then served by a middle school, the unused building was a perfect site for Long Meadow Middle School's new beginning.

From 1974 until 1980, very few major changes in the administration and organization occurred. The current principal has been with the school since its opening as have two of the three assistant principals. Minor changes have been made in the curriculum and schedule, but the major program features which were present in 1974 are still visible at Long Meadow today. In fact, these program features are those which were affiliated with the middle school concept the county pursued during this time, including the interdisciplinary team organization, a

student-oriented electives program, an advisor-advisee/student guidance program, and multiage student grouping. It was precisely these same programs which were temporarily implemented at Hidden Brook, but which were dissolved with subsequent administrative changes.

Starting as a middle school in 1974 and still one with very much the same character in 1980-1981 school year, Long Meadow has not endured the same changing history as has Hidden Brook. Most important, however, is the fact that with the exception of 1978 county requirement for a basal textbook approach in reading and math, most of the changes which took place in its history of seven years were generated from within by the teachers and administrators.

The assistant principal who was a former teacher and team leader and who has been with the school since it opened reflected on the past:

So there has been a progressive change but very gradual change. Nothing drastic overnight. . . . We have had a certain amount of stability. . . . Teachers don't leave once they come here. [The stability] . . . is a product of [principal] who is the pied piper. He said to the teachers what his philosophy is. We have bought into him personally; professionally as far as his beliefs are concerned, and what he feels are good things for kids. And I think that that has continued to happen. As he hired teachers, he hired people that have an affinity for his ideas and they have become, if you will, disciples. When you have 60 disciples, you tend to maintain the doctrine. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 37,38)

Student Population

During the 1980-1981 school year, Long Meadow served approximately 960 students in grades 6-8. The racial composition of the student population was 58% white, 39% black, and 3% other. According to the socioeconomic predictors provided by the State Department of Education's

annual report, approximately 54% of the students qualified for a free or reduced lunch plan.

Grouping, Scheduling, and Curriculum

Long Meadow's 960 students were divided up into six approximately same-sized groups called teams. Each team had an approximately equal number of students from the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades with each team's population balanced by race, sex, ability, and exceptionalities. Students from the three grades were grouped together for instruction in a multiage grouping arrangement. As a result, the students spent three years on the same team, with the same teachers, and with many of the same peers. In describing how it works, the assistant principal stated that "two-thirds of the teams' former students returned each year." She explained further why multiage grouping was originally instituted:

The whole premise is that we all learn at different rates and all sixth graders are not at the same place, at the same time. So why not look for weaknesses that need to be addressed no matter what grade the child is in and attend to those needs rather than what grade is on your folders for students. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 19-20)

In addition to the schoolwide grouping of students by teams, students were scheduled into their classes by the team's teachers and according to a number of different criteria. All students were required to take six, forty-five minute classes daily, with about three minutes between classes designated by teacher judgment and synchronized watches. Bells were only rung at the start, middle, and end of the school day. The basic curriculum offered to all students included Advisor-Advisee

(Teacher-Student Guidance Program), reading, language arts, social science, mathematics, physical education, and exploratory courses (i.e., continuous courses in home economics, industrial arts, band, and art as well as mini-courses designed and taught by the team's teachers). The first phase of scheduling occurred by team. Teams were paired for scheduling purposes and followed this schedule, with the specified rotations for the school year (see Figure 7).

Variations in individual student schedules on any team reflected differences in the student's instructional level for reading, special learning needs, and student interests. Placement in a reading class was done according to the student's instructional level in the basal reading program. The reading classes generally had two reading groups per class. After a student's reading class placement was determined, he/she was randomly placed in classes for math, language arts, and social studies/science, unless he/she had an exceptional learning status. Students who were gifted, specific learning disabled, emotionally handicapped, or educably mentally handicapped were scheduled into exceptional education classes according to their special needs. Additional variations in scheduling included student placement in an Algebra class, Title I reading class, compensatory math or compensatory communications class, or a bilingual education class. Students who qualified for Title I reading were exempt from the social studies/science class. The compensatory communications class replaced the standard language arts class for the students enrolled.

The students on every team were divided into two groups for the scheduling of a physical education and an exploratory class. Sixth

First Trimester Schedule			
	W Team & T Team	D Team & H Team	C Team & B Team
Advisor - Advisee Time			
8:40--9:10			
9:10--9:55	SKILLS	EXPLORATORY/P.E.	SKILLS
9:57--10:42			
10:44--11:29	SKILLS	SKILLS	EXPLORATORY/P.E.
11:31--12:16			
12:16--1:10	L U R C H		
1:12--1:57	EXPLORATORY/P.E.	SKILLS	SKILLS
2:00--2:45			
2:45	After 1st 12 wks - U & T take D & H Schedule D & H take C & B Schedule C & B take W & T Schedule Rotate ahead one block to complete cycle, etc.		
	2nd 12 -		

Figure 7. Master schedule at Long Meadow Middle School.

graders and the younger seventh graders constituted "A day" students. The second group, called "B day" students were the older seventh graders and the eighth graders. As the schedule indicates, the students took a ninety minute P.E. (physical education) class every other day, alternating with two, forty-five minute exploratory classes.

For the exploratory classes, students enrolled in two, twelve-week long classes that they selected from a list of offerings generated by both the elective teachers and the academic teachers. Examples included

Sample List of Exploratory Mini-Courses

Long Meadow Lingo	(Production of school newspaper; introduction to journalism)
The Great American Heroes	(Study of famous Americans)
Myths and Magic	(Folklore, mythology, witchcraft)
Fun with Fitness	(Jogging, health habits, fitness training)
Words for the Wise	(Vocabulary enrichment)
Survival	(Basic life skills course; career education)
Garbage Art	(Creative use of unusual materials)
Growing Your Own Thing	(Horticulture and gardening; vocational agriculture)
Sewing	(Home economics)
Advanced Band	(Performing instrumental music)
Beginning Band	(Introduction to an instrument; music)

They were included in the curriculum, according to the assistant principal, to

expose students to a variety of things because few are at the point where they are ready to say "this is what I want and I will want and I promise I will want it for the next six years." Most of them are at the point of saying, "This is what and I promise I will want it for the next six minutes." So we feel that they need to be exposed to a variety of subjects and interests. . . . We also feel decision-making for kids is not an automatic practice, so we want kids to make some practice choices. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 17,18)

In addition to the basic subjects and exploratory classes, all students participated in a 25-minute daily Advisor-Advisee class. According to the assistant principal, this class is designed to "focus on the personal development needs of students." Each teacher was assigned about 25 of their team's students as advisees. Students remained with the same advisor for their three years at the school. The advisors were responsible for attendance records, report cards, cumulative folders, dissemination of school and team news, and parent communications for their advisees. In addition, advisors were expected to conduct specific activities designed to meet the affective objectives written for the Advisor-Advisee program. As the assistant principal described the Advisor-Advisee program, she said:

It's the student's home away from home. It starts off when the principal comes on the intercom and gives everybody a little pep talk; gives them the news of the day and the weather forecast and just pumps us all up, including the teachers. The A-A teacher is responsible for an activity this particular period. It can be a variety of activities. A couple of days are devoted to silent reading when we try to emphasize to the children that it is important for them to read. Then the other three days of the week the teacher . . . may plan a values clarification activity, a career education idea . . . it could be a lesson, particularly at the beginning of the year, helping students get to know each other. We want to build a sense of identity in our A-A's so we do things to get them to mingle with and learn about each other. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 5)

Special Activities

Almost all of the special activities offered to students were arranged through the team or flexible and varied exploratory, mini-course program. Others included

Orientation

The entire first day of school was devoted to the orientation of students. Students were self-contained all day long in their Advisor-Advisee classes. During the day, students participated in getting-to-know-you activities, they toured the building, met with their entire team, reviewed the student handbook, received locks and lockers and were prepared for the next day of academic classes. This orientation day was a school ritual which has been conducted since the school first opened.

Athletic Playoffs

During the school year, intramural sports playoff competitions were held and the entire school participated. Two classes were suspended and students and teachers went to the gym or playground to watch the event. Playoffs were run between the teams so that team support was part of the affair. Students had banners and posters for their respective teams. Teachers competed with the students' all-star team as well.

Team Activities

In lieu of other special activities, individual teams conducted numerous special activities such as field trips, large group assemblies, awards, honor roll, and holiday celebrations. The assistant principal reviewed particular examples:

One team took their kids on an all night campout at Camp Crystal. And we had other teams that took them swimming. One team took them to the park and another to the zoo. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 44)

The Student Council

This was a group of elected student officers combined with student representatives from each Advisor-Advisee group. The group met monthly with the principal to attend to student concerns or goals.

Band and Choir

Students who wished to participate in the performing band or chorus did so on a voluntary basis during a portion of their daily lunch hour, in lieu of recess time.

Clubs

Future Farmers of America
Future Homemakers of America
Annual Production

Staffing and Teacher Organization

The teachers were organized for instruction into six interdisciplinary teams. Each team had about 160 students and seven teachers. All classroom teachers were team members. The six teams were identified as W, T, D, M, C, and B. Mr. Waters and Ms. Lane, the two teachers investigated, were both members of D team. Each team had teachers in each of the following areas: math, reading, language arts, social studies/science. The nature of the additional team members who were attached to the teams varied from team to team. The physical education teachers, Title I reading teachers, compensatory education teachers, special education teachers (i.e., teachers of both the handicapped and gifted), and the full-time elective teachers (i.e., home economics, art, music, and industrial arts/vocational agricultural) were placed on teams throughout the school.

The academic teachers on any given team taught the same basic group of students, shared the same wing of the building with neighboring classrooms, had a common meeting room, shared the same budget and supplies, and shared the same daily schedule and lunch period. Teachers

taught six classes daily with a planning period every other day with the exception of the team leaders who had a planning period every day.

The teams met at least once weekly in a formal manner to discuss school business, the teams' students, and to make plans for various team activities. They met collectively to conference parents of the teams' students.

The distribution of the teaching staff by teaching area was as follows:

6 language arts	6 social studies/science
6 reading	6 math (includes algebra)
3 Title 1	2 compensatory education
1 bilingual	4 exceptional education
1 hard of hearing	1 art
2 hard of hearing aides	1 band/music
1½ media specialists	1 home economics
	1 vocational agriculture
	3 physical education

The administrative staff consisted of a principal, two assistant principals of curriculum, and assistant principal of discipline or dean, two counselors, and six team leaders who were also classroom teachers. Leadership in the subject areas was handled by vertical subject area committees and volunteer chairpersons. The staff was also equipped with secretarial, food services, and custodial personnel.

Leadership and Administration

The major administrative structure at Long Meadow was the Program Improvement Council, which was a decision-making steering committee comprised of the principal, assistant principals, and team leaders along with representatives from special education, guidance, media, and the specialists' group. This group met bi-monthly. According to the assistant principal's description:

Our Program Improvement Council or P.I.C. is the team leaders where each team has a representative able to voice an opinion and carry news back to the teachers about what takes place. We do a lot of decision-making there. Any program change comes up for discussion at that time. Anytime we're going to talk about how we're going to do the schedule for the play-offs, or grades for the next six weeks, . . . everybody has a chance for input. . . . After P.I.C. meetings on Mondays, the team leaders hold a meeting with their teams to report back to them exactly what is taking place, and make sure everybody is informed about what's taking place. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 25)

In addition to the structure of P.I.C., the vertical subject area committees met monthly at varying times so that the assistant principal of curriculum could attend all subject area meetings. Their role in the school was described in this way:

They determine needs for their curriculum. They coordinate things like the science fair, essay contest, book lists. They make suggestions about schedule changes for the future. They suggest who should be sent to the county to represent their subject at the middle school level. They share teaching ideas. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 26)

The organization of teachers into interdisciplinary teams under the guidance of a team leader added another dimension to the school's administrative structure. The teaming teachers and the team leaders had administrative responsibilities. Teams met weekly to make decisions

regarding the curriculum and instruction for the team's students. Decisions regarding the adoption of special procedures for the team or school, modifications in the schedule, or special team events, while cleared through P.I.C., were delegated to the team. Moreover, as the assistant principal elaborated:

Teachers are the ones that determine their class roll: which kid comes to which period of their class and each of our six teams does it a little bit differently and that's their own autonomy. . . . We do not schedule in the front office. Guidance counselors don't schedule. The computer doesn't schedule. We [the office] publish a list of students eligible for Title I, gifted, handicapped, compensatory education. . . . Then the team teachers sit down and talk about their instructional plans for the year and what their needs are for kids. As a reading teacher, we have some teachers who say, I want a low group and a high group in the same class, but all six reading teachers do it a little differently. . . . Math is done in a similar way. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 13, 14)

Teaming teachers had an active role in the administrative affairs of their team. The team leader's tasks indicate further the range of leadership activities. Listing some of the tasks they performed the assistant principal stated:

They do everything; chair team meetings, attend P.I.C., manage the team budget, lead parent conferences. They direct their team so that the team ends up doing things that are good for kids. (Assistant Principal 7/22, 29)

This combination of P.I.C., the team structure, and team leadership provided for a continuous back and forth flow of information and dialogue between the teachers and administrators at Long Meadow. It produced a participatory leadership structure. Ms. Lane, a team leader, and Mr. Waters, a team member, agreed about their influence in school administration. As Mr. Waters phrased it, "There are limitless possibilities. The principal wants us to get involved" (Q 8,25, ORAL, NR).

Building and Spatial Organization

The map of the building which follows shows the basic design of the facility. There are three long wings running parallel and divided in half by a long corridor which stretches from one side of the building to the other. All of the classrooms and main corridors are indoors.

The six half hallways have been utilized to maximize the teaming teachers' proximity. Team areas are marked on the map. In addition, some classroom space has been used for each team's planning room. The specialists teaching in the areas of Title I, exceptional education, physical education, art, home economics, music, and hard-of-hearing were located throughout the building. Some of the exceptional education teachers of the handicapped students were located on the same wing or section of the building. Naturally, the specialists requiring special facilities were housed in those specially equipped classrooms (see Figure 8).

School Philosophy

The stated philosophy reads as follows:

We believe:

1. Every middle school student is special and unique.
2. Each moment of a student's day finds him interacting with his environment in ever-changing ways.
3. Special scheduling and subject area offerings are necessary to motivate the transescent.
4. A child who is given room to "stretch," both physically and mentally, probing into areas of learning and activities

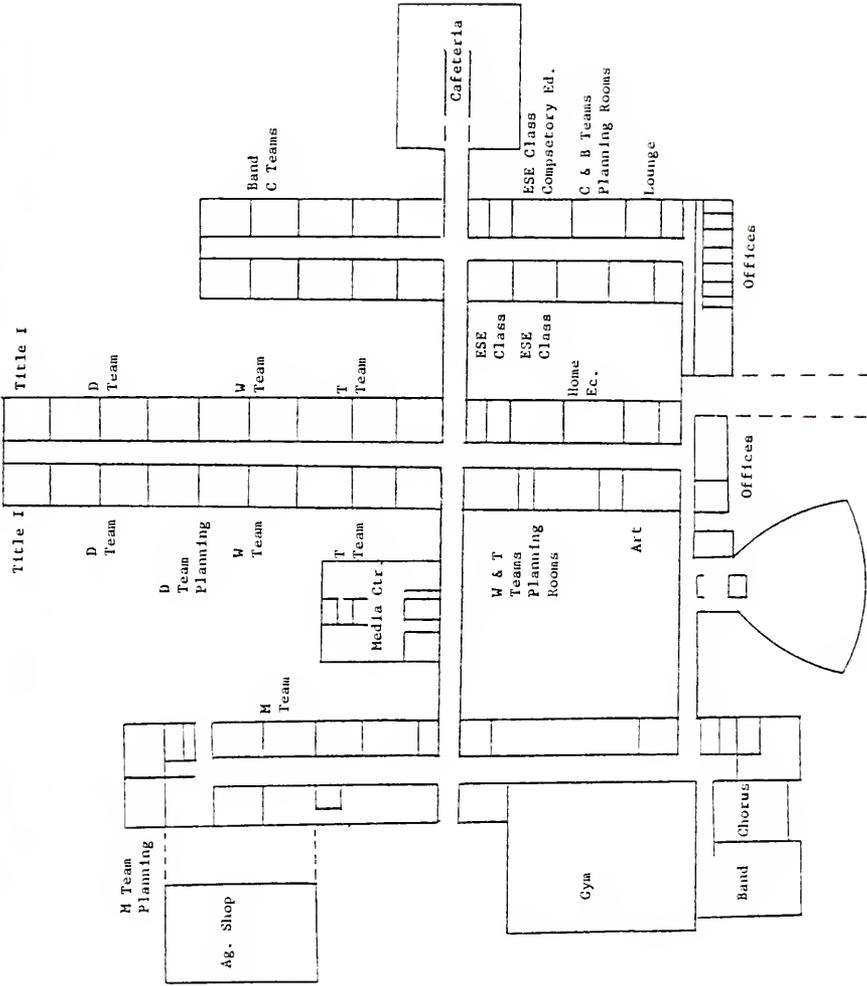


Figure 8. Map of Long Meadow Middle School floorplan.

he has never known before, is more likely to develop an active mind and body, become a more resourceful and well-rounded adult.

5. There's nothing wrong with a child enjoying school, liking to learn, broadening his mental horizon, and expanding his vast store of physical and mental energies in learning.

APPENDIX B
DATA COLLECTION ITEMS

Appendix B contains copies of the items used in the collection of observation and interview data including an actual sample field note entry, a list of questions generated for focused teacher and administrator interviews, and copies of the two instruments used to collect data on teachers' role perceptions (Fox et al., 1973, 39-41).

4/6/81

Doda-Quinn -3

open their lockers put their things in the lockers take books out and Quinn explains them immediately as they enter "Go to your locker and then line up at the door." "Go to your locker and then line up at the door." He says this repeatedly as the students come in. Students seem to follow the directions readily yet many ask "Where are we going?" "What's going on?" Several students seem to know and remind the others. When all the students in Quinn's class have lined up at the door he leaves-immediately closes the door behind and has the students follow in a line. Noticing in the hallway there are lines of other children walking down the hall way towards the auditorium. Quinn turns around and asks one of the latter students to please close the door behind her. She does. But first says, "I'm not the last one out." And he kind of looks at her and she stays there and waits to close the door. The students file down into the auditorium. Since there is students it takes a few minutes.. I'd say it's approximately 8:52. Quinn gets to the back of the auditorium and starts the film and then stands at the back of the auditorium to "make sure that everything goes okay." The film describes the story of a town that was hit by a tornado. And describes how people prepared for the

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Doda-Quinn-5

4/6/81

The principal came down midway through the movie. He didn't seem to be there other than personal interest. I asked him later and he said this is something we need to be informed about. Before we return for Quinn's first period class Linda and I pass each other in the hall. Linda says, "The kids were so good today. We didn't even have time to submit the behavior before hand." Linda is very delighted about this, seems to pleased that the film went so well this morning. (Smiling)

I walk back now to Quinn's classroom. And this is first period social studies class. The students are quiet and seated. They're preparing to teach other. Quinn says, "You don't have time to waste at all. You need to get immediately busy." Students are studying the topics of government, religion, transportation and these are all listed in a book they're using. They are working in pairs. Quinn says, "You haven't got one statement written yet. What did you do on Friday? You'd better hurry up. You've been fooling around. That's what you're telling me." He is talking to a student who doesn't look like he is working and who hasn't turned in the work from the week before.

Quinn is walking around the room. Pausing at tables where

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Doda-Quinn-8

4/6/81

here. There is a difference you know." "Shh!" And then "This is not going to work here unless your comments are restricted to teaching." Linda comes in to say, "I thought the program this morning was excellent and the behavior was excellent."

Linda walks around the room with some blank sheets called contracts that the team gives to students. She gives out to about five students and then leave. The teacher says, "Everybody stop and listen." "Thomas, so that you don't make mistakes." He then tells the students to come during lunch time to A-A to finish work. William turns in, a student by the name of William turns in his paper to Quinn. And Quinn says to him, "William, I have to talk with you later about Scot." The student says, "Is he back yet." The teacher says, "No, they may have to send him for stitches." The student leaves.

This student leaves and the rest of the class leaves and within 35 second to 1 minute: all students in this class have gone and a whole new group of students are in. Time is 10:04 a.m. This is the beginning of what they call mod 2. The teacher says, "We're going to go through the same as before. If you got first choice on Friday you should get second choice today." Teacher says, "Wait

There is no teaching going on. There is all reading so...

UNISORT ANALYSIS CARBONITE 79

TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. a. What is teaching?
b. How would you describe your philosophy of teaching or your guiding beliefs and assumptions about the job that you do?
2. What are your major goals as a teacher?
3. How did you develop these goals and your orientation to teaching? What experiences contributed to your current perspective?
4. Do you think that there's a teaching philosophy that guides your school's staff? If so, what is it? How does it compare/contrast with yours?
5. Has your philosophy, your goals as a teacher, changed while you've been here at this school? If so, in what ways and for what reasons?
6. Have you taught elsewhere? If so, can you compare teaching there and here?
7. We've talked about different kinds of students. Can you tell me about all of the different kinds of students you teach? (How do you distinguish the students?)
8. Do you have to change your teaching to accommodate these types? If so, how or in what ways?
9. Do you ever feel anxious, nervous or uneasy at school? What makes you feel this way?
Probe for: Student behaviors and fear of students; teaching difficulties.
10. Are there things you look most forward to each day when coming to school? What are they? What don't you like about your work?
11. Do students support your teaching goals? How? Do they challenge or compete with your teaching goals? How?
12. How does your teaching situation affect your capacity to achieve your teaching goals? In what ways does it lend support? In what ways does it interfere?
13. How did you come to get this particular teaching job? Why did you take this job?
14. You've been teaching here for some time. Why have you stayed at this job?
15. Can you describe your relationship with your students? Give examples. Are there kinds of relationships with students?

16. What are the kinds of things that you do with students?
17. What kinds of things do teachers do together?
18. a. Can you describe your relationships with your fellow teachers?
b. Would you like to work more or less closely with teachers?
19. What are the ways you evaluate students?
20. What things are evaluated?
21. What purposes do grades serve? What do grades mean to you? Are they important? If so, in what ways?
22. What constitutes "failure"? Why would a student receive an F? How is that determined?
23. What do you do for failing students?
24. How are students retained? What are grounds for retention? Who decides? How is the decision made?
25. How do you maintain classroom discipline? What tactics do you use?
26. When students misbehave or cause discipline problems, what are they typically doing? Why do you think they are misbehaving?
27. Are there different kinds of discipline problems? What are they? What kind of discipline problem plagues you the most?
28. What are the kinds of things you talk about with students?
29. Are there acceptable and non-acceptable ways to teach here? Give examples of each.
30. In an average week how much time do you spend:

Actual teaching	_____
Direct preparation (planning, setting up, etc.)	_____
Grading	_____
Routine paper work (administrative)	_____
Extra duties (bus, lunch room)	_____
Meetings	_____
Other	_____
31. How much time, including weekends, do you spend working at home?
32. What kinds of knowledge do you think a middle school teacher must possess? i.e., What must she be able to do?
33. What would you say is your greatest strength as a teacher?

34. What aspect of your teaching would you like to improve, if any?
35. Has the room always been arranged this way? How did you decide on this arrangement?
Probe for: Any advantages to the current arrangement?
Any disadvantages?
36. Who supplied the materials you have in the room?
Probe for: Reasons for objections to materials.
Would use something similar anyway?
Would teacher consider not using required materials?
37. Are there any materials you consider essential to your program? What and why?
38. If you had extra money provided, what would you buy? Why?
39. How do you think your students handle choice situations? Can they make choices? How do they choose?
Probe for: Is choice based on genuine interest or passing fancy?
Are children's interests used in subsequent planning?
What do you do when a child makes the same choice repeatedly?
Are some children unable to make choices? Why?
How do you help these children?
What kinds of things do you let children choose?
Why?
40. Have you ever had a child who was not interested in school activities? How did you deal with the problem?
41. How important do you think it is to stick to a daily schedule?
Probe for: What happens when a child is involved in an activity and it is time for a scheduled change activity?
42. Sometimes a child may refuse to participate in an activity? What do you do? Why?
43. Recall a time you felt especially proud of something you did as a teacher. Tell me about it.
44. What goals do you feel particularly successful in achieving? How do you know?
45. What goals do you feel least successful in achieving? How do you know?
46. When a child has problems mastering a skill, what do you do?

47. How many parent conferences do you have each year? What are the reasons for most conferences?
48. What do you consider the major responsibilities of the principal towards you? What are your responsibilities toward him? To what extent does the principal or some other administrator control the curriculum? Can you give me some examples?
49. What kinds of interaction do you have with the principal?
Probe for: Frequency of class visits
Frequency of office visits (initiated by whom)
Social meetings
Content of interactions
50. How do you participate in school decision-making?
51. Where do you get new insights and ideas for work?
--Inservice
--Informal conversations with friends and colleagues
--Out of school interests
--Past experience
--Educational books and magazines
--Meetings within the school system
--Courses
--Supervisor
--Other _____
52. Which of the following is most helpful to you as a classroom teacher?
--Principal
--Central Office Supervisor
--Assistant principal (if appropriate)
--Other teachers
--Others _____ Why and in what ways?
53. If you wanted to ask someone to help you with your own private assessment of your teaching, to whom would you turn?
54. Do some school policies, regulations, etc. conflict with your teaching? How? Can you influence a change in policy?
55. Is there anything that might help me to understand you better as a teacher that you have not had the opportunity to tell me? What?

PRINCIPAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Did you teach? What grades? How long?
Probe for: Perceived importance of teaching experience to role as principal.
2. Have you had any other experiences which have contributed to your educational belief system?
3. Have you taught or been a principal in other schools? How did they compare to this school?
4. How did you spend your average work week? How many hours in each of the following:
 - Administrative tasks (paper work, scheduling, etc. _____
 - Meetings _____
 - Dealing with disciplinary problems _____
 - Supervising instruction _____
 - Curriculum planning _____
 - Conferences with parents _____
 - Conferences with teachers (dealing with matters other than discipline) _____
 - Other _____
5. If you could completely organize your work schedule and responsibilities, how would you spend most of your time?
Probe for: Interest in administrative responsibilities, such as meetings, scheduling, etc.
Interest in educational responsibilities such as curriculum planning, supervision, etc.
6. When you interview a teacher, what qualities do you look for? (Do you have the final authority in hiring decisions for your school?)
7. Obviously you have limited time to observe in classrooms. How do you decide whom to observe and when?
8. What do you look for in judging the effectiveness of a teacher? (i.e., What are the evaluation criteria used in observation?)
9. What would you do if you have a teacher whom you considered highly ineffective?
10. Sometimes teachers complain about the amount of paperwork they are required to do. How do you feel about the amount of paperwork they have?
Probe for: Do you consider it excessive?
Do you try to alleviate the burden? How?
11. Do certain school policies, regulations, etc. conflict with your view of administration? How? Can you influence a change in policy?

12. What do you see as the major problem teachers are faced with here at your school?
13. Are there certain things you require teachers at a particular level or subject to teach?
Probe for: Required subjects, programs, texts
Time requirements
Reason for requirements.
14. What do you consider a teacher's primary responsibilities toward you and the school? What do you consider your responsibilities toward him/her?
15. What are your educational goals? What is it you hope your school can and will do for children?
16. How often do you meet the teachers (formally or informally)? What do you generally discuss? (discipline, instructional problems, administrative matters, other)
17. How were scheduling decisions made for this year? (i.e., how was it decided when classes go to lunch, library, art, etc.)?
18. Do you think children are capable of handling choice situations? Do you encourage (or discourage) teachers to provide choice situations for children? How? What kinds of choices do you think children should have?
19. Do teachers in the school work mostly together or mostly independently?
Probe for: Nature of Cooperation
Extent of Cooperation
20. Would you like teachers to work more _____ (independently or cooperatively as appropriate).
21. Could you describe a teacher you consider especially outstanding?
22. What kinds of knowledge do you think a teacher must possess? (i.e., What does she need to know?)
23. What kinds of skills do you think a teacher must possess? (i.e., What must she be able to do?)
24. How do teachers participate in school decision-making?
25. What is teaching?
26. Have your views of teaching and learning changed since you have been the principal here? If so, in what ways?

27. Do you think that there's a teaching philosophy that guides your school's staff? If so, what is it? How does it compare with yours?
28. Have you seen teachers change while working here at this school? What kinds of changes have you observed? Do you know what precipitated those changes?
29. When teachers have left this school what have been their reasons for leaving?
30. Is there anything that would help me understand your role as principal better that you have not had the opportunity to tell me? What?

ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Would you tell me about this school building and the arrangement of teachers, students, personnel, and programs in the facility?
2. Would you describe the school's curriculum and instructional program for students in each of the three grades?
3. How are students scheduled into classes?
4. Describe a typical student's day? Then, would you describe a teacher's typical day?
5. How many teachers are there in the school and what do they teach? What support personnel work with the staff?
6. Who are the school leaders?
7. How do decisions get made here? What are the decision-making groups in the school? What functions do they serve? How often do they meet?
8. What is the student enrollment here this year? What is the racial and socioeconomic composition of the student body?
9. What significant historical changes have you witnessed at the school?
10. What is this school's philosophy? How does the school attempt to achieve its ultimate aims?
11. What tactics do you use here to maintain effective school discipline?
12. What are teachers' priorities here at school?
13. What special extracurricular activities are provided for students? How are teachers involved?
14. Is there anything else I should know about this school?

SELF-CONCEPTION OF OWN ROLE PERFORMANCE

All of us have certain things about our own role performance which we think are important. There are ten numbered blanks on the page below. In the blanks, please write ten adjectives or short descriptive phrases, each referring to the simple statement, "As a teacher, I do the following things." Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. We are interested in both positive and negative aspects. Do not worry about logic but try to be as clear as possible. Write each descriptive word or phrase as rapidly as possible. Your first impressions are good enough.

AS A TEACHER, I DO THE FOLLOWING THINGS:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Now go back and evaluate each of these things according to how positive or negative you see it. In order to represent a range, place double plus (++) if you feel the characteristic is *quite positive*, a (+) single plus if you see it as *somewhat positive*, a single minus (-) if you see it as *somewhat negative*, and a double minus (--) if you see the thing as *quite negative*. Be sure to evaluate each descriptive word or phrase by placing one of these sign configurations on the small line to the right of each. Remember there are four such signs, (++) , (+) , (-) , and (--). Work rapidly.

Diagnosing Professional Climate of Schools, "Self-Conception of Own Role (Teacher)" and "Self-Conception of Own Role (Teacher)" by Robert S. Fox, Richard Schmuck, Elmer Van Egmond, Miriam Ritvo, and Charles Jung, copyright 1973, NTL Learning Resources Corp., Inc.

INSTRUMENT #6-A

SELF-CONCEPTION OF OWN ROLE (TEACHER)

Rank the following seven items in accord with how often you perform each in your role. Place a "1" by the most frequently performed item, a "2" by the second most frequently performed, and so on down to "7", which will be the least frequently performed item.

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Item</i>
_____	Communicate with students as a group.
_____	Work with students as individuals or sub-groups.
_____	Broaden myself by continuing formal education, reading current journals, attending workshops, participating in training programs, etc.
_____	Do study and research in my specialized field.
_____	Take part in community affairs concerned with education.
_____	Work on the "administrative" aspect of teaching.
_____	Try out new teaching techniques and methods.

APPENDIX C
TOOLS USED IN DATA ANALYSIS

The items included in Appendix C are tools which were used in the data analysis phases of the research. Included here are a sample list of domains, a list of semantic relationships used in the search for domains (Spradley, 1980, p. 93), and an actual completed domain recording sheet.

SAMPLE DOMAINS

Ways Teachers Make Decisions

Attributes of Decisions Teachers Make with Other Teachers

Kinds of Decisions Teachers Make with Other Teachers

Kinds of Topics Teachers Discuss with Other Teachers

Ways Teachers Help Other Teachers

Places Teachers Talk with Other Teachers

Reasons Teachers Talk to Other Teachers

Used to Encourage or Reward Students

Ways Teachers Help Students

Kinds of Activities Teachers Do with Students

Kinds of Problems Teachers Have

Kinds of Expectations Principal Has for Teachers

Ways Principal Communicates Expectations

Ways Principal Supports Teachers

Kinds of School Decoration

Kinds of School Celebrations

Relationship	Form	Example
1. Strict inclusion	X is a kind of Y	An expert witness (is a kind of) witness.
2. Spatial	X is a place in Y	The grand jury room (is a place in) the county courthouse.
	X is a part of Y	The jury box (is a part of) the criminal courtroom.
3. Cause-effect	X is a result of Y	Serving on the grand jury (is a result of) being selected.
4. Rationale	X is a reason for doing Y	A large number of cases (is a reason for) going rapidly.
5. Location-for-action	X is a place for doing Y	The grand jury room (is a place for) hearing cases.
6. Function	X is used for Y	Witnesses (are used for) bringing evidence.
7. Means-end	X is a way to do Y	Taking an oath (is a way to) symbolize the sacredness of jury duty.
8. Sequence	X is a step (stage) in Y	Making jail visits (is a stage in) grand jury activities.
9. Attribution	X is an attribution (characteristic) of Y	Authority (is an attribute of) the attorney.

School LMS

1. Semantic Relationship Strict Inclusion
2. Form X is a kind of Y
3. Example Class whips are kinds of students

<u>Included Terms</u>	<u>Relationships (Kinds of)</u>	<u>Cover Term</u>
<u>Kids with supportive homes (L5/7,7)</u>		
<u>Kids whose learning depends on my support (L5/7 →)</u>		<u>Students</u>
<u>Kids who "know what they're here for"</u>		
<u>Class whips - Kids who whip others into shape; little teachers</u>		
<u>Kids who need constant guidance</u>		

Structural Question: What are

all the different kinds of students t's perceive?

NOTES:

Perceptions don't seem to have differentiate students according to variations!!
 Perceptions associated with varied teacher responsibilities.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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