Values and Conflict in Initial Teacher Education

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Abstract

Initial Teacher Education (ITE) is based on a value system about what a prospective teacher should attain in terms of knowledge, teaching strategies and skills, attitude formation by the end of the programme. Mission Statements of various institutions providing ITE show consensus about the specifics of what is valued in the development of new teachers.

To a large extent, the values held reflect governmental perspectives on value, since legislation emanating from the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) controls ITE provision in the Universities and Colleges of Britain. Compliance is assured through financial control and by a National Curriculum for initial teacher training (ITT).

Despite apparent agreement about values, however, conflicts emerge between government agencies and the ITE providers about how to prepare new teachers for their tasks. Contemporary pressure is for teachers to resort to the didactic modes of delivery popular a century ago, rather than continuing with the more flexible approaches to curriculum delivery which have emerged since the mid 1960s. Philosophies about 'goodness' vary and are occasionally in opposition. More importantly though, is the conflict experienced by student teachers about what can and should be learned in order to become an effective teacher. Preparation of the apprentice teachers for award of qualified teacher status (QTS) is dependent upon
the apprentice teachers adopting the values upheld by the teaching profession and its masters. It is the problems that emerge in bringing the students to the specific value positions held by the ITE providers, which are the primary concern of this research investigation.

Student teachers come to their studies with a variety of backgrounds. They have been reared and educated in different cultural climates, sometimes in vastly different educational contexts. Some commence their preparation for teaching after raising families of their own, or having abandoned earlier careers. Their maturity brings with it some firmly held 'value sets' about how they believe children should be educated. Yet, the teacher educators must engender convergence of values, if qualified teacher status (QTS) is to be realistic for all candidates.

Generations of ITE providers have experienced a loss of students with excellent potential for becoming efficient and effective teachers. These students have been unable to adopt the value positions acceptable to the profession. Some are unable to perceive what is required, despite valiant attempts of the teacher educators to induct them into necessities. A minority fights to maintain personal values, only to discover that their conflict positions deny them entry to the teaching profession. The majority, despite diversity of ideals on entry to training, comes to accept contemporarily held values.
This research investigation presents the notion that ITE is concerned with value formation and the resolution of related conflicts. It focuses on the preparation of cohorts of student teachers in one particular university in South Eastern England. Research enquiry has resulted in insights into what is valued by teacher educators, teachers in schools and students alike. It examines emerging conflicts associated with the students' roles and tasks as 'new' teachers. Study of the micro situation within one ITE institution can only reveal factors, which might be universal. The material presented, however, provides a framework for localised investigation into values and conflict existent in initial teacher education.
Truth is hard to come by.
It needs both ingenuity in criticising old theory and
ingenuity in the imaginative invention of new theories.

London Association of Comparative Education, p16
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I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Dr Patricia Wade, who is in the fullest sense of the word, a teacher. Her ability to empower me to connect with my values and beliefs is remarkable. She taught me about values from a new angle. Several members of my family have been very generous with their support and time while this thesis was in progress. Special thanks to Hitland Paul, Geoff Paul, Olive Walter, Mary Prince and Cleveland Billey for being there when I needed them most.

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INTRODUCTION

In Britain, the formal primary education system is a vast enterprise which has to be understood in terms of economic, political and social changes. The main aim of formal primary schooling is socialization which results in the shaping of individuals, in the face of an existing set of social norms and values. Musgrave (1972:25) assumed that values promoted in schools always are agreed by politicians, educators and their advisers. However, during periods of rapid change, as has occurred over the last two decades, identification and choice of values can be made difficult by the lack of any generally accepted societal direction or by the existence of several competing values. Consequently, the State in 1989 produced a National Curriculum (NC) which identified educational values which could serve as a cementing agent and possible catalyst in Britain’s multicultural society.

Central to the implementation of the British NC are schools and teachers. The State has assumed for centuries that teachers would undertake the inculcation of societal values as part of their role as ‘good’ teachers. Their training or education took place through Initial Teacher Education (ITE) and in-service training. The ways in which social and cultural values influence the initial teacher education process are too important to ignore because both the acts of teaching and learning include values explicit and implicit. There is no single system of ITE. There are two principal patterns:
(1) **Consecutive:** a first degree, not in education, usually leading to the award of a Bachelor of Arts (BA) or Bachelor of Science (BSc), followed by a one-year full-time course of professional preparation, leading to the award of a Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). This route takes four years minimally, and may take five.

(2) **Concurrent:** a three or four-year course, integrating academic subject study, educational theory and professional practice, leading to the award of a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree or in some institutions BA or BSc with qualified teacher’s status (QTS). Course elements are designed to be mutually supportive, but the detailed relationship between the component parts is subject to minimum specifications and will vary between institutions.

The consecutive route is followed principally by intending secondary school teachers and the concurrent route by intending primary school teachers, although there is considerable overlap.

The thesis of this dissertation concentrates on student teachers following a four-year BEd degree course at a university in South East England, referred to as Paullon University (PU). The central focus of the thesis is the values and conflict in teacher education up to 1996, but some attention is given to positions beyond that date. Two empirical studies have informed the construction of the thesis. The first derives from an analysis of student teachers’ opinions about values relevant to the performance of teachers’ roles and tasks in the 1990s; the second from analysis of interview data gathered from a cross section of student teachers. The data were collected in one institution. Analysis of the data has led to the view that ITE, if it
is to be critically understood, cannot be separated from its social, political and economic context and the hegemonic relations that are produced in such a context.

ITE is an aspect of adult education which concentrates on the development of particular skills and conceptual tools, with a fixed curriculum content. This can and does present grave problems for some learners who, the author observes, want to reject the system and its 'package' almost on principle. They want to impose new values on an established system. Freire (1972:47) explained:

The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of the world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is.

During periods of rapid change, basic assumptions of culture and relationships between individuals are challenged more frequently. Rogers (1957), Postman and Weingarten (1971) and Freire (1972) suggested that a humanistic model of learning/teaching is required if education is to become the means by which people can be autonomous and transform their world. Similar theories of adult education have been developed by Brookfield (1986:214) who stated that:

......significant personal learning entails fundamental change in learners and leads them to redefine and reinterpret their personal social and occupational worlds. In the process, adults come to explore affective cognitive and psychomotor domains that they previously had not perceived as relevant to themselves.
The 1990s have provided many challenges for teacher educators. This may well be the beginning of a new era in ITE. With this in mind, it is appropriate to provide, as introduction, some information on the social world of training institutions and indicate some of the issues to which this thesis is relevant. In respect of the latter, teaching and learning processes, student teacher – teacher educator relationships and the theory and practice in ITE are highlighted. A preliminary discussion of such topics provides an educational context in which to set out the subsequent framework.

Learning and Teaching
People learn because it is their nature to do so. As Sheldrake (1982:25) pointed out from a biological perspective, basically, learning is an adaptive behaviour. From the moment of birth, the child begins an interaction with the environment by assimilating and ordering information. Learning is the achievement of a kind of mastery of the environment by making sense of it. It is this human ability to learn, more than any other, that allows people to survive the changes around them. It follows, therefore, that in a time of increasing and complex changes, educational institutions must conceive their essential mandate to be the support of the key adaptive human quality – the ability to learn.

Like people, educational institutions, in a metaphorical sense, must ‘learn’ in order to survive. To learn successfully, depends on the ability to assimilate information
and order it appropriately. As the environment changes, educational institutions have changed to avoid the risk of becoming irrelevant in the eyes of the public. In most educational settings, one of the chief strategies for coping with a changing environment has been curriculum development. This is an ongoing process. For example, ITE courses were constructed in the 1980s in response to pressure to prepare all pupils for living in a multicultural society. The Rampton Report (1981) and Swann Report (1985) were notable policy documents on multicultural education that had implications for initial teacher education. The proposals of the Department for Education (DfE) in Circular 14/93 and subsequently that of the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) in Circular 10/97, led to competency-based courses, based on the ‘craftsman’ approach as previously defined by Hopkins and Reid (1985). These proposals were adopted by ITE providers as part of a State-prescribed package highlighting competitive individualism and quality assurance, especially in relation to the delivery and testing of a National Curriculum in schools and continuous professional development. In the historical process, the ‘skills’ and ‘knowledge’ needed for development as teachers have become framed in terms of learning outcomes and competency statements. The emphasis has been on cognitive behavioural approaches. Consequently, the ‘good’ teacher generally is perceived by contemporary practitioners as a technical worker acting out assigned roles, and tasks, and embracing behavioural rather than intellectual, educational and moral criteria.
Student Teacher – Teacher Educator Relationships

As a result of state imposed, prescriptive curricula with the emphases on behavioural competences and competitive individualism, training institutions have been obliged to minimise their concern for the original values of Higher Education (HE) which, the Robbins Report (1963) suggested were equality (of opportunity), liberty, justice and accountability. It is to be noted that the latter has now been re-established under the terminology ‘quality assurance’. Consequently, the relationship between adult learners, including student teachers and their educators has been divorced from enactment and valuing and been reduced to that of a ‘market exchange’. Few would disagree with the three criteria identified in the Government’s White Paper – Teaching Quality (1983) for the award of qualified teacher status, namely:

1. Suitable personal qualities
2. Appropriate academic standards
3. Sufficient professional knowledge and practical skills.

These three areas were reiterated in the ‘new standards’ in the DfEE Circular 10/97 (1997). However, lengthy detailed information focused on items 2 and 3 above. With reference to suitable personal qualities, the government now required ITT providers to ensure that:
all trainees possess the personal, intellectual and presentation qualities suitable for teaching. (DfEE Circular 10/97:43)

Institutions naturally are left to interpret requirements for themselves, leading to a wide variety of strategies and practices. Explicit approaches to develop and enhance personal qualities of student teachers, in the curricula of BEd courses, consequently sometimes are under-emphasised and even ignored.

Every institution teaches those who work in it about its ways of life, its values and codes of behaviour. For example, some rules and regulations and shared values are explicitly stated in Student Handbooks, policies and mission statements. Indeed, it could be surmised that the institutionalisation of the teacher's role is based on the training institution's understanding of what teaching is. The teacher educators and student teachers construct their teaching culture in accordance with the prevailing market structure. It is this that has stimulated this research project.

Theory and Practice

Already in the preceding sections, the dominant pattern of skills training suggests that the relationship between theory and practice has to be resolved as harmoniously as possible if student teachers are to consider and use teaching and learning as partner processes. This means that learning is as much the result of what and how teachers communicate skills, knowledge, values and attitudes as of the way in which learners mediate this knowledge through their own interpretations, and actively reprocess it. This position focuses on the contribution to learning of teacher and learner within an interactive approach. Student teachers
as active, anticipatory, problem-solving human beings, construct their own repertoire of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes regardless of the social reality in which they find themselves. In the process, state-imposed curricula may often conflict with personal constructions or constructions-in-the-making. Conflicts in the educational system are neither new concerns nor new phenomena. The needs of diverse social and cultural groups clashing with the current cultural transmission 'model' of formal elementary education always has been evident.

Assumptions

A number of theorists form a consensus of assumptions that all student teachers share:

- a disposition to act – they are actors (though this is not the same as acting on a disposition) [Miller, Galanter and Pribram (1960), Clandinin (1986), Nias (1984) and Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984)]


- a definition of choices to meet individual criteria for congruence or relevance [Peters (1966), Bandura (1977) Rogers (1983)]
The four main elements emerging from these assumptions are behaviouristic, enquiry-based, technical and individual. It is the nature of the choices that interest teacher educators. They recognise that these choices depend upon:

1) how ITE is approached
2) how each student teacher comes to define a teacher’s role and
3) how each student teacher constructs an answer to the question - What does it mean to teach?

Differences in choices may restrict learning initially as the student teacher searches for a point of entry into the ‘new’ culture through identification with something familiar, congruent and relevant. These choices or preferences for certain kinds of actions or states of affairs are part of a ‘valuing process’.

**Why the Research?**

In her work as a teacher educator, the author has observed that self questioning about values in ITE rarely occurs *consciously* to student teachers. This may be related to their perception of themselves as passive elements in the ITE process, most elements of which are prescribed and therefore imposed. It is evident that the values of the training institution influence ITE student behaviour in the university and in the schools where they practise teaching.
The observations noted above have concerned the author who, as a teacher educator, has had to orient herself, both theoretically and practically, within the framework of these kinds of practicalities. While it is feasible to start with the understandable temptation to take refuge in neutrality, by accepting things as they are, this research evolved from a need to re-examine and review fundamental questions about values and the individual and collective roles of students. The author believes that ITE is a culture constructed by those who act within it. As such, it is dynamic; it has its own values and belief systems. It presents ITE as a social movement, because professional practice, either as student teachers or teachers, constitutes more than a perspective or service, and demonstrates a discerning interest in social re-organisation. Attempts to restructure it, in response to social, political and economic factors, have incorporated largely liberal-reformist strategies, as for example, multicultural courses offered in Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs) from the late 1970s. Alternative ideologies, as found in the competency-based courses, are more prolific in the 1990s. It is suggested that an exploration of covert agenda in structures, events and experiences in ITE offer student teachers opportunities to situate their future work in a network of hegemonic influences that comprise the dominant culture. Policy makers from church authorities, for example the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), through to the State, with its Circular DfEE 10/97 have failed to construct and analyse ITE as a social phenomenon. This is despite the efforts of people such as Rogers (1983), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) and Habermas (1987) who have urged such action.
In the past, research has focused on improving teaching quality. For example, Schon (1983) pioneered the notion of the 'reflective practitioner', with little reference to the fact that teacher behaviour is a function of the person plus the environment. Furthermore, the maintenance of the myth that ITE is both value free and unproblematic has enabled policy makers to avoid reference to the moral aspects of teaching and learning and to regard them as being slippery or subjective and therefore, 'unscientific'. According to Swann (1985:5) policy makers should 'seek a common core of values' which could be developed throughout ITE. In order to find out what values might be in place, it is necessary to ascertain the values students bring and relay in seeking to understand aspects of self and self-actualisation as integral elements in arriving at a personal philosophy of teaching.

Interest in this 'invisible' aspect of professional development stems from the belief that personal qualities are an aspect of 'self'. It is argued that student teachers need to understand themselves as learners and teachers. This means that as self-actualised persons, they are engaged firstly, in the development of self-awareness which involves reflecting upon and making sense of teaching and arriving at a moral universe of commitments and beliefs in the teaching culture. Secondly, student teachers learn, through what might be termed 'rite of passage' approaches. These help them understand their personal qualities more fully and increase their potential to modify aspects of them, contributing to a stronger teacher-role identity.
It is purported that through self-dialogue and reflection, conflict resolution and the creation of values, student teachers make sense of their real worlds and arrive at some form of moral autonomy. This is essential if they are to communicate effectively as teachers. A lack of explicit references, leads to the assertion that there is a taken-for-granted assumption among some policy makers and teacher educators that a core of appropriate unspecified qualities and values are 'in place' at the start of ITE. It is imagined that they can magically be developed throughout the course and their future careers.

Processes of change both in students' perceptions of reality and those imposed on the training institutions, through policy implementations, are of interest to teacher educators. The relationship between student teachers and their training institution presents opportunities for adaptation, especially in relation to their delivery of a National Curriculum (NC) which aims to reduce the levels of moral complexity by its focus on knowledge, standards and testing. It has to be emphasised that student teachers need to understand how professional values are conceptualised and promoted because the rational education of the emotions is, as pointed out by Dunlop (1984:88), just as important as that of the intellect. Dunlop emphasised:

*Emotional development cannot be left to the individual himself.....the aims of the education of the emotions are to provide a suitable environment for the unfolding of the affective aspects of the person.*
The significance and importance of studying the personal value systems of student teachers are seen when one considers seriously how these systems might influence the extent to which student teachers will accept or resist institutional pressures and goals. Thus, the view is taken that the professional development of student teachers can best be understood by taking account of their individual and collective values about professional concerns and noting whether they utilise these elements and with what results. Teacher educators must be sensitive to student teachers' needs, in order to understand how to ascertain the values they utilise in their professional practice in the form of their beliefs about learning and teaching.

Student teachers are more than technicians who transmit knowledge. They communicate values because the nature of teaching is such that they select, consider and place, in order of importance, various elements depending upon their aims and objectives, written or unwritten.

The author believes that preparing children for their moral responsibilities as adults is a crucial part of the education process. Teachers have always played this important role and continue to do so today, perhaps unwittingly. Student teachers need to be prepared for this task, thus discontinuing a marked and long established tradition of minimising affective elements in training courses. Nisbet's observation cited in Ball (1990:4), invited caution in investigating change:
Good research does not necessarily solve a problem, but could reformulate a question, bringing out the key issues, and pointing to a new solution. Short term research which fits present assumptions can be an obstacle to change.

Shulman (1986:6) pointed out that there is an unavoidable constraint on anyone investigating or finding answers to questions raised. He stressed that:

To conduct a piece of research, scholars must necessarily narrow their scope, focus their view and formulate a question far less complex than the form in which the world presents itself in practice.

The isolation of this one element for attention is based on a research need, but the overall goal is to avoid direct contribution to one area of learning at the expense of others. The management of a balance between practical aspects and intellectual and moral demands remains a necessity.

The Research Process

Most research methodologies stress the values of honesty and expansion of the knowledge base. Furthermore, most research accounts follow a linear pattern set out in a particular way. In this study there are sections which seem to come back upon themselves in circular patterns. The reason for this is that the initial armchair theory building, which characterise positivist research, was replaced by an eclectic theoretical framework drawn from anthropology, psychology, sociology,
philosophy, social policy and social learning. The seemingly simple situation of values in ITE entailed continuous critical examination.

The process began with the quest to understand how student teachers readily forego personal values and in what ways their willingness is determined by the role(s) they are expected to play in their chosen profession. In order to understand this, it seemed important to investigate what student teachers actually know about values in teaching before approaching the sensitive issue of personal values and their utilisation in teaching.

Student teachers in this study were educated in Paullon University. Four major concerns were identified in a review of their BEd course (1992):

a) high levels of anxiety experienced by students during teaching practices
b) the status of the teacher educator within the University
c) the apparently high dropout rate in 1991-2
d) the conflict experienced by all with reference to pluralistic values

As with the rest of the thesis an attempt was made to anticipate problems, decide on an approach, test it and to be prepared to learn from the deficiencies which became apparent.

Organisation of the Thesis
The main body of the thesis concentrates on investigating the values and conflict in ITE. Institutional policies and practices inevitably included:

1) value statements and judgements about worthwhile skills, knowledge and attitudes,
2) who is selected to pursue teacher education courses,
3) how teacher educators teach,
4) who are involved.

The reasons for these several distinct value-laden ideas and the opinions of student teachers about values in teaching merit examination. The curricula through which the education of prospective teachers takes place include the values of the institution. In the 1990s, these values have been imposed by the State. It is reasonable to assume that conflicts will arise in each institution depending on the composition of the student body, ethos of the institution and values of policy makers. Each institution will have its own real world in which individual worlds will nest, take parallel paths or sometimes converge and collide. The inevitable conflicts which arise and the negotiations undertaken to resolve these are essential parts of the study.

Such an exploration has two main aims. The first aim is to place ITE within a broad landscape of education, providing material for analysis and critiques of its construction. The second aim is to commend to readers the view that the role of ITE, prior to 1990, was neither systematically orchestrated nor did it correspond
with any overall vision of education in society. This seemed to create weaknesses in the system and conflicts for individuals. If ITE is to be critically understood, it needs to be examined in its social, economic and political context.

Through this investigation, it is hoped that awareness of the impact of personal and professional values in the knowledge base is extended. With specific references to values in ITE, the first purpose is to identify the latent professional values student teachers bring to ITE. The second purpose is to examine in what ways these values influence and affect their personal and professional development. Teacher educators need to understand how student teachers make choices from the range of skills and knowledge offered, so that they can devise more student-centred learning. It would be in their interest to understand in what situations students might face conflicts and with what results.

Goodson (1977:160) cited in Goodson (1985:121) has argued that:

The analysis of subjective perceptions and intentions is incomplete without analyses of the historical context in which they occur.

Consequently Chapter One of this research report outlines the historical background to present trends. Policy developments and the influence of pressure groups are noted. Conflicts at macro level are discussed. Within this context, Chapter Two discusses the term ‘values’ and some of its limitations by examining
the terminology, definitions and tensions that characterise values in the field of ITE. Definitional diversity of values is examined with particular attention being paid to how values are acquired. The difficulties and limitations of measuring values are explored. While acknowledging that there is no such thing as a representative concept, the various dimensions of educational values in higher education are reviewed. Teaching and learning as important aspects of ITE are discussed. A consideration of Values and Self, and Values and Role complete the literature review. A theoretical framework for data analysis is presented.

Chapter Three presents the rationale and processes involved in the methodology for the research base. The reasons for a case study approach are indicated, as are arguments for qualitative analysis. According to Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis (1976:143) the case study:


d... offers a surrogate experience and invites the reader to underwrite the account, by appealing to his (sic) tacit knowledge of human situations. The truths contained .... like those in literature, are “guaranteed” by the ‘shock of recognition’.

It is not the intention to make either the institution or the students recognisable.

The wide range of definition of values and the need to use a case study approach have influenced the design and purpose of data collection techniques. References to these areas complete Chapter Three.

Chapter Four is mainly descriptive. The aim is to provide the environmental dimension which refers to contextual factors that influence professional
development. The Department of Teaching Studies (DTS) in what is called Paullon University (PU), provides the context which is described with a view to highlighting its values. The role of the training institution is examined in order to understand how it helps students to be autonomous while fulfilling their roles as transmitters of social values.

Qualitative analysis of the most important values, roles and tasks for teachers in the 1990s provides the main focus of Chapter Five. The values identified by respondents are discussed generally and specifically, with reference to the course content of Paullon University. Institutional norms are analysed.

The conflicts noted at macro level are reflected in student experiences at micro level. It was expected that a few students would face conflicts. Concern with congruence between the individual and the environment, beside the conflicts and their resolution, provide the focus in Chapter Six. Social changes between the time when some students receive their ‘latent’ socialisation and the start of their initial training course were varied and far reaching. About 5% of the students admitted to conflicts. The issues are discussed and the resultant effects on policy at the institution are considered. The nature of conflict sets the scene for stories about how students manage conflict. The relationship between host teachers, student teachers and the teacher educators call into question ways of knowing and learning about teaching.
Understanding the self and others has raised a host of issues which have impacted on work in the field as well as the thoroughness of coverage, scope and clarity of analysis within this research project. Reflection upon experiences during the life of the research reveals the complexity of both the author's multiple roles and the constraints on developing procedural matters in a linear fashion. The balancing act involved in dealing with these aspects is discussed in Chapter Seven. In revisiting the discussions which run throughout the thesis, conceptual and theoretical issues have emerged which require further enquiry. Consequently, suggestions and recommendations for future work are included in Chapter Eight, in addition to a synopsis of the study's contribution to knowledge concerning value positions, conflicts and their impact on initial teacher training.
CHAPTER 1

Initial Teacher Education: An organisational and historical background

Introduction

Formal education in Britain is a large and complex enterprise, accounting for an average of 11% of total government expenditure. In economic terms, human capital fosters economic growth and development. Education in turn is a factor for improving human capital. Table 1.1 provides data of expenditure on education in absolute and in percentage terms relative to Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Table 1.1

Education Expenditure in the United Kingdom 1990-91 to 1994-95

expressed in £ billion

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<tr>
<td>Net expenditure on education</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>As a percentage of GDP (1)</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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(1) Gross Domestic Product at Market Prices. Includes adjustments to remove the distortion caused by the abolition of domestic rates

Although total expenditure on education in the United Kingdom relative to Gross Domestic Product averages 5%, education accounts for a larger share of total public expenditure in the UK than currently afforded. According to the Education Statistics (DfEE 1996:12) the share of expenditure on education as a proportion of total public expenditure in the UK was 11.5% in 1993.

Central to the education process are schools and teachers on whose professional expertise the State depends to promote the beginnings of a society’s agenda of needs. On the one hand, British society expects pupils to spend no less than 11 years at school to ensure that they acquire the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to participate meaningfully in their society, either through continuing their education or through being prepared for productive work. The basis for such learning since 1989 has been through a State-imposed National Curriculum (NC). On the other hand, teachers are expected to respond appropriately to rapid social and technological changes in society whether or not these are reflected in the NC. Pollard and Tann (1987:6) advised that:

.....teachers are individual members of society who, within normal political processes, have the right to pursue their values and beliefs as guided by their own individual moral and ethical concerns.

Taking this to heart, it might be rational to assume that these competing expectations create conflicts in society and amongst teachers. This comment by Pollard and Tann preceded the inception of the National Curriculum. In an
expanded handbook for the classroom, Pollard (1997:71) pointed out that teachers' value positions are important for three reasons:

Firstly, they can help teachers to assess whether they are consistent both in what they as individuals believe and in reconciling differences which may exist in a school between colleagues working together. Secondly, they can help teachers in evaluating and responding appropriately to external pressures which affect their work as teachers. Thirdly, they can help teachers assess whether what they believe is consistent with how they actually behave: that is whether their philosophy or value system is compatible with their actual classroom practice.

This study focuses on student teachers who also have the right to pursue their own values and beliefs; it demonstrates that teaching is undertaken by a training institution which implements state-prescribed 'guidelines' with little opportunity for serious consideration of their value positions. By 1998, the prescriptions have become wider as evidenced in the DfEE Circular 4/98, which details the requirements for qualified teacher status from October 1998. The policies which have been promoted and the values implicit provide a backdrop to this study. Historically, an overview reveals how societal values are ordered and implemented through policies in contemporary courses for student teachers. The aim of ITE courses is to prepare student teachers for their role as prospective teachers. In this process, student teachers may be introduced to various sets of
values, through the ethos of the training institution and the values reflected as
goals in the course curricula.

Origins of Teacher Education

Teacher education, as a system, is reputed to have commenced with what has
come to be known as the *monitorial or mutual* system. About 1788, Joseph
Lancaster at his school in Borough Road, Southwark, economically developed a
system of using older pupils to teach younger ones, having been fully primed on
the lesson by Lancaster himself. Commenting on this system, Adamson
(1964:25) observed that:

.....it made the provision of popular instruction on a national scale
feasible, it compensated to a certain degree for the absence of a body of
teachers, provided a rough scheme of teachers’ training and prepared the
way for the pupil-teacher system

The methods inherent in the *monitorial* system were claimed by Morrish (1970:9)
to be:

almost entirely a mechanical, rote memory one. There was little or no
opportunity to question or investigate the material taught – merely to
accept and learn it was enough.

The church authorities of the 1820’s, who formally initiated training of teachers
for their schools, believed that learning about Christianity helped children to
understand the nature of life and living. Central to this belief was the assumption
that the inculcation of Christian values by Christian teachers socialised the
‘masses’ into the values that legitimised a society. In this way, a formal system of
cultural reproduction emphasising good citizenship could be advanced. A further
assumption was that the quality of children’s education was greatly dependent
upon their teachers’ education and training.

The usual form of preparation for teaching was the successful completion of a
classical, liberal arts education, which was often designed for and by men. Stow
(1840:91-2) believed his Normal Seminary or Training College to be the first
institution of its kind in Britain. His ‘trainers’, as his teachers were called,
according to Curtis (1967:215), were in much great demand. Stow urged that:

‘an apprenticeship is as requisite for the profession of the schoolmaster, as
that of any other art; and it appears extraordinary, that while we would not
employ a gardener or mechanic who has not been trained, we should
employ young men to experiment upon our children, who, however well
informed themselves, have yet to acquire the art of communicating their
knowledge to others. Many teachers work out and arrive at a good
system, it is true; but no one man can possess all that may be concentrated
and exhibited in a Normal Seminary, to which every student may be
trained.

Earlier attempts at ‘teacher training’ are reputed to be instituted by the Infant
School Society (ISS) in 1824. This was a rather short-lived attempt to train
women specifically to teach young children. The Infant School Society was
superseded in 1836 by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society to provide
teachers for infant schools.
As more courses for the preparation of teachers became established, the view persisted that sound education and training, complemented by an apprenticeship in a school, was the best form of teacher training. The contributions of schools were acknowledged and formalised by such institutions as Shuttleworth’s Training School at Battersea. By 1842, students at Battersea and Chelsea Training Schools were set the first examinations connected with elementary education. In 1846 the first initial teacher education courses controlled by the government were established through the Committee of the Privy Council. Through a nationwide five-year apprenticeship scheme for pupil teachers, it became possible for a senior boy or girl in an elementary school to become apprenticed to a head teacher deemed by the inspector to be competent to instruct the student through the course as laid down under the Committee on Council Regulations. Pupil teachers had to be at least thirteen years of age before they could be apprenticed, and they had to be physically fit for the task. During the apprenticeships, the pupil teachers were taught, out of school hours, by the head teachers. At the end of the periods of apprenticeship, those who gained the best results in the examinations were awarded Queen’s Scholarships enabling them to study in training colleges. By 1856, training courses were of two years’ duration and any student who left after one year was regarded as an uncertified teacher. Within just twenty years, a strong value system had been established about the method of preparation for teaching and what a curriculum should contain.
Implicit in each system and course, were values about ‘good teaching’ and how to enhance pupils’ learning effectiveness.

Teacher supervision was germane to the ‘training’ process. Gosden (1965:215) reported that Her Majesty’s Inspectors inspected and examined pupil teachers in Practical Teaching, Reading and Recitation during the practice time. Additionally, they examined students’ notebooks and observed their classroom management. Each student ‘had to submit his Criticism Book and the previous year’s report’ for scrutiny on an appointed day of the inspection. From this idea emerged the theory of concurrent courses, that is, courses involving academic and professional strands simultaneously, a practice which has been retained to the present day. With increased education and understanding of the potential and power of knowledge and skill acquisition for social mobility, economic growth and technological advance, the semantic debate still waged amongst educationists. Were apprentice teachers being ‘trained’ or ‘educated’? Adoption of each concept was critical to the status and value given to teachers by society.

As the early teacher education system improved in taking account of the needs of school learners as the future workforce in a society, the ‘Arnoldian Vision’, as Millbank (1988:21) called it, came to underpin the curriculum in Victorian England. The belief was that disciplines or subjects were bearers of human values and were essentially contemplative activities. Through the study of literature, including religious literature, history and the arts, the masses gradually gleaned the ‘right reason’ for the true ends of human beings. Reports of the Committee of
the Privy Council on Education 1860-61 indicated that there was ‘neglect and indifference to education’ in some areas, mainly due to the lower quality of the teachers there. For the first time, there was recognition of education being of value for all, not just for an elite, financially affluent few. Prior learning systems had denied its access to the masses. Therein was social control.

Forster’s Education Act of 1870 had a further and significant impact on teacher education when it recommended the development of a national system of elementary education. Between 1870 and 1900, the national system of elementary education, in fact, was established and, according to Morrish (1970:132-4), apprenticeship for teacher status began at the age of fourteen, instead of thirteen. Pupil teacher centres were instituted in 1881 to supplement the efforts of head teachers in the teacher training processes. The Education Department in 1890, adopted the principle of day training colleges attached to universities and university colleges.

Under the 1902 Education Act, the minimum age for pupil teachers was raised to sixteen in urban districts and fifteen in rural areas. The normal period of apprenticeship continued to be two years. Half the time of pupil teachers was spent observing teaching in a school and the other half in the pupil teacher training centres receiving instruction. Schools had to be certified as being suitable and adequate for the training of teachers and were not permitted to have more than four students at once.
Contemporary ideas about placement of students were examined and reported in a survey by Her Majesty’s Inspectors and the Department of Education and Science (HMI/DES 1991 paragraph 5vii). They found that the organisation of primary schools and the size of them, together with heavy teaching loads undertaken by most of the teachers, meant that schools did, and probably still do not, generally have the capacity or the range of expertise needed to take on significant training responsibilities without considerable support. Commenting on the present situation, Mountford (1993:32) has observed that:

Involving schools in initial teacher education is a volume as well as a quality operation. At any one time there are over 40,000 students training to be teachers, many of these requiring two school placements in a year. Matching school offers of placements to student needs (subject, professional development and home-base locations) is a complex task.

However, funding of contemporary school-based schemes of ITE has become negotiable on an individual HEI/School basis. The tight budgetary constraints of Local Management of Schools (LMS) often determines the number of placements of students, in order to maximise revenue in schools. The system encapsulates the danger of pupil-teacher education being valued more for its pecuniary significance than for more esoteric and pedagogical ideals.

By 1938, four-fifths of all primary teachers had received two years training at a training college. In 1944, the McNair Report (1944:87), exercising a degree of
lateral thought, encouraged training institutions to exercise diversity in formulating the curricula. The recommendation was that:

courses of training, varied in duration should be provided to meet the needs of (exceptional entrants) whose attainments and experience, however obtained, justify their entering upon a course of training.

The report advised that training institutions should come under the academic control of university-based ‘institutes of education’. The purposes were to foster academic respectability in the training of teachers and to ensure intellectual rigour in thinking about teaching. As a consequence of the McNair Report, colleges were reorganised into regional clusters under the guidance of their local universities. These Area Training Organisations (ATOs) were responsible for validating courses and awarding qualifications.

Lynch 1979:79 noted that by 1946, universities had established institutes of education which ‘presented an organic but also flexible development and permitted each area to fill in the details’, a condition required because of the great variation in local circumstances. He identified the outcome as a general system of initial education in which local variations were accommodated and preserved. This factor, however, came to be regarded by later governments as the weakness of the system of teacher education. Autonomy was not valued; compliance with governmentally-controlled requisites was gaining in popularity with teacher training funders.
In 1963, the Robbins Report proposed that a Bachelor of Education (BEd) course be introduced for students of exceptional ability. The innovation was to be at the expense of training providers' autonomy. Another proposal emanating from the Robbins Report (1963:108 para 313) was that courses might be provided 'with a measure of common studies' for entrants of various professions and backgrounds. Together these ideas provided an opportunity for greater diversity, though there were echoes of unease in the Report's comment (1963:111 para 322) that:

The standard reached by the students at the end of their course is difficult to compare directly with that reached by the university students because the nature of their courses in the two types of institution is rightly so different.

The cynic might recall that education is a means of social control. It would appear that such control can exist in schools, but also in the training of teachers. The value of teachers presumably was, and may be still inferior to that of other academics and pragmatists! It has been noted by Browne (1969) that at the end of the 1960s, new teachers were finding the BEd courses introduced in 1963 inadequate. Teachers were experiencing difficulties with relating some of what they had studied to work in the classroom. On the other hand, Willey and Maddison (1971) observed that tutors working in colleges were somewhat disaffected by the new courses which they thought lacked intellectual rigour. In the 1960s, the harmonious relationship between teachers, the unions and the educational state was breaking down. It was in this context that there were
growing concerns by the public about the efficacy of teacher training. In response to these concerns, the James Report was commissioned in the early 1970s.

Despite these reservations, initial teacher education became firmly established in the higher education sector. As a result, the variety of roles that higher education is expected to perform, is reflected in the ambiguity and ambivalence of the values that are present today in the system. With reference to initial teacher education (ITE) the Robbins Report (1963) highlighted four roles for teachers which correspond respectively to the teaching function, the critical function, the research function and the cultural function. These roles were echoed in the joint document of the University Grants Committee and the National Advisory Board for Local Authority Higher Education (1983). Thus the Robbins Report (1963) and the McPherson Report (1983) underscore four main values in Higher Education. Clarke (1983) listed them as loyalty, competence, liberty and justice. By the time Clarke’s work was published (1983) the term ‘loyalty’ had been replaced by ‘accountability’ and ‘justice’ by ‘equality’. The terms are not synonymous but the new terms illustrated a significant shift in concepts of what was regarded as of educational value.
Accountability (Loyalty)

Kogan (1986:25) observed that:

The term 'accountability' is now taken to cover a wide range of philosophies and mechanisms governing the relationship between any public institution, its governing bodies and the whole of society, which includes the political environment.

He listed three main models of accountability as:

1. public or state controlled (by elected representatives and appointed officials)
2. professional control (by teachers and professional administrators), and
3. consumerist control in the form of participatory democracy in the public sector or market mechanism in the private or partly privatised public sector.

These models of accountability are not necessarily basic value statements because, as Kogan (1986:98) argued, that they are intermediate between statements of self-justifying 'oughts' and ways of establishing institutions and practices for accountability. Thus as an instrumental concept, accountability has hardened into a basic value in British society. Stated aims of education, in essence, reflect accountable values.

Accountability is perceived by Sadlak (1978), Zumeta (1982) and Clarke (1983) as a value which has to be defined in relation to the State. In particular, Clarke (1983) presented the notion of accountability as centred on operations of the State. He attributed the greater demand by the government for accountability
from the universities in the eighties, to economic recession, demands for service to the community, improved management of publicly funded resources, and teaching and research in areas that would assist the revival of sagging economies and resolve community problems.

Sadlak (1978:219) also noted the conflict generated by the fact that accountability essentially contradicts institutional autonomy. The inevitable conflict was further heightened by the emergence of Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED 1994) and the reforms in teacher education expressed in DfEE: Circulars 2/92, 14/93, 10/97 and later in 4/98; each of which emphasised accountability as 'quality assurance'. This emphasis led the way for the State to legitimise its hold on the schools, the training institutions and the student teachers by its focus on these as the providers of quality. It follows that the education system is viewed by politicians as a technical rather than an intellectual enterprise. The term 'quality assurance' has replaced 'accountability' in policy documents and mission statements, as a result of this now widespread view. Public access to reports of quality assurance have become commonplace, through the media.

Competency

Clarke (1983:245) defined competence as 'a capable system in higher education' involving improvement and maintenance of the quality and standards of education. He noted that it is organised effectively to produce, criticise and distribute knowledge and also to produce people, qualified and 'well-prepared for
 occupational performance and civil life'. Clarke's analysis indicated that being
good in one thing implied comparative weakness in others. This point is relevant
to initial teacher education. The competency model, suggested by the State, is
framed around the assumption that teaching can be broken down into a set of
hierarchically-arranged skills that can be acquired to specified levels. The
attraction of specific well-defined teaching competences for student teachers is
that they contribute to the provision of behaviourist objectives which by nature
and time are product-orientated. In short, the translation of competence from its
context of everyday use to technical use in teacher education has established an
approach which enables suitable individuals to proceed and progress in
professional qualifications of all kinds. In particular, student teachers are held
accountable, not for passing grades, but for attaining given levels of competences
in performing the essential role and tasks of teaching. The competency-based
teacher education (CBTE) model appears to exclude high level reflection on
teaching which incorporates value judgements, and moral and ethical criteria.
The model is based purely on prescriptive requirements. Giroux (1981:71)
highlights a dilemma for teachers. Those trained in the CBTE model must accept,
uncritically, those skills that support a dominant social order. He further
suggested that even when some form of critical examination takes place it
involves:

the language of internal criticism, it is confined to solving the puzzles in
its own symbolic space and as such cannot step outside the assumptions
that legitimise it.
His argument highlights a dilemma experienced within teaching institutions which offer the prospect of social justice and equality of opportunity and yet operate as agencies of social control. The implication is that student teachers must forfeit or deny two of the qualities which education perhaps aims to promote, their personal autonomy and academic freedom.

Liberty

Liberty is a value sought by all human beings. The idea of liberty is exemplified in autonomic and academic freedom. Clarke (1983:247) links liberty with choice, initiative, innovation, sustaining criticism and widening variety. He notes that universities, in appealing for autonomy, claimed that the proper fulfilment of their roles can best be accomplished without distraction, compromising influences and governmental pressures. Furthermore, university staff stress that the nature of their work is best judged by experts, of which there are few in parliamentary Government. Political and bureaucratic pressures, they posit, can obscure the pursuit of objective truth.

Liberty, it would seem, comes with confidence in internally valued knowledge, and absence of need for accountability to external agencies. Financial input into university education from taxes, however, erodes freedom to act in this way. This view is supported by Pratt and Hillier (1991:151-2) who reported that: ‘Threats to academic freedom come from within and without institutions.’ They noted that centralisation of the control and funding of higher education, in order to reduce
costs, and the need to avoid unnecessary duplication and standardisation of provision through pricing mechanisms, has severely curtailed institutional autonomy. At the centre of this particular development was a bidding process. The idea was that each institution would provide a package in which it would propose a price for a particular group and number of students. Enrolment above these numbers was allowed but institutions would only receive fees for the allocated students. Pratt and Hillier also highlighted an almost insurmountable problem faced by training institutions in creating and responding to the bidding system. Effectively, they observed, the autonomy of institutions was reduced and conflicts over control and funding was the consequence.

**Equality (Justice)**

Like the other values which Clarke (1983) conjectures are integral in Higher Education practices, the meaning of equality differs according to whom, for whom, to what purpose and from which viewpoint, it is defined. The education system has embraced this value in a variety of ways. For example it is witnessed in:

- the development of whole school policies to tackle racism, sexism and disability
- the recruitment of people from ethnic minority communities into higher education through ACCESS courses and
• the recognition that there should be right of access to education for everyone living in a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic society.

Comprehensive adoption of these values within education was not apparent until the early 1980s. Earlier attempts to promote equality of educational access were contained within the philosophy of child-centred education advocated by the Plowden Committee for primary schools in 1966, but notions of equality in education were far from explicit. In initial teacher education, the higher education equivalent was 'student-centred education' which introduced or included core courses and modules reflecting the perceived needs of individual students and which respected race, gender and disability. The need for more focused attention on equality issues was not fully appreciated. This situation escaped neither government nor public notice.

During the 1960s, basic assumptions about culture and relationships between individuals were frequently challenged. Social changes in Britain stimulated an awareness of strategies related to cultural diversity in educational settings. The incidence of racism, sexism and classism became more evident through media coverage, making related value positions charged issues.

Lawn (1987:62-63) argued that from the early 1950s the teacher's role was redefined:
...[a] new definition of the teacher was created in which teaching time was expanded and controlled by the employer, yet the teacher felt herself to be valued and having a major role in the schools of the new educational system, indeed a valuable place in the reconstruction of a new society.

This new society included immigrants who sought at first to be assimilated but later exerted pressures to have their particular needs met. The traditional monocultural underpinning of society, rooted in the Christian religion, was ‘replaced by an emergent culture whose characteristics are ethnic diversity religious purity and moral relativism’ (McClelland and Verma (1989:105)). In responding to the needs the newly-recognized multicultural school population, various local and national policies, reforms, projects and strategies were undertaken in schools. In accommodating the social changes of the period, teachers and teacher educators retreated to ‘neutral positions’ with respect to moral education, as they developed strategies to deal with cultural, racial, religious and class diversity in society and schools. Lawn (1987:13) noted that:

Not until the welfare state was in the process of being dismantled and the ideology which sustained it eroded, did the definition of teachers’ work become fundamentally revised once again.

In the training institutions, there was a somewhat arbitrary rather than rational reduction in Philosophy and History of Education as elements on teacher education courses. In addition, according to Kogan (1978:111) all types of education and schooling had always to incorporate several non-convergent values including equality and egalitarianism. However, in many classrooms and schools, the teaching of values through the moral education of pupils was reduced, giving
way to new curricular imperatives such as multi-cultural/anti-racist education and peace education. Furthermore, the idea of norms and roles being imposed with insufficient consultation with serving teachers provided the impetus for critical analysis of social issues and their effects on life in multi-cultural Britain. Both student and qualified teachers became unsure about their personal and professional values and society's collective values.

These changes supported the notion of 'values pluralism' a term used by Swann (1985) among others. Calls for reforms in initial teacher education centred around muted debates about 'values relativism' and 'values scepticism'. The gamut of terms came to the fore as the then Government gained a greater following in the late 1980s. Thus the plurality of British society appeared to pose special challenges for initial teacher education. Not only had the cultural mix of people presenting themselves for initial teacher education been broadened, there was a raised sensitivity to differences in perception for fulfilment of needs, and to the requirement for student teachers to be prepared to operate in an ethnically diverse society. Having recognised that the multi-cultural school population required multi-cultural curricula, appropriate initial teacher education courses were devised during the 1980s. The explicit development of the multi-cultural/anti-racist emphasis in teacher education was, however, short-lived. Studies have not appeared which could have explored changes in perception, and highlight what values could have been stressed in these models of teacher education.
Autonomy and Licence

The James Report (1972:59) generated debate around such issues as to whether emphasis should be placed on practical matters and/or on theoretical concepts. Hencke (1978:39) believed that the sympathy of James:

...lay entirely towards devising practical, professional training, rather than academic courses.

There was a gradual shift from a position where teachers were in a situation of what Dale (1989:133) called 'licensed autonomy' to one where they were being ever more tightly controlled and subjected to a form of 'regulated autonomy'. Licensed autonomy meant that teachers were allowed a degree of latitude in the performance of the 'professional autonomy' mentioned by Grace (1987:214) so long as they operated within the constraints of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. A shift into what is termed 'regulated autonomy' by Dale (1989:133) meant greater direct and indirect controls were being exerted over teachers and teaching by the State.

In 1979, a Conservative Government, headed by Margaret Thatcher, was in power. The stated intention of the government was to reduce State involvement in the economy and to give vent to capitalism based on the tenets of a free market. Emphasis was on the concept of consumer sovereignty. Accordingly, during the 1980s, teacher education was beginning to be framed to the needs of capitalism. The Government's Paper on Teaching Quality published by the Department of
Education and Science (DES) in 1983 called for a set of national criteria for initial teacher education (paras 106, 107). This was followed by the DES Circular 3/84 and the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teachers (CATE) which became an interventionist State agency concerned with scrutiny of the content and organisation of initial teacher education courses against published criteria. In the midst of these discourses the Swann Report (1985:5) recommended ‘a framework of commonly accepted values, a shared commitment to certain essential freedoms and to fundamental values such as a belief in justice and equality’. Various equal rights and freedoms which the government should ensure were advised. The problem with the implementation of these recommendations is that it represses differences in tensions and values that oppose the particular view of progress, while remaining vague in signalling uniformity and standardisation as normative terms.

The existence of conflicting and complementary values is inevitable in any society. The socio-economic reality of each historical period, has provided the thrust for a continuing debate seeking clarification of values held by different groups. The debate has given impetus for a wide range of techniques for handling highly moral dilemmas. The curriculum areas such as Personal and Social Education (PSE) and Citizenship (NCC:1989), which aimed to present pupils with morals and values as issues for discussion and debate, have provided a context for deliberations. Given the diversity of pupils in schools, it is reasonable to assume that a range of values would be expressed. According to Nordenbo (1978:129),

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value theory regards values pluralism as the means of making various ‘bids’ for a ‘correct’ value judgement. Rational considerations and reasoning lead to the ‘right one’. Nordenbo asserted that the teacher importantly should play the part of neutral transmitter of rational principles. His continuing demand for teacher neutrality is meaningful - the teacher must not take sides. Logically, the entire work of the teacher should have a rational, non-partisan foundation. Since part of the teaching culture consists of ideologies justifying or rationalising certain selected ways of behaviour, then it is reasonable to expect student teachers, as indeed everyone’s behaviour, to be engaged in testing, describing and stating phenomena to be followed by justifications.

This endeavour to achieve standardisation and uniformity has had inevitable consequences for routes into initial teacher education, the length and content of courses and shifts in assessment of student teachers. Evidence of this shift is witnessed in the number of interventions made by the ‘New Right’ movement8 of the 1980’s which had a more or less virulent critique of the patterns of initial teacher education and some commitment to a more market-based approach. O’Hear (1988:49) argued that the essence of good teaching lay in the ability of teachers to transmit knowledge and love of the subject to be taught, thereby suggesting that many candidates could be considered already qualified to teach without need of a formal course of training at all. Cox (1989:30) welcomed the government’s proposal to introduce a licensed teacher9 route to teaching and concluded that formal study on a traditional training course was unnecessary. In a
similar vein, O'Keefe (1990) asserted that the training system was irrelevant, misguided, dominated by the cult of equal opportunity, anti-racism, multiculturalism and anti-sexism and that it was ineffective in its core role of producing competent teachers. Finally, a major part of a pamphlet issued by Lawlor (1990:5) was an attack on the notion that teachers need to study educational theory. She based her findings on documentary analysis of a sample of initial teacher training course proposals and concluded that the curriculum was dominated by concepts of equal opportunities and progressive ideology, concepts which she refuted as important in training of teachers for educating pupils in schools.

Commenting on the pamphlets of the ‘New Right’ group, Menter (1992:8) observed that:

The view of ‘the teacher’.....holds that we do not need people who can think beyond a particular ‘subject’. We need instead people who will deliver a basic curriculum decided upon by politicians and officials and who will test children’s ‘success’ in learning that curriculum.....the teacher is a state functionary.....one can clearly see throughout the Thatcher years the increasing effectiveness of these (New Right) think tanks in bringing about policy changes, most centrally in the Education Reform Act (1988) itself. But within teacher education, the trend has been a consistent and strengthening one of putting pressure and increasing constraints (academic and financial) on the providers.

Menter gives no value; it would seem, to school education being a catalyst. Conservation of what exists rather than invitation to pro-activity is the dangerously stultifying value. In 1991, The National Curriculum Council (NCC)
published The National Curriculum and criteria for the Initial Training of Student, Articled and Licensed Teachers. The licensed teacher scheme initiated in September 1989, aimed to enable people with experience of working with children, but without a teaching qualification, to be licensed to teach in a school for two years and then to apply for full Qualified Teacher Status. The articled teacher scheme, launched soon after the licensed scheme, offered a school-based approach to teacher training.

Commenting on school-based training in England and Wales, HMI (1991 b:3(iv) noted that:

The success of school-based training depends on the quality of the relationship between the training institution and the school, the significant involvement of teachers in the planning, supervision and assessment of students’ training and the active involvement of tutors in supporting the students’ work in schools.

It is evident that although there was and is much emphasis on local autonomy in the arrangement between schools and training institutions, nevertheless, and invariably there are strong elements of central control. The autonomy of the providers of initial teacher training certainly appears to have been undermined through increasing academic and financial controls. Continuous governmental supervision of teacher education has been exercised through ongoing reviews of competences and accreditation criteria, which until 1992 was administered by the new defunct Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). The
CATE Circular 3/84 set out the ground rules and specific criteria which had then to be satisfied within all initial training courses if they were to be accredited by the Secretary of State. In practice, the autonomy of professional studies in education was severely curtailed by the role of CATE, which was staffed by government employees sympathetic to government ideals and testable criteria realisation.

The introduction of school-based 'licensed' (DES 1988) and 'articled' (DES 1989b) teacher training schemes gradually eroded the autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education (HEIs) in the training process. The articulated scheme for ITE\(^\text{10}\), which by 1996 was no longer available, was founded upon a partnership between Local Education Authorities (LEAs), Schools and HEIs. The licensed teacher scheme was based upon a contractual partnership involving unqualified, therefore less expensive, teachers. It was left to the discretion of the LEA or school as to whether an institution of higher education played a role in the training process.

The policy drive to make training more school-based, by defining and increasing the amount of time student teachers should spend in schools, could be regarded as another form of control from the political centre. The trend of the policy is to place emphasis on practice bereft of theory. Commenting on the shift to more school-based training, Moore (1994:31) noted that:

The proposed shift to school-based training and diminishing of Higher Education contribution can be located within the ideological drive towards
de-professionalization and a challenge to professional status and autonomy as we have traditionally understood them.

Again on the premise that work-based training could be substituted for higher education-based training, Husbands (1996:72) stated that:

In short, then, the policy initiative towards enhancing the responsibility of teachers in teacher education developed in 1992, was simply an extension of policy initiatives deployed throughout the 1980s; indeed the figure of four-fifths of trainees' time spent in classrooms was derived from the articled teacher scheme.

He could equally have related it to the Shuttleworth Systems of the 1840s (see page 26). This scheme opened the door to undervaluing the multiple roles of the teacher educator and to a trial run of partnership with schools. The latter aspect subsequently became a major focus on the preparation for primary teaching which occurred from 1992. The academic distinction between graduate teachers and licensed teachers, continues today to wind its way through debate about appropriate initial teacher education.

The State's uneasiness about the distinctive role of teachers has given rise to insecurity, feelings of inadequacy and split loyalties in relation to teachers' work. The cruellest blows teacher educators have received, however, have come from the previously mentioned 'New Right' group. In an era reminiscent of McCarthyism, members of the group alleged that teacher educators were engaged in a deliberate and malignant attempt to undermine the values and traditions of
education. Members of the ‘New Right’ group alleged that initial teacher education courses had promoted, through the formal and informal curricula, ideas seen by most people as objectively invalid and improper. Opinions varied somewhat, about how far student teachers were implicated, that is whether they joined in willingly, were seduced by self interest, or were cowered by fear. Respect for the profession and its autonomy was absent in the values position of the Group.

The main purpose of the polemic, was to persuade politicians and parents to rescue education and, by implication, initial teacher education from the educationalists, including teacher educators. The New Right group’s definition of what education is, their conception of the role of teacher educators in initial teacher education and their approach to the ways in which student teachers should be trained, found favour with the Government of the time. The challenge of moving teacher educators towards a state-of-the-art standard of teacher education with consultation was met with caution by most institutions, including the one which is the focus of this particular study. In addition, the conflation of a variety of pedagogical and philosophical points of view into the staffing of the institutions, created institutional stress and anxiety. Not all perspectives could be satisfied, even within institutional structures which apparently are permitted some degree of professional autonomy. Professional conviction and personal ambition inevitably are confounded by the imposed organisational and management procedures in a number of instances.
According to Pratt and Hillier (1991:5) during post-war years, higher education has been characterised by a move from an elite to a mass system and by conflicts over control and funding. Expansion, upgrading or amalgamation had been the main ways adopted by many institutions to meet accelerating demands for places. The expansion of non-university institutions also has contributed to additional students participating in higher education. Expansion, however, has not always resulted in quality outcomes. Access is not synonymous with inevitable success.

Initial Teacher Training Trends

The expansion of ITE is reflected in the trend of increasing numbers of students enrolling on courses of education leading to Qualified Teacher Status. The data presented in Table 1.2 indicates that 70.9 thousand students enrolled in such courses in the United Kingdom in 1995-96. This represents an increase of about 28 per cent since 1990-91. Growth was particularly strong between the base year 1990/91 and year 1994/95 when there was a 31 per cent increase in enrolment.
Table 1.2

Initial teacher training: total enrolments in United Kingdom

Thousands

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<td>Total enrolment</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>73.1</td>
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(1) All courses leading to Qualified Teacher Status
(2) Provisional
(3) Includes 1994/95 data for Wales


More recently, in response to the State's commitment to ensuring efficiency by increasing access to higher education, and to linking education to market forces, much more emphasis has been placed on quality assurance. All Higher Education Institutions have needed to seek additional methods of income generation. Such necessities were explicit in the Polytechnic and Funding Councils (PCFC) paper, 'Funding Choices' (1989). Williams (1990:77) drew attention to the fact that from 1990:

All Higher Education institutions will be under considerable pressure to increase student numbers and reduce average costs. It is indeed an explicitly stated government policy to increase student numbers during the 1990s, much more than increases in public funding.

At the centre of this development, was the 'bidding process' mentioned earlier in this chapter. Each institution was granted 95% of its previous funding allocation and was invited to 'bid' for the deficit against other institutions. PCFC provided a
checklist of lowest median and high pricing for each of nineteen programme areas, then left each institution to its own devices. The underlying message was that competition would ‘secure a system which plays its part in meeting the social and economic needs of the nation’ (PCFC:1989).

Pratt and Hillier (1991) recognised the possible consequences of bidding in which institutions are in competition with each other in the same market. Their study revealed one common feature in five institutions under investigation. This was the small executive who made key decisions. Second guessing, concern to ‘get the bid right’, and lack of time to consult, characterised the process. Allowance for dropout was made, but under-recruitment resulted in money being clawed back. The over recruitment of ‘fees-only’ students would not produce enough money; general over-recruitment could result in higher targets being set on the next year’s bid. Pratt and Hillier concluded that ‘getting the bid right’ was a matter of on-going concern, with an element of gambling involved, inevitably affecting the anxiety levels of all staff.

The State clarified its position in respect of the commonality of values guiding the content of the National Curricula for Schools of 1989 and 1995 and the reforms of initial teacher education requirements, outlined in DfEE Circulars 14/93, 10/97 and 4/98. Each contains, specific sets of values which it is hoped would be part of a strongly directed education process. It is clear from the legislative detail that the State expects teachers to take the role of transmitter of values:
More needs to be done in teacher training for ensuring commitment on the part of ... pupils and revisions and improvement to the National Curriculum needs to keep citizenship under close review (Cmd 2001 para 1-28).

The 'new' competency models of initial teacher education are State sanctioned and presented as a power model constructed for the protection of 'our democratic way of life'. The paradox is that the imposition of the firm directive from the then DfEE to adopt the 2/92 and 14/93 models, was in itself an undemocratic act. It is evident that training institutions, teacher educators and other members of the profession either are not powerful enough, or have been rendered impotent, to define the elements on which they want student teachers to concentrate. Members of the teaching profession have been forced into an attitude of subjugation to the will of the State. The aim of the government policy makers is to manage education, in particular initial teacher education, so that they control the educational culture. Specifically its power to manipulate, mediate, regulate and manage the deeper and politically more important values' conflicts threaten the basis of society.

Legislation surrounding initial teacher training would suggest that a student teacher has to be prepared to deliver and test the National Curriculum, be less theoretical and more practical and become more of a manager and less of a scholar. Student teachers somewhat cynically may be termed as 'prospective under-workers in the Nation’s mind factories'. They have to be contemporary, apolitical and robotic. As Hartnett and Naish (1990:9) suggested:
The position and status of classroom teachers has, over the last ten years or so, been subjected to sustained and successful attack from government and politicians. The statutory curriculum follows this attack through to its logical conclusion. Teachers need to be told what to teach, how to teach it and how to find out if they have taught it successfully. They need to be controlled by bureaucrats, they need to be managed, and they need to be appraised. If they are found wanting, they need to be sacked.

The Education Act of 1994 established a Teacher Training Agency (TTA) with powers to fund and promote Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and educational research in England. This removed the function from the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). A central part of the Agency’s role was destined to encourage the development of school-centred initial training (SCITT) courses. The abolition of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Training (CATE) also resulted from the implementation of the 1994 Education Act. Pring (1996:13) observed that:

.....the shift of funds from University Funding Council to the new TTA removed at one stroke the buffer between government funding and university autonomy - the protection against government interference in the freedom of enquiry and of teaching.

Ambrose (1996:25) added that:

the disbanding of CATE indicated government desire for further centralisation of power over teacher education. While CATE was never a substitute for an independent General Teacher Council (GTC), with its abolition the Secretary of State would no longer even draw on the professional expertise of a standing body. Teaching would become one of the most unprotected of the professions.
The notion that standards of teacher training courses might be monitored by Her Majesty's Inspectorate, within the now formed Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), is dismissed by Ambrose who regards HMIs as representing 'one of the most ideologically poisonous institutions in the civil service', yet he welcomed the rapid demise of the 'harmful political training grounds', of colleges and departments engaged in teacher education.

It would seem natural to expect societal changes to bring about reforms in the general goals of teaching. Goals and their precise formulation in the curricula of all sections of the education system have traditionally posed a problem for policy makers. According to Dror (1994:164):

Every society .......has a reservoir of values that change constantly and that differ in the degree to which they are conscious, intensely-held, realistic or backed up by power, in their structure and formality and in they way they are distributed. These different 'raw' values can be mutually independent, mutually reinforcing, contradictory or anywhere in between. In their 'raw' form they are not formulating goals for public policy-making; for such purposes they must be ordered and made specific.

The idea of ordering 'raw' values is not a new idea. Rescher cited in Baier and Rescher (1969:123) pointed out that precise terminology for values is needed in order to formulate all goals clearly. Such a task is essential for the State as a policy maker and for the training institutions that implement the policies in initial teacher education. There is no evidence to suggest that this task has been undertaken clearly by either policy makers or training institutions. A mismatch
between the expectations of policy makers and those implementing the policy has implications for conflicts in the society and for the transmission of society’s values. There is a need for research in these areas.
CHAPTER 2

Review of Pertinent Literature

The enquiry into values in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) commenced with an in-depth review of current understanding and philosophies. The purpose was to gain insights into why some students become readily compliant with the demands of programmes of ITE and hence are successful, but also why some become speedily disaffected. Drop-out rates in recent years have become an issue of concern for financiers who bemoan the 'waste of public funds' but also of educationalists who have greater concern about the waste of undeveloped talent (Wade 1995). The concern of this particular research endeavour was the annual loss of potentially able new teachers, possibly through their conflict with the values which were guiding the content, delivery and evaluation strategies of their courses. If contrary factors could be identified, the establishment of a new and more positive value base could be explored. The need is there.

For these reasons, a review of literature relating to values and conflict with special reference to initial teacher education is relevant to an understanding of how values impact on learning and teaching. Functional definitions of values, clarification of connections between values and the teaching role and the measurement of values are essential considerations in developing an investigative framework and methodology. Indeed all decisions made with reference to the literature reviewed and the methodology developed will have implications along many value dimensions. Many of the related concepts, for example, role and expectations, are
grounded within an institutional/functionalist paradigm. Consequently, the
construction of a theoretical framework and collection of data raise issues that
challenge what Smagorinsky (1995:192) terms the ‘appropriateness of the purity
metaphor in social science research’. He suggested that there is an assumption in
the research community that theoretical frameworks which underpin educational
research, are social constructs developed by the researcher’s range of experience.
To understand the relationship between values and initial teacher education it is
essential to recognise the human dimension in both the production and utilisation
of value theories.

This review of existing literature sets out to:

• evaluate existing studies of values and conflict in ITE;
• review the literature dealing with potential frameworks and methodological
  approaches which might be useful in this study;
• assess and report on the feasibility of undertaking an investigation of values
  and conflict in ITE, paying attention to the methodological problems involved,
  but also referring to the sample(s) by way of illustrating the potentiality of
  such research.

Values

‘The same word means different things to different people’. This statement, or
one of a similar nature, alerts to the importance of clarifying the term ‘values’.
Research in the social sciences is replete with examples of wide applications of
the term in economics, anthropology, psychology, philosophy and so on. At different times, the term 'values' has given rise to controversy in public debates and private discussions. Positive and negative overtones inevitably have been attributed to values. Related literature in education and teaching is considerable in extent as well as complex in argument.

Since definitions tend to be indicative rather than illuminative, various social psychologists, for example, have attempted to describe the form that a value takes. Effective definitions are useful for what they include as well as what is excluded. The Encyclopaedic World Dictionary (1971:1738) states that values are:

The things of social life (ideals, customs, institutions etc) towards which the people of a group have an affective regard. These values may be positive such as cleanliness, freedom, education or negative such as cruelty, crime or blasphemy.

Keywords in Education (1973:21) defines values as:

Principles which in order of worthiness give direction to human thought and action; they are cultured standards which meet with wide agreement, and enable people or groups to compare and judge their experiences and objectives.

The International Dictionary (1977:357) defines values as:
(1) statistically used to describe quantitative measures in terms of some
standard
(2) beliefs about what is desirable or undesirable.

Chambers 20th Century Dictionary (1983:1436) regards values as

‘moral principles and standards’.

The Hutchinson Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1991/1994:900) states that values are:

……one’s principles or standards, one’s judgement of what is valuable or important in life.

No later dictionary definitions would appear to contradict those given above, which range from general worldly ideals to responsibility-based selections of individuals. While fundamentally helpful, these definitions prove inadequate in the context of ITE where expanded notions of role encompass wider value perspectives. Two examples from value theorists illustrate the point that role is neither acknowledged nor presumed in value orientations. According to Kluckhohn (1951:395):

a value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.
This broad definition seems rather contemporary despite the fact that it was posited forty years ago. It is presented alongside a more recent definition:

......a value may be the object of an act of evaluation, it may be the symbolic configuration of the object of striving, that is, an ideal state or condition that an actor wishes to attain or it may be an ideal state or condition that is adduced as a criterion or standard in the assessing of an existing or possible state or condition. (Shils 1988:47)

Other theorists from many different areas of social science that serve education have also defined values. Drawing on Maslow’s (1954:51-53) hierarchy of needs, Rokeach (1968:124) perceived a value as:

a type of belief, centrally located within one’s total belief system.

Basing his research on the assumption that antecedents of values can be traced to society and its institutions, Rokeach’s (1973:5) functional definition is that a value is:

An enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence.

Rokeach’s definition is analogous to ideas of what one ought to strive for (goal setting) and how one ought to strive for it (methods to be implemented). Both states require knowledge of what is available, evaluation of the environment and
resources, reflection on choices, and utilisation of specific actions and behaviours which are personally and socially preferable to the alternatives. This cycle suggests that a value system is culturally and personally shaped by the social environment in which it takes place, through self-regulation and thought. He made the point that value is a determinant of attitude as well as behaviour, highlighting a value as a belief about the preferable and a preference for the preferable – a yardstick to guide action, attitude, evaluation and justifications to self and others. Rokeach also noted that values are ‘standards’ that guide decisions or on-going activities and can be likened to value systems or blueprints with multiple sections which are activated in different social functions. Presented in this way, Rokeach emphasised the ‘personal’ nature of values which is related to notions of worth. When applied to concepts of standard, value is equated with an idea which is matched by the notion of ‘desirable’ or ‘preferable’ but no mention is made of the ‘ideal’. Rokeach (1973:35) emphasised that values serve ‘adjustive, ego-defensive knowledge and self-actualizing functions.’

In extending the concept of values, Rokeach (1979:51) pointed out that institutional values:

provide frameworks for value specialization, - that is, frameworks for the transmission and implementation mainly of those subsets of values that are implicated in their own particular spheres of activity.
This perspective is useful in separating personal and professional values, theoretically if not practically, and in terms of examining the values utilized by teachers in performing their roles and tasks.

The idea of worth is important and essential to Wilson (1974) who asserted that valuing something is more than having a reason for acting. His position is that valuing is a necessary condition of having reasons for action – values are explanatory reasons. Williams (1979:16) considered that:

Values serve as criteria for selection in action. When most explicit and fully conceptualized, values become criteria for judgement, preference and choice. When implicit and unreflective, values, nevertheless, perform “as if” they constituted grounds for decisions in behaviour.

After listing ways in which he hypothesised that values enter into each of the stages of the decision-making process, both personal and institutional, Harrison (1981:64) claimed that values have the functions of goal setting, developing alternatives, choosing and implementing choice(s), follow-up and control. He added that:

Clearly, then, values.....extend through the entire process of choice. Since they are part of the decision maker’s life, they are reflected in the personal behaviour of arriving at a choice and putting it into effect.

This view is close to that of Dror (1983) who agreed with Harrison’s perception of values. However, as noted in Chapter One of this work, Dror pointed out that
in order to fulfil these functions, values must be ‘ordered and made specific’ after retrieval from a general reservoir of societal values, which change constantly in their constitution and distribution. But he avoids reference to how they might be constituted and distributed.

There is no agreed definition, but from the range explored it is suggested that values have specified functions and are explanatory reasons for choice and action. They appear to reflect belief but are different in that they allow choice from a range of alternatives depending upon the goal(s). The consensus is that values are personal. It is assumed, however, that there are also group values that are shared and cannot be regarded as private.

The loose manner in which the term ‘values’ has been defined in the literature reviewed is unhelpful in separating it from other neighbouring concepts, such as interests. Consequently, it is probably prudent to analyse some reputed characteristics of values. Kilmann (1981:941-942), for example, highlighted three characteristics of values which are worth considering with a view to constructing a functional definition.

Firstly, values might be defined uniquely as a set of dimensions that could be evaluated. They differ from needs, motives, interests and preferences in which the evaluative dimensions are omitted. Secondly, personality concepts such as individual traits, dispositions and tendencies apply in descriptions of an
individual. They are not values, as they do not seek to ascribe what traits, dispositions and tendencies are desirable. Thirdly, concepts related to feelings and convictions about social and physical phenomena are expressed as beliefs, attitudes, sentiment and opinions. Only when statements describing testing or stating a phenomenon are followed by ‘shoulds’, ‘oughts’, and similar words can they be classified as values. The use of ‘ought’ statements to indicate values implies moral dimensions which appear to raise issues concerning measurement or weighting of values in data collection and analysis. As general ‘oughts’, values transcend any one context as distinct from norms and normative statements which are situation-specific.

The tensions here are related to Kilmann’s (1981) need for a clear preference for explicit moral conventions. The use of ‘shoulds’ and ‘oughts’ infers the removal of motivation and is based on ‘immediate grasp’ of a situation. The criterion for desirable behaviour seems to lie in utility from an external perspective which enables ‘objective’ judgements. In initial teacher education, the use of ‘shoulds’ and ‘oughts’ reveal a dependence upon the demands of professional norms and authority figures. It would seem, therefore, that student teachers would need to make clear distinctions between morality, which has obligatory validity, and values, which do not. Therein lies one of the challenges for initial teacher education.
Formation and Acquisition of Values

Most social psychologists including Shils (1988), Turiel (1983), Nucci (1981), Deci and Ryan (1980) agree that individuals develop values from a biological and social perspective. From the time individuals enter the world they begin to interact with their environment in order to make sense of it. According to Shils (1988:4) ‘values do not formulate themselves; they have to be formulated by human beings.’ Such formulation appears to be bound by cognitive and social development.

Confirmation of such development can be gleaned from the works of Piaget (1932), Dewey (1963) and Kohlberg (1976). From a social learning perspective, an individual learns relatively slowly how to select, filter and interpret environmental codes and signals and to perceive differences in what is noticed, responded to, accepted by others and practised. Thought and language contribute to a Piagetian style of ‘levels of value development’ a view supported by Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia (1964) and Kohlberg (1984). Thus meaningful experiences are acknowledged as ‘plans’ to guide behaviour by such as Miller, Galanter and Pribram (1960:31). It seems therefore that through observation, imitation, screening, filtering and testing, individuals make meaningful connections between the conventions, codes, signifiers and symbols in the environment. Evolving as they do from experiences, adopted values are clarified to provide the foundation of what is believed and personalised.
Taking into account Piaget's (1932) understanding of cognitive developmental stages and Kohlberg's (1984) moral reasoning stages, it would seem rational to suggest that perception of values, as different from social conventions, morality, personal preferences and ability to make informed choices, do not evolve until early adolescence. Both Piaget and Kohlberg observed that discrepant incidents stimulate the brain into developing notions of what are worthy and unworthy. The value adopted depends upon personal rewards gained from responses. These rewards may be personally satisfying or be granted by the affirmation of family, friends and significant others when responses are 'correct' or, at least, approved. On the other hand, a lack of rewards and/or punishment would probably imply 'incorrect' responses and unworthiness to the individual.

Dewey (1916:344) summarised the process:

> Every individual has grown up, and always must grow up, in a social medium. His responses grow intelligent, or gain meaning, simply because he lives and acts in a medium of accepted meanings and values. Through social intercourse, through sharing in the activities embodying beliefs, he gradually acquires a mind of his own. The conception of mind as a purely isolated possession of the self is at the very antipodes of the truth. The self achieves mind in the degree in which knowledge of things is incarnate in the life about him; the self is not a separate mind building up knowledge anew on its own account.

Of course each individual constructs and understands a unique blueprint developed with the help of family members, socio-cultural groups and national groups. It is essential to remember that concepts in each group are open to many
interpretations. Furthermore there are, according to Kelly (1955:111), different environments and many possible constructions placed on perceived actions and status, allowing individuals a great deal of space to define their position in their world. Implicit in this idea of position is the performance of roles as citizen, sibling, friend and so on.

It appears evident that there is a developmental approach to values' formation and acquisition which is aided by the ability to recognise choices, to imagine other possibilities with which to make validations and to make informed preferred choices. Prediction of the judgement of 'others' becomes possible by implying that relationships with these 'others' are relevant to the performance of social roles and the utilisation of values. The 'others', who act as control agents, include family members, teachers and friends.

According to Knowles (1973:37) individuals learn to make preferred choices dependent upon the context, their roles in context, the functions of their experiences and the relevance of those experiences to immediate needs. The cumulative qualities of the learning of preferred choices help individuals to exhibit preferences for certain kinds of action or states of affairs. Over time, the individuals acquire the maturity to recognise values as having objective validity, independent of social consensus and personal inclinations. This implies a desirable situation worthy of aspiration owing to its intrinsic qualities.
Such learning, which gives value to situations, independent of the law, appears to involve motivational implications. While holding a particular value does not compel individuals to behave in accordance with that value, it seems likely that it will have an influence. Accordingly, demonstration of a tendency to act in accordance with perceived value(s) becomes an expectation. Research into motivation appears to treat formation of values as a response to meeting a need, except in the findings of Maslow (1954) and Feather (1975). They concluded that values' formation and utilization amount to realizing the potentialities of the person, that is to say, everything that the person can become. The ultimate aim, as White (1959:311) has intimated, is in acquiring a value which is intrinsically desirable for the individual and results in the acquisition of competence and the realisation of personal potential.

From the literature, it seems that social psychologists such as White (1959) and Rogers (1964), believed that values form a central core of generalised attitudes which have a salient role in motivating and thereby directing an individual's behaviour. Rogers (1964:160) indicated that:

> there is an organismic base for an organised valuing process within all individuals and this valuing process is effective in achieving self-enhancement to the degree that people are open to the experience going on within themselves.

It would seem that the extent to which one is able to determine 'values', depends upon an ability to choose from a range of actions and a consciousness of the
overall mental processes involved. Identification with something familiar occurs acting as a stimulus. The nature of choice may restrict, distort, or impede personal growth.

The discussion points to the function of values as motivating guides to action. Individuals, who want to know specific things, guide their learning strategies to achieve their goals. Such a position requires the individuals to identify their targets and apply the motivation to achieve them, depending upon factors influencing the situation. Rokeach (1979:49) observed that human beings differ:

.....from one another not so much in terms of whether they possess terminal or instrumental values, but in the way they organise them to form value hierarchies or priorities ..... enabling choice between alternative goals and actions and enabling us to resolve conflict.

Such views could be important in analysing the value positions of student teachers and how conflicts with desired training and education outcomes emerge.

Measurement of Values

It is noted that Hunt (1935) and Rokeach (1968), used rank ordering as a method of assessing an individual's values. Responses to extended lists of ideas grouped into various categories such as 'co-operation' and 'respect' were ranked according to how important the individuals considered them to be. As ideals, values were defined as desirable and 'were reasonably concrete in their connection to behaviour'. In addition, Rokeach (1968, 1973) included terminal values such as
'equality', 'freedom' and 'a comfortable life'. Rokeach's method appeared to be important in deriving a unique concept of values and was derived from his prior definition of:

.....an enduring belief and a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence.

Scott (1959) coded the answer to open-ended questions to assess the moral ideals of individuals which included 'loyalty' and, 'respect for authority'. They are similar to those of Hunt (1935), but the manner in which Scott (1959) determined his particular value-list and how he used the cluster analysis, more effectively pointed towards a feasible approach for studying values in interpersonal settings.

Advancing the models for measurement of value positions, Gordon (1960), developed a self-report instrument which forced choice on individuals in assessing the importance of items rather than relying on their own evaluative dimension. Some of the items, however, were closely related or similar to some of the instrumental values of Rokeach (1968) and ideals presented by Scott (1959) and therefore resulted in little or no additional information about values.

Spates (1983:43-44) noted that it is generally acknowledged that value measurement poses severe difficulties. He also indicated that the sociology of values always has been primarily an American phenomenon, perhaps a
consequence of the bulk of the research on values having been undertaken in the United States. The three problematic areas identified were:

(i) abstraction and deduction, in which the nature of the world is deduced and then categories of such deduction are imposed upon reality, with little thought that reality might not have been modelled adequately by the categories.

(ii) systematic observation of people’s values followed by constructing grounded hypotheses concerning how such values operate in concrete social settings. One solution advocated is to allow populations under consideration to generate their own values. Another proposed solution is to use a multi-technique approach to avoid discrepancies. Parsons’ (1961a) work is valuable for its relevance as a set of propositions about the nature of values.¹

(iii) inclusive evidence to support the theory that values were the most important element of social life from which all else flowed. Rokeach (1973) and Perkins and Spates (1982), found little evidence that they do.

In theory and practice, the measurement of values reflects abstract terms such as human nature, time, interpersonal relationships and action. How do these relate to values in ITE? Inherent in the content of courses, in the institutions in which ITE takes place, in schools which provide opportunities for learning to teach and in
student teachers’ perceptions of themselves in the teaching culture, are value
orientations.

Values in Initial Teacher Education

The state has clarified its position in respect of values in the National Curriculum.

According to Kelly (1989:46) statements in the curriculum document ‘identify the
values implicit in its provisions, the main general features of its value structure.’

He added that:

Three of the major features implicit in its rationale or ideology of the NC
and associate clauses of the Education Reform Act (ERA) are its
instrumentalism, its commercialism, and its consequent elitism.

It is pertinent to consider these value features further as knowledge of the
National Curriculum is an essential part of the professional development of
intending and serving teachers.

1. Emphasis on instrumentalism is conclusive in that the selection of the core
subjects is based on achieving economic ends rather than any intrinsic
educational priority. It is worth noting therefore, that the inclusion and
differentiated time allocated to the various subjects in the National Curriculum
is based on the preparation of pupils for particular roles in society, not in
terms of any intrinsic or developmental value they might have.
2. Commercial competitiveness is an essential feature of the required publication of test results and the inevitable consequences of the public’s comparison of performance data in ‘League tables’. The development of the National Curriculum and other aspects of the ERA, already has begun to create a sharp competitiveness between educational institutions, including schools and universities. It has been made clear that their survival depends on their ability to compete in the market place for ‘clients’ and resources. As Carr (1991:190) pointed out:

The National Curriculum is itself the centre-piece of an Education Reform Act designed to create a free market system of education and to transform the curriculum into instrumental goods and services to be ‘delivered’ to parents and pupils by teachers and schools.

3. The emphasis on competitive commercialism and economic productivity in education leads inevitably to ‘elitism’ which as a value underpins the National Curriculum. Kelly (1990:51) observed:

the invitation to, or even the obligation on, schools to compete with one another in these testing exercises is counter-productive to any notion that they exist to serve the needs of all their pupils equally.

These three overarching values are implicit in the practices and policies operating in educational institutions. Explicitly noted for initial teacher education is the expectations that future teachers will transmit values relating to Citizenship2:
More needs to be done in teacher training for ensuring commitment on the part of their pupils... revisions and improvement to the National Curriculum need to keep citizenship under close review (Cmd 2001 para 1...28).

Additionally conceived as the most important of the cross-cultural dimensions is Personal and Social Education (PSE). The State expects PSE to be co-ordinated as an explicit part of a school’s whole curriculum policy.

Institutional Values and Conflicts

The conflicts which have been generated through the efforts of various pressure groups were noted in Chapter One of this work. Critiques from what has come to be known as the New Right group (of which O’Keefe is indicative) and conflicts among the models of ITE need to be contextualized within the social, economic and educational restructuring of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The emergent form of initial teacher education has, at its core, the values of competence, quality assurance and accountability. This competency-based model of ITE is an off-shoot of American curriculum theorists who believe that the training course is more effective, cohesive and relevant if:

- certain basic specified competences are identified;
- criteria for assessment are explicated;
- students are made accountable for their achievement;
• emphasis on the classroom is clearly established through continuous contact with experienced teachers in schools.

By combining these four elements, American policy makers of the Competency-Based Teacher Education (CBTE) hoped that a demonstrable level of teaching ability upon which refinement and extension could be based at a later point, would be established. In the British version of requirements, for primary ITE presented in the DfEE Circular 14/93 and later in Circulars 10/97 and 10/98, Teaching: 'High Status, High Standards', there is implicit expectation that the training of potential teachers can be uniform and standardised. By formulating a national curriculum for teachers the State hoped to combine the same elements as outlined in the American model within a market structure of competition and economic growth.

Reforms do not take place in a vacuum. Conceptions of teaching may have changed, but the institution offering training and the people who interpret policies are central to the value acquisition of initial teachers, as are the backgrounds of the student teachers. The cultural task for teacher educators is to articulate state-initiated ITE values to the British public. The public’s and the profession’s conceptions of the role of teacher educators and school teachers change slowly and, in that process, chance and paradox are common. Externally initiated conflicts are predictable and can be tolerated as a normal consequence of change. Less tolerance is applied when interests, internal to the profession, create turmoil.
The reforms in ITE were introduced within a short time-scale allowing little time for adaptation and value change. Training institutions, without clear rationale for change sometimes were hard pressed to respond positively, as their own plans conflicted with those of the State. Such a situation occurred at the training institution which provides the context for this study. Its strategic plan had contrary objectives and time targets.

The way in which the training institution and student life is organised is shaped by beliefs about the learning and teaching and the purposes of initial teacher education. Priority setting, the provision and allocation of resources, attitudes towards and attention given to different sorts of tasks, the general modes of behaviour and the nature and quality of relationships are affected. Over the last twenty years, a number of different philosophical perspectives on the ultimate purposes of initial teacher education can be identified in the contemporary literature as indicated briefly in Chapter One. These produced very different perspectives and values on individual experiences of both students and teacher educators and their interests. The competency-based perspective of the 1990s emphasises performance of a high quality rather than a range of skills. Such approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive and are often interpreted and combined in various ways, but the conflict of interests and values needs to be overcome if the demands of the State are to be met.
Teacher educators display their individual and collective behaviour in the performance of multiple roles in ITE. They also communicate concepts of learning, teaching, professionalism, social organisation in large and small groups and the fundamental facets within human nature which imply distinctive values. Through what they discern, name and comment upon, they invite student teachers to view or construe reality in particular ways. Inevitably, such variety and interconnection of expected and unexpected ways of behaving in various roles, involve the possibility of role conflict either for:

(1) the individual, say, the student teacher who is also a parent of a child in her classroom (inter-role conflict) or

(2) between individuals in the performance of their expected roles – the teacher educator and the host teacher disagreeing over the organisation and management of a classroom by a student teacher (intra-role conflict).

The management of conflict within ITE seems to require an examination of the development of the system through time. The primary task of ITE is to educate student teachers to fulfil their professional role as educators. In a changing environment, holding to this primary task entails making internal adjustments through which an equilibrium is recovered or maintained. This ‘first order’ change, as highlighted by Watzlawich, Weakland and Fisch (1974:17), implies modifying procedures and practices but effecting no change in identity. Second order change or catastrophic change was noted by Watzlawich, Weakland and
Fisch (1974:77-91) and Bion (1976). The authors are referring to change in psychoanalysis, but Bion's (1976:39) description captures the feel of second order change in initial teacher education:

It is catastrophic in the restricted sense of an event producing a subversion of the order or system of things; it is catastrophic in the sense that it is accompanied by the feelings of disaster in the participants; it is catastrophic in the sense that is sudden and violent in an almost physical way.

The dynamics of reforms in ITE have created a new synthesis out of the demands both of viability and faithfulness to basic aims. With regard to values, however, Bion (1961) characterises conflict resolution according to three underlying basic assumptions:

- **Dependence**: the well-being of the individual, to be secured through dependence upon another object (person, institution, idea);

- **Expectancy**: the well-being of the individual in the future to be obtained through the intercourse of pairs of objects (persons, institutions);

- **Fight-Flight**: secure the well-being of the person through fighting for self-actualization and destroying or evading (person, institution).
Bion’s basic assumptions appear to endorse the concerns in this study. His key words describe the stages through which student teachers proceed along a rational-cognitive-action continuum.

Values and Role

Human beings, in living their daily lives, need to utilise values most appropriate to the situation in which they find themselves. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that student teachers:

(1) develop a repertoire of values

(2) have the ability to determine consciously and conscientiously which values are essential in guiding behaviour in their specific roles and contexts.

As each context has a structure determined by society, structure and action both have a part to play in the construction of social reality (Giddens 1976, Willis 1977). The complexity of the situation, however, does not exclude role theory as applicable in interpersonal interactions in ITE. The roles of teacher educators, host teachers and students are determined by sections of the society in which they find themselves. Role expectations have the characteristics of norms, therefore it is reasonable to assume that they vary in the degree to which they are related to important values and how widely they are shared. Expectations, also shaped by values systems enforced by others, vary in the range of behaviour they permit. As it is through tasks that some roles become obvious, both roles and tasks are essential concepts for focus in this study.
Functionalists like Parsons (1951, Hawkins (1974) and Giddens (1976) suggested that individuals are ‘actors’ whose behaviour can be understood as functions of role and personality. They advise that each individual/actor occupies a number of roles defined by his/her reference group – teacher educators are no exception. An actor, Parsons and Hawkins hypothesised, feels an internal obligation to conform to specified roles. In certain situations, the roles present inconsistent, contradictory or even mutually exclusive expectations. In such situations, an actor acts out the assigned part. The severity of any conflict emerging from the allocated role is seen by Parsons and Hawkins to be closely related to the actor’s attitude and experience in dealing with conflicts generally. In contrast, to this perspective, interactionists like Mead (1934), Buchmann (1987) and Shuell (1988) put greater emphasis on individuals’ ability to interpret roles according to personal ideas and the meanings given to the behaviour of others. They suggested that appropriate actions and decisions are tied to the public realm where they are constrained by both facts and norms. It follows that individual teachers need to justify their actions to a collective body of learners, consumers and policy makers.

At a time when teachers appear to be confused about their roles and tasks, it seems important to consider how initial teacher education treats the ‘concept’ of role and the inevitable conflicts which some student teachers and teacher educators face. In the light of the above, it is important to remember that Maguire (1993: 185-186) described the task of educating teachers as the ‘impossible job’.

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In summarising her thesis, Maguire advises that teacher educators experience an essential and almost classical dualism in the way they conceptualise their work. They know that there is a need for practical classroom skills yet they want to ensure that these are understood in a professional reflective manner.

Yonemura (1987: 124) had similar concerns to those of Maguire:

The world of work has a plethora of diminishing roles that can rob us of who we are in exchange for what we do. Energies are spent living up to the expectations of significant others whose significance may not have been assessed in terms of our underlying values and beliefs.

The way ahead for teacher educators seems fraught with problems related to the self in relation to those who control the pathway to success of prospective teachers, unless compliance with governmentally-determined objectives are adhered to with unremitting strictness.

**Values and Self**

Kerr (1981) stated that drawing from the multiplicity of values in society, students bring their values about life to initial teacher education. Lortie (1975) suggested that years of apprenticeship of observing teachers and teaching have led to 'the development of a reservoir of values, commitments, practice and directions'.

Such exposure suggests that as future teachers, students are consumers and providers, saturated with values which will have penetrated, according to
McKinney (1980:204), 'the core of their definitions of themselves to become personal values'. Carbone (1987:10) emphasised the point that teachers:

.....cannot avoid imparting values in one way or another in the normal course of their activities qua teachers .....what we consider 'good', right or important constantly guides our practice whether consciously or not.

Given that student teachers are active, anticipatory, problem-solving, role playing and impression-managing human beings (Nias 1984, Kelly 1955), it is inevitable that they would utilise their internalised learning in making sense and giving meaning to the interactive process of choosing individual elements, which determine their world view, including their professional repertoire. It is assumed that student teachers bring their own purposes and ideas to their learning environment. The relationship between these individuals and the institutions in which they choose to learn, presents an element of concern between what Giddens (1976) refers to as 'action and structure'. The individual student teacher as a learner, establishes the 'self' as an organiser of purposeful behaviour, capable of demonstrating decisional competence when imposing order on the environment. Thus initial teacher education has, at its core, personal growth and the development of competence undertaken through experiential learning.

What needs to be made explicit to practitioners in initial teacher education is that the transformative experience of learning, of which Freire (1972) speaks, requires student teachers to reflect on self and society, and to construct themselves as
individual beings while accounting for specific actions in qualitative terms. He might well have included reflection on society as well. In addition, the students should be expected to utilise a variety of approaches to study contextually grounded ‘givens’ during teaching practices. Through these connecting threads of experiential learning, student teachers can be helped to see themselves as active learners able to consider their past experiences and reflect on the influence of these on their professional learning. They might also be encouraged to address, evaluate and develop their performances with a view to fashioning their own versions of reality. Student teachers, ideally, then would see themselves learning by doing, learning to learn and learning through group processes.

Implicitly and explicitly, learning and teaching involve evaluation, judgement and choice, all of which are essential features of value structures. Peters (1970:232) made a broader claim in stating that:

[values] cannot prescribe precisely what we ought to do but at least they rule out certain courses of action and sensitise us to features of a situation which are morally relevant.

He added that education implies transmitting something that is worthwhile ‘in a morally accepted manner’.

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Values and Teaching

Student teachers practise teaching in order to learn to teach, so the emphasis in training has to be on teaching practice. The problem for student teachers is how to organise appropriate personal agenda upon which to direct their energies for the best possible outcomes. Faced with innumerable opportunities, in which informed choices have to be made, they sometimes, out of ignorance about the ethical and moral concerns and the complexity of learning to teach, consciously or unconsciously construct difficult paths for themselves. The consequence is, in some cases, muddled conceptions of teaching.

Conceptions of teaching, of course, vary widely. A range of research findings concerning these conceptions focuses on teaching as a moral craft (Tom 1984), emphasises its developmental nature (Schon 1983), and defines it as an art (Schwab 1978). McDonald (1992) noted that it was an uncertain craft open to an infinite variety of constructs, some of them better than others.

Knowles (1950:31-2) wrote:

Teaching is a process of guided interaction between the teacher, the student, and the materials of instruction.....Teaching, like medical practice, is mostly a matter of co-operation with nature. The function of the teacher is to guide the student into the kind of experiences that will enable him to develop his own natural potentialities.
According to Dewey (1933:35) 'teaching can be compared with selling commodities'. 'No one', he said, 'can sell unless someone buys'. Thus he argued that there must be some exact equation between learning and teaching. Of philosophical importance is the conceptual truth that no one can buy unless someone sells to him or her. However, there seems to be no ground for a parallel claim that no one can learn unless someone teaches. Thus buying and selling can only be understood in terms of one and the other. Teaching, however, is conceptually parasitic on learning – the process is one way only. Therefore, for Dewey (1933), teaching is what a teacher does – a notion which has implications for roles and tasks of teachers in the 1990s.

Hirst (1973:170-172) was the first philosopher to set out conditions as 'logically necessary .....for the central case of teaching'. He highlighted the following conditions:

a. activities must be constructed or acts performed with the primary intention of bringing about the learning of X.

b. activities must indicate or exhibit explicitly or implicitly that X is worth learning.

c. teachers must do this in a way that is intelligible to and within the capabilities of the learner.
Hirst (1973) emphasised the relationship between what is displayed and what is taught. In perceiving teaching as an activity, he claimed that what distinguishes any activity from another is its purpose or point. He describes teachers with ‘fuzzy’ intentions as ‘a category of professional teachers who are in fact frauds because their intentions are never clear’. This derives from a moral judgement concerning what it is to fill a professional role. Hirst seems to have had an important insight in the suggestion that teaching involves bringing what is learned into the view of the learner. If this is so, teaching clearly involves consciously chosen acts and activities on the part of the teacher. But the acceptance of this suggestion does not include commitment to the belief that teaching is in itself an activity. Planning activities with an end in view is not enough to ensure that there is a corresponding ‘super-activity’ between the teacher and learner which results in objective realisation. Hirst’s account implies that the teacher and the learner each have personal goals and that they happen to be identical is a contingent fact which simply makes success for both more likely.

More recently, Huber and Mandl (1984) indicated that teacher education research, with a strong interpersonal behavioural orientation, could be rooted within an action. In this theoretical view, the course and results of actions are to some degree seen as determined by cognitive processes. This study hopes to follow a similar path. The author, in common with recent researchers, has accepted Hirst’s (1973) model of teaching as an ‘activity’, but attention is directed both towards the outcome in the learner and the actions performed by the teacher. This
transaction or task is central to understanding interpersonal relationships in teaching. The point is that there is a distinction between the contingent consequences of an act (teaching) and the logical consequences of an outcome (learning). There is a sense that the interpersonal relationships developed during teaching practices are equivalent to Janusean 'attempts' in that they are always retrospective in their function. The suggestion is made that teaching is a 'perficience' task. The principal feature of a 'perficience' task is that the ending of a transaction is not necessarily within the control of the person generating it. Nowell-Smith (1957) observed that 'perficience' verbs like 'to teach' have a Janusean quality and are useful in an 'attempt' sense. This seems particularly relevant to the work of student teachers and shifts the emphasis from the activity to explaining and justifying the role they are expected to play. It is only by virtue of understanding teaching practices as 'transactions' that one understands teaching in a problem-solving 'task' sense, which is what student teachers do as they try to teach. In one sense, trying is, as White (1968) suggested, intention-in-action. Personal intentions reflect personal values and moral reasoning. Schon (1983) and Nias (1989) agree that student-teachers use value systems relating to epistemology to generate premises which in turn constitute and internalise reflection-like dialogues between self as student and self as teacher in making sense of professional practice.

Klauer (1985:5) postulated that an appropriate framework for a theory of teaching is to view it as an interpersonal activity. The teacher exerts an influence upon the
learner's activity and vice versa. There are considerable differences in the various interactions which occur in different classrooms to foster both moral and cognitive development.

It is necessary for the student teacher and learners to make choices because there are so many options for a theoretical framework. In selecting an interpersonal model, focus on student teachers interactions with teacher educators, host teachers and pupils is stressed. All of these relationships are meaningful in acquiring qualified teacher status and in the utilisation of values.

**Philosophical Considerations**

The moral aspects of teaching and learning gain little consideration in research literature. Fenstermacher (1986:41) suggested that 'researchers passionately prefer to keep their enquiry untainted by moral or axiological commitment' because exploration of morality has to occur through unscientific modes of enquiry. Fallding (1965:225) acknowledged 'values are organising ends, organising precisely because many other satisfactions and actions are subordinate to them'. They stress that as self-sufficient ends, values are satisfactions pursued without limit. They are never subordinated to others unless they are the same thing in different guises; when in competition conflict is inevitable.

Drawing on Parsons' work, Fallding (1965:236) claimed that these self-sufficient ends could be classified into two groups: those which satisfy a direct personal need and those which satisfy 'a frame of reference more inclusive than
themselves'. They warn that knowledge of personal values can best be understood when a person is at a point of ultimate choice or if the person can indicate choice in hypothetical situations. They added, that in order to establish the validity of the choice as a value, there must be evidence of repetition and reconfirmation over time. They also considered that an individual will serve conflicting values and give ostensible attachment to one as a standard only to cancel this later. Furthermore they hinted that collective reinforcement of values is important for their continuity and progression, but as Durkheim (1950) observed, within any society or group, some sub-groups will own each particular value just as others will disavow those same values and derogate their owners.

This brought to mind Dewey's (1916:408) idea about self-hood in which he perceived that the kind and amount of interest actively taken in a thing, in this case values, reveals and measures the kind of self-hood that exists. Facing various decisions among alternatives open to them, student teachers make value choices leading to personal growth. All social situations have a relationship with one of many value dimensions. Consequently the values of one's reference group influence action and disposition. It is to be expected therefore, that student teachers faced with a BEd course, in which they rarely have had input at the initial or validation stage, could find themselves in conflict with some of the values which have been presented by policy makers. So far, no attempt has been made to study systematically how education policy values are delivered through initial teacher education. Kogan's (1974) assertion that discussion of social policy
values generally confuses basic values and instrumental concepts, has yet to be examined. Gramsci (1971) has explored the idea of an elevated group that imposed favoured values on others. He found that the State coerced practitioners in education to adopt concepts inherent in market values, through ideological means.

The alternative is to find a set of values which are justified. Haydon (1987) suggested that part of moral and political philosophy is concerned with justification of values. The Swann Report (1985) referred to values of liberal democracy and suggested that any theorising attempted must recognise that, in a multi-cultural society, individuals are rooted in a blend of traditions making it impossible to read off any single determinate framework. Ethical theory suggests that the basic values and concepts of good practice, that constitute guidelines for professional conduct are not held universally where there are diverse technologies. Mackie (1981:52) suggested that real negotiation is possible depending on the sort of things to be negotiated, what constraints there are, what the institutional setting is and how effective the values can be in relation to the actual political workings of the society. Zec (1980) pointed out that the dominant group will be favoured when relative worth, customs, values and beliefs are considered in a multicultural society.
Empirical Studies

In Britain both Richardson (1965) and Crompton (1971) used the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey’s ‘Study of Values’ (1951) to classify values of teachers. The research sample of teachers chose from 45 statements covering six types of values – theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious. The findings showed that male teachers in the sample scored higher on theoretical, economic and political values, while female teachers scored higher on aesthetic and religious ones. Student teachers were involved in a large scale Survey of Opinions about Education in 1973 which was concerned with values directly related to the professional work of teachers and organised by staff at the University of Manchester. It reflected the earlier findings of Butcher (1965) and Morrison and McIntyre (1969), who both reported changes in value dimensions among student teachers as they progressed through their courses. Apparently they moved from teacher-centred to child-centred approaches, had a greater awareness of general educational principles as they became more familiar with schools, and became more ‘tenderminded’. All the studies noted above used quantitative analyses and sought to present a range of values clearly identified at the inception. More recently Calderhead and Robson (1991) highlighted in a small study of eight (8) student teachers how images of teaching held at the start of initial training tended to shape what their sample found useful and relevant in the course.

This viewpoint was also noted in American Studies. Important was the work of Crow (1987), who found that student teachers entered ITE with a well established
'teacher role identity' (TRI) based on memories of previous teachers and childhood events. Their images of their role functioned as filters through which experiences in ITE were accepted or rejected. Book, Byers and Freeman (1983) indicated that their sample of student teachers perceived teaching ‘as an extended form of parenting’. Weinstein (1988) examined student teachers’ expectations about teaching. The subjects believed that in placing a high priority on affective concerns they would be successful teachers. Together these studies raise questions about the nature of student teachers’ general values, commitments and orientations through their concentration on the images that student teachers hold and their own predictions of future teaching performance.

Although open-ended questions were used extensively, correlations were made between the ideal or true and the given responses. Bird, Anderson, Sullivan and Swideler (1993) sought student teachers’ beliefs and encouraged their consideration of alternative beliefs in educational literature. The main teacher educator (Bird) in the research team, found that in order to make the course content acceptable, students had to be able to give credibility to the ways in which the course was conducted. The student teachers presented their analysis as follows:

When we were students we are able to observe what teachers say and do in classrooms, so we tend to form an image of teaching as a matter of saying and doing in classrooms. (Bird, Anderson, Sullivan and Swidler 1993:259)
Yonemura’s (1986) work, to ascertain the impact of one teacher’s beliefs and values on her classroom of young children, found practical knowledge central to her role.

Almost always she could give an account of the thought that led her to these actions and these thoughts could be traced back to various values and beliefs. Yonemura (1986:7)

The practical elements of initial teacher education, emphasised in the latter two reports, suggest that a study or investigation of values needs to be anchored in concrete terms rather than abstractions. This point was emphasised by Spates (1983), who reminded that teaching is, essentially an interactive process therefore it must be given due consideration in any investigation. The persuasive influence of the teaching practice tradition has become a defining motif in student teachers’ lives and appears as ‘commonsense’ in the reports from the New Right Group and some others. Set as it is in a world transformed by social and technological changes, student teachers cross boundaries and contexts, for example, from work to initial teacher education. How they acquire professional values and utilise them is important to policy makers and teacher educators.

Theoretical Considerations

In addition to being an interactive process, it is assumed that teaching is a moral activity. This needs to be made explicit if student teachers are to engage in fruitful self-actualisation. Teacher educators have an obligation, as a function of
their role, to help student teachers create a moral environment in the classroom, despite the fact that competency-based initial teacher education courses and the focus on delivery of National Curriculum targets sometimes seems to militate against it. Bullough (1987:86) cautioned that:

In numerous ways personal values modify the institutionally established teacher role and influence the culture of teaching which maintains it. To be sure the influence is soft and subtle because school structure, the power of ideology of public service and the demands of instrumental rationality press the teacher to set aside conflicting personal values but nevertheless it is there.

Whether acquired through cultural transmission or self-construction, there is a need for specific research about the role of values in teaching. Student teachers need to understand the dual consciousness of being consumers and producers of education.

As presented above, the State has been the chief instrument of coercion affecting the ideas and actions of policy makers and practitioners of teacher education. These ‘workers’ have a dual consciousness, partly coerced by pragmatic evaluation of plying their craft and living their lives. Although complete hegemony rests upon the agreement of a specific set of norms and values, Gramsci’s (1971) conceptions of dual consciousness would appear applicable to the conflicts surrounding initial teacher education in the 1990s.

It can be argued that value-shifts inherent in recent reforms in education generally, and in teacher education in particular, have led to fundamental
questions about values, both in the literature and in society. For example, Bernstein (1983) and Feinburg (1983) suggested that the range of differences in student teachers’ beliefs and understandings about teaching is a crucial factor in emphasising values in the discourses. They claimed that student teachers do not adopt the assigned roles anticipated in respect of the norms and values expected by society, rather they use their different beliefs and understanding as starting points to filter the information presented by the training institutions.

Individuals probably construct their own value systems despite the prescriptive nature of ITE and the function of the training institution. Through negotiation, conflict resolution and adaptation, student teachers make sense of their world to arrive at some form of moral autonomy. As communicators, they need to avoid misunderstanding, which according to Candlin (1987:22); ‘may have unintelligibility, itself stemming from alternative and at times conflicting systems of values and beliefs’.

Piaget’s (1965) hypothesis that in social settings where conditions of conceptual conflict are stimulated by peer interaction, learning is accelerated. Thus there is likely to be enhanced learning in mixed-experience groups of traditional and non-traditional students in training institutions. Conceptions of ‘reality’ as experienced by student teachers are socially constructed. Given that teaching is also about changing or facilitating ways of thinking about certain aspects of the world in which we live, it is essential that student teachers develop awareness of
the competing claims of reality between themselves and their educators in their understanding of what makes a 'good' teacher. This is critical if the notion expressed by Kelly (1955) that each person perceives and understands his/her world through the 'basic postulate' of a personal construct, is accepted. Student teachers, therefore, while sharing common experiences, enduring similar processes and aspiring to similar vocational destinations, presumably will relate to and tell different 'stories' of their experiences as lived.

Gudmundsdottir (1988) emphasised the need for initial teacher education to help student teachers understand the influence that values have on the development of pedagogical knowledge as well as on classroom practice. In the 1990s, the people who put themselves forward for teacher education have come from a wide variety of backgrounds and orientations. Nias (1984) reminded that each student teacher's sense of 'self' and relationship of 'self' to 'role' contribute to a strong sense of personal identity and of 'personal values', influencing what is done both inside and outside the classroom.

The author's experiences of initiating 'new' students into the 'ethos' of the training institution have led to the belief that, students and teacher educators need to understand the affective domain of all learning processes and the part played by values in initiating, maintaining and terminating learning and teaching. Adaptation must be two-way. Although some students start the course acquainted with the task of teaching, according to Lortie (1975), they need the help of
significant others to help them extend and develop processes to make sense of experiences. The course in the institution of Higher Education is not only the formal beginning of learning to teach but also preparation for exposure to a more broadly based teaching community and a wider range of opportunities for developing professional practice.

Rogers (1983:266) suggested that values have a motivational element especially where there is some congruence between the individual and the environment. Congruence, it seems, stimulates learners' interest in making links with their personal needs or goals, so that they 'come to know' through self-actualisation. To understand how student teachers can best utilise personal values as a means of motivation, teacher educators need to be aware of the student teachers' values about life, teaching and learning. These serve to provide relevant starting points for development. Like classroom teachers who settle in 'new' children, teacher educators should be sensitive to student teachers' starting points. There are many possible interpretations of any provided theory, dependent upon differences in cultural capital, expectations and values.

Student teachers and their training institutions could be accused of aiming for 'easy lives' by adopting a stance of congruence rather than taking a risk of being divergent or even autonomous thinkers. It is essential for student teachers to engage in more self consciously critical actions involving the diverse elements which influence professional behaviour and the function of initial teacher
education. One cannot talk about student teachers learning without talking of teacher educators' teaching. Student teachers need to question areas of consensual professional beliefs in order to understand ideas of cultural reproduction, and empowering education. It is believed that through deconstructing and contesting problematics, as for example, the recipe approach of current models of competency-based ITE, student teachers have opportunities to develop skills of self-critique and of reflexivity which will help them from becoming impositional themselves.

One of the difficulties of generalising about the education issues is to risk neglecting the unique, even idiosyncratic perspectives that an individual can bring to a given milieu. It is individuals who share common experiences and endure similar vocational intentions. From this commonality, significance from a collective and comparative study of their values can be derived. Underlying the study, is the basic assumption that discerning differences and similarities in value giving is essential in a pluralistic society. This will take account of diverse meanings in any given context. Rogers (1964:160) suggested:

One way of assisting the individual to move towards openness to experience, is through a relationship in which the experiences going on within him is emphatically understood and valued and in which he is given the freedom to experience his own feelings and those of others without being threatened in doing so.
What is described here is similar to what Rowan (1979), cited in Rowan and Reason (1981: 115), drawing on Hegelian ideas, has referred to as the realised levels of consciousness, primary, social and realised. In the latter state, people ‘see the world as our world rather than the world’. He added that ‘being rational….at this stage is doing justice to the whole thing – to all that is out there in the world and all that is in here, inside ourselves’. The perspective of human beings as rational, assumes that conditions and constraints ‘belong’ entirely in the objective characteristics of the environment. But individuals may be limited by cultural and social factors in themselves when seeking and processing information in the environment.

The Concept of Values

Analyses of concepts of values leads to notions about what values ought and ought not to be. For example Maslow’s (1954) original work about motivation suggested a five-level sequential hierarchy: physiological aspects, safety needs, love and belonging, self-esteem and self-actualisation. Initially, Maslow was concerned with a strict order in satisfaction of humans’ needs for food, security, having friends, achieving status and realising their potential. It was indicated that while needs may be universal, individuals have their own motivational states which determine their progress in the hierarchy. Consequently, levels in the hierarchy may be ignored to achieve what any individual considers a more important goal. Thus values become the goals or things desired or chosen by an
individual at anytime and as an object becomes a perceived need. This concept probably still obtains in everyday use today.

The work of Morris (1956) approached the concept as 'ways to live'. This concept of values is similar to interests. The concept relates to how people would like to live – a concept of the desirable, that is, of interest to human beings. However, values as criteria or standards, in terms of which evaluations are made, was proposed by Shils (1988:449) who regards values to be:

.....formulated by human beings.....to which primary importance or decisiveness is attributed by those who hold them. .....Fundamental values are those that are pervasive among derivative values either through logical deduction or a sense of fittingness or appropriateness.

Research in child development initiated by Piaget (1932) and confirmed by Kohlberg's (1984) led to their belief that sequential stages are evident in the development of values as standards of morality, and are perceived as desirable behaviours subject to societal conditions and rules regardless of individual preferences or desires. The distinctions between them and values it was assumed were threefold:

(1) Morality occurs as moral norms to be inculcated much more explicitly and carefully than values, which are perceived through discrepant events.

(2) Moral norms have clearly defined rules with means of enforcing them and punishing deviation while this does not apply in values creation.
The perception of morality is based on criteria concerned with the welfare of others and ideas of justice which entail the provision of reasons for actions taken. Values' creation is developed through self-construction approaches and is envisaged as a slow process open to confusion and individual idiosyncrasies because of less specific guidance and/or instruction.

Thus both Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1963, 1966 and 1984) concluded that a distinct perception of values' formation and utilisation was not reached until adolescence. This thinking may well have led to the virtual disregard of perceptions of values' information in children. However consideration of the term values from philosophical and sociological bases has become widespread. The former deals with the analysis of linguistic forms as these embody educational concepts. The latter evolved out of anthropological work as being relevant to, and part of, cultural orientations.

The inculcation of Christian ideas relevant in shaping pupils into good citizens has been a powerful factor in developing the concept of values as moral standards arising out of human experiences. This idea is still prevalent in the 1990s although Hutcheon (1972: 178) urged that it was important:

to construct and test a body of systematic theory on the building of values and on valuing as a combination of social, psychological and biological processes.
Thus historically and traditionally both the guidance to teachers and the curriculum have advocated values and moral qualities interchangeably. For example, the National Curriculum Council (1993/4:5) stated that school leavers should be morally educated and among other qualities should be able to:

articulate their own attitudes and values.....develop for themselves a set of socially acceptable values and principles and set guidelines to govern their own behaviour.

Looking back to the definitions presented earlier it appears that 'values' are inferred motivational constructs that are relatively independent of any particular motive but have evaluative dimensions. In this way they are similar to norms and normative statements that utilise good-bad, right-wrong and other evaluative dimensions but unlike norms are subject to situational changes. While it is assumed that situations may be closely linked to roles, and that differences in both would necessitate value changes, these need to be set against norms and role expectations. Consequently, if values are subjective, in the sense of merely hidden approvals or preferences, then the promotion of norms and roles through socialisation at every level of human development, would be unacceptable to all concerned. After all, while an individual's preferences can be established, potentially another's preferences or approvals might be in opposition.

Notwithstanding the diversity of concepts – a common thread is apparent: values are not obligatory, that is, individuals are allowed free choices which contrasts
with norms which are obligatory and subject to social conventions. However, in order to achieve harmony in society, Dancy (1990) argued that on a practical level in a multicultural society dissecting the concept of values is complex:

......to make sense of the ......world what we need is to understand the possibility of [values] which I accept or believe but which I see as merely my [values].

This perspective compliments the capitalist view of emphasising self or individual responsibility thus reducing the need for discourses about values and the conceptualisation of values in education. Ling (1998:210) concluded from a recent study that:

where there is a multiplicity of diverse values, eclecticism in the way the system of values which prevail are constructed and a hesitancy to commit to a particular values stance, may be viewed as a global trend.

In contrast to the concepts highlighted above are the notions of values as moral standards. Based on early conceptions of how children should be educated, contained in religious literature, to glean the right reason for the true ends of human beings, the inculcation of values becomes a significant part of children’s moral and cultural experiences of schooling. The work of Wilson (1974) and Peters (1970), in emphasising that the process of education implies transmitting something that is worthwhile in a morally acceptable manner, has helped to anchor further claims that values sensitise people to features of situations that are
morally relevant. The clarification of values through compulsory lessons based around morality, are the latest attempts to continue to link values and socially and morally responsible behaviour.

The test of values has to be whether something was useful to individuals. Implicit in the concept of values is that of utility which is the primary test of the value of anything. Value sets serve to promote the adjustment of personal beliefs consequently enabling individual knowledge creation. The central problem in conceptualising values is that utilitarian needs may develop from any area of complex human lives.

Presented in this way, over time, values may be developed from a broad base involving belief, perception, evaluation, and intention. According to Rokeach (1973:14) these elements provide ‘the conceptual tools and weapons that we all employ in order to maintain and enhance self-esteem. He added that they serve ‘adjustive, ego-defensive, knowledge and self actuating functions’ (p25).

The elements also fall within Kluckholn’s formulation of values as rising from the ‘transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluation process – the cognitive, the affective and the directive elements.’ (Kluckholn and Strodtbeck 1961:39)

In Parsonian sociology, social order depends on the existence of general, shared values which are regarded as legitimate and binding. The linkage between social
and personality systems is achieved by the internalisation of values through the process of socialisation. Consequently, values cannot be reduced to or explained by interest, biological need or class. Three criticisms of this interpretation of values are pertinent:

(1) societies exist despite considerable disagreement over values
(2) values may be accepted pragmatically rather than normatively
(3) it disregards the constraining force of social structures.

Individuals learn that by recognising acknowledging and accepting the conflicts between their values and those of others, they begin to understand the moral and ethical dimensions of everyday living, their multiple identities and roles. Given the 'range of convenience' (Kelly 1955) in choosing principled preferences to give direction to their thoughts and actions in their society, profession and culture, it is quite interesting to notice that awareness of all values is not within the ability of all.

In popular conception, the idea of values is a highly specific and restricted concept. Principally it is used most frequently in connection with all human behaviour. Consequently, all human beings have values. A more sophisticated conception seeks to add validity to preferred behaviour, from the plethora of behaviours found in any situation, by the application of justifications which are rational. Further justifications, including moral elements, extend the concept. The first rung is probably regarded as personal, the second cultural and the third
societal. In this way, moral codes and rational ideas have become expectations of and reinforcing aids in a reservoir of values promoted through education.

Conclusions and Directions

The notions presented through review of literature imply a need for specific value adoption by student teachers, if their preparation for teaching is to be efficient and effective. The assessment of their competence for teaching is criterion-referenced and reputedly norm-referenced. Certainly, the introduction of the DfEE Circulars 10/97 and 4/98, implies the possibility of standardisation in the assessment of competence. Against a vast range of criteria, in which value judgements about what makes a 'good', 'very good' or 'adequate' teacher are encapsulated, assessment of standard must be made by serving teachers and the initial teacher training providers. The assessment tool is crude. Grades 1, 2, 3 or 4, ultimately are awarded to indicate quality of learning outcomes of the apprentice teachers. Some 124 criteria, 51 with subordinate criteria must be deemed satisfactorily met for award of qualified teacher status (QTS) by primary phased candidates. What cannot be discerned from the criteria is what constitutes high quality, that is Grade 1, or just satisfactory, Grade 3. The system seems set to induce conflict among assessors and between assessors and the assessed.

Theologians, philosophers and educationists have grappled with the concept of 'goodness' over centuries and arrived at no consensus. The Department of
Education and Employment (DfEE) of the late twentieth century, however, bypassed the worry of definition and left the assessors to assign values to the quality 'good'. The DfEE, through its appointed Office of Standards in Education (OFSTED) evaluate the efficiency of initial teacher training providers in assessing 'goodness', in accordance with its own rather elusive and ephemeral criteria. Challenge of the value base, when faced with conflicting assessment of 'good', is difficult without adoption of the same value base. The consequence of this position is that the agency holding the purse strings in funding initial teacher education holds enormous power to control the numbers qualifying to teach. It also can eradicate ITE provision by institutions which cannot guess and meet the criteria for effective training because of frequently changing values.

It is such thoughts which stimulated investigation into values existent in initial teacher education. The focus is on one institution which demonstrates the micro impact of value systems on success and failure of 'teacher trainees', as they are now termed, in reflection of the value put on the educational provision for student teachers. The micro, it will be argued, reflects the national situation. The process by which student teachers integrate institutional and professional values has become a focus for this study.
CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Background and Assumptions

In order to determine the nature of values encapsulated in initial teacher education, the impact on learning and the conflicts which emerge, focus was concentrated on one institution. This was regarded as representative of a large number of other Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs) in England, in which initial teacher education forms only one aspect of a diversity of programmes provided, and caters for students from multifarious backgrounds. The institution, referred to in this paper as Paullon University, caters for 13300 students (Fact File 1998) from eighteen years of age of which 64% are mature in years. Both men and women enrolled on courses are of different ethnic origins and faith perspectives. It was considered at the outset that any findings from the research might provide a generic framework for values and conflict definition in initial teacher education. Particulars might be identified and the reasons sought.

At the centre of the research methodology, was the belief that human beings are actors seeking meanings from interpersonal relationships. Ideally, as actors in the environment, their function is to play the roles they are allotted. In the world of ITE there are many actors, experienced and inexperienced, with major and minor roles within and without the training institutions. Publicly agreed and private expectations and accurate and inaccurate perceptions of roles also contribute to some degree of variation in the actors playing out their roles. Were student
teachers aware of the roles their teachers carved out for themselves? Was there any commonality in the expectations and perceptions of student teachers about teachers’ roles?

Beginnings of the Process

One of the metaphors for the research process is that of exploring uncharted frontiers of knowledge. Such journeys are bound to lead to some cul-de-sacs. In this investigation there seemed to be a number of diversions in the initial stages. As Moustakas (1990:27) explained:

Within each researcher exists a topic, theme, problem, or question that represents a critical interest and area of search. The task of the initial engagement is to discover an intense interest, a passionate concern that calls out the researcher, one that holds important social meanings, and personal, compelling implications. The initial engagement invites self-dialogue, an inner search to discover the topic and question. During this process one encounters the self, one’s autobiography, and significant relationships within a social context.

The stimulus for the research stemmed from personal experiences first as a teacher in primary school then as a teacher educator for many years, focusing on the preparation of new teachers for primary schools. The roles included supervising student teachers during their periods of practice teaching. Their different levels of consciousness of the teaching tasks they undertook and differences in their levels of engagement with those tasks at best were interesting, at worst, worrying. Interest in student teachers’ consciousness, developed further during the tenure as a teacher educator. Especially noticeable was the imitative
behaviour of some first year student teachers. They appeared to be adopting 'parental' values as the currency for progress towards their chosen goals.

Evidence of differences in value-giving seemed to surface from time to time as students expressed their beliefs about the meanings of various educational theories and terms. Three examples of first year students' work collected in September 1992 appear below as evidence of individual perspectives about teaching. They are reproduced with permission:

1. Teaching is about the conveying of ideas, information and knowledge to children without having a biased effect. A teacher's role is to teach children to think for themselves. Teaching is not primarily about showing and telling children but involving them, being aware of a class as individuals and their different needs.

2. Teaching is:
   - constant reflection of work
   - constant evaluation of work
   - planning in advance
   - punctuality
   - awareness of children as individuals (teach whole child)
   - awareness of child's previous experiences, knowledge and skills
   - making learning a two way process, ie learn from children
   - observing and recording children's progress
   - sharing ideas with others
   - involving parents with their child's learning

3. Teaching is:
   - enabling others
   - opening up children's (and adults') minds
   - being just/fair, ie accepting differences of opinion alongside your own
   - bringing a sense of wonder and excitement to learning
   - being an implementer and interpreter of educational policy
   - balancing the above between one's personal political views and one's professional responsibilities
   - value experience and 'personhood' of oneself and those being taught
   - well ordered and organised
continually assessing one’s principles, ideas, attitudes, behaviour, and classroom experiences.

The question emerged as to whether or not there were vast differences in value systems between those who succeeded and those who did not succeed in completing a course in initial teacher education. There was a particularly ‘noticeable’ percentage (10%) drop out of Year One students during the 1990-91 academic year. When questioned, 60% of students suggested that they ‘didn’t fit in……’. Sensing that the environment was inappropriate for a study about social and academic integration, a broad idea about differences in values set the scene for reading and informally questioning students further. Critical interest became intense. Lecturer colleagues were approached and questioned about the role of values in learning to teach. Responses to the topic included several raised eyebrows and negative body-language. The message was either one of apathy or incredulity at why anyone should address such issues.

This led to self-dialogues which became frequent and lengthy. Most of the time was spent on exploring values – what are they? How are they acquired? What are personal values? What are professional values? The last two questions seemed to lead to a circular focus on selfhood, beliefs and questions about the values in the training institution. Informal enquiries resulted in a need to address the role and impact of values in experiential learning. Consideration was taken of the author’s own professional position and to students and ex-students’ perceptions of her ascribed role within the university. As a result, research
investigation involving two or three institutions was envisaged. Permission was obtained to collect data in the Department of Teaching Studies in a new ‘polyversity’ in South East England, “Paullon University”.

Initially the primary purpose was to collate data through questionnaire which might aid in the identification of the students most likely to succeed, that is, congruence of values. It was recognised that the data, ultimately, would only be pertinent to ‘matching’ in one institution at a given time in its history. The findings of the study, however, could serve as a basis for further research. If the problem of how best to educate all student teachers so that they might have the opportunity to learn to teach effectively is to be researched properly, a long-term study appeared to be necessary. Such a study would analyse the climate in the teacher education institution and the personal values of tutors and students. It could result in the formulation of worthy principles for matching students to institutions as a prerequisite to maximising learning and teaching.

Later it was evident that the scope of the task was too large for the funding and time available. The withdrawal of two training institutions was an opportunity to provide a revised approach. The values and conflicts faced by student teachers in one teacher education institution were regarded as valuable and worthwhile in themselves. Clarifying the questions to ask when still at an early or intuitive stage was problematic. Colleagues in the institution declined an invitation to participate in collaborative research, mainly due to other interests and/or lack of time. It
could also have been due to fear of their opinions being identified in a public domain.

According to Moustakas (1990:24):

Intuition is an essential characteristic of seeking knowledge. Without the intuitive capacity to form patterns, relationships, and inferences, essential material for scientific knowledge is denied or lost. Intuition facilitates the researchers' process of asking questions about phenomena that hold promise for enriching life. In substance, intuition guides the researcher in discovery of patterns and meanings that will lead to enhanced meanings, and deepened and extended knowledge.

Attempts to discover patterns in what seemed like armchair theory building were thought provoking. For instance, the 'What is teaching?' question was designed to raise further enquiry into student teachers' thinking rather than to test a prior hypothesis. Although the range of answers was very wide, being subject to various meanings and interpretations, external imposition of meanings was avoided at this stage. There was need to encourage student teachers to explore for themselves the values most important in teaching, and to define their own terms, rather than have the author's ideological commitment imposed on their initial thought processes. The stage was now set for a 'case study' of values and conflict in ITE within Paullon University.
The Value of a Case Study

The study of values and conflict in the Department of Teaching Studies (DTS) may appear from the discussion above to be quite opportunistic. There are, however, sound arguments for this type of work in apposite literature. For example, MacDonald and Walker (1977:182, 184) suggested that a case study is the examination of an instance in action and that:

(as) a method of research the case study commands a respected place in the repertoire of theory builders from a wide range of disciplines.....whereas experimental methods are conceptually asocial, the most important feature of a case study in the human sciences is that it is pursued via a social process and leads to a social product.

Stake (1988:256) warned that in case studies descriptions are complex, holistic and involve 'a myriad of not highly isolated variables.....themes and hypotheses'. These may be important, but they remain subordinate to the understanding of the case. Its characteristics match the 'readiness’ people have for added experiences.

Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis (1976:141) stressed that:

Case study methodology is eclectic although techniques and procedures in common use include observation (participant and non-participant), interview (conducted with varying degrees of structure), audio-visual recording, field note-taking, document collection and the negotiation of products, (e.g discussing the accuracy of an account with those observed.).
According to Platt (1988:7):

Case study material gives aesthetic appeal by providing 'human interest', good stories and a more humanistic mode of presentation than that of the traditional, 'scientific/quantitative style. To the extent that the material must particularize, it is harder to write about it in abstract theoretical jargon, and so it is (at least superficially) simple, even if what is described is complex.

It seems that researchers willing to ground their work in reality frequently adopt the case study\(^1\) method. It is holistic in its approach and relevant to person-centred approaches, which characterise this type of work. Case studies provide a focus on the learning process in a particular institution, but raise concerns about objectivity, reliability and internal and external validation. Rossman (1984:25) suggested that 'the reality of building and producing accounts while creating it, is an exercise in compromise and a retreat from ideals'.

The nature of ITE and the personal role of the researcher as a teacher educator demanded a substantial investment of time for matters-in-hand. The temptation to use nominal level descriptions of things as they were, that is, in matter of fact statements, was resisted. A persistent observation, in order to bring depth to the investigation and the use of evidence from different sources, using different methods, was the concern at second level. These observations were checked against documentary evidence where appropriate. For example, institutional practices, which emanated from policies formulated to reflect the goals of the training institution, were examined.
Research Design and Procedures

As noted above, the withdrawal of two training institutions highlighted a search for a new approach. A focus on the author’s own institution led to the following observations out of which the research procedures developed.

- Changes in the way ITE was formulated and implemented plunged training institutions into unfamiliar circumstances and exposed tacit taken-for-granted assumptions. A data based approach using documentary evidence chronologically would yield ‘shared’ values based on real time descriptions and interpretations in retrospect.

- The author/researcher as a participant observer and teacher educator would probably better facilitate movement back and forth between the data, literature and observations ‘to organise materials within a plausible framework’ (Weiss 1968:349). The result is triangulation.

- In the absence of institutional comparisons, an entry versus exit comparison of students’ values in one institution could be achieved by changing the style and format of the proposed questionnaire.

- The responses displayed by some students would be rational and logical. Others would experience conflicts. A cross section of the students could be interviewed to ascertain commonalities and differences in the values prioritised in achieving resolutions.
The intention of noting values in initial teacher education (ITE) and how they are utilised by student teachers was concerned with values in society, in the training institutions, the personal values about teaching and learning, and in being human. Any questions asked of student teachers aimed to identify the socialisation process, image construction and frameworks of thought within the ITE community. Root images of teaching and teachers distilled from the literature provided the perspectives supporting a theoretical framework. For example, self and values (Nias 1985), constructive learning (Shuell 1988), principles of procedures and forms (Peters 1970) and personal constructs (Kelly 1955).

Central to the theoretical interest in values in this study has been the nature of the course (constructivist), the institution (institutional/structural), human beings (socio-psychological) and roles in teaching (philosophical). Concerns with these perspectives led to a consideration of a multi-technique methodology. According to Parsons (1961a) and Spates (1983), such methodology would be most useful in capturing the relationships between values and roles, and values and norms. Spates citing the efforts of Kohn (1977) and Rokeach (1973), also noted that the population under consideration needs to generate its own value sets based on individuals’ definitions of the term ‘values’ and taking into account the diversity of backgrounds and variability in levels of philosophical understanding. Rokeach (1973) had utilised rank ordering effectively in his work on values to allow respondents to emphasise importance of intensity. Spates’ advice and Rokeach’s example were followed in preparing questionnaires for the purposes of the survey.
carried out at Paullon University. Appendix A illustrates the outcome. Measuring values was problematic. It became obvious that qualitative rather than quantitative approaches would be more appropriate in analysing the data from the questionnaires. The persistent theme of conflict was not only voiced by students, they were also evident in the work of the researcher, colleagues and contemporary discourses of ITE. These elements provided the basis for the historical evaluation in Chapter One, of this work, the institutional overview in Chapter Four and real life conflicts of student teachers and teacher educators presented in Chapter Six.

The thesis rested on documentary evidence and observations made during periods of fieldwork at the Department of Teaching (DTS) and data collected from a specially prepared questionnaire and interviews. Consequently, the research methods were sufficiently flexible to allow for both the nature of the inquiry and the particular circumstances, while drawing on the author’s interest and images of teaching and learning in ITE. Obviously, both the theory and methods used directly influenced the social reality. It was recognised that human beings act and visualise the structural elements of their society from vantage points of their own particular milieu and their perception of the roles they play vary accordingly.

The following sections of this chapter focus on the ‘tools’ of the research procedure and the relevance of these to a qualitative research method. The main aim of the ‘tools’ were to follow a programme which made it possible to make
sense of the research topic and the practical concerns of a theoretical ‘model’ in a particular research setting.

**Documentary Evidence**

From the onset of the research project, there was a commitment to examining ways in which the Paullon University training institution articulated and promoted the values implicit in its policies. Platt (1981:47) pointed to some issues with reference to documentary evidence:

- obtaining or establishing the authenticity of any document
- drawing inferences from the content of documents
- the real state of affairs behind the production of any document

As an in-house participant/observer/researcher, obtaining the co-operation of subjects to be involved in the research and finding opportunities to collect documents and note reactions to their content was facilitated. The documentation collated covered the period in which the research was undertaken, that is, from 1991 to 1997. As contemporary documents they were more authentic than oral evidence because they were undistorted by hindsight or lapses of memory. In addition, there was rarely much doubt about their authorship or their role in the socio-political processes within the institution.
The bulk of documentation used for this study consisted of minutes of meetings from Boards and Committees, official reports and policies of the institution, as well as departmental memoranda and course handbooks. The latter contained information about the tasks expected of student teachers. Full reporting of the numerous board and committee meetings kept student representatives and staff well-informed and provided another source for data collection. The student newspaper appeared to be an essential part of the democratic process in the university.

While there is no universally accepted operational definition of a survey, Albreck and Settle (1985:29) stated:

A survey is a research technique where informational requirements are specified, a population is identified, a sample selected and systematically questioned, and the results analysed, generalised to the population and reported to meet the informational needs.

A survey was designed and applied to student populations with the aim of capturing student teachers' opinions about values in teaching. It was assumed that findings would be useful as:

- starting points leading to more meaningful dialogues between students and tutors about teachers' complex roles and tasks;
- a means of raising students' awareness of the links between their personal values and their learning and classroom practice; and
mechanisms for capturing emergent themes which could be explored further through analysis of students' experiential learning.

With reference to the first point, reforms emerging since the Education Act of 1988, and a battery of circulars, draft regulations and memoranda since, seemed to suggest that teachers 'need to work harder'. It seemed essential for student teachers to explore what is expected of them in their future careers. The second point is related quite closely to the personal development of student teachers. Pollard and Tann (1987) suggest that the values teachers hold are frequently evident in their behaviour and thus in their teaching. They emphasise, by reference to research by Nias (1989:59), the need to link 'self' to role. Clearly, if student teachers are to be helped to develop greater self awareness and congruence between their classroom practice and what they say they value, emphasis should be placed on utilising the themes highlighted in the survey as stimuli to initiate students' experiential learning.

Consequently, the survey was concerned with the student teachers' levels of understanding about their own valuing processes in relation to their future roles as teachers. To emphasise this point further, student teachers were asked to produce personal definitions of the term 'values'. Personal perceptions and views of the roles and tasks of teachers in the 1990s also formed part of the survey. In particular, these aspects represent the best shorthand method for summarising the individual's cultural beliefs, and culturally learned conception of what it means to
be a teacher. Finally, it was suggested that student teachers might have current values which could be perceived as negative in respect of their future roles.

Opportunities for noting difficulties and adding general comments were available in the survey. A copy of the questionnaire used is provided as in Appendix A.

Other information requested in the survey targeted ethnicity. Given the assumption that students came from diverse backgrounds, it was reasonable to assume that their understanding and valued experiences would be different and significant. For example, students coming from different parts of the country could have different value sets although sharing the same cultural background.

The ages of students also was considered likely to have importance, bearing in mind that formal lessons in moral education, one of the bases for the formation of values, have been systematically excluded from the education system since the 1970s. Questions also related to the geographical area of predominant schooling, the age of leaving school and the age on entry to higher education. The historical time frame of compulsory schooling and experience from school leaving, was hypothesised to be of importance in value positions held on entry to Paulton University. Interest in socio-economic grouping and educational qualifications also was given attention. Students presenting themselves for teacher education have a range of aptitudes, attitudes and orientations which might be linked to class and educational opportunities. These it was assumed, would have a bearing on the student teachers' understanding and what they would
be able to explain. Characteristics of students who formed the samples are presented in Chapter Four.

In the 1990s, as West (1993) has indicated, the people who enter ITE now come from a wider range of backgrounds and orientations than was evident in earlier times. Thus their cultural, social and educational backgrounds may vary greatly, as may their personal value systems. It is unreasonable to expect the ethos of an institution to suit all students all of the time. Clearly conflicts are inevitable. The existence of conflicts was confirmed during the interviews which succeeded distribution and analysis of the questionnaires, as will be confirmed in subsequent text.

It was assumed that:

1. personal or individual values included an individual’s commitment, personal philosophy, beliefs and priorities.

2. professional values which were observed in the collective actions, codes and standards of practice, would be developed and used to guide professional action during ITE and

3. societal values, which are ideologies expressed through societal choices for example, the restructuring of the training course, sanctions and mores during ITE, would blend when basically congruous to produce new insights through accriment.
However, when these three types of values conflict, the potential exists for creating change in knowledge and in practice. Teacher educators need to know what these conflicts are and how they are resolved as part of a monitoring scheme which could open avenues for change. Additionally the combination of personal, professional and societal values and the resources that sustain them seem to influence the development of theory in ITE.

Interviews

The outcomes of the questionnaires which initiated this research project suggested that forming a judgement about conflicts which might arise from student-teachers’ inculcation and utilisation of values in teaching depended on one’s interpretation of Fuller’s (1969) phases of development, Berlak and Berlak’s (1981) dilemmas in teaching. Observations of students on professional practices and evidence presented at case conferences indicated that values in use can conflict with or challenge each other. Little attention had been paid to student teachers presenting their part in outlining and resolving their own conflicts. The held notion was that there are personal and professional conflicts in ITE. What it was necessary to determine was what kinds of conflicts do students experience. How are the conflicts resolved? These questions formed the impetus for unstructured interviews of three cross-sections of students. Interviews were chosen because they offered access to students’ memories and allowed them to tell their stories in their own words. All interviews were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed.
A total of sixteen (16) full-time students, all women, participated in the interviews. The students came from five self-ascribed ethnic groups. All the interviewees were enrolled in the Bachelor of Education course of the ITE programme in the DTS at Paullon University. There were 9 black and 7 white students broadly speaking, though the original list of volunteers consisted of 12 black and 9 white students. Lack of time prevented interviews with four volunteers. One later withdrew stating that she 'had never experienced conflict'. All but 5 of the group interviewed were once enrolled in an Access to Teaching Course.

No incentives were offered. Each interview started with the author’s script:

You volunteered to be interviewed, thank you for participating. I am interviewing student teachers about conflict in teacher education. This is a consent form. You may want to read it first, complete and sign it if you agree to what is written. I am going to tape record our talk and will send you a transcribed copy which should be read and returned with comments, where appropriate. Your real name will not be used when the interviews are used in my research.

With reference to this study, an effort was made during the interviews to arrive at the real meaning of the word ‘conflict’, so that answers would relate to the same object as the interviewer had in mind. In order to make meaningful analyses of the responses, each interview continued with the statement that:
the Webster dictionary defines conflict as a strong difference or opposition between statements, opinions, interests, a disagreement, contradiction, disparity.

No respondent queried the definition. The interviewee was then asked: In what specific way have you experienced a conflict of value in your ITE course?

The apparent rapport that the author had with some interviewees seemed to disintegrate when the consent forms were handed out. The author’s explanation was perceived as unnecessary and upsetting as interviewees ‘trusted’ her ‘to do the right thing’. Ultimately their stories have become data. The consent forms tacitly reminded the author of her role and served to retain essential distance between interviewer and interviewee and a degree of professionalism when receiving and interpreting data. This engendered a higher degree of objectivity than would otherwise have been the case with subjects who were well-known tutees of the researcher. The story told by each interviewee was, as urged by Weiner (1994: 11) ‘necessarily a selection, an ordering, a shaping’ but some of the issues raised will be relevant for planning and development in ITE both locally in the Department of Teaching Studies (DTS) and generally.

Experience suggests that memories usually are unreliable after an interval of time. Interviews took place therefore as soon as possible after critical periods, for example, after school practice experiences. The interviews enabled acquisition of information which interviewees normally might not consider recording. Although multiple factors influence student behaviour, because of the preparation preceding
a school experience, students in the sample studied, generally were consistent in recording experiences of conflict in value positions. The students' experiences were recorded in practice files which were integral to their professional development analyses. The conflicts reported related to the matters in schools and were unlikely to extend to other areas of their student lives. Interviews with volunteers, however, brought a range of interesting conflicts to attention which otherwise might have remained latent.

The key participants in the investigations were student teachers but some data also was obtained from teacher educators and host teachers as a means of authenticating the students' 'stories'. Knowing the perspectives of significant others enhanced awareness of contradictions and justifications. The pressures of the heavy workloads of the teacher educators, however, resulted in data being derived mainly through informal conversations with individuals. One of the problems in generating data through interviewing is the process of transcribing recorded interviews. This was anticipated and, indeed the task was time consuming. The original list of interviewees had to be shortened from 20 to 16 as it was regarded important to interview soon after completion of the questionnaires. However, despite these limitations, the interviews were suitable for the purposes of the investigation, mainly because interviewees responded 'in their own words to express their own personal perspectives', a factor which Patton 1980:205 applauds. The value of responses to questions, he suggests, can be reduced through the limitations of space, time and ability to reflect whilst
writing. Words inevitably become limited and no opportunity to present for the researcher to persuade the reluctant to co-operate.

The overarching intention was to collect examples of self-selected conflict situations with a view to uncovering areas of concern. Memory problems were reduced in such situations. It was observed that although students inevitably faced conflicts they rarely got the opportunity to 'analyse' them. In this case, the nature of the conflict was not selected or influenced by the researcher thereby possible apprehension was reduced. The character of the interview was intentionally non-evaluative; no judgement was demanded of the respondents, but in retrospect, it was acknowledged that the questions demanded an element of speculation and therefore of judgement. Grand tour questions were asked to encourage the respondents to speak freely and warm to the situation. Questions followed which allowed student teachers freedom in their responses. When and where appropriate, probes were made to encourage the student to reflect upon the self-chosen 'conflict' situation and to elaborate on points that seemed especially salient.

It was noted that some interviewees experienced difficulty in articulating their conflict situation. In order to expedite matters and indicate some degree of equal opportunity, respondents were encouraged to make notes of what they wanted to say. Consequently, the interviewees had time to think about what they wanted to
say and formally structure their ‘stories’. As advises by Patton (1980:200) the function of this procedure was:

To make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material.....the interviewer is free to explore, probe and ask questions that will educate and illuminate that particular subject.

This somewhat idealistic process enabled probes into individual beliefs and values which might have been lost in pre-planned categories. This strategy appeared to help interviewees in two ways: the data varied and interviewees appeared to be more comfortable even with a high degree of disclosure.

To understand some of the behaviour expressed, some general considerations of discourse analysis are relevant. An important dimension of discourse is that of ‘mitigation’ and ‘aggravation of utterances’. The conventions for the use of mitigation or aggravation are very sensitive to the relative status of the interviewer and interviewee. The status of the interviewer is very important in ‘controlling’ the interview. It was clear that over a four year period that individual students would experience a variety of conflicts. The conflicts, which they allowed themselves to be interviewed about, fulfilled individual purposes. There was a danger, however, that undue weight would be given to the recollection of those who were willing to disclose them. To this end, every effort was made to check with other sources. Informal or unstructured interviewing is, according to Burgess (1984) and Patton (1980) more open to bias and distortion
and can make data organisation and analysis difficult. By checking with host
teachers and tutors, it was possible in most cases to reduce this tendency to bias
and distortion. This strategy of triangulation was considered essential in
establishing the truth value of interviewees’ stories. It was, in hindsight, a taken-
for-granted assumption on the part of the students that some sort of checking on
their stories would take place but the process was not unproblematic. Trust was
undermined. Some interviewees and host teachers appeared to perceive
‘additional questioning’ as a threat to their integrity, as will be illustrated in later
chapters.

The interviewees were volunteers. They had responded to an initial request placed
as an additional page on the four page survey questionnaire given to first year
students (see Appendix A). The second request was made verbally at a Course
Committee meeting organised at the end of the academic year 1995-96. Under
the heading of ‘Information’ students were informed that investigation was being
made into ‘conflict in teacher education’. If they wished to be involved
opportunity was provided to supply names, addresses and/or telephone numbers.
A promise of contact to arrange a time and date for interview was made. As
noted earlier, twenty-one students responded. One later withdrew, stating that she
had ‘never experienced conflict’. Lack of time prevented interviews with four
students. Initially all volunteers agreed to be interviewed at the university,
however, of the 16 students interviewed, thirteen preferred to be interviewed in
their homes. The combination of changes in the structure and site of the interview
added greatly to the time commitment. The differences in the students’ stories and personalities shaped both the content and rhythm of the interviews.

Checking the transcriptions for accuracy and completeness required a second contact with interviewees. The changes made by the interviewees were minimal. They were given a copy of the transcript of the interview and requested to sign a consent form. As interviews were conducted during various times of the day and week, notes were made about the conditions. For example, a note was made if other people were present in the room where the interview was conducted. Dexter (1970) emphasises the importance of adjusting to the interviewees’ frame of reference. Gesture, intonation and manner were often as important for their own sake as well as for the responses they revealed to the interviewer’s questions. The author was well known to and respected by all interviewees and this combination engendered trust. Questions about conflict appeared to be deeply personal. This was displayed by changes in body language such as, changing position from open face-to-face contact, to a closed body with bowed head. On the whole, the questioning moved from the general to the specific, often starting with a topical issue. This strategy was partly to minimise or alleviate suspicion and anxiety about self-disclosure.

**Participant Observation**

The author was in an unusual position by being a part of and an observer of, the institution. The author came into close contact with a large number of students.
This came about as a result of tutoring a group of 35 first year students on a regular basis throughout each year, placing all students in schools from 1993 to 1996 and supervising fifteen to twenty students in years one, three and four on teaching practices. Indeed group work was utilised as a means of initially coding the large number of ambiguous responses yielded by the questionnaires. These investigations were legitimately supported by the ITE coursework relevant to reflective practitioners. Contributing to the delivery of the curriculum provided additional opportunities to observe and influence students’ behaviour. The collection of documentary evidence was aided by the author’s participation at Course Committee, Boards of Studies Committees and Staff Meetings. Tensions were inevitable, suspicion aroused and envy was evident. Consequently, it was sometimes difficult to complete field notes on site. Rather than being detrimental to the study it may have resulted in recall of only the most salient points and the elimination of peripheral issues.

Qualitative Research Methods

It appears from the literature on the quantitative-qualitative debate that since the 1980s a trend has developed which indicates that both approaches

1. are equally legitimate despite their differences (Guba 1981, Guba and Lincoln 1981) and

2. can be employed in combination or be drawn on at appropriate times and in appropriate amounts (Cronbach 1975, Smith 1983b).
The publication of Qualitative Analysis by Miles and Huberman (1994), highlighted the sharing of approaches when and where appropriate, but it told nothing about the process of enquiry and the interpretation of its results. It is perhaps what Schon (1983:43) described in this extract:

There are those who choose the swampy lowlands. They deliberately involve themselves in messy but crucially important problems. When asked to describe their methods of enquiry, they speak of experience, trial and error, intuition and muddling through. Other professionals opt for the high ground. Hungry for technical rigor devoted to an image of solid technical competence or fearful of entering a world in which they feel they do not know what they are doing, they choose to confine themselves to a narrowly technical practice.....

Altogether the investigative techniques utilised and discussed in this study fall under the umbrella of a qualitative research method. Among qualitative researchers there are positions ranging from the most 'objective' to the most 'subjective'. Spradley (1979) urged qualitative researchers to increase 'objectivity' by taking into account personal biases and feeling: to understand their influence on the research. In contrast Cassell (1977) and Reinharz (1979) argued that attempting to achieve 'objectivity' is based on a false premise. They suggested that 'subjectivity' should not be considered a limitation, and personal responses to the social setting can be capitalised on as a rich source of data and an avenue of learning about the setting. It is agreed that research into matters of values and conflict consist mostly of written and other symbolic material which need to be collected, classified, ordered and interpreted according to the
researcher's sound personal judgement. Qualitative methods which allow for personal, unique and subjective views, therefore, are more appropriate for this study.

Parlett and Hamilton (1972:13) stated that:

> The choice of research tactics follows not from research doctrine but from decisions in each case as to the best available techniques; the problem defines the method used, not vice-versa.

Glaser and Strauss (1967:17) stressed that:

> there is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of qualitative and quantitative methods or data. What clash there is concerns the primacy of emphasis on verification or generation of theory.

**Data Organisation**

With reference to data organisation and analysis, transcription and checking of the tapes had reinforced the belief that time, effort and potential cost involved were considerable. Coding the data was by far the most difficult task but a set of categories developed naturally from the surveys. The process of coding data from the surveys and interviews can probably best be described by what Wilson (1985:410:411) calls the 'Unfolding Tributary' method of evolving categories. This method extracts categories from the data rather than borrowing them from existing theories. This flexibility was appropriate for the range of values roles and tasks mentioned. Effort was made to utilise a creative style which avoided
restricted statistical treatment and yet combined as far as possible some features of the statistical, case study and survey methods to capture actual observations, and conflicts and seek answers to questions.

In simultaneously collecting and analysing the data the process of organising data was complex, non-linear and at times informal, although the pressure to conform to a style was real. Ball (1990c:157) described this process as ethnography:

Ethnography not only implies engagement of the researcher in the field under study; it also implies a commitment to search for meaning, a suspension of preconceptions and an orientation to discovery.

He added that:

Fieldwork involves a personal confrontation with the unknown and requires the aspirant to come to grips with the use of theory and method in the context of a confused, murky contradictory and emergent reality. In many respects this is a rite of passage.
CHAPTER 4

The Setting and the Samples

Description and analysis of the background in which data was collected aimed to increase understanding of the social context in which student teachers learn. The work of the Department of Teaching Studies (DTS) at Paullon University is mainly concerned with initial teacher education. Observational analysis of its ethos and structure served, for the purposes of this research investigation:

(a) to enrich a descriptive account of the setting in which the research took place

(b) as a reference point for future researchers and

(c) as part of a backdrop for analyses of incidents which most likely affect student retention or departure, professional development and conflicts.

Rodwell and Byers (1997:117) suggested that a case study:

.....must contain careful and extensive description of time, place, the context, and the culture.....found to be salient, to allow a reader to determine if transfer of the findings to another known context is possible.

Miles and Huberman (1994:102) have observed:

Most qualitative researchers believe that a person’s behaviour has to be understood in a specific context and that the context cannot be ignored or ‘held constant’. The context can be seen as immediately relevant aspects of the situation (where the person is physically, who else is involved, what the recent history of the contact is, etc) as well as the relevant aspects of
the social system in which the person appears (a classroom, a school, a department, a company, a family,.....) focussing solely on individual behaviour without attending to context runs the risk of misunderstanding the meaning of events.....Contexts drive the way we understand the meaning of events.....meaning is always within context and contexts incorporate meaning.

Furthermore, analysis of the context aims to increase knowledge of the ethos, which affects how students learn about the values of their future profession. Of course students bring values that are personal to them. In particular, their personal values and institutional values combine to highlight the ‘values climate’ of the context. Values, which occur within a context, are explicable only in terms of that context. To do otherwise obscures the environment and hinders the possibility of connecting the process and content of ITE. For these reasons an historical background of the ITE provision within the setting is pertinent before analysis can be made of data acquired through questionnaire and other investigative strategies. The opinions of student teachers about values, which are important to teachers in the 1990s, are the focus of this study.

The University

Paullon University is a ‘new polyversity’ and located in a large city. The university is a major educational institution offering a broad range of undergraduate, post graduate, diploma and professional courses for some 13,300 students. There are five faculties each divided into Schools or Departments. The institution has 412 teaching staff of whom 140 are women and 272 are men (1995/96). Women thus comprise 34% of the teaching force which compares
favourably with the national figure of 26% (1994/95) as shown in Table 4.1. Female students comprise the majority (an average of 85% over the last three years) on the BEd course, therefore it is important to note that 72% of the staff in the DTS are female.

Table 4.1

Teaching Staff

Full-time Male and Female Lecturers (in thousands) employed by Universities in the United Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Females as a % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993/94(2)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994/95(3)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(1) Excludes the Open University
(2) Old Universities only
(3) Provisional

Central to the mission statement (1998) of the University is the ideal 'to provide the best possible educational experience leading to a range of employment, social and economic opportunities for the widest possible clientele'. In keeping with
this mission, recruitment of a wide diversity of students and the provision and implementation of policies and structures to support them, is common practice. This position complements the four elements of access to opportunity, quality, regional development and internationalism. A copy of the mission statement, which reflects institutional values, forms Appendix B.

The university is formally committed to equal opportunities and has a policy which seeks to address racism, sexism, heterosexism and prejudice against those with disabilities or special educational needs. The aims of the university's overarching equal opportunity policy statement are to direct action at eliminating discriminatory practices and to support the overall aim of the institution to open up higher education to all sections of the community. The university has an Equal Opportunities Committee (which is a permanent Committee of the Court of Governors) which employs two officers to oversee employment and curriculum. There are also policies for Language, Placement and International Relations.

An example of efforts to widen its clientele is the provision of access for a wide range of disadvantaged people. Typical of most British cities, the city in which Paullon University is situated has large numbers of unacknowledged people desperately in need of further education before they can find a route to training and employment. Traditional provision has neither adequately responded to this need, nor created the route to further learning. Consequently, many people for personal or social reasons are unable or unwilling to make their way to further or
higher education in their teens or early twenties. They reached this circumstance or decision because they were put off learning by their experience of racism, sexism or class bias in schools. Regardless of their reasons for not pursuing post-compulsory education, educational statistics indicate that a number of them do reconsider, if they get the opportunity; they return to it later. In acknowledging the existence of these groups, various departments in the University have pioneered courses with staff at local Further Education Colleges to develop courses, which upon successful completion increase ‘access’ to degree courses including the Bachelor of Education degree course. These ‘Access’ courses of one or two years’ duration, provide (a) prospective Higher Education students with the appropriate qualifications and (b) a clear directive to the university for the recruitment of people from local, ethnic, linguistic and religious communities, as part of the implementation of its equal opportunity policy.

The Department of Teaching Studies (DTS)

The DTS was established in 1967. It is one of five departments comprising the Faculty of Humanities and Teacher Education. Recruitment to the Bachelor of Education (BEd) Degree course was enhanced by the Department’s reputation as a ‘community college’ and its focus on preparing people to teach in inner city areas. Thus the BEd course recruits traditional and non-traditional students. Traditional students are persons who are entering teaching as a first profession having had primarily part-time employment while completing secondary or further education. Traditionally, they have a professional/middle class
background. Non-traditional students are persons who decided upon teaching after (a) being in other careers (b) being full-time house-persons for a portion of their lives or (c) successfully completing an appropriate Access Course. Some such individuals were included in the research samples.

Organisation of the Department

Changes in the focus of BEd courses occur periodically in the nature of the work. The diversity of the student body has contributed to unique features, which underpin the ethos and structure of the DTS. Of particular importance in the early 1980s was the preparation of teachers for teaching in a multi-cultural society. The model which informs the BEd course from which the samples were drawn is that of the 'reflective practitioner' (Schon 1983) within a school-based structure. The requirements for initial teacher education provision of DES Circular 3/84 and the later modifications from Circular DES 24/89 were guiding course provision at the start of the investigation.

The way in which the Department has been organised sends messages to students about the values operating therein and their intensity. Students and teacher educators cannot separate themselves from the environment. Consequently, it is essential to understand the institutional 'values hierarchy' in order to decide courses of action within the environment that will promote learning and teaching successfully. Staff believe that examples of good practice are essential elements
in educating student teachers. Exemplary methods demonstrate, in implicit and explicit ways, the Department’s attitudes, values and beliefs.

The Department’s Appearance

The connection between the Department’s appearance and its organisation may not be immediately evident to onlookers. Too often appearance is left to chance; yet it is through a department’s appearance that newcomers and visitors gain their first impression of its ethos or value system. It can be surprisingly difficult to find one’s way into an unfamiliar department, as evidenced through the author’s visits to schools. In the Department of Teaching Studies, specialist teams take responsibility for their own (specialist) areas. The Department’s own new purpose-built space has welcoming notices, signs and maps. The displays of pictures, artefacts and writing, show visitors and students that the Department values the achievements and experiences of a wide variety of cultures. According to the latest OFSTED report (1995), most classrooms are adequately equipped.

Grouping

The way in which students are grouped is one of the most powerful means by which messages are conveyed about the relative merits of certain groups and individuals. Knowles (1973) indicates that students working in groups, interact and share ideas that support cognition and thinking processes. According to Kinnell (1990:21) task-related verbal interactions promote social harmony, effective working relationships and increased motivation in multicultural settings.
Mixed experience groupings are encouraged at Paullon University, although there are occasions when large year and small tutorial groupings are considered most appropriate for delivery of programmes and courses. Every effort is made to promote a variety of large and small group work across all subject areas with the specific aim of encouraging and institutionalising peer support for task-based learning. Through observation and modelling students learn about the facilitating role and the centrality of communicative exchanges in which students and teacher educators engage as they construct understanding and meanings about theories and practices in ITE.

Monitoring groups in which ethnic minority students sometimes are under-represented or over-represented is an important one, as it follows naturally from the University’s equal opportunity and ethnic monitoring schemes. It is part of the equal opportunity policy for teacher educators to review their organisation of groups constantly and not to allow perception of particular groups to become immutable.

Routine Events

Through the routines of the Department, students learn more in an implicit than explicit way about the Department’s attitudes and values. The organisation of end of term and end of year events all contains hidden messages about who and what is valued. The Department’s routine is scrutinised by thoughtful teacher educators to see whether alternative forms of organisation might be more
appropriate to the students’ needs. In reality, students are led to believe that teaching is a culture as well as a profession. As a culture, teaching is regarded as having its own knowledge base, vocabulary, skills, practices and values which are integrated in its socio-cultural theories (Yinger 1987).

Policies and People

There have been increasing demands over the years from agents such as OFSTED and the Teacher Training Agency for teacher training institutions to formulate policies which make explicit what they are attempting to achieve. In addition to the equal opportunity policy, which applies to all sections of the University, the Department has its own policy on how to deal with racism in schools. This policy was formulated by the staff and student representatives of Board of Studies Committees consisting of representatives from all year groups, teacher educators and the Head of Department and Year Tutors.

On a priori reasoning, policies are more likely to be more effective if their creations involve the opinions and support of as many people as possible. Ideally, action is taken to implement all policies; everyone in the Department is involved (through staff development and mentoring), in creating and maintaining an atmosphere which respects and values every person and his or her culture. Some students in the survey discussed in Chapter Five voiced the opinion that more effort could be made by some staff to eradicate examples of stereotyping in some of the resources used in teaching (Field notes 5/94). Additionally, the institutional
administrative framework conveys to students the relative status of members of staff. With little knowledge of the roles and responsibilities of tutors and the interplay between teaching and other professional duties, new students could be in danger of making simple deductions from complex situations. The percentage of black teacher educators employed in the Department, for example, has been consistently disproportionate to the percentage of black students on the course. As only one black teacher educator has been appointed in recent years, students could sense 'whiteness' as of greater 'value to the Department'. The percentage of black students has varied from year to year averaging 40%. The percentage of black teacher educators was 12% in 1996.

As noted earlier, due to a change in government philosophy in the 1990s the DTS is a relatively 'new' part of a new 'polyversity'. This being so, it is littered with signs relating to its 'working class' origins. The term working class is used in the Marxist sense of those who sell their labour in order to live. As such, the working class values of hard work, practical knowledge and co-operation predominate and are strongly influenced by common sense.


Hegemony means permeation throughout society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that support the established order and class interests that dominate to become part of 'common sense'.

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It is probably relevant to note the definition of common-sense given by Lawrence (1981:4-5):

By "common-sense", we mean that body of knowledge about the world that has been forged in the practical experience of everyday life and which embodies, therefore, solutions to everyday problems as encountered by determinate groups of people throughout their history. That is to say that common sense is more or less "directly in touch with the practical struggle of everyday life" of those groups of people. However, a part of that practical struggle is the struggle "in ideas" between those groups, situated in relations of dominance and subordination within a social formation. Since the ideas of the dominant groups are the "ruling ideas" they will tend not only to form the parameters within which thought takes place but also to be embodied within the dominant institutional order and will, therefore 'discipline' subordinate groups in practice as well as in "mind". Inevitably then, the ruling ideas will inform or shape common-sense and (what is more important) will actually become embedded within it, will in fact become a part of the common-sense of those subordinate groups.....[C]ommon-sense.....is contradictory and fragmentary, it is also unsystematised, containing "all those ideas which can be tagged onto existing knowledge without challenging it" in any direct way, indeed (as Stuart Hall et al have pointed out in Policing the Crisis) it is inconsistent precisely because what is common about it is that "it is not subject to the tests of internal coherence and logical consistency" – it is, in short, knowledge that is "taken for granted".

As a place which signals grass roots, political awareness, community spirit, solidarity and diversity through its policies, practices, recruitment and documentation, the Department of Teaching Studies contains symbols capable of multiple interpretations. It appears to be an uneasy partner of other departments in the Humanities Faculty. There is a strong element of superiority in the observations, which 'other' university lecturers make of members of the DTS, as illustrated by the following comment of a colleague:

Academics do not go into schools to supervise students – they lecture, not teach' (Field notes 5/93).
Certainly, this summed up a body of opinion, but it demonstrated clearly, the low status all too frequently attributed to those in the teaching profession. Equality assurance seems to have passed some colleagues by. Such observations have contributed to unity and good relations becoming ends in themselves as DTS staff and students combine to create an illusion of organic solidarity to raise their sense of self-worth and deflect ideas that differences mean 'less competent'.

Indirect references to community and consensus which form the context of the staff’s working lives are evident in the steps taken to avoid disruptions of the work and voluntary suppression of conflicts. For example, teacher educators were very supportive and sensitive to the needs of students when there was a student occupation to protest against local or national policies with which they strongly disagreed (Field notes 12/94).

External examiners frequently observed in Annual Reports (1994, 1995, and 1996) that DTS ‘staff are dedicated and supportive’. Observations were also made by examiners about the resource implications of supervising large groups of students, the placement of students near their homes for teaching practices and consequently of teacher educators travelling long distances to supervise them (Field notes 6/95).

These observations highlight the need for the organisation and management of a more structured approach to admissions and placements based on a return to a
close geographical community. Indeed, the Department, in 1991-93, was the victim of its success at recruitment and retaining non-traditional students. Since 1994, one of the main objectives of the Language Learning Project in the DTS has been to enhance the educational experience of bilingual students, including speakers of Caribbean Creoles. The DTS worked towards achieving this through providing language learning workshops, and developing learning and teaching materials. The overall aim of the workshops was to develop students' linguistic, academic and professional competence in the context of BEd and PGCE courses. These workshops were introduced because systematic observations over two years and Departmental research findings indicated that some bilingual students needed to learn not only the subject-specific language of their disciplines but also the academic language of lectures and seminars, as well as the rules and conventions which govern academic discourse. Course related workshops are only one way of ensuring that bilingual students have the opportunity to develop fully the linguistic, academic and professional skills required of their courses.

As an observer and participant researcher it was common to hear that steps were taken to alleviate or forestall divisive consequences. The absence of overt disagreement became a highly valued end. For example, it made sense to cast aside rigid managerial structures in times of crises – the objective was to get tasks done quickly and efficiently. These practices contributed to the illusion that all teacher educators were of equal status (Field notes 5/95). Yet it was difficult to avoid the feeling that harmony was achieved by selective inattention. A further
example of selective inattention was not recording student teachers’ ‘complaints’ about racism in schools which meant that teacher educators continued ‘partnerships’ with the schools concerned, leaving student teachers to ‘sink’ or ‘swim’. Thereby, recording of alleged racist incidents was ignored and harmonious relationships with schools continued. The espoused theory was to record incidents and follow a particular procedure set out in the policy. The theory-in-use was to ignore these incidents but placate students by controlling the situation. Examples of such incidents are discussed in Chapter Six. Teacher educators were not being dishonest but had failed to challenge inequalities in the education system. Most notably a conclusion drawn by the Commission for Racial Equality ((CRE) cited by ARTE (1987:40)), from their survey of antiracist teacher education practice, was as follows:

Even where institutions have adopted a policy statement the evidence suggests that so far the effects have been limited in terms of practice. Certainly the tiny number of Black staff and the failure to clearly address the school placement issue from an antiracist perspective.....suggest that there may be a considerable gap between the rhetoric and reality.

Closing the gap may be a formidable task. Menter (1989) has pointed out that equal opportunity policies in many institutions undertaking ITE may be jeopardised by the institution’s endeavour to maintain good relationships with schools. Menter’s view is that training institutions have a right to ask whether a school can provide evidence that it can give equally positive experiences for a black student as for a white student but asking for such evidence can cause
mistrust and/or uneasiness. Consequently, the ‘actors’ involved, do nothing in order to avoid confrontation or conflict. This position confirmed in Menter’s findings (1989:462) is termed ‘satis’.

The foregoing is as significant for the forms of the interactions as it is revealing of the inequalities in the institutions which contribute to initial teacher education. The intention was not to criticise the Departmental structures in an unsympathetic manner. Too often the cultural forces that shape teacher educators’ actions, as they try to do their best for their students, remain unquestioned and hidden. There are consequences for all actors in what Bernstein (1990b:67) describes as the relationship between transmitter and acquirer of rules – ‘power is masked or hidden by devices of communication’. Despite inequalities in the system, student teachers at Paullon University appeared to encourage, for the most part, to a level of congruence between themselves and the academic and social environment of the Department. Few ethnic minority students withdrew because they were required to adapt to an environment defined by the dominant culture. What they appeared to do instead, was to embrace the working class milieu.

The Subjects
To enter the Department of Teaching Studies is to encounter contradictions, constraints, policies and a range of practices. The subjects for this study were drawn from three cohorts of student teachers. When this research began in 1991, the Department was offering a BEd course, which valued teachers as ‘reflective
practitioners’. Two years later, Day (1993) cited the findings of Griffith and Tann (1991) that student teachers had difficulty uncovering their personal theories and making them explicit, which is regarded as a necessary part of the ‘reflective practitioner’ model. Day claimed that this task was the prime responsibility of the training institution. It is observed that in the 1990s when self-financing schemes, partnership with schools, quality assurance audits and reforms in initial teacher education itself became important issues in Higher Educational Institutions, technical competence in delivering the National Curriculum did not allow for deliberate and qualitative reflective teaching. This implies that the National Curriculum is an autocratic model in which the need to process densely packed information and to respond sensitively and with accuracy are the most important elements. Such an approach is strongly advocated by O’Hear (1988), the Hillgate Group (1989) and DFE Circulars 14/93 and 10/97 and 4/98. This model of ITE (1988) has been discredited in some government quarters.

As indicated above the students in the sample, were adhering to the requirements in the DES Circulars 3/84 and 24/89. In particular, Circular 24/89 para 4.2 emphasised that:

.....the minimum periods allocated should be the equivalent of one and a half years for subject studies and half a year for subject application.

One advantage of acquiring a greater depth of specialist knowledge is improved planning with a view to improving continuity. A second advantage is the
acquisition of high quality educational experience that is ‘both demanding and satisfying’. The rationale for subject specialists in primary schools is as follows:

Collectively the staff of a primary school should command a range of subject specialisms covering as much as possible of the curriculum. This does not imply the replacement of the class teacher by the specialist. It does mean that adequate specialist expertise in each aspect of the curriculum should, when required be available. (CATE Catenote 3 1985 para 12)

Rationale for choice of cohorts

By means of a confidential four-page, self-completion survey questionnaire given to a sample of two cohorts of student teachers in Paullon University, values in teaching were explored.

There was a desire to compare responses of ‘entry’ students (Group A) with ‘exit’ students (Group B), Years One and Four respectively. Since Group A were not in a position to choose specialist subject options before completing the survey, it seemed unnecessary to obtain this information from students in Group B. A cross section of students from the first, third and final year groups were interviewed.

Purpose of Survey

The purpose of the survey questionnaires was to identify the most important roles and tasks teachers perform and the values which direct them. These are discussed in Chapter Three but repeated here to aid analyses. The items in the survey served as:
1. starting points leading to more meaningful dialogues between students and tutors about teachers' complex roles and tasks;
2. a means of raising students' awareness of the links between their personal values and their learning and classroom practices; and
3. mechanisms for capturing emergent themes which could be explored further through analysis of students' experiential learning.

Procedure

One hundred and twenty six (126) questionnaires were given to First Year BEd students after a brief verbal introduction. The aims of the introduction were to:

(1) give the impetus for the research;
(2) ask the students’ help;
(3) stress anonymity and confidentiality;
(4) ask for volunteers for next phase of the research.

Group A students were at the end of their first week of induction in September 1993 and completed the questionnaire in the lecture hall at the university, therefore, there was 100% response.

The institutional ethos is for the promotion of independent thought and courage to voice opinion, yet no one challenged the method employed. The opportunity to
sabotage the procedure nevertheless was present. The author maintained a
dictatorial stance so as not to contaminate the data by encouraging questions and
discussion before and during the completion of the survey. Completion of the
survey ranged from ten to fifty-five minutes. Private discussions with individuals
after their completion of the questionnaire indicated problems with defining the
term 'values'. Pride and a desire for confidentiality inhibited the students' ability
to seek help with what was later identified as a 'sensitive topic'. A number of
students omitted some responses and overlooked rank ordering. A total of 18
surveys were incomplete but were not discarded.

Because of changes in the administration of the DTS, access to additional students
to participate in the research required lengthy re-negotiations. Surveys were
given to Year 4 students in September 1996. Ninety-eight (98) questionnaires
were distributed. Several factors mitigated against the completion of the
questionnaires on site:

- the indirect manner in which they were distributed;
- the students' need of reassurance, and expressed concerns about realistic
  confidentiality;
- media coverage and public outrage at the lack of values among youth,
  following the fatal stabbing of a London headteacher, raised suspicions about
  the author's motives.
A democratic decision was made by the students to complete the surveys in a fortnight and return them to the Departmental Office. The author tried to take a 'laissez faire' stance in order to reassure students about a simple procedure, which they perceived as somewhat threatening under the circumstances. A total of 42 full and incomplete surveys were returned - a 43% response.

There is no way of knowing whether any respondent had replied casually and without reflection on the questions. It would be unwise to speculate about the reasons for non-completion. With hindsight greater explanation may have resulted in a more comprehensive response but at the same time it illustrated the problem or apathy involved in determining 'values'.

Between receiving the questionnaires and returning them, nine (9) students in Group B sought the author out to complain and/or explain about the difficulty of completing them. There was no way of knowing whether the questionnaires would eventually be completed or not. After listening, a note of the complaint or explanation was made and thanks given to each person for their trouble. As the author was perceived as an authority figure, students felt explanations were needed for the delay in returning the questionnaires. Fear of identity exposure and reprisals was a feature, which beleaguered this whole investigation. Informal investigation revealed the reason to be associated with students' intuitive understanding that their personal value systems had to converge with those of serving teachers and tutors for successful progress towards qualified teacher
status. Conflicts needed to be ‘unvoiced for safety’ in a system where sponsored mobility to employment is the norm and ‘free speech devalued and positively discouraged’.

Comments about the delay in receipt of some completed questionnaires included:

(a) Lack of time (3)

Final year students have a lot to do.....completing surveys takes up too much time

(b) Lack of knowledge (4)

- I had to know what values were before I could complete the form and that took a long time to work out
- It is difficult to be specific about your own values and attitudes
- You are not often asked to express them in such a specific way
- I don’t know the difference between roles and tasks so couldn’t complete it without help.

(c) Suspicion (2)

- with so much talk about values .....don’t really know whether teaching is for me or not
- what happens if my values differ from those you expect?

The questionnaire was perhaps a challenge in the prevailing climate because, as succinctly noted by Burwood (1996:420-421), questions about values have got to be democratically addressed and answered within society. He contends that they are debated from three perspectives:
• ‘Traditional’ mainstream values of the majority group should be transmitted as part of citizenship. Values of minorities should be ignored.

• As a just society sensitivity and promotion of a wide diversity of values including those of minority groups should be pursued.

• As a democratic society a selection of values irrespective of sources, should be promoted on condition that the values contribute to the maintenance of a liberal society or are deemed to be educationally valuable (or both).

As members of British society student teachers are free to participate in debates from all three perspectives. The State has imposed structures for the implementation and application of values through the Education Acts of 1989 and 1995 to the day-to-day practice of work within the profession, but it is in the area of real practice that values are made operational. Student teachers’ opinions about values important to the performance of teachers’ roles and tasks are discussed in Chapter Five.
CHAPTER 5

Reporting and Discussion

Section 1: The Samples in Context

A clear description of the educational values held by student teachers would be an important contribution in any effort to understand the culture of their training institution. This study explores the opinions and beliefs of student teachers. The pervasiveness of the teaching culture is tested and variables that might have an impact on the beliefs of student teachers are examined.

No single study that tries to define elements of a teaching culture can meaningfully inform local policy. While it is tempting to assume that student teachers are beginning to learn to share a uniform teaching culture, the assumption of cultural uniformity is untenable. Differences in age, experience, race, social and cultural background, gender, marital status, world view and ability amongst student teachers, present the challenge of how to design studies and draw inferences in the light of such diversity. Recognising student teachers as persons, without indulging in judgmental assumptions, is a first step towards making, interpreting and comparing values in initial teacher education.

What became evident through this investigation was that values held by student teachers had some commonality. On entry to courses, the ages of students differed, as did their educational and cultural backgrounds. Differences in ethnicity and gender existed and values held had variance, yet by the end of their
training, even by the end of their first year of training, convergence of values had occurred. What follows in this chapter is an illustration of the starting positions and changes occurring within this first year. This is achieved through analysis of data extracted from two samples of students. Some effort was made to determine the strategies employed in bringing one value set towards a desirable other.

The Samples

The investigation focused on two student teacher cohorts. Group A was randomly composed of 126 first year students who enrolled in the Department of Teaching Studies (DTS) in Paullon University (PU) in 1993-94. The initial purpose of their selection was to allow for longitudinal monitoring in order to determine the difference between entry and exit values. The composition of the group and its characteristics were anticipated to influence the initial value profile of the group. It was also expected to be a reflection of values held by the accepting institution which had interviewed the students as prospective candidates for teacher education and had its own institutionalised patterns of behaviour in its historical elements, ethos and structures.

Ideally in comparing changes in values and conflict between the first and final year, the same control group of students should have been used. This was the first order solution. However this was not possible because changes in management necessitated renewed negotiation for access to relevant data sources. This privilege was withdrawn and, consistently thereafter denied.
To circumvent this difficulty recourse was made to a second order solution: a sample of 42 final year students (Group B) completed the questionnaire in September 1996. It was an expectation that this should not pose severe problems and that values would differ between the two groups because a learning process with clearly defined desirable outcomes would have taken place. As ITE involves cultural messages in addition to the ‘language of practice’ (Yinger 1987), some differences were expected between the values held by first and fourth year student teachers. It was hypothesised that there would be commonality in the values of entrants to the BEd, because of the selection process, and that despite changes through the education process, some commonality of values on exit as newly qualified teachers. It was regarded as important to confirm or refute these basic assumptions but also to articulate what exactly are the ‘values’ which lead to person approval or rejection. The boundaries are far from explicit in current ITE practices.

Selection of Student Body

The Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) regulates the number of students to be ‘trained’ at the University annually. Initial screening is undertaken as the institution is oversubscribed by a ratio of 3:1. It was decided to initiate research into values by seeking to identify the values inherent in the selection process.
An invitation to be interviewed was received by each of the research subjects and was accompanied by a brochure setting out the goals of the BEd course. Thus began a process of self-selection for research involvement by the potential students. Confirmation of an interview date was made and an extract for discussion at the interview and other relevant information was despatched later. The student samples in Groups A and B were asked to read in preparation for discussion an extract about "Equality of Opportunity".

Interview questions were designed to determine the prospective students’ attitudes/beliefs about learning and teaching and the extent to which each could function autonomously. Other data was concerned with communicating the ideas expressed in the extract and indicating to what extent they were congruent with their own notions. Openness to learning and the ability to reflect and grow were among the data sought. It became evident, as will be demonstrated, that the candidates, whose beliefs were more congruent to the course’s existing philosophy, were chosen. This might be regarded as an indictment of the trainers who profess to welcome critical and original thought. Congruence, however, was regarded by the providers as essential to facilitate and accelerate desired learning.

The Course
The course into which students entered in 1993 was structured on a model which aimed to enable students to use reflection as a process of systematic inquiry in which they must frame and reframe problems and design and evaluate solutions
using reflective thinking. The use of Schon (1983:49) ‘Reflective practitioner’ ideology was responding to the felt need:

...to alert practitioners to the idea that the development of professional knowledge involves searching.....for an epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic intuitive processes which some practitioners do bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict.

Schon (1983:56) advanced the theory that the ‘divergent’ situations of practice, in which student teachers find themselves, provide opportunities for them:

...to focus interactively on the outcomes of action, the action itself and the intuitive knowing implicit in the action.

The school/university partnership course at Paullon University provided innumerable opportunities for students to reflect upon their ‘actions’ and develop ideas from core texts such as Reflective Teaching in the Primary School by Pollard and Tann (1987).

The process of reflection to which the student samples were introduced was aimed at discovering, through new measures and directions, an understanding of the relationship between values and practice. The student teachers noted their actions in ‘logs’. They, in addition, noted the tutorial context in which reflection occurred and the new meanings at which they had arrived. The ‘logs’ were read and observations made and assessed by tutors. In the nine-year period in which
this model had been in use, appropriate tasks had been developed to produce the desired reflective practices. Work with students at Paullon University, however, indicated that reflection in the general sense of an appraisal of personal work requires among other things, critical skills, which it was observed few students had in place at the start of the course. They needed some degree of self-confidence and an educated base for critical self-analysis.

**Diversity**

The samples within Groups A and B had been educated in a variety of locations in the United Kingdom and in other countries. Table 5.1 indicates the places where these student teachers had received their compulsory schooling.
Table 5.1

Places of Secondary Schooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Students in Group A</th>
<th>Students in Group B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raw score</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East England</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>73.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West England</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West England</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>126</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages are taken to two decimal places.
5.53 per cent of Group A and 7.14 percent of Group B were educated outside the United Kingdom, a factor which could influence the success rate of adoption of the Initial Teacher Education (ITE) course values. The selection process, however, gave some assurance of eventual conformity with the prevailing value structure.

Student Trainees' Educational Backgrounds

Regardless of country in which schooling took place the student teachers at Paullon needed to have the necessary entry qualifications for ITE. The actual position is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Distribution of student samples based on entry qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry Qualifications</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of Entry</td>
<td>1994/5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1993/4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access Course</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39.29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCSE Ordinary and GCSE Advanced Level and equivalent</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33.57</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>62.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Entry</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27.14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No:</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As some students have certificates in more than one group of entry qualifications the actual figures in Table 5.2 do not correspond with sample size figures. For example an Access student may have some Ordinary Level General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) or Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE), but the time of compulsory school education was distant and/or qualifications inappropriate for traditional to ITE.

The significant factor in the research sample was the number of Access students, who generally were mature entrants, who probably already had firmly established value positions. To determine the quantity who would survive the course and those who would leave and why was one of the main objectives. As non-standard entrants, the group might be considered the most vulnerable in terms of eventual completion. These students had insufficient or no GCSE/GCE Ordinary or Advanced level qualifications to meet DfEE criteria for ITE entry, hence acceptance of their Access or Special Entry routes. Access professes to compensate for earlier poor/disadvantaged education of the participants, a factor worthy of evaluation, but outside of the scope of this thesis.

At Paullon University, the inclusion of Access students on the BEd course contributes a radical challenge to the content and style of course delivery. Changes in the admissions’ policies and procedures to credit prior learning, known as Accreditation of Prior Learning (APL) has recently been instituted.
Whilst the then government stated its commitment to extension of Access, its other Higher Education (HE) policies created a contradictory framework which made the likelihood of its practical achievement uncertain. However, the BEd course already attracted large numbers of non-traditional working class mature students eager to teach in urban schools.

Ages

More than half of Group A was aged 18-25 (52%); the remaining 48% were over 25 years of age as illustrated in Figure 5.1. By contrast, in Group B, 64% of the sample were mature students.

Figure 5.1

Age Distribution of Samples
The ages of the students may have been a factor influencing their worldviews and consequently their values. Prior to 1988, each Education Authority in England and Wales was responsible for its own educational policies and curricula although there was some guidance from Her Majesty’s Inspectors. There were, as a consequence, opportunities for Local Educational Authorities and individual teachers to develop local and individual curricula. The goals of curricula usually reflect the values of the community that they serve. Thus there are various value systems perpetuated around the country. It seemed highly likely, therefore, that the student teachers, whether educated abroad or in the UK, would display a wide range of value systems based on their varied experiences of schooling from the mid-1960s to mid-1980s.

One such influence on schooling related to ethnicity. The acknowledgement of a plural society in Britain has been a lengthy process. Efforts to prepare people to teach in a multicultural society progressed by fits and starts from the mid-1970s until the mid 1980s. The Swann Report (1985) was significant in its impact, recommending as it did, a rejection of assimilation and separation and advocating a democratic pluralism in which diversity could exist. This they suggested should be ‘within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures’. Although no such framework emerged, a proportion of student teachers began to be schooled during the period of emergent multiculturalism.
Figure 5.2 illustrates the ethnic distribution of the sample studied within this research investigation.

**Figure 5.2**

**Ethnic Group Distribution of Samples**

As part of its Equal Opportunity policy, the university had initiated ethnic monitoring during enrolment in 1990 on a university-wide basis. Information was obtained by inviting students to volunteer information about their ethnic origin by ticking the category ‘which most closely reflected their ethnic origin’. The information was recorded and used to compile annual statistical reports but the categories used were too broad, and were not sensitive enough to provide data needed to compile an accurate profile of the student body. Individuals of mixed
race parentage found it difficult to respond in the boxes provided, therefore declined to respond in any way. Some Asian students found the globalisation of a category insensitive. The consequence was that requests for information on ethnicity generated a low response rate from students. Despite these limitations, the categories used in this research utilised those of the university.

Gender

Table 5.3 illustrates the gender distribution of the samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raw Score</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Raw Score</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>88.10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>88.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.90</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of females to males was similar in both Groups A and B. The number of men was indicative of the national picture of gender distribution at primary level ITE.
In summarising the factors which has led to the scarcity of male teachers in primary schools in the early and mid 20th century, Oram (1989:29-32), pointed out that the British penchant for a domestic and nurturing image of teachers interacts positively with the actual marital and motherhood status of female teachers. This image, prevalent in the 1980s, created public expectations for behaviour, salary and advancement opportunities for female teachers. Perhaps the image still persists in the 1990s despite increased advancement opportunities and a better salary structure.

Influences on Educational Backgrounds (of the samples)

In addition to age, gender and ethnicity, it was hypothesised that the students’ value positions at the time of entry to initial teacher education, and possibly their potential for and reasons for later change of direction for some could be influenced by their schooling during childhood and adolescence. Jesuit maxim assumes the period prior to seven years of age to be the most influential in attitude and value formation:

Give me a child before he is seven and I will show you the man.

Review of pertinent literature on formation of values in Chapter Two gave weight to such notions.
Through questionnaires, the two research samples were asked to reflect on their own schooling and hypothesise on the conditions that might have contributed to their own value formation (question 8). Their opinions on the strength of influence of class, disability, financial status of family, gender, location of their schooling and race were requested. The responses are shown in Table 5.4. Opportunity was provided for the identification of additional factors regarded by the respondents as impacting on schooling and consequent value promotion.
Table 5.4
Distribution of Influences on Schooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Influenced</th>
<th>Slightly Influenced</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>46 (36)</td>
<td>10 (27)</td>
<td>53 (42)</td>
<td>7 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td>8 (8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>8 (8)</td>
<td>3 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Status</td>
<td>38 (30)</td>
<td>6 (16)</td>
<td>47 (38)</td>
<td>12 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>34 (27)</td>
<td>10 (26)</td>
<td>54 (43)</td>
<td>8 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>38 (32)</td>
<td>15 (39)</td>
<td>41 (35)</td>
<td>9 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>22 (19)</td>
<td>6 (16)</td>
<td>23 (20)</td>
<td>7 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in parenthesis are in percentages rounded to the nearest whole figure.
Group A

In rank order, the strongest attributed influence on value positions developed through schooling by Group A respondents was that of Class (36%). This was followed by Location and Financial Status with 32 and 30 per cent of respondents respectively making this claim. Race as a contributory factor scored 19 per cent while Disability scored a mere 8 per cent. All respondents, nevertheless, considered the above factors to be of some significance.

The column identifying those acknowledging a slight influence provided a different picture with Gender being regarded as the primary influence, Class being secondary and Financial Status, Location, Race and Disability being given similar and less value. When the combination of percentages relating to conditions which either strongly or slightly influenced the individuals’ quality of compulsory schooling, the greatest emphasis was put on Class. Seventy-eight (78) per cent considered it of primary importance. This was followed by Gender, which in turn was marginally greater than Financial Status, which in turn was given only a 3 per cent lead over Location. Race and Disability remained consistently at the end.

Assessment by the students of neutral impact on schooling was headed by Disability with eighty-four (84) per cent. Predictably, in terms of views concerning strongest influences, Race was given second rating with sixty one per cent (61%). Class, Financial Status, Gender and Location based on an arithmetic mean resulted in a twenty-nine (29%) per cent support rate.
Thus the overall conclusion of combined influences from this analysis showed Class as the greatest attributed influential factor in schooling. Gender and Financial Status were considered to have some impact while Disability was regarded as largely insignificant. Perhaps the fact that no-one in the sample admitted to a disability or experience within families of a disability which might seriously impede learning, reflects students general lack of understanding at the time of completing the questionnaire, of the potential impact of different types of disability on learning.

That disabled student teachers at Paullon University have rarely survived the four years of initial teacher education perhaps gives an indication of institutional and school partners' value positions about disabled teachers. Problems in placing and retaining student teachers with discernible disabilities in schools seemed infinitesimal. Negative reactions have been palpable on reception of wheelchair bound, partially sighted, or other physically or sensorily challenged students.

Educators certainly could regard disability as devaluing teacher potential. Probing for responses to this hypothesis revealed that Paullon University to be consistently cautious in accepting disabled student teachers, because the attitudes in schools and the support by government and other officials has been experienced as prohibitive in terms of their possible development. A display of irritation and antagonism towards disabled potential student teachers at times was palpable, at best was covertly dismissive or silently prevented through passivity.
Group B

The responses of Group B to the same questions concerning influences on schooling notably were different. Location (39%) was attributed to be of greater significance than Class (27%) or Gender (26%). The rank order was completed by Financial Status and Race, each scoring a 16% response. Slight influence was attributed to Financial Status (32%), Location (24%), Gender (21%), Race (19%) and Disability (8%).

Comparisons

The reasons for the comparative differences in the ranking of perceived values by the two groups of student teachers, was the subject of follow-up interviews. The importance of location in terms of educational value, appropriate learning resources and valued opportunities was a feature of agreement when applied to all elements of the course undertaken by Group B over three years of initial teacher education. In 1996, a representative sample of 24 students extracted from Group A was interviewed concerning opinions about influences on schooling. The results illustrated a change in value perception from that expressed at the start of their BEd programme. Unlike the data gleaned in 1993, their opinions now converged with the questionnaire findings of Group B. The largest number of the interview sample from Group A (41%) now identified locational factors to be of greater importance than Class (29%) or Gender (28%). In Group B, the results were 39%, 27% and 26% for Location, Class and Gender factors respectively.
It is postulated that the education process at Paullon was contributory to the convergence of the value sets held by the two research samples by 1996. Hopefully, this had occurred because the prospective student teachers had come to value the specifics taught on course, rather than they having been indoctrinated into Paullon value sets or coerced to accept them.

Total Results
The conclusion reached from analysis of the statistics pertaining to the influences on schooling showed that for Group A, as beginners in ITE, the greatest influence was perceived to be that of Class while for Group B, as finalists in a four year process, the most important element was determined to be Location. There appears to be a dichotomy in the weight given to influencing factors at different points in the training programme. The only common ground shared by both groups was that Disability was considered to be the least influential.

What was evident was that both groups recognised schooling as important in the formation of values. In terms of analysing the data, derived from the questionnaire, it would seem important to recognise the influences, however small, of Class, Location, Gender, Disability and Finance Status on value positions held.
Section 2: Values and Conflict

Definitions

Question 9 in the survey (Appendix A) asked the students to define the term 'values' and then in questions 10 to 13 to make value judgements about teaching roles and tasks. Definitions of the term 'values' varied widely. One hundred and twenty one (121) individual definitions were given by Group A; Group B provided thirty four (34). The responses were sorted into categories of definitions, which are outlined in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5
Definitions of the Term 'Values'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
<th>Number of Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Group A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beliefs/Rules/Guidelines</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Important Things (Aspects which ought to be respected or are worthy of recognition)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moral/Social Standards or Ideas</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Acceptable Behaviour expressed as Right/Wrong</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Expectations of Society/Parents</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Desirable States/Goals</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Principles</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Criteria for Preferences of Choice/Importance or Outlook or Ideals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categories were derived from dictionary definitions (Keywords in Education 1989, International Dictionary 1987) and from the literature associated with the role of values (Rokeach 1973, Dror 1983). The students presented two categories;
here termed ‘Important Things’ and ‘Principles’, which represent themes which
seem not to have been recognised by any previous researchers concerned with
values in education.

Categorisation or ‘coding’ as Miles and Huberman (1994:62) termed it, was a
way of sorting into ‘bins of conceptual variables’, but also taking into
consideration themes ‘that will never fit perfectly into a pre-coded conceptual
frame’.

Responses from Group A were extremely varied in concept and sophistication.
At one extreme a respondent encompassed a whole view of values with ‘a set of
ideas’ (A119F). At the other end of the spectrum a definition of values was
described as:

...A set of rules or guidelines that you set yourself to live by. You pick up
values from your religion (what you are taught) from society generally and
those with whom you spend most time. (A111F)

Two respondents were unable to provide any definition; four established a link
between society and values. One of the group suggested that:

Values are the way in which one person believes society should be.
(A60F)
Another respondent noted that:

In terms of education and teaching, the term 'values' has a variety of meanings. Firstly the people you are teaching, the way you teach and how you deal with the pupils and whether they are difficult or not. Also you have to value yourself and your own ability otherwise your class will not value you. (A80F)

The following four definitions deserve separation as they are not easily categorized and offer individualistic thought:

- [Values are] what you can contribute in benefiting. They are good for those around you (A85F)
- [Values are] what you have to offer to children you will be teaching. What qualities you need as a person (A116M)
- Honesty, compassion, kindness, accepting people for what they are (constitute values). They include upholding moral and ethical values and carrying them out (A40F)
- The term 'values' to me suggests attitude. Being of a positive and encouraging attitude to my mind can only be good. (A101M)

In Group B, two respondents failed to provide definitions. In a similar vein to that seen within Group A the range was quite wide – with a one word definition ‘morals’ contributed by respondent B29F contrasting with the more detailed definition of respondent B37F:

- Values are a way of describing what is held to be morally or ethically right or important by a person or group of people. Values are often linked to tradition and beliefs.
Individualistic thought was exemplified in the following:

- Values reflect the importance placed on aspects/issues by society depending on the time in terms of decades (B2F).
- They (values) are assets for dealing with situations (B40F).

Two respondents stressed context as relevant:

- There are personal, community, social and cultural values. I believe a person chooses which ones to adopt depending upon the setting. Values are a set of beliefs you are socialised into, and expected to conform to if you want to live and work amongst others (B18F)
- The definition of values depends on what context you look at values (B6F)

The temptation to identify respondents by age and ethnicity as well as by group and gender was resisted. There were three reasons for this:

(1) the provision of detailed information would aid identification and undermine the notion of confidentiality which had been promised the groups;

(2) since few males undertake primary initial teacher education, the weighting of the sample was mainly females. By the time ethnicity would be added there was a danger of stereotyping;

(3) the main aim was to capture themes rather than to judge student teachers per se.

Category 1: Values as Beliefs/Rules/Guidelines

Based on the number of responses mentioning them, Groups A and B linked values with Beliefs most frequently. But there were qualifications of rules and
guidelines to be observed in adopting a belief or value structure. Typical were the following:

- [Values are] a set of beliefs and rules and regulations or norms by which a community or society is governed (B26F)
- A value is a kind of belief which is individual (A59F)
- Values are your beliefs which are unique to you as an individual (A29F)
- Values are a set of beliefs which are personal to you and which guide your life (A118F)
- A set of acceptable rules followed by a group.

Generally speaking, the large number of mentions (31%) in Group A and (20%) Group B for the combined set of ‘beliefs and rules’ suggests that values are culturally constructed from a set pattern or beliefs in the culture. Reference made to the means of value acquisition in Chapter Two suggests that individuals create their own value systems out of self-interest. In that way, making personal sense of their environment is not only a means of survival but also the groundwork for bringing aspects of their environment into focus. These combined aspects appear to be necessary in order to provide cues for action resulting in a plan which has a set of instructions, hierarchically organised to enable values’ creation and utilisation. According to Rokeach (1968) the cognitive and affective components of beliefs are closely interdependent but rules and guidelines appear to be more loosely constructed. Beliefs like rules, however, may be validated by reference to
others in one’s reference group. The precise part played by beliefs, rules and guidelines in initial teacher education is an under-investigated topic.

For student teachers to define values as beliefs, rules and guidelines probably reflects the broad supermarket-type reservoir of meanings available in a plural society from which individuals choose.

**Category 2: Values as Important Things**

Important Things, not easily categorised under any other title were noted by both groups, 25% in Group A and 27% in Group B. Generally, they were afforded second order importance. Mentioned by both Groups A and B in trying to define values were:

- Things I feel are important i.e. qualities, morals, ideas (A75F)
- ...the worth of something i.e. what you gain in return for something whether learning or knowledge and how important things are to you (A10F)
- What things someone feels are important in everyday life (B34M)
- Values are ways in which you interpret and give importance to things = make them worthy of recognition (B30F)

The students had discovered a group of values, which they found difficult to describe. They expressed an abstract concept rather than any tangible reality.

Two respondents provided examples of elements which were perceived as important to them, or worthy of respect or recognition:
• Qualities, morals and ideas

• honesty, respect and integrity

Both Hunt (1935), cited in Kilmann (1981) and Rokeach (1968) used lists of words, which focused on values in society and asked respondents to rank them in order of priority. Top ranking suggested an ideal. It was their conclusion that ideas were desirable and thus were 'reasonably concrete' in their connection to behaviour. In their research, 'honesty', 'respect' and 'integrity' were ranked highly and individually, thereby suggesting that they were ideals which were desirable and reasonably concrete in their connection to behaviour. A self-report, forced-choice instrument, as used by Scott as a follow-up, may have encouraged others to assess the 'importance' of items to specifics. The identified items given above as important to two respondents are closely related or similar to the instrumental values of Rokeach (1968) and ideals of Scott (1959).

The main conclusions drawn from definitions of Values as Important Things were:

1. values are personal and therefore not open to disclosure in such precise terms as requested in the survey

2. respondents have a tacit understanding of the term and,

3. distinguishing between traits, values and interests is difficult, hence the focus on importance.
Category 3: Moral/Social Standards

The notion of moral and social standards suggests socialisation into norms of social awareness and moral codes. The process, it is assumed, occurs in the period between childhood and adolescence.

Piaget's (1932) framework suggesting cognitive stages of development and acquisition of concepts for moral thinking fuses philosophy with biological beliefs about self-development. When this framework is colonised by conceptual understanding and linguistic competence, then perceptions of values become a reality. The work of Kohlberg (1971) with its precise proposals for promoting moral thinking and development through different stages has been influential in promoting this view. Kohlberg (1971:50) stressed that individual differences in moral judgement ability:

...Partly arise from and partly add to prior differences in opportunities for role taking in the child's family (family participation, communication, emotional warmth, sharing in decisions, awarding responsibility to the child) point out consequences of actions to others.

Reference to the importance of what values are formed during this period, especially when later applied to initial teacher education, is discussed in Chapter Two. What is evident from the data is that 16% of Group A questionnaire respondents agreed that moral and social standards or ideas gleaned during the socialisation period were responsible for the values held at the point of
entry to ITE. In Group B, only 5% of respondents contributed to this view, as evidenced by:

- Values are the personal moral standards that held by an individual which are related strongly to his/her understanding of what is right and wrong. Some of these values will be regarded as more important than others. (A52F)
- Values are morals/standards you set for yourself. (B22F)

**Category 4: Acceptable Behaviour expressed as right or wrong**

Acceptable behaviour expressed as right or wrong is similar to social and moral standards, but 12% of respondents in Group A and 10% in Group B were quite specific:

- Values influence how a person behaves and are what they believe to be good/right or bad/wrong (A114F)
- What you strongly believe in and know to be right as against others which you know to be wrong (A127F)

Taking into consideration the combined mentions of good, right and important would certainly have made the ‘emergent’ definition the most often mentioned. Consequently, taken in this way, the data confirms Carbone’s implied definition of values (1987:10) as good, right or important guides for practice.
Category 5: Expectations of Society/Parents

In Group A, values were perceived as the expectations of society or parents by 6% of the sample. Respondent A60F is representative in the view that:

- Values are the ways in which society expects you to behave.

None of Group B, noted values as expectations of society or parents, a reflection perhaps of their maturity status.

The idea of values being imposed through the expectations of society is perhaps might be regarded as a further link to the socialisation process, however, such thinking assumes that people are empty vessels, shaped by societal expectations while being unable to change those expectations through some form of resistance. It is probably true that few practitioners in ITE see themselves as doing anything other than countering salient aspects of what is perceived as the effective dominant culture. Nevertheless, their 'regulated' autonomy should not prevent them as 'transformative intellectuals' from proposing alternative expectations. Student teachers who view values as expectations of society need to be prepared for an oppositional role.

In their conception of resistance, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) argued that schools have the capacity to play a role in 'forming a democratic public sphere' in which alternative models of democracy can be proposed. They (1985:205) added that 'Church Associations, Trade Unions, Social Movements and Voluntary
Associations' have the capacity to stress, 'the necessity of struggle in sites other than those influenced or controlled by the State'. This makes Aronowitz and Giroux's framework particularly relevant for ITE practitioners since it suggests that they will be able to play an oppositional role both inside and outside the school gates.

What is suggested in the 'theme' above is that there is a set of expectations or values that constitute the ideology of the State. On the one hand the notion of personal expectations of parents and societal values being conflated seems to suggest that:

(1) there is a dominant culture which imposes its value systems and,

(2) the system of imposition is part of the socialisation process.

On the other hand, if the aim of initial teacher education primarily is to prepare student teachers to concern themselves with social issues, then attention should be given to learning and teaching about the forms of knowledge, social relationships and institutional practices which sustain the current unsatisfactorily unequal world order.

Gramsci (1971) examined the idea of an elevated group imposing its favoured values on others. For Gramsci, the State as the chief instrument of coercion, supported by other institutions such as the family, engages in a process of
hegemony. In this process, a state of consensual superiority of a powerful group or class or social system in society is imposed through policies and practices upon the governed. Although full hegemony is unlikely because hegemony rests upon the agreement of a specific set of norms and values, it seems that hegemonic influences are enveloping initial teacher education through State-imposed curricula and school curricula and rearrangement of funding in the Higher Education Sector. These arrangements communicate what are presented as 'truths', that is, they are plausible and appear to be 'common-sense'. Challenge of the premises is neither invited nor respected.

Rationally, it could be suggested that practitioners would find it helpful to recognise that ITE must play an oppositional role, if it is to prepare intending teachers for their eventual roles and tasks, by developing their critical powers and related skills as part of their professional expertise. Consideration of this 'theme' leads to a questioning of the purpose of teacher training institutions and whether its 'training' includes critical empowerment. 'The reflective practitioner' model of ITE at Paullon University emphasised what is known in educational circles as the 'sociological perspective', in which the expanding scope or 'content of students' enquiry is taken as evidence of improved reflection. By contrast was the same course model emphasising quality of reflection? In the reflection, literal technical orientation to teaching is assumed. Zeichner (1983:4) proposed that technical refers to an instrumentalist orientation in which:
the primary concern is with fostering the development of skill in an actual performance of a predetermined task.

At Paullon University, a primary concern of staff was the exploration and explanation of the tentativeness and tenuousness of the theory and practice relationship. According to course handbooks and course documentation, students were taught that decisions of the teacher must balance competing demands and expectations placed on a school, whilst simultaneously promoting ‘National Curriculum’ learning, Personal and Social Education (PSE) and appreciation of cultural diversity. In being encouraged to avoid wholesale conformity, student teachers were developing and employing critical skills covertly.

Critical theory undisputedly has much to offer ITE that ought to be oppositional if it is to respond to the broad task of producing and educating for participatory as well as professional development. Learning to analyse and critique their own practice, as much as practices that emanate from the values by which a community or society is governed, appears to be the hallmark of dialectical reflection.

**Category 6: Desirable States/Goals**

With reference to Rokeach’s (1969) definition of a value as a ‘desirable end state of existence’, 7% of Group B agreed with his definition. Within Rokeach’s definition is also reference to social and personal preference of the said end state to alternatives. The data in Table 5.5 separates these elements.
Rokeach (1968, 1973) based his research on values on the assumptions that individuals have a relatively small number of values. It would seem that although he also assumed that antecedents of values could be traced to institutions, culture, society and personality, he believed in a manipulated end state of existence which is socially if not always personally desirable. This may be a useful consideration in analysing the values of student teachers as they fulfil several roles in their teaching careers, some of which may and did conflict.

Category 7: Principles

Principles were regarded as synonymous with values in a small number of answers provided by Group A. Defined as principles, values were perceived from a philosophical perspective, rather than the psychological and sociological elements of the previous sets of definitions. The relative worth of any principle depends upon how confidently it can be justified. Justification of actions based on values requires rationality. Applied to student teachers, this could well be interpreted to mean that they must demonstrate their success and effectiveness through pedagogy. The object is not to tell others what to think but to bring them gradually to a point, in which they come to recognise, realise or understand something they had not previously perceived. Essentially subtle indoctrination, albeit for more altruistic ends, must occur, as student teachers need ultimately to
understand the principles or values of the teaching culture in order to survive in the profession.

**Category 8: Criteria for Preferences**

Values are Things that influence your choice and decisions. (B16F)

It is perhaps the most interesting idea for further work to establish what ‘things’ influenced students’ choices. In order to establish the importance and nature of the criteria used, some follow-up work was deemed necessary to ascertain how conflicts were resolved and the consequences of actions taken, based on particular choices from the range on offer. It is an important general philosophical point of view that ‘things’ are inner ideas. By enabling student teachers to evaluate the theory that the structures of their minds prevent them from knowing independent reality, teacher educators may be taking the first steps to discovering more about their students as human beings.
Section 3: Roles

Preparing Student Teachers for their Future Roles

The roles of teachers generally are defined within the scope of national policies and therefore are taken for granted. However, these roles also encompass broad statements which require specification in terms of how they are to be realised. Training institutions constantly re-examine and re-define what situations favour or diminish the role performance of teachers against national standards. Partly this is achieved through discussions by teacher educators about the kinds of teachers needed.

One of the issues that emerge when examining roles is whether student teachers should be trained as generalists or specialists. Generalists mainly teach in primary schools where children receive a basic education before committing to a certain set of subjects in the secondary school and preparing for a specific career route. The training of both primary and secondary school teachers, however, caters for subject specialisms as a normal part of a BEd course.

Four of the six most frequently mentioned roles when the student teachers responded to question 10 of the questionnaire (Appendix A) concerning the roles and tasks of teachers in primary schools were: Instructor, Agent of Socialisation, Role Model and Facilitator. The two additional roles mentioned by Group A from which selection could be made were Advisor and Carer. In Group B they were
Provider of Resources and Motivator. The Venn Diagram (Figure 5.3) below show the values identified:

**Figure 5.3**

**Roles Identified in the Data**

The diagram invites questions about the implications of these roles for teachers and how the course at Paulion University prepares students for them.

In examining the core of roles common to both groups, it is evident that the patterns of instructor, agent of socialisation, role model and facilitator were influenced by their beliefs about what was appropriate for members of their profession. Such beliefs were not only the result of hegemonic language and ideology, they were also related to historical contexts.
By comparing the opinions of the two Groups, it is possible to see the perceived image of teachers. To understand the acuteness of this image, a perception of how school culture constructs and is constructed by those who act within it, would seem to be required. Because of the ratio of women to men in Groups A and B, the central argument is that the pattern of roles is a construction created by women of perceived obligations and duties in the teaching profession. In a real sense, the idea of a 'norm', that had universal approval in 'normal schools' in the nineteenth century, still exists. It is not the same norm of Dickens’ day, immortalised in Mr Choakumchild in ‘Hard Times’, but one in which many factors taken together provide a contemporary composite model of instructor, agent of socialisation, role model and facilitator. On the surface, the roles seem complementary. On the other hand, what British society expects is enshrined in the National Curriculum documents of 1989 and 1995.

**Instructor**

Both Groups A and B gave prominence to the role of the teacher as educator or instructor. This focus was to be expected. Student teachers do not start their initial teacher education courses as blank pages upon which the courses will be written. They come with attitudes, emotions, knowledge, skills, values and beliefs that are the product of each student’s biography. As noted in Chapter Two, Lortie’s (1975) study revealed that after some twelve years of schooling, student teachers had experienced latent socialisation as teachers. This implied that they had a reasonable idea of the main expectations for teachers’ work and
the differences between the work of primary and secondary school teachers and
were willing to comply with demands. The universal conceptualisation of the
teachers' main role, identified by Lortie and supported, by both groups of student
teachers involved in the Paullon University research project provides an excellent
framework from which the effectiveness of educator/instructor in ITE can be
examined briefly.

It is clear as Elliot (1991:22) has pointed out that:

...the framework of targets and levels of achievement which structure the
teaching of each subject (of the National Curriculum) reinforces the view
of subjects as repositories of factual knowledge and in doing so not only
eliminates values from the curriculum but also tends to disconnect
knowledge acquisition from practical problem solving in everyday life.

The entire process of 'delivering' the National Curriculum does not occur in a
vacuum. At a fundamental level, it is inherently part of the interaction between
the learner and the thing to be learned. Critical to this interaction is the instructor.
A fair amount of confusion exists, it would seem, between the terms teaching and
instructing. In most educational publications, the terms are used indiscriminately
with teaching often including 'instructing' components. For the purposes of this
discussion, it is appropriate to argue that the distinction between them is
maintained especially given the National Curriculum perspective being explored
in this section.
When instruction is occurring, there is always an appeal to a knowledge source, whether it be a technique described in a book, or an actual demonstration by a person. Instructing takes many forms: from learning handwriting to achieving competence in story telling. Explicit or implicit in any instructing is an objective to be met. The objective usually is demonstrable in the short or long term. In addition, instructing appears to involve the mastery of a series of sequential steps—a kind of knowledge ladder to be climbed. If the steps are too far apart, if the gaps are too wide to be bridged, the learner is blocked and the objective cannot be met. The instructor must then bridge the gap with smaller, more easily comprehensible steps in order for learning to proceed.

Teaching proceeds somewhat differently. Its major techniques reside in the realm of questions, analogies and parables. The learning objective can be hidden or unstated. The journey, not the destination, is the important thing. If there is a goal at all it is to achieve that flash of insight that leads to greater self-knowledge. It is in the area of instructing, however, that the discourses and agenda of ITE resides.

**Agent of Socialisation**

From its inception to the present day, the formal education system for children and adolescents in Britain, has been sustained because of a general belief that education is a merit good. Maddison (1974) propounded that formal education:
1. would preserve governmental and constitutional liberty since an educated populace could make informed and rational political choices;

2. would ensure social cohesion by virtue of being compulsory, free and universal;

3. by being practical, would prepare successful learners for lives that would be useful both to themselves and society;

4. would reduce individual and social poverty, and

5. while the system may not be justified in quite the same terms today, it still retains a core of belief in the utility of publicly supported education. One of the reasons for its continued acceptance as a merit good, is that it has been seen to exercise a certain kind of social responsibility.

Broadly speaking, the formal education system could be regarded as the means by which a society recreates itself – creates the knowledge, skills, values, habits and customs that are characteristic components of its social life. By ensuring the transmission of these cultural artefacts, from generation to generation, educational processes help give society shape, and integrity and ensure that all members of the society become participants. Central to the processes of transmission and transfer are teachers. They already have assimilated cultural capital as early consumers of the compulsory education system. The student teachers in the samples surveyed for the purposes of this investigation conferred strongly with the notion that teachers are agents of socialisation. What they are required to transmit to pupils in schools is not unexpected. Essentially, the curriculum was required from the
outset of their ITE programme to be a vehicle by which key elements of adults’
culture or environment may be acquired by their young.

Respondent B115F noted:

‘Teaching is not really a matter of what I value. I have been inducted into
what is valued by serving teachers and tutors from the moment I arrived at
college. If I don’t agree, I keep quiet, because compliance with unspoken,
but nevertheless existent values is the only way to becoming a teacher. I
understood that from day one. Of course, I’m told to think and criticise.
That may become a valued asset when I am securely employed as a
teacher, but now is not the time to make a stand. Today, I must adopt the
values which seem to be important to the profession as it presents to the
public.’

Conservation of what was perceived as good thereby was assured. The
curriculum moderates the precariousness of unguided learning and by doing so,
helps ensure both an individual’s and society’s survival. In these terms then,
curriculum development must be at the very heart of any attempt to promote
dynamic and viable relations between individual and social well being.

Both the National Curriculum for schools and the competency and standard-based
ITE curricula have been promoted by elected Governments since 1989, as
relevant for promoting both individual and societal purposes. In this sense, they
are the means by which society undertakes its own renewal. However, with the
curricula being framed in subject-centred terms, they are not altogether helpful in
resolving the problems inherent in the lack of consensual agreement of social
direction, the weight of the structural rigidities of the system itself and the
increasing need for a store of information. The system could hinder originality and creativity, two essentials for advancing knowledge and societal progress.

Basically, both curricula derive from the assumption that all knowledge forms a learnable whole, which, for the purposes of instruction, may be divided into parts. These are defined in terms of particular subject matters or particular things to be learned. Each curriculum tends to require learners to passively take what it has been determined they should learn. In particular, excellence in curriculum practice in ITE is measured by concentrating on the quality of teaching practice outcomes which are measurable. Assessments surround the quality of planning, preparation and implementation and the attainment of knowledge by pupils. Quality is confined to what is quantifiable, as can be seen through reference to the nationally administered 'Standard Attainment Tests' for pupils in schools and the articles of the DfEE Circulars 10/97 and 4/98, to be used in assessing trainee teachers' achievements. By contrast, a process-orientated curriculum has as its focus the learning process of individual learners, not precisely what must be learned, though this is not ignored. Excellence can be measured in the equally tangible and educationally defensible ways, but greater attention is given to independence, to social awareness and critical thought.

Such a curriculum would enable the 'hidden' curriculum of diverse social or affective objectives and expectations to emerge and become available for public discussion and debate. Educational aims and objectives, have the opportunity of
shifting from sterile debate about particularities of subject content to broader issues of individual and social well-being. Curricula focused on the rapidly changing conditions of living help learners to become adaptable. On the other hand, subject-centred curricula are imposed on ITE to prepare student teachers to conserve the culture and heritage, socialise the young, and to support the economy. They do all this whilst teaching the core of literacy, oracy and number, and the common knowledge and values promoted by what is perceived as a reasonably cohesive society.

There may be agreement about the validity of these purposes but the multicultural nature of British society is such that most people would not understand each of the purposes in the same way or agree to their specifics. This pluralism has rendered the social mandate of the education system (including ITE) ambiguous and its goal amorphous.

All aspects of the contemporary British education system for pupils in schools have been contested. There is not, however, a strong tradition of public debate about goals and objectives of ITE. No formal means have been developed to articulate which goals for the ITE curriculum that is meaningful to all groups. This would have significant advantages and some risks. By moving curricular issues more fully into the public domain, consciousness about what exists and could happen would be raised. The various social affective and values’ concerns of the hidden curriculum would become explicit and therefore susceptible to
public negotiation. Public sanction would become feasible, but so also would be the opportunity to negotiate desired images of a future.

If student teachers of Paullon University are to act as agents of socialisation, they need to prepare for this role. It is not enough to inherit it as a long-standing part of education, developed over the centuries. The expectation is that they will contribute to the socialisation of the young through the National Curriculum subjects of Citizenship and Personal and Social Education (PSE). These are conceived as the most important of the cross-curricula dimensions because they are value-laden.

PSE through the curriculum, cannot be left to chance but needs to be co-ordinated as an explicit part of a school’s curriculum policy, both inside and outside the formal timetable (National Curriculum Council 1989c Para 10).

The problem for the student teachers is to acknowledge the importance of this whilst trying to deliver a curriculum which appears to put greater value on subject knowledge acquisition.

Part of the socialisation process inevitably is to prepare children for a world of work. Affective objectives that could motivate learners to learn for a future of work sharing, for example, would help them to acquire:
a) flexibility to cope with change, and
b) new values based on the assimilation and ordering of the information about
the changed environment, the making of meaning.

Families, church officials, schools, training institutions and student teachers, all
bring a variety of values to the education process, whether as consumers or
producers. Yet, critical deconstruction of values has become associated with
issues related to multiculturalism and problems such as values conflict.

Student teachers of Paullon University (PU) at the time of surveys were following
short courses of 30 hours duration in Religious Education, which was regarded by
the University as a component of PSE. While the National Curriculum regards
Personal and Social Education (PSE) as having a cross curricular dimension,
student teachers at PU neither have the space, time or opportunity to examine the
issue of socialisation and what it specifically should entail in the classrooms of
the urban schools for which they are being trained. Traditionally, a narrowly
conceived view of the socialisation process has held sway in Britain. Student
teachers, through their schooling, prior to ITE, know in advance what is to be
valued in particular situations, what decisions should be made, and what action
should be undertaken. The values are sanctioned by the heritage tradition,
authority figures or majority public opinion. Ideally, for student teachers at PU to
become agents of socialisation, they would need to have awareness and
understanding of cultural codes, tools, symbols and norms of several groups. This
cannot be achieved effectively in the present climate, because of the multiplicity of demands on available time.

The agenda and action of the State, in seeking to promote PSE as important and consequently needing to be co-ordinated as an explicit part of the curriculum policy, obscures the contentious elements of stipulated PSE programmes. Student teachers in the research sample had not lost sight of the role of teacher as agent of socialisation, but questions were raised about the adequacy of their preparation to provide it within an appropriate ‘values’ framework.

It is refreshing to find that student teachers are challenged by value conflicts in ITE.

- I understand what needs to go into a PSE programme and a permeation model should facilitate this, but how I plan for it and ensure delivery eludes me (B9F)

- I’m not sure what I believe should be taught. Is it enough to deliver what some government edict demands? Is that what education is really about (B20F)

Socialisation: role modelling and facilitation

When considering the teacher as a socialising agent, the extent to which the teacher will be a model or facilitator in children’s learning has to be considered. In training, student teachers must focus on what they are transmitting incidentally as well as intentionally. The ‘self’ may require some re-education in order to present to pupils in schools a ‘model citizen’.
It will seem, therefore, that:

1. teachers have to take stock of their roles by ‘owning’ whatever picture or image they have built up whether they fit their personal ideas for the job or not;

2. Only when teachers own what they actually do and this is experienced as intentional (rather than forced upon them by the expectations of others), are they free to reveal the tacit assumptions and values which govern the way in which, in practice, they apply skills, knowledge and qualities to their work.

Presented in this way, self as subject and object requires a dual consciousness in taking stock of the person, with unique relatedness to teaching and the system which provides the context for the role. In essence this is a form of self-regulation. But do student teachers perceive this aspect? Setting one’s self up as a model of social standing, from whom others might draw inspiration and motivation, requires self-knowledge and self-development. Providers of ITE must, it will seem, keep this particular need for development of their students strongly in focus if the ultimate learning needs of pupils in schools are to be realised. Bringing student teachers to this position, however, may require resolution of conflicts, since values attributed to socialisation processes are themselves conflicting.
Facilitator

At the time of the survey, the students in Group B already had experience as facilitators in a variety of workshops as part of their coursework. It was therefore presumed that they would transfer examples of what they had come to perceive as good practice in the classroom situation. All respondents to the questionnaire mentioned the idea of facilitator as a teacher’s role in a primary school.

Interviews with students revealed an incremental value on intervention as a facilitating agent in learning processes. This almost certainly was the result of their exposure to teachers who had been trained in a variety of institutions with particular value systems. Learning how best to facilitate was a valued element of ITE. What became apparent during interview sessions (see Chapter Six) was that the students saw the opportunity to facilitate children’s learning mostly through intervention in group work activity. The notion that all teaching can ‘facilitate’ learning was lacking. Evidently the students involved in the survey saw the role of facilitator as synonymous with informal teaching approaches.

Examples of students’ awareness about their role as facilitator can be gleaned from the following statements:

- I see teachers facilitating learning when they have finished teaching the whole class and then going to individuals to help better understanding (Gay).
- Facilitating learning is the interaction between teachers and pupils during group activities (Nina).
- I cannot see teachers being facilitators in the whole class lesson (Stacey)
The data on roles (Figure 5.3) indicated that Group A entered ITE with a high level of awareness about their future role(s). This may have been necessary for their well being, though the small number of references to classroom management evident in their questionnaire response suggest ‘reality shock’ would occur during the first teaching practice. After three teaching practices, Group B, were ‘teacherly’ citing not only classroom management but also assessment. Their responses reflected their experiential learning.

The data underscores the need for teacher education to be aware of and start from student teachers’ beliefs about teaching. The omission of classroom management as one of the main roles among Group A responses may indicate a tendency to minimise the importance of management strategies before first hand experience has been acquired. This reflects their stage in development as teachers, but transmits messages to National Curriculum designers and government departments constructing ITE requirement inventories.

**Relationship of Ages of research samples to Roles**

The range of ages of the student teachers was significant in the different perceptions of the roles of teachers held by individuals. The data presented in Table 5.6 reveal the results of students’ own socialisation process.
Table 5.6

Roles Identified by Ages of Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLES</th>
<th>Number of Mentions</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>36+</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>36+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator/Instructor</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of socialisation</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisor</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enabler/Helper/</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caret/Loco Parentis</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority Figure/</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provider of Resources</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediator/Home School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaison</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team Member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably the most interesting aspect shown with regard to the age grouping of questionnaire respondents was that the teacher as Role Model was perceived as the most important factor by the 18-25 age range in Group B and by the 26-35 age range in Group A. The need to motivate and provide security was more evidently valued by the 36+ age group in Group A.
It was surprising to find that only three respondents wrote 'teacher' rather than educator or instructor to explain the feature of knowledge transmission when asked to identify the most important roles of teachers (Item 10 of Survey). Perhaps they were explaining that the concept of 'teacher' is distinctly different from that of instructor or educator.

The role of teacher exists primarily in relationship to that of pupil. While pupils are part of a teacher's role set, it is suspected that the choice of educator was made to cover a wide variety of teacherly tasks. Those who chose instructor were probably conscious of the prevailing climate of teaching to National Curriculum demands and 'tests', which requires a didactic approach. According to Getzels and Guba (1954:165) individual variation is permissible in activating one's role depending upon one's perception, the reciprocal nature of the interaction and the situation. The situation may well be that parents and pupils in particular areas of the inner city, for which students at Paullon are 'trained', have different needs which require teachers to adopt a different set of values from those needed in suburban or rural schools.
Section 4: Tasks

Task-based learning

The questionnaire, question 10, asked for identification of teachers' tasks as distinct from roles. While respondents in Group A were able and willing to identify roles of teaching, there was some hesitancy in identifying tasks. Although the sets of boxes to be filled in the questionnaires were set side by side, so that respondents could work from left to right, role to task, this was not done. The connection between roles and tasks presumably was not made sufficiently clear and student teachers' perceptions of role expectations were more in tune with duties and responsibilities.

The term task was also used quite extensively throughout the BEd course, especially in connection with school-based learning. Attention is now turned to this, as there may be a connection between student teachers' understanding of the reasons for tasks and ability to visualise roles and being successful in experiential learning. Task-based learning is an essential part of the coursework for student teachers at the University and as preparation for setting up and managing Standard Attainment Tasks (SATs) in schools.

Observational and teaching tasks are undertaken on the school-based elements of the course. They form a coherent structure. Task-based learning is seen to:
1. lend support to the idea that learning in ITE occurs quite effectively when related to tasks undertaken by student teachers;

2. facilitate vertical integration of the curriculum introducing relevance and application of theory to practice in the early part of the ITE curriculum;

3. provide a strategy for a continuation of study in the basic elements in the latter part of the curriculum;

4. enhance the value of on-the-job learning;

5. help solve the conflict between training a (student) teacher and providing a service;

6. help the student teacher to build repertoires of skills, knowledge and understanding of the complex professional role based on continuing practice.

Observations of colleagues in the Department of Teaching Studies indicated that some students, despite successfully gaining entry to the BEd course, faced difficulties in performing teaching and observational tasks almost immediately. The consequence was the immediate disaffection of some students to course values. As a participant observer, the author noted that:

(a) the same type of tasks was offered regardless of the type of school in which students were placed;

(b) teacher educators assessed professional growth on the entries to students’ logs, host teachers’ accounts of the students’ performance of the tasks and the competence with the tasks were executed.
Some tasks are universal, like story reading, regardless of the type of school. Others, such as planning for small group teaching, may involve a great deal of negotiation because the organisation of the school is better suited to a team-teaching approach by class and student teachers of whole classes. With reference to assessment of performance, some students face personal conflicts in clarifying the tasks for themselves before being able to perform them and reflect upon their performance. Conflicts, which arise as a result of misunderstanding or underestimating teaching tasks, are discussed in Chapter Six.

Bourdieu's (1973) concept of 'cultural capital', provides a useful starting point for substantive analysis. He argued that 'each family transmits to its children, indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos'. According to Bourdieu, members of different social-class groups internalise the objective chances of a member of their class achieving success, so that objective chances become subjective hopes. Future job choice can be seen as conditioned by these internalised hopes. In the process of selecting tasks for inclusion in the professional training, the university legitimates some knowledge as being of appropriate status and devalues others. So according to Bourdieu, some students may find their culture legitimised while others may find their 'world views' invalidated.

With each year group at Paullon 'intellectual' sub-cultures developed from the outset of the course. The models of intellectuality are based on collective
perceptions of professionalism, partly drawn from students' own contact with 'real' teachers (either at the schools that their children or family members attended but also on perceived expectations of need in order to become teachers). For these groups the development of their intellect is largely aimed at completing teaching practices with a high degree of competence. In their case, the process of cultural reproduction was, at least in part, one of acquiring the know-how to become good teachers. According to the prevailing ethos, students who either failed to comprehend the tasks or who underestimated the need for professionalism, often faced conflicts the results of which would require them to make crucial decisions affecting their futures.

One purpose of the tasks was to foster and promote intellectual and moral autonomous learning. Not only did students choose which one of a set of tasks they would do first, they also controlled the strategies they would use to carry out the tasks, without guidance (Shuell 1988). Moral autonomy is the ability to judge the best course of action, independent of rewards or punishments. In presenting tasks, teacher educators offered opportunities for the student teachers to build a repertoire of skills and competences over time. This small-steps approach, made extensive use of behavioural learning theory existent in all models of initial teacher education. However, student teachers also had to build up knowledge in the form of connected schemata. In the process, student teachers were seen as active social beings constructing their own understandings from social interaction within the dynamics and constraints of the contexts in which learning takes place.
Teaching practice in classrooms stresses the students’ exposure to the ‘real’ work of school. Emphasis is placed on the students’ own first hand experience. Learning theory and practice are brought together. In this context, Paullon students were required to ‘discover’ the children’s starting points or stage of development. Indeed, this was the basic objective of teaching practice in its early stages. Consideration of organisation and management of the classroom tended to come later. The contemporary approach was for host teachers to support students who were attached to their schools in a partnership arrangement. From the point of view of the students, they were apprentice teachers from the beginning of their course, building up a ‘history’ of the classrooms and profiles of the children with whom they worked during block practices. In addition, the host teacher and an assigned teacher educator, together with the student teacher, formed a triad concerned with the nature of the reality that they were experiencing. The tasks were foci of a ‘guided discovery’ strategy.

This may not have favoured some students who were unused to the mechanism of this form of learning. Records of school experience outcome indicates that it became difficult for them to initiate and maintain their own learning with little guidance. This sort of management of knowledge, however, was a purpose of the task-based learning. It was important to identify the steps or phases through which a student passed prior to performing a task if insights in value structures were to be determined. In order to illustrate the importance of cultural capital, the following model was applied:
1. Initiating – identifying how to proceed by
   (a) seeking information and opinions if concepts appeared ‘unreal’;
   (b) checking information and opinions to gain ‘real’ concepts;
2. Orientation – being able to give information and opinion(s) about a concept;
3. Clarifying – checking concept against alternative(s);
4. Norming – identifying values and norms or procedures eg negotiating with
   host teachers to check conceptual and procedural clarity;
5. Performing.

The extent, to which any phase of the task process was necessarily experienced,
had dependence on the level of each student’s previous experience and cultural
capital. Thus the less experienced student needed to spend more time in the
seeking, orientation and norming phases and to recycling when performing was
seen as inappropriate or ineffective by revisiting the clarifying and norming
phases again. It is during the clarifying and norming stages that the students’
knowledge and understanding of values and role expectations, and the willingness
to confront and deal with personal conflict evidently were being developed.
Figure 5.4 illustrates the probable process taking into account the observations
made of the student teacher sample and analyses of their school experience log
entries, made by themselves, University tutors and host teachers.
Figure 5.4

Stages of Task Performance

- **Initiating**
  - Sufficient Cultural Capital / Information?
    - Yes → **Orientation**
    - No → Seek further Information or clarification
  - No → Seek further Information or clarification

- **Orientation**
  - Sufficient Cultural Capital / Information?
    - Yes → **Clarifying**
    - No → Seek further Information or clarification
  - No → Seek further Information or clarification

- **Clarifying**
  - Sufficient Cultural Capital / Information?
    - Yes → **Norming**
    - No → Seek further Information or clarification
  - No → Seek further Information or clarification

- **Norming**
  - Sufficient Cultural Capital / Information?
    - Yes → **Performing**
    - No → Seek further Information or clarification
  - No → Seek further Information or clarification
Returning to the questionnaire requests, the six most mentioned tasks ascribed to teachers from the responses of Group A were:

1. to provide a learning environment
2. plan activities
3. individualise learning
4. meet needs
5. monitor learning and,
6. counsel.

It seems that the respondents, who were in their first year of a four year course, failed to perceive items 2 to 6 as contributing to the provision of a learning environment (item 1). The first four responses were in common with those acquired from Group B, though rank order was different. Classroom management and assessment completed the six most mentioned tasks of Group B. Table 5.10 illustrates the tasks commonly mentioned by both groups as well as the additional tasks attributed to primary teachers by each group. The percentage weighting within groups is provided.
Table 5.7

Tasks of Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Number of Mentions</th>
<th>Group A Sample Size 126</th>
<th>Group B Sample Size 42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Learning Environment</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>51.59</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan Activities</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>48.41</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualise Learning</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet Needs</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring Learning</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19.84</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counsel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.87</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspire/Stimulate</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.08</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control/Discipline</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permit Free Expression</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote Self Esteem</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Involvement</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manage Time and Classroom</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking/Assessment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of all mentions</td>
<td>314</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sample sizes are used as denominators in calculating percentages which measure the importance attached to tasks by students in the sample.
Section 5: Values and Teaching

It is clear that one of the principal purposes of initial teacher education is to prepare students for career-long professional development. The contrasting feature of the two aspects of development is a large component of initial teacher training takes place as a result of experience in schools. It is suggested that all students on the BEd course at Paullon University, entered the first year, ready and willing to conform to the proclaimed aims of higher education and the specific goals of ITE in the Department of Teaching Studies. The data presented in Table 5.8 below suggests that the six most important values to which Group A were prepared to conform were those related to Equality, Professionalism, Child-centredness, Interpersonal Relationships, Empathy and Patience. The values generally supported by Group B respondents were related to Classroom Organisation and Management, Discipline, Honesty, Classroom Ethos, High Expectations and Enjoyment.
### Table 5.8

**Important Values for performance of roles and tasks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values - Number of Mentions</th>
<th>Group A Sample Size 126</th>
<th>Group B Sample Size 42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality/Equal Opportunity</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Centredness</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Personal Relationships</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance and Understanding</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to Communicate</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Expectations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Ethos</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Organisation and Management</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of all mentions</td>
<td>527</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Percentages are calculated by using sample sizes as denominators. Consequently, the percentages reflect the relative important values noted by students in the samples.*

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At first glance, the stated choices of Group A students, reflected observations made during their lengthy schooling, just as Lortie (1975) advised would occur, and as a result of the brief classroom experience which was a prerequisite to entry to ITE at the University. On the other hand, Group B students appeared to feel they must survive by their own efforts and, as Nias (1987:179) would term it, and demonstrated a belief in an occupational ‘rite de passage’.

Respondents were asked to note the six most important values to be held by teachers in order to perform the roles and tasks identified earlier in the survey. It is interesting to note that equality/equal opportunity received the highest number of mentions. A link would seem reasonable with the fact that students were selected because of their convergence with already held institutional values.

Issues relating to equality of opportunity were evident in the general statements set out in the prospectus of the institution. Group B had, not long before the application of the questionnaire, prepared for their final teaching practice, focusing on classroom organisation and management as the most important value for teacher effectiveness.

In order to obtain some indication of how teachers were perceived by both Groups A and B, it is decided to note the values identified alongside the roles and tasks, as indicated in Table 5.9. These ‘profiles’ were developed from the data in which the number of mentions provides the order of priority.
Table 5.9

Values, Roles and Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Values</td>
<td>Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>Agent of Socialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Centredness</td>
<td>Advisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Personal Relationships</td>
<td>Facilitator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>Role Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Carer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The six values in each group give some indication of the value of experiential learning. Group A appeared to present ideals rather than held values. Group B, by contrast, appeared to have come to terms with a pragmatic approach to teaching. These observations coincide with those of Zimpher and Howey (1987) who believed that such values develop as teachers understand themselves as teachers and regard themselves as ‘self actualised’ persons engaged in the development of self awareness and identity formation. Viewed in this way, it is evident that the respondents in Group B appeared to be reflective practitioners in the making. Implicit in the findings is the notion that if student teachers feel that
they must survive by their own efforts, then they must understand fully what values they hold in order to interpret and analyse their teaching and learning.

A brief examination of the values in terms of how they are reflected in the course at Paullon University was undertaken for two reasons:

1. the values of first year students might well conflict with the course content and delivery and the values of the schools in which they practise teaching;
2. conflicts might also be apparent for student teachers later in their training when activating their role perceptions in relation to the values which teachers in schools hold.

Implications for ITE Provision

As indicated in Chapter Four, the Department of Teaching Studies during the research period had policies and practices that emphasised equality of opportunity. For example, there were formal structures:

1. to recruit students from a wide range of backgrounds;
2. for monitoring the ethnicity of students accepted and rejected;
3. to provide resources from a wide range of sources;
4. to appoint a diverse range of staff, both teaching and non-teaching; and
5. to place students in multicultural urban schools.
Moreover, a careful reading of the University’s prospectus would have indicated to all prospective students the idea that equality was an important value. Informally, the organisation and management of workshops and groups promoted good and harmonious race relations. The choices of subjects within the programme caused reflection on their perspectives, content and the multi-ethnic and multicultural nature of society. The current mission statement of PU highlighted equality of opportunity as one of the ‘values’ shared by staff (teaching and non-teaching), governors and students. According to its Green Paper – Strategic Steering Group (1995), ‘over a considerable period of time, the university has developed a reputation as a leader in providing real opportunities in higher education for the widest range of students.’ Equality of opportunity had become an overarching value throughout the university. In particular, previous models of ITE focussed on multiculturalism in which equality of opportunity was an important element. These models were discussed briefly in Chapter One.

The origins of this value position lie in the practice of democratic liberalism. This is not to imply that there was directionless relativism at Paullon. The democratic approach means respect for openness to all cultures, but also challenges all student teachers to undertake cross-cultural dialogue in a continuous co-operative search for understanding of self and others. Particular attention is given to history, language and political systems of various ethnic communities. During the first year, work of the student teachers at Paullon focused on the existence and importance of the distinctive histories, languages and traditions of several ethnic
minorities in Britain. A synthesis of identities could begin in a quest for 'a common framework of values', as Swann in 1985 suggested would be essential.

In a confidential survey, Group B revealed abandonment of the theory and practice of equality of opportunity in favour of classroom organisation and management as the most valued way of becoming a successful teacher. There should be no difficulty in integrating equal opportunity strategies with classroom organisation and management. However, as examples in Chapter Six will illustrate, this seemed to remain no easy task for university staff and students.

The term professionalism has come much more into use since publication of the Education Act of 1988, which highlighted market forces, consumers and producers. The image of teachers as 'gold-collar workers' has become a frequently discussed topic in staffrooms (field notes 2/95, 4/96). Perceived as knowledge brokers, one colleague remarked when referring to the status of teachers:

Professionalism as a term is so important, especially now that teachers are producing knowledge for consumers – parents and their children.

While unions offered guidance about what is professional behaviour, whether all teachers and parents were or are aware of these guidelines is open to question. At Paullon University, professionalism was and still is viewed on a broad spectrum. Ability to promote and maintain a disciplined learning environment was at the
time of the research project given high value. The students in Group B presented **Discipline** as the second most frequently named value. One suspects this was related to classroom organisation and management rather than self-discipline although there is a connection. Learning how to enforce discipline was an integral part of the course. The approach was through behavioural theories, which focused mainly on behaviour modification; a factor not promoted by all teacher education providers. In a plural society, some behaviours which would be inappropriate in the classroom may well be considered appropriate by parents and significant others. This is yet another area of conflict faced by student teachers and those who train them.

Reports from student teachers and the author's observations, reveal that the child-centred approaches advocated by the Plowden Report (1961) appear to have given way in the 1990s to more whole class, subject-orientated teaching. The students in both Groups A and B, however, would probably have experienced versions of child-centred learning.

The respondents in Group B most often noted 'honesty' in third position. Dictionary definitions equate honesty with truthfulness, integrity and an absence of deception and fraud. As so defined, honesty is arguably essential to truth telling. Personal examples of honesty from the student-teacher samples typically focused on incidents laced with hearsay evidence. In Chapter Six it will be shown there was some reliance on additional sources to verify students' stories.
Honesty is a prized value in society. Negative association of intention and character are linked to dishonesty, yet deception is a part of every existence, wearing countless faces, and taking on an endless array of forms and functions. There are many different words and phrases to describe the nuances of how dishonest human beings are. The human capacity for moral understanding is a given, yet dishonesty is practised by failure to speak out, or to ask essential questions and by omission to clarify ‘facts’; or disclose secrets. To behave honestly then, is to seek congruence with a cultural value, however, the seemingly contradictory activities of lying and being honest, are not always ‘opposite’ or discrete.

There are innumerable opportunities for questioning the honesty of students and others. For example, students often face the dilemma of whether or not to disclose that they are students when they teach a class or a group during teaching practices. Yet the pupils generally know that they are not teachers long before they are visited by tutors who supervise their work. Another example, is where host teachers have to make decisions based on their assessment of student teachers’ performance on tasks. Such assessments are difficult to make and justify based on the various roles teachers play. The institution’s ‘Notes for Teachers’ formed a useful guide of competence criteria to highlight the differences between ‘poor’ and ‘excellent’ performance to help host teachers. Failure of host teachers to assess appropriately due to non-admission of either
experience or familiarity with competence criteria, however, on occasion, served to undermine student teachers’ confidence and performance.

That students and most host teachers involved in this investigation were female is perhaps significant in the host teachers’ perception of competence. Criteria for competence attainment probably needed to be quantified along the lines of those set for accreditation of competency-based teacher education awards in the USA. However, gender issues raised by McIntosh (1989:10) serve to remind women that they must keep alive in themselves, ‘...the wise sense of fraudulence that may overtake them in public areas’. Her reasoning is that women and other disempowered groups internalise value systems that tell them they don’t belong in spheres of power or authority. She adds that women want to keep alive their valid sense of fraudulence because it can help them to spot and critique the fraudulence in the roles they are asked to play.

The point is that many teachers are female – so if in order to advance they must engage in a kind of deception, then deception is valued rather than honesty, yet if deemed dishonest, the role of teacher ultimately will be devalued.

McIntosh (1989:10) noted that:

> We feel fraudulent...Partly because we know that usually those who happen to get the high titles and acclaim and the imagery going with them are not ‘the best and the brightest’ and we don’t want to pretend to be either. When we entertain nagging doubts about whether we belong or deserve to be...earning a good salary for what we like to do, we may be deeply wise in feeling anxious and illegitimate and fraudulent in these
circumstances. The public forms and institutions insisting on (best) images, do require fraudulent behaviour of us and they will turn us into frauds if we accept the roles as written.

McIntosh advised recognition that feeling like frauds perpetuates hierarchies, but in trying to find alternative ways of behaving which feel more authentic, there are few opportunities to undermine hierarchies. Observations of individuals demonstrate that the level of underground anxiety or emotional intensity in an environment, determines how much freedom individuals have to express their own truths. When anxiety is high enough, the self does not unfold and concealment is common. Honesty requires restraint, tact and timing.

**Important Values related to Roles and Tasks**

In response to question 11 of the questionnaire (Appendix A) the student teachers as a group:

1. appeared to want to avoid acting amorally and nihilistically
2. no longer accepted patronising or guilt pronouncements about the ‘good’ teacher
3. accepted the suspect status of those who seek to treat them as ‘gold-collar’ workers selling knowledge.
The value sets traditionally held by teachers were modified by the students before acceptance. These predominant theories related to ‘competent’ teachers and how they were seen to conduct themselves.

In Chapter Two, teaching was described as an interpersonal activity. In highlighting qualitative interpersonal relationships as a value for ‘good’ teaching the respondents in Group A seemed to endorse Friere’s (1972) view of a dialectical relation between teacher and pupils. Of course this is the author’s construct, based on the coding through which the value was conceived. Examples of valued interpersonal relationships given by the student teachers were:

- to give and receive respect (A97F)
- openness to constructive criticism (A54F)
- open to ideas; team work with children (A86F)
- to build a good relationship with the children (A74F)

Knowledge under these conditions seemed to be socially constructed.

These ideas do not sit easily with the conservative focus within the structure and content of the National Curriculum. Personal conflicts were inevitable for students who valued these ideals in their interpersonal relationships, as ‘training’ promoted good interpersonal relationships as a theory, but the reality to some
extent mitigated against the practice. The question arises as to who is included and who is excluded in a relationship and why.

Classroom ethos was one of the values upheld by Group B students. It seemed to be a concomitant of classroom organisation, management and discipline. Examples of statements suggesting classroom ethos were:

- clean classroom and fair rules. B5F
- fair treatment and a sense of discipline. B12F
- assessing situations quickly. B31F

Since some students ‘fail because they cannot control the class’, it was perhaps a voiced expectation that classroom ethos should appear as a value rather than a firmly held belief.

Empathy and Patience formed the last two values considered essential by Group A. Generally speaking these are dispositions – that is intentional actions that require some attention to what is happening in the classroom. High expectations and enjoyment are also generally regarded in the literature as dispositions. Specifically they are what Katz and Raths (1982) call ‘habits of mind’ that give rise to the employment of skills and are manifested in skilful behaviour. As a participant-observer, the author was consistently aware that through work on motivation, student teachers learn about dispositions and often are able to discuss
theories about qualities of the good teacher. They may only pay lip service to a value whilst retaining an internal mind-set which is contrary. Why else would observational analysis reveal a quantity of teachers with viperous tongues, emotionally-abusing sarcasm and denigration and other manifestations of loss of patience and certainly an absence of empathy? Perhaps values cannot always be expected to match with practices in stress-laden, unpredictable environments.

The responses on these values indicated that respondents in both Groups A and B:

...reveal and justify from [their] own viewpoints what they believe and value.....to transcend the limitations and restrictions of [their] social conditioning and common-sense (MacDonald 1988:163 cited in Smyth 1991:72)

Group work with students in both groups initiated by the author during the research period provided additional data, which was used to test the 'reliability of statements'. By translating the six most important values noted in the data with the additional material, two images of teachers were constructed with 'valued profiles'.

Group A's teacher:

- promotes and develops equality of opportunity in all areas of the curriculum
- has a core of professional skills which goes beyond transmission of the curriculum
- is mainly concerned about individual learners and has the ability to respond to their needs
- has the personal quality of patience which facilitates relationships and learning
supports empathy

Group B’s teacher:

- is concerned with classroom organisation and management with a view to producing a healthy ethos
- has high expectations of the class
- promotes enjoyment of schooling
- can enforce discipline
- is committed to honesty

Positive versus Negative Values

The idea of presenting values which respondents would perceive as positive to their development as teachers (Question 12) provided an opportunity to revisit their statements about themselves, when at the interview stage. Some very interesting values/comments were noted. Some examples of positive and negative values from each of the Groups are presented in Table 5.10. These are only representative of a gamut of positive and negative values from the questionnaires.
**Table 5.10**

**Positive and Negative Values**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Positive Values</th>
<th>Negative Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A78F</td>
<td>I believe that I am a very patient person. I think that I am a good listener as</td>
<td>I'm not very organised and can be quite scatty at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this is vital to know what children do and do not understand. I think that I am</td>
<td>times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quite active and energetic and hopefully I will go on to enjoy the teaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>profession.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A128F</td>
<td>I believe that I am non-judgmental. I respect the wishes and values of others.</td>
<td>I tend to underachieve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A83F</td>
<td>I take an instant liking to some children and I will have to be careful not to</td>
<td>I especially favour bright or intelligent children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>show any favouritism.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A75F</td>
<td>I believe that I am caring, flexible, adaptable and open-minded, as well as</td>
<td>I don’t believe in testing. I have radical views.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>being committed to my course.</td>
<td>I don’t agree with current school practices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that respondents took the opportunity of using the available blank space reserved for their answers. On hindsight small boxes appropriately used, for the previous questions would have sufficed and would have helped respondents to be more concise than they were. 80% of those who responded repeated the information they supplied under the heading of values held by teachers. In this way the answer generally was translated into a personal description. Values given as positive were:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Understanding Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidentiality</td>
<td>Working in a team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturity</td>
<td>Open-mindedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>Enthusiasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity</td>
<td>Willingness to Educate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was general resistance to noting negative values as was required in answer to question 13 of the questionnaire. Of a total of 168 respondents there were 36 (23%) answers. Typical of Group A was the following:

At the current moment I don’t know enough as I am just beginning the course (A129F)

Representative of comments which demonstrated individualistic thought and in a bizarre way revealed value positions for successful teaching were:

- Don’t believe in testing. I have radical views. Don’t agree with current school practices (A75F)
- Tendency to lack confidence at times (especially at this early stage) sometimes a short temper (A84F)
- A lack of confidence in myself (B3F)
- Perhaps too high expectations from a moralistic point of view (A20F)
- Lack of discipline (A91F)
- Christian – not in accordance with general world views
- Only know one method of teaching (A99M)
• I am occasionally irrational or immature. I am intolerant of those who moan or complain for absolutely no reason except to gain sympathy (A117M)

• That children must be busy the whole time they are in the classroom. I realise now that being busy does not equate with learning but find it hard to shake off the notion of industriousness. This is a value that has been instilled in me from an early age (B18F)

• Impatience (occasionally) (A23F)

If nothing else, the questionnaire appeared to be a therapeutic exercise. It provided an outlet for individual anxieties and positions, which could be detrimental to the student teachers’ realisation of career aspirations if made overt.

**Ways to develop a common set of values through a BEd course**

A reference to shared values in the Swann Report (1985) provides the stimulus for the assumption that a degree of consensus must be achieved through ITE if student teachers are to become valued teachers in British society. Haydon (1987) suggests that a common set of values rely on compromise and negotiation – two factors, which were ignored in the formulation of a National Curriculum. Indeed, the frameworks for teacher education courses, in the Circulars 14/93 and 10/97, and 4/98 advocate emphasis on roles and tasks, through which social values could be better transmitted to future citizens.

The idea of articulating those values, which are central to teacher education, is clearly made. In practice, student teachers are to be introduced to the main traditions of educational thought and develop their value sets among and within
the academic and school experiences. Thus far, it is more than an assumption that, if teacher educators are to enable future teachers to make wise decisions and give good reasons for their professional actions, then inspection of all personal values should occur. It is expected by government and the profession of teachers that teacher educators will provide the best statements of how a BEd course can/should help student teachers to develop a common approved set of albeit at times unconscious values. The teacher educators at Paullon University were, at pains to determine values through discussions with each other, student teachers and teachers in classrooms. This grassroots approach proved to be an invaluable means of airing ideas instead of replicating and echoing validated prescribed elements which traditionally form the curriculum in ITE. This research allowed prospective teachers to bring freshness to value setting in respect of teacher effectiveness. When student teachers have forgotten many of the facts they learned at Paullon University, they will still remember the value-laden impressions, which will become part of their personal value system.

During the project period, the findings from engagements with students were reported to the Paullon tutors. Their reactions frequently were of surprise at the perceptions of the students, especially about staff impact on value formation and, perhaps more importantly, the experiences of conflict reported by the students to have occurred in schools. The reporting by the author raised awareness to a degree that has influenced interactions in the monitoring of students’ experience in schools. Great care was envisaged as necessary in course planning and
delivery to ensure that value positions are more sensitively and thoughtfully presented. Staff appeared to be becoming more aware of the value-laden nature of their work with intending teachers.

Important to this work was to determine how values were formed and to what extent they had to be imposed by the ITE providers. Sixty eight percent (68%) of respondents in Group A and sixty five percent (65%) in Group B answered question 14 which asked them how a BEd course could help bring students to a common set of values. What was not asked was should this be an ideal. The implication of the question was that this was regarded as essential; it was, in hindsight, seen as a leading question. Judging from the number who ignored the question due to ‘lack of knowledge’ the question was poorly conceived and received. Typical of this response from Group A was:

I have not been a teacher and don’t know what a BEd course does yet (A38F)

In contrast to this lack of knowledge was a positive informed optimistic answer:

On a course which is so strong on equal opportunities and racial policies, a common set of values and respect for all others will develop. (A21F)

Twelve respondents in Group A opted for ‘group discussions, ‘lectures’, ‘good background support and tutoring’ and ‘to learn what teaching is about and what it
entails...to help students to act professionally, and be positive in helping them how to teach.’

The answers from Group B ranged widely from promotion of in-depth discussion about the role of schools (B37F), to debate about the term ‘values’ (B10F) and a plea that the issue of values should be addressed (B16F) more effectively in course delivery. The latter view was supplemented by suggestion that opportunities for clarification of the term could be provided through ‘peer group meetings’, ‘theoretical expositions’, ‘education research’ (B37F, B33F, B34F, B8F, B5F) and during block practices (B11F, B31F).

There was evidence of a strong desire for clarification in the responses which suggested that ‘clear guidelines to moral/social expectations and requirements in the classroom’ be given (B24F) so that students would know ‘what was appropriate from lecturers’ (B33F). A list of mandatory values to be upheld was the request of one student (B26F). The promotion of health education with particular reference to choice and empowerment (B12F) and also of ‘talk that initiates (student) teachers to think about why they want to teach’ (B37F) were interesting suggestions, as was the request for practical guidance on equal opportunity policy application. B37F also suggested values bound to culture, class and ethnicity should be made explicit to teacher students if they are to have any possibility of understanding equality of opportunity ideals, when applied to educational situations.
However, the majority of respondents believed that it is impossible to develop a common set of values. The explanations corresponded with the opinion of B17F:

I don’t see how this can be successfully achieved as everyone has their own values, with valid reasons as to why they hold them. (B17F)

Particularly relevant is the answer typically received by the sample, which states: ‘Nobody has the moral high ground – how can any group feel they have’.

Given the diversity of the student teacher population, it was reasonable to assume that a range of student values would be shown. Some scepticism about the difficulty of choosing from the range of values in society was expressed. The prevailing attitude of sceptics in the sample was to draw attention to the plural nature of the society by noting that:

- A good course should open students’ minds and help them to become aware of other, perhaps conflicting values. I am not sure that homogenisation of values should take place. (A28F)

- Because the students (and) lecturers bring to the BEd course, diverse beliefs and values which they have already been socialised into and onto firmly, I believe it will be nearly impossible to develop a common set of values (B32F)

- I am not comfortable with the idea of ‘a common set of values’ – I don’t see how you can have identikit values. Such a notion I feel, would mean that students might have values forced upon them that they neither believe in or care for and that have no meaning for them. If values are something you grow up in and have established by the time you are 18 say, what can any BEd do to alter them? Nobody has the moral high ground – how can any group feel they have? B18F)
What is denied, is that assessment procedures motivate convergence towards commonly held values. The sanctions for non-compliance and divergence from certain values are prohibitive. The prospective teacher is 'failed' and remains outside the profession while non-acceptable values are maintained.

Less prescriptive but equally valid were the responses of the sample of students who focused on 'the setting of example', by lecturers to student teachers. The form and level of values of the institution were seen as recognisable and discernible through what were regarded as 'good school placements'. The encouragement of 'a broad humanist view' (A28F) and 'showing how a fall in values has affected the education of our children' (B38F) can possibly be linked to 'the opportunity to discuss their beliefs and values and provide a safe environment to challenge others points of view' (A64F).

Two answers advising on values which should be common to teachers were particularly illuminating:

To promote the teaching of health education with particular reference to empowerment and choice (B12F).

Should be more feedback on block practice experiences; should be more invited lecturers to give account of real life experiences. There are negative attitudes re teaching (B40F).

But value transference whether commonly or particularly desirable, as student B18F intimated, is difficult to effect. Resistance by learners can be conscious or unconscious.
There is a whole range of factors militating against student teachers adopting an adequate framework for teaching. Students illustrated that there is a loosely related range of licensed avoidance tactics which effectively marginalise both debates on values *per se* and student teachers forming their own appropriate value positions. Student B34F straightforwardly advised that values are 'individual and private' and halted further investigation into her position. Opinionatedly B37F made clear: 'I believe I know what is right and wrong', and at that point denied further access to personal opinion.

**Difficulties**

Question 15.1 asked the student samples to identify the items that caused them most difficulty in response. Their answers are set out in Table 5.11
### Table 5.11

**Most Difficult Items**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficult Items</th>
<th>No of Mentions</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Combined Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>Group A and B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sample Size: 126</td>
<td>Sample Size: 42</td>
<td>Combined Samples: 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roles and Tasks</td>
<td>46 (36.5%)</td>
<td>11 (26.19%)</td>
<td>57 (33.92%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Values</td>
<td>24 (19.04%)</td>
<td>6 (14.28%)</td>
<td>30 (17.85%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Values</td>
<td>15 (11.9%)</td>
<td>3 (7.14%)</td>
<td>18 (10.71%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Values</td>
<td>24 (19.04%)</td>
<td>5 (11.9%)</td>
<td>29 (17.26%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences on schooling</td>
<td>4^3 (.17%)</td>
<td>2 (4.76%)</td>
<td>6 (3.57%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of the term ‘values’</td>
<td>20 (15.87%)</td>
<td>1 (2.38%)</td>
<td>21 (12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal for a common set of values</td>
<td>15 (11.9%)</td>
<td>2 (4.76%)</td>
<td>17 (10.11%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Responses</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Percentages are derived by using sample sizes as denominators. Using sample sizes as denominators generates percentages, which show the relative difficulties faced by students.

Aggregating the responses of Groups A and B, the areas which caused difficulties, in descending order were namely, identifying Roles and Tasks, and Important Values.

Reasons for difficulty with identifying roles and tasks were represented in the statements of:

- **A128F:** It required a lot of time to think carefully about what I wanted to write.
- **A16F:** I have never considered values before. I have always wanted to be a teacher as it has been something inside of
me that I have never had to think about — it just seemed a natural progression for me.

B39F: Although we refer to roles and tasks everyday we don’t focus on them thoroughly.

A60F: I found it difficult to differentiate between a role and a task.

Having had difficulty identifying the roles and tasks which teachers perform, it was inevitable that important values which may be attached to them were also difficult to define. One respondent B2F explained:

The question of values within teaching is extremely difficult to discuss especially at this time. I think that teachers are not valued or understood by society. Therefore it is difficult to determine current values either of teachers in general or those values which are perceived by society to be important, negative or positive.

Conclusions

Among the absent themes in students’ perceptions of teachers’ roles was that of co-ordinator. Respondents in Group B, as experienced students, would have been introduced to the idea of a co-ordinator’s role. One student B1F alluded to the role by acknowledging that some teachers were required:

‘to provide advice and support or to take over some of the teaching part of the curriculum’

As no respondents would have the opportunity to experience the role before employment as a qualified teacher, this feature was hardly surprising. The need
to understand the role, however, might have stimulated a higher response than occurred.

That the data did not reveal 'effective communication' among the most frequently mentioned values, was quite revealing and disturbing. Perhaps it is taken as a given by most respondents.

In summary, the questionnaire analysis leads to assertions that:

- the plurality of definitions have not necessarily made for universality. Lack of clarity and consensus about what is meant by the term 'values' reflect shifts in the power, class and labour relationships in society as well as its diversity.

- the needs and fears of student teachers affected basic assumptions about the reasons for the questionnaire and requests for their opinions. It did not seem rational that fears about lack of knowledge about values would arise considering that anonymity was assured. The topic was considered sensitive, even attacking, by some students. Advice on research methods rarely mentions that some respondents would withhold information that is perceived as threatening to their successful completion of the course, yet this happened. The view that was conveyed by Group B students to tutors were that they 'felt threatened' and articulate the fear of possible reprisals which could affect satisfactory progress towards qualified teacher status. The fear was irrational
and untested against realities but was, nevertheless, potent in inhibiting the students' co-operation.

- the values of Group B were also probably motivated by professional self-interest because of real or imaged threats to their entitlement to competency-based ITE which was not in evidence when they commenced their course.

- the absence of equality in the list of important values in Group B was revealing in an institution in which equality is the most frequently mentioned value. It was perhaps assimilated to the extent that as a natural operational part of their work it was ignored or dismissed.

- social desirability may have played a greater role in the answers given by Group B than Group A. The difficulties faced by Group A were no less real. One respondent summed up her position:

  I thought all the sections concerning values were particularly difficult to answer, because of having not actually started the course yet I am not really clear in my mind what my values as a teacher are going to be (A18F).

- the values chosen had a 'certainty' element in that they generally are part of the role expectations of teachers. In this way they reflected the values of the profession. In this respect the findings are similar to Lortie's (1975) views on the socialisation of teachers.
• the sum total of practice-based values are contextual and relate meaningfully
  with other variables like motivation which direct student teachers towards
  compliance with the norms of the teaching profession.

Deconstructing the dominant 'image' of a teacher could perhaps start with a
search for an integrated system of basic professional values from the wide range
offered by the respondents in both groups and data collected from practising
teachers and teacher educators. The consumers of education also should
contribute in order to reduce the conflicting roles that already are and which are
likely to emerge.
CHAPTER 6
CONFLICT IN INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION

The purpose of this chapter is to give accounts of and analyse conflicts that student teachers face in the initial teacher education process. It is not enough to assume their inevitability; it is important to understand the conditions which produce these conflict situations in order to address them through improved policies and practices where appropriate. The author assumes that the training institution is rational and staffed by rational people who set justifiable goals that are administered through problem-solving and decision-making processes. What is understated, however, is that the institution also manages a script constructed by its key actors within a structured dialectic. The structure is the set of values often referred to as shared core values or ethos which influence the training institution’s decision-making as well as its response to rapidly changing social conditions and immediate crises. The practices and policies described in Chapter Four operated at a particular period in the history of the Department of Teaching Studies at Paullon University.

The beginning of this chapter reports some institutional conflicts that characterised and contributed to that script. Weick (1979:8) argued that scripts vary from time to time being subject to 1) numerous criteria, written and unwritten and 2) selection variation and retention of policies. He added that
variations were generated, tested and labelled as justifiable or rational. Retention of policies he postulated:

- opposed variations, so that, in fact, the mechanisms in the institution curb change, and
- contained the scaffolding of structure as each stage or phase of a policy as it evolved.

What Weick did not address was the selection or formulation of policies. It seems that this phase is equally important for the 'actors' in any training institution.

The development of any social policy initiative can be explained in various ways, depending upon the purposes of the commentators, the level of generality and the particular aspects chosen for emphasis. Despite this diversity, there appear to be certain characteristics and commonly held assumptions. Some policy initiatives have emerged because of either a consensus of opinion, or of an interest group (for example the 'New Right' group). Others developed around a particular proposal for reform, or because it was functionally prudent to achieve certain objectives deemed necessary by a Government. Any Government formulating new social policies is unlikely to do so without what could be termed, a minimum winning consensus. At the very least, it must manage
opposition and secure acquiescence of the policy to be effective. The social policy reform or change may be the outcome of a struggle involving the exercise of power and making and breaking of alliances.

Social policy legislation has its unintended, as well intended outcomes. This point is of crucial significance because any change in social policy will inevitably increase the welfare of one individual or group, and may reduce the welfare of another. Welfare policies can thus create both satisfactions and discontents. Practically everyone accepts the proposition that a policy change that harms no one, and improves the lot of some people, is an improvement. If a change of policy benefits one group of people and harms another group, this criterion is not applicable. A situation is efficient, or Pareto optimal, if it is impossible to make one person 'better off' except by making someone else 'worse off'. Conflict often can be the inevitable outcome of policy changes. In January 1992, in response to the then Minister of Education's speech about the proposed reforms in teacher education, Paullon University's Deans' memorandum was particularly encouraging in making clear that the Department of Teaching Studies was 'already in the vanguard' with special reference to school-based learning. This euphoria was short-lived. The Dean stressed that developments 'already in train' were to be reviewed. Of particular importance were:

- development of strong links with local schools and the growth of in-service work;
• staff development on competences and profiling;

• a new BEd (Primary) Course;

• development of an Early Years Scheme as a modular programme and undergraduate programmes in Education on a part-time basis which could provide a foundation for a new style PGCE;

• the expansion of courses to ensure the maintenance of the department as a viable partner for the partnership scheme with schools.

The variety of tasks to be undertaken was overwhelming. Effective supervision of students was a priority as it affected the department’s image and ethos. Consequently, recruitment might suffer. However:

(a) the school population was decreasing and fewer students could be placed in any one school – therefore students and teacher educators had to travel further afield to undertake their work, a factor involving time and finance;

(b) the number of students per teacher educator had increased from, for example, 8 in two schools in 1992 to 12 in five schools in 1996;

(c) neighbouring educational institutions began to pilot school-based courses so the geographical area for placements was widened because schools were smaller ((a) above) and more training institutions were competing for placements in what came to be a ‘saturated area’.
The author concludes from analyses of some of the identified conflicts within training institutions that conflict is inevitable within ITE. The conflicts give direction to the work of both teacher educators and student teachers and cannot be separated from the wider world of the education system. Some issues, which impinged upon the relationship between student teachers and their educators in the Department of Teaching Studies, are discussed. This is followed by accounts and analyses of student teachers' conflicts gleaned from interviews between April 1995 and July 1996.

Issues

1. OFSTED inspections

With the advent of OFSTED, inspections of ITE programmes have increased. Two examples of the mechanism at work, provide evidence of its limitations at a practical level:

(1) The OFSTED framework allows inspection teams to criticise the way training institutions manage the resources they are given, but gives inspectors no opportunity to criticise the level of funding, or support.

(2) OFSTED reports highlight key issues for training institutions, but make no reference to key issues for the State.
The paradox is that nominally independent inspection teams are so constrained by governmentally-imposed structures such as the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) and the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) that they are unable to make any analysis of the system. Thus their observations are selectively interpreted by an overtly political machine, which focuses on symptoms rather than the (educational) values which underlie (educational) actions.

If previous as well as present models of initial teacher education, required student teachers to develop 'a common framework of values', OFSTED would inspect the efficiency of institutions in instilling these values, but it would never question the morality or the educational value of doing so. It has no mechanisms to enable such analysis. The achievements of student teachers are not reliable measures on which to compare training institutions or teacher educators, as is the case in OFSTED inspections. At any given time, a constellation of influences bears upon students' success in cognitive learning. According to Rogers (1964:8), organised valuing undertaken by all individuals to achieve effective self-enhancement, outweighs the efforts of the training institution. Thus responsibility for learning rests with the student.
2. Funding

In 1988, the polytechnics and major colleges of higher education were granted corporate status, effectively removing them from the control of local education authorities. At the same time, the Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Committee (PCFC) was established in order to allocate Government funds across the sector.

By granting each institution 95% of its previous funding allocation and inviting it to 'bid' for the deficit, in competition with other institutions, tensions mounted as teacher educators struggled to get their bids right. In a study made by Pratt and Hillier (1991), they concluded that getting the bid right was a matter of ongoing concern affecting all staff. 'Rightness' was an elusive and dynamic concept, influenced by the contemporary whim or need of external assessors. The parameters were never clear.

As members of the Academic Board of Paullon University were the most informed members of staff, this small group made key decisions about recruitment of students for ITE. Some information was passed along the line to other teacher educators, but in the main, the 'knowledge' remained within the managerial group. This is not to say that most of the teacher educators were neutral or apolitical. The pressures for debate and discussion depended on the issues at hand. When it was perceived that matters appeared to be outside the
institution’s control, then debate was limited. One such example of a policy issue outside the institution’s control, was the bidding system which had effectively reduced the delivery of ITE to that of a market exchange – payment for a product.

3. Increased workload

The entrepreneurial thrust of the bidding policy was very successful leading to an increase in the numbers of students offered places in the University including those for initial teacher education. The expansion of the University increased the workload of all teaching and administrative staff. Staffing levels also increased, but wide variations in negotiated conditions brought about new contracts in the PCFC sector (1992). The teacher educators in the Department of Teaching Studies reviewed their roles and tasks. For example, the focus on character formation in schools during the mid-1960s had been translated into institutional values, that is, ‘concerns for individuals’ and the ‘importance of personal growth’. The intention was to provide students with examples of how they might model their teaching in the future. To this end, one of the practical solutions was the careful allocation of personal tutors with a view to providing students with advice and guidance on a range of personal support issues.

Different practical solutions were needed in the mid-1990s to achieve the same values which contributed to the ethos of the department despite the original
intentions. Teacher educators had more students than previously and even among those who were reconciled to the expansion and the importance of 'pastoral' care, seeing everyone who needed help added several hours to the working week. Additionally, indicators such as class contact hours, 'jobs below the line'\(^2\) and research opportunities were giving rise to questions about accountability and role diffusion. With reference to the personal tutor scheme, the Academic Board provided a 'guidance' map for the use of teacher educators. The Student Guidance Policy Statement of Paullon University to teacher educators was specific:

Teaching staff will not take on pastoral responsibilities, however, it is recognised that students may contact their academic tutors in the first instance. Academic tutors will refer students to the appropriate source for support and guidance using the (Guidance Map 1996 para 1.3)

4. Admissions

A team of people were needed to arrange interviews, examine documentation and mark scripts. Individual teacher educators were hard pressed to interview the increased number of applicants. Various strategies were used to provide incentives for this work but it was a quota system that was adopted without much conflict and difficulty that contributed to a reduction in the workload. The admissions' policy of the Department of Teaching Studies was gently overhauled but neither time nor energy was available to teacher educators, either collectively or individually, to assess the worth of the revised policy. The Recruiting Officer (1994) summarised the change as follows:
1. We no longer automatically call all eligible candidates for interview. We now concentrate on those who demonstrate a marked preference for inner-city institutions, and some awareness, however slight, of multicultural and equal opportunities perspectives. It is too early yet to see how this translates into candidates who actually arrive for interview. Hopefully, there will be some lessening of the load.

2. We have replaced the group activity by one that is purely an ice-breaker, and it is not observed or assessed by tutors. This removes some of the stress, which was felt disproportionately by some groups of candidates. It also means we no longer need to staff the group actively.

2. Partnerships with schools

There is evidence in the minutes of Course Team Meetings of increased conflict emerging and based on assessment and performance of schools and students once ‘partnerships’ were introduced by the Department in a pilot scheme undertaken between 1993-94.

Plans for encouraging teachers to work with teacher educators more effectively crystallised into an Associate Tutor Scheme. This formal statement of purpose of the Associate Tutor Scheme is taken from an ‘advertisement’ to schools in 1994/5.

.....the schools will be a valuable and mutually beneficial contribution to the development of school-based teacher education and pave the way for more substantial partnerships with our placement schools in the future.
According to the Associate Tutor Scheme at PU, teachers were expected to undertake some teaching at the University primarily to BEd students, as well as tutor and supervise four students in their own schools.

The transition from one role to another, both to accommodate personal preferences and the best interest of teachers, should be possible many times during a career, and be a matter of choice rather than imposition from the State.

Working with teachers closely, soon indicated that teacher educators were not well understood by teachers in schools and this misunderstanding led to further confusion as partnership plans advanced. Postman’s (1979: 13-14) observations came to mind:

> The classroom is not a place of simple teacher/student interaction….It is a place in which the claims of various political, social and economic interests are negotiated. The classroom is both a symbol and a product of deadly serious cultural bargaining.

A summary of information from the minutes of Course Team Meetings indicated that bargaining was very much in evidence, when trying to establish harmonious relationships between the DTS and partnership schools. Teacher educators relied on their personal judgements, long association with some schools, knowledge of the Department’s Equal Opportunities policy and the education system. Their experiences were reflected in a HMI Report (1996:5) which found
that pilot partnerships were fragile structures based on the 'goodwill of
untrained, unaccountable, unrewarded, overly busy classroom teachers'.

It was particularly relevant for all concerned to understand that individual
universities do not have the resources to satisfy the claims of every student.
Consequently, there is a danger of the privileging of students who are perceived
as possessing the appropriate cultural capital, necessary for initial teacher
education. There is nothing in the philosophy of the academic market to suggest
that this is undesirable, but allowing such privilege conflicted with the
University's equal opportunity policy. Furthermore, in emphasising the need for
a clear policy on school placement one proposal from the staff meeting of 12/93
stated:

Building personal contracts with schools is essential so that tutors and
teachers are giving consistent messages to students and having a dialogue
about those messages. It would also mean better maintenance of
school/university relations and securing further placements for the future.

3. Placement and supervision of students

A further source of conflict, mainly due to the expansion, was the supervision of
increased numbers of students on teaching practices. The Department had
anticipated the demand for increased school-based work. In addition to teaching
on courses, based on educational issues, some teacher educators were also
school tutors who provided guidance and support for groups of students in
schools during serial and block teaching practices. In order to manage large
groups of students in schools and to prepare for partnerships, between the
Department and schools, questions about student-tutor relationships occupied a
place high on the educational and departmental staff agenda. There has been
little in the way of theoretically informed analyses of interactions between forms
of school participation and the process of ITE. This is hardly surprising.
Student teachers have always undertaken teaching practices in schools.
However, teacher educators, during their visits to supervise student teachers,
noted aspects of classroom policies and practices which were likely to have
implications for their students.

There were both negative and positive models for students. For example, on the
negative side, there were difficulties if the schools were over-committed and
students were allowed little opportunity to practise because they were placed at
the end of the queue of students. On the positive side, students often were ably
supported and tutored by teachers who were committed to mentoring.
Negotiating with schools has become a conflictual issue as the competition for
‘good’ schools in a highly saturated geographical area became intense. In the
circumstances neither teacher educators nor the Department of Teaching Studies
were able or willing to ‘bounce’ schools which failed to demonstrate their ability
to offer a good model of equal opportunity policy and classroom practice.
4. Task-based learning

Previous to this period of expansion, staff were proud of their vision of school-based learning in which students were set specific tasks through which they gained valuable insights about negotiations with teachers, the world of the teacher, classroom routines and practices and school policies and practices.

The terms 'school-based' and 'school-focussed' have come into use to synonymously describe attempts to find professional practical relevance in ITE courses. However, it is possible to make a distinction between the two terms. A wide variety of activities might be school-based in a purely geographical sense. School-focussed courses might well be conducted away from the school setting.

Important to note is that the growth and development of school-based and school-focussed work, has introduced new currencies of exchange between schools, teacher educators and student teachers. It has stimulated re-negotiation of roles and powers in the initial teacher education process. The danger must be acknowledged that the relative value of higher education and school roles could become unbalanced in the fervour of over-emphasising the importance of school-based experiences in ITE. As we move towards the new millennium, the role of schools in the process has become increasingly valued in some quarters; school-focussed learning is increasingly devalued. Both are recognised here as essential and valuable.
Theory and Practice

The pace at which students advance relies upon the choices they make from what is on offer and how they deal with those choices. The latter is determined by the students' worldviews about teaching, which is part of their cultural capital. The problem for the student teachers is how to organise an appropriate personal agenda upon which to focus energies to arrive at the best possible outcomes. The learning and teaching context in higher educational institutions present student teachers with a complex set of internal forces which can legitimately be classified as conflicts, in that there is a difference between what is desired and what ought to be done. For example, internal forces may include class, ethnicity, gender, schooling, beliefs about teaching and learning and the values constructed from these beliefs. External forces, including pressure groups within the State and more particularly OFSTED, are evident in their influence on the training institutions, policies and practices which dictate the role of teachers, the best method of educating them for that role, criteria for the selection of students, course content and delivery. Faced with innumerable opportunities in which informed choices have to be made, some student teachers, sometimes out of ignorance about the ethical and moral concerns and the complexities of learning and teaching, consciously or unconsciously, construct difficult paths for themselves. Bartlett (1932:32) suggested that the significance of, and the extent to which forces merge and separate in student teachers' lives, are dependent upon previous learning experiences in which making sense of complex
technological changing environments, function as a unified and active organisation of 'coming to know'.

**Student Teachers 'Coming to Know'**

Taking into account that student teachers probably will have gained beliefs about teaching through schooling (Lortie 1975), informal observations of others and folklore (mainly folk tales, proverbs and literature), it is evident that at least some sections of the course work of initial teacher education should explicitly challenge their beliefs. However, some of these beliefs will have hardened into self-sufficient ends, which are strongly desired, because they give satisfaction; that is, they become values. It is evident from the reported outcomes of the questionnaires delivered to Paillon undergraduates that student teachers have as many varieties of reality and illusion as there are students. They possess different kinds of prior beliefs and values and may respond to courses in different ways depending upon the use of their cultural capital in developing personal theories about professional practice. Teaching is not an autonomous profession; indeed the interpersonal zones of practice are now thought to be much larger than originally assumed *a priori* reasoning.

These observations suggest that personal competence is important as an enabling element in interacting effectively with the environment or in putting into operation a desire for knowledge with which to perform effectively in one's
personal and professional environment. According to White (1959:329), the desire to acquire competence is as powerful a motivating factor in human behaviour as the desire to assert or display it; achievement of personal competence needs to be continuously reviewed. In particular, it is in relation to notions of competence and achievement, that student teachers are judged to be 'unsuited to teaching', 'very good with children', 'all practice and no theory', 'a good student' and so on.

So far the focus is on a rational cognitive-action view of student behaviour. As rational people, students will, it is assumed, actively try to behave in line with an ideal of, 'a good student' or 'a good teacher' as the case may be. However, the question arises as to what occurs when student teachers find themselves in situations where they are in opposition to actions, statements, theories, beliefs and/or values in the environment. The sources of these conflicts vary but are inevitable because of the complex nature of ITE and the separate histories, strengths and concerns of students on the course. Individual students have their own ideal learning patterns and need to adapt, adopt and/or devise survival strategies in order to complete the course successfully. The alternative is failure.

In the following section the concept of conflict is discussed and emphasis is given to the ways in which student teachers at Paulon University approached and resolved conflicts.
The Concept of Conflict

Conflict inherently involves two sides. There seem to be four primitive responses to conflict, according to Bion (1961:51-52). One may fight, give up and surrender to the other's wishes, run away or stay still, frozen and immobilised. Animals show the same four basic non-verbal responses to conflict situations. Fortunately, the unique human medium of language offers a fifth option, problem-solving. Talking through the dilemma can broaden the range of potential solutions and raise possibilities that could satisfy both parties. The option of exploring concerns and finding mutually agreeable solutions does not exist in a non-verbal world. In a verbal world, all five options become available and can be enacted via words as well as by physical actions. In the literature of political negotiation, these five responses to controversy are defined by Pruitt and Rubin (1986:15-17) as contending, yielding, withdrawing, inaction and joint problem-solving. Fight, submission, flight and immobilisation can also be used as interpersonal strategies. Whether their use is considered normal or dysfunctional depends on the extent to which the strategies enhance or impair problem-solving, enhance or impair the relationship and involve a loss of reality-testing.

Assessing Students' Knowledge about Self-Perceived Conflicts

In order to establish the self-perceived conflicts with institutional and/or personal values, interviews were undertaken with 16 students drawn randomly from
volunteers from three year groups. They were each asked to tell a ‘story’ about matters that stimulated conflict. The pseudonyms chosen by the ‘story’ tellers were as follows:

* Diana Wise
* Stacey Greene
* Rose Mundama
* Cecilia Alberto
* Nina Mears
* Monica Rayburn
* Carrie May
* Trudi Cray

* Maddie Joyce
* Gemma Walsh
* Maggy Moore
* Ada James
* Angela Rice
* Santa Kee
* Gay Hector
* Sandy Knight

It is interesting that students spent considerable time on this as though the fictitious name gave an identity with their value position whilst ensuring concealment of actual identity. The names to some extent stereotypically reveal nationality, ethnicity, faith perspective and character rather as would the names of characters in a theatrical play.

**Characteristics of Student Teachers**

As a group, the 16 students whose stories are discussed below share two commonalities:
1) They are all women. No men volunteered to be interviewed. Since the statistical ratio of women to men enrolled on ITE at Paullon University is 14 to 1 the sample composition is not surprising, but it does skew any results in favour of knowledge about female primary teachers. No assumptions can be derived about men undertaking the same courses.

2) The interviewees all described themselves as working class. Two students were in the 18-25 age group, eleven were in the 26-35 age group and three were over 35 years of age. In terms of ethnicity 9 of the 16 students were black. Four of the 16 withdrew or dropped out of college studies, and therefore from teacher education. Two of the four students withdrew in Year 3 and two in Year One. It is coincidental that 9 of the 16 strong sample were Year One students, 3 were Year 3 and 4 were Year 4 students. Year Two students were on specialist subject-related studies with other Departments at the commencement of the investigation hence their absence from the sample subjects.

Rationale

It was anticipated at the outset of the 'story' collection that from the 'stories' some valuable insights would be gleaned into the reasons why some student teachers held distinct value-laden ideas about the sort of person a 'good teacher' should be. The ways in which the personal experiences of students were
articulated helped to define the nature of what they had learned and how they did so. The aim was to develop ‘meaning schemes’ that incorporate what Mezirow (1991:44) refers to as ‘the particular knowledge, beliefs, value judgements and feelings that become articulated in an interpretation’.

An interpretation or description of an experience naturally privileges one ‘story’ or particular framing of reality above others and edges out or excludes other meanings and alternative explanations. Researchers may be perceived as experts able to attach informed interpretations to respondents’ ‘stories’.

The interviewees were asked: In what specific way or ways have you experienced a conflict of value in your ITE course? All proceeded with their ‘scripts’, some of which were sketched on notepads into a story line using key words and phrases. For example, Nina Mears notes concerning a conflict between self assessment and that a tutor were transcribed as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Me</th>
<th>Tutor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not prepared enough and knew it!</td>
<td>Very specific and detailed about how she wanted file - and what she wanted in the file - which was extensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn’t do enough work with children during day visits to assess ability of children.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transcripts of the students’ ‘stories’ were made. Nina elaborated her notes as follows:
I muddled through the tutorial prior to block practice by turning the pages of my file rather quickly; I talked even quicker about my plans for the first two weeks of the practice. The tutor made it clear that I had not prepared even half-heartedly and would have to do much more ground work before starting the practice. She drew attention to the required preparation as outlined in the Student Handbook and added several more items which she (Nina’s emphasis) required in the file.

Nina added that:

The tasks I had to do before starting teaching practice did not make sense. There was no pattern to them. If I had understood them then I would have been better prepared for the tutorial and the teaching practice.

The problem for the researcher was how to characterise the interview situation. It seemed similar to what Holstein and Gubrium (1995:52-54) suggested: ‘a productive site’ of ‘meaning-making work’ in which respondents ‘establish and organize subjective meanings’. Student teachers generally have had time and space to reflect on what has occurred and to enhance it to their specifications, so that there is some connection between description and interpretation in each ‘conflict’ story, that is, an alternative construction.

Kelly’s (1955/1991:236) explanation is useful here as a reminder. He claimed that there is:

a wide variety of invented constructions of each event because all events (and all facts) are subject to as great a variety of constructions as people
are able to think up if they only had the capacity to invent alternative constructions.

Therefore, student teachers, while sharing common experiences, enduring similar processes and aspiring to similar vocational destinations will relate to and tell ‘different stories’ of their experiences as lived.

Four types of questions emerged from the patterns of students’ ‘stories’ about value conflicts:

- In general terms what are students’ expectations during experiential learning?
- What are students looking for when they go into schools to work with host teachers in particular classrooms?
- What negotiating procedures do students adopt in classrooms?
- What actually happens in particular classrooms on particular occasions?

Two questions focus on general beliefs and feelings about experiential learning. The other two honed in on quite specific thoughts about student teachers’ actions. Data from the interviews illustrated ways in which some student teachers tried to deal with these questions. Other questions arose less frequently. Answers to all these questions may be gleaned from the following sections.
Observing Host Teachers

It is apparent that in trying to explicate their ideas about good student teachers, host teachers made many assumptions. Generally speaking, the process which host teachers needed to go through, in order to decide how to interact with allocated teacher students, depended upon:

1. the extent of their experience in supervising students;

2. the degree of communication they had had with the training institution and particular teacher educators;

3. their perceived image of a ‘good student teacher’ upon which they modelled their own teaching and made their judgements about who should or should not become new teachers, and

4. the context in which the teaching and learning had taken place.

These variables differed greatly amongst host teachers and in some cases changed the nature of the initiation process.

The Nature of Relationships

According to Hinde (1979:14) a relationship is a series of interactions occurring over time between two persons. Each interaction is relatively limited in duration
but is affected by past interactions and will influence future ones. The learning and teaching roles which provide relatively enduring ties between student teachers and host teachers constitute a mutual desire for a social contract. These reciprocities on 'bilateral entities' are important, as Hartup and Laursen (1991:99) purport, as are memories and expectations in building and maintaining relationships. They add, however, that the disbursement of power, degree of reciprocity, intensity and duration affect relationships. Furthermore, in providing useful descriptors Hartup and Laurser (1991) and Youniss (1980) refer to relationships based on age differences as vertical; they refer to approximately equal age, power and social standing as horizontal and a mixture of vertical and horizontal elements as mixed. It is inevitable that when the social conventions of the first two descriptors are not maintained, problems in interactions occur, resulting in unhealthy relationships. For example, both school-based and school-focus activities work in a manner which integrates theory with practice, by providing space for reflection as well as opportunities for experimentation. The main role of host teachers in school-based work with student teachers is to extend and develop the processes of actively making sense of experiences. The partner schools, are dynamic environments where host teachers are expected to engage in cognitive and social transactions with student teachers. Some host teachers may well defend their own 'traditional’ positions by 'being there for the children’. Their personal and professional status may be bound to the status differentials at work in their schools. These may serve to restrict their
interactions with student teachers for whose cognitive and cultural development they are responsible. Questions about the rational education of the intellect as well as the emotions, therefore, need to be addressed to avoid unhealthy relationships.

The author's research observations and analyses have led to the belief that student teachers have neither power nor social standing in the profession. They are regarded as of little value until fully fledged as qualified teachers. Yet in the process of assisting the students to become 'of value' there were wide differences in the extent to which healthy relationships were developed between host teachers and student teachers.

It is a mistake to think of professional development as a one-way street. It is not something that is done to student teachers, or so all-embracing that they cannot resist any part of it. Learning, (Gagne 1985:257) is an individual matter in which essential idiosyncratic elements must be supplied by the learner. Interview data extracted as part of the student teacher survey revealed that the student teachers' understanding of relationships was very 'situation specific'. The only way to assess their understanding was to examine their descriptions of what had happened on particular occasions. What became apparent from the transcripts was the significance applied to some actions taken by the host teachers and teacher educators (tutors) as is illustrated in the following examples.
Gemma

Gemma Walsh summarised in a forthright way the argument that relationships between student and host teacher must be complementary when she said:

.....we’re two adults working in the classroom.....we’re generally there to help the children and to help me and I felt that she should be there with the children to talk to me, .....’This is what I would like to have you do. And what are your opinions of this?’ But this was not the treatment I received. This does not fit into my experience of working in other schools.

With reference to memories, students used their past experiences of host teachers, if they already had them, and of other host teachers if they did not. They struggled to find the right words to express what they were trying to say and often their judgements were couched in terms which indicated the process of making an hypothesis, which could be proved totally wrong.

Stacey

An important perception for host teachers was that of the competence of the student. It was often expressed by comments to teacher educators but, on some occasions, was conveyed to students in other ways. This is what was said by Stacey Greene:

I was in a Year 3 class.....I was told to plan a History lesson on ‘Romans’ for the class.....and I had done this.....with some help from two teachers who were in the same situation (team teaching). When I showed what I intended to do there was complete silence so then I thought it might have been my imagination but I heard a snigger and they
pushed it aside saying, 'OK we won’t do that now'... at breaktime the headteacher came in and said it was decided that it would be better for me that I wouldn’t plan any of the lessons as I was supposed to do, as part of the course, because they thought it would be better for the children... I wasn’t up to their standard as a student.

Struggling to make sense of her position in the light of the headteacher’s decision, Stacey sought help to develop ‘appropriate planning which would meet their approval’. She was reluctant to disclose her source of help but was congratulated by the two teachers with whom she hoped to work, when she asked ‘them to take another look’ at her planning. Her confidence and competence improved but she did not find the practical support that she craved within the school and classroom. Her summary of her situation was like this:

I had to talk to myself everyday to boost my confidence. I could see that I was on my own but I had to survive at least.

Her ‘enduring self’ appeared to have triumphed despite her early conflict with the school’s values. She had shifted from a non-valued to a valued position.

Rose

Important aspects of host teacher-student relationships can be indicated in what may be loosely termed ‘personality elements’. Lack of confidence inevitably has an impact on student teacher behaviour, as is illustrated by...
Rose Mundama’s ‘story’:

.....Whenever I said something (the children) used to laugh at me and that really destroyed my confidence.....most of the time I dreaded having these groups.....knowing that the children were actually making a mockery of me.....I remembered wanting to go to the headteacher to report them, but I thought about these children being black and Africans and the reputation of the black children. I thought like I was falling again in the trap of other teachers who have taken black children to the headteacher to report them.

Rose gradually lost value of herself. She needed help to regain self-value before she could progress. Rose, who was a black teacher student, regained her confidence after speaking with the teacher educator who was supervising her block practice. Not only did the teacher educator talk with the children privately, to change their value of Rose to a more positive frame, she also encouraged Rose to reflect upon her relationship with the groups every day, through detailed analyses. In summing up she wrote:

.....I think if I had put my foot down and let these children know that I was in control.....I think that maybe it would have been better.

The unsophisticated negative reaction of black children to black teachers was documented widely in the 1970s but still has pertinence today. For example, orienting themselves towards their perception of reality, the black children were probably maintaining a law of balance that says we ‘expect’ and ‘have’ white teachers. Thus, the white teacher educator acted as mediator by getting the children to co-operate by putting her ‘foot down’.
Angela Rice was in a team-teaching situation but blamed herself for the isolation she felt:

.....Feel so in conflict with myself.....this personal conflict is just the feeling you get when you know you’re not working as a team.....what I tend to do is isolate myself from the whole situation.....It makes me feel really angry inside.....and I have lost confidence.

In Angela’s case, confidence generation was left to the teacher educator. The ability of students to be forthcoming and prepared to talk about worrying situations can be construed as being ‘open-minded’ without fear of disclosure. According to Altman and Taylor (1973:164) the teacher educator must be seen as contributing appropriately to the relationship in which trust and commitment have been developing as mutually reinforcing processes.

On the other hand, Angela’s interpretation of what has happened is more in keeping with her beliefs or personal construct. According to attribution theory (Heider 1958:172) individuals are motivated to maintain consistency between their various beliefs or behaviours. Hence, in normal conditions, individuals tend to search for the underlying course of events around them in such a way as to allow their original beliefs to remain unaltered or even strengthened. Specifically, Angela assigned blame to herself, thereby discounting factors contributing to the situation.
The story which Angela narrated was not consistent with Angela’s value structure and was ‘unpleasant’ to her. Bartlett (1932:89) observed that in story telling there is a tendency to present a setting and an explanation which he terms rationalisation:

> It is to render materials acceptable, understandable, comfortable, straightforward; to rob it of all puzzling elements. As such it is a powerful factor in all perceptual and in all reproductive processes.

**Monica**

As with the teacher-child, conflict, is the teacher educator-student relationship for some student teachers. Waller (1932:60) asserts that this is a form of institutionalised dominance and subordination. The teacher educator represents the authority figure supervising the planning, preparation and implementation of the formal curriculum. The student teacher presents herself to be moulded within the teaching profession. Yet like the inmates of a total institution, student teachers were seen to develop their own notions and values which were neither those of the teacher educators nor the host teachers. Monica Rayburn was in this situation. She accounted for her position:

> The tutor was very specific about how she wanted the file and what she wanted in the file was extensive. She wanted the children to have new pencils and new books and brightly coloured and decorated worksheets.
Some indications were given by students about how their behaviour was restricted by their expectations about what could be achieved. Reality could not match Monica’s expectations as she revisited her first teaching practice experience before comparing it with her second:

I was very excited about starting the course and when I started my first block practice that was fine because I was mixing with the children, helping them with their work and I didn’t really have to take the whole class and deal with them. But I found that when I had to take the whole class everything was different. I just couldn’t handle it. I didn’t have the management skills at all.....I found that I couldn’t do it.

Since there was no requirement to undertake whole class teaching on the first teaching practice, Monica in technical terms passed. Questioning revealed that Monica had only had groups for reading in the period leading up to the second block practice. This position Monica described as being, ‘teacher’s helper’.

After her failure to change her role to accord with newer expectations she informed the teacher educator accordingly:

I told her that I could not handle it. I should have had more teaching experience during the first practice. So we decided that it was better that I left, which is what I wanted to do.....so I left the course.

Qualifying her reasons, Monica explained further:

I think if it (the class) was in a better environment I might have continued. But being in that school, I think I made up my mind that I didn’t like the school. I didn’t like the people around. I didn’t want to stay there.....And it’s the way the teachers treat the children as well. I
mean, I might have got the whole history of the children just by being in the staffroom.

Monica appeared to have no image of herself as a teacher. Her concerns seemed to be mainly self-preservation rather than survival. The institutional values of hard work, adaptability and community remained in the distance. Lack of self-efficiency apparently has powerful detrimental influences on a person. Monica did not believe she could provide a good lesson, so that each difficulty she encountered confirmed her belief. She set up the situations so that failure would be inevitable. Consequently, her goal and the explanation of why she was failing to reach it was affected (Bandura 1986).

Realistically, Monica summed up her position:

I think I should have done more preparation before going into school in order to prepare the lessons better. I think that was the downfall...I was angry with the school, and the people around for things being so difficult.

She could not access the school’s value system. Her own negative attitudes masked the positives which existed. She converted everything into immutables, by devaluing her own potential to effect change. Ultimately, she withdrew from studies.
Inequalities

A small minority of host teachers was prepared to stereotype students and assigned them to 'inferior' positions based on their perceptions of who should be allowed to become teachers.

Maggy Moore and Santa Kee were both black students. Their experiences were in different schools several miles apart but were very similar. Both were asked to prepare a Maths lesson lasting 40 minutes. When shown the prepared lesson plans, both host teachers felt that the lessons were 'unsuitable', but details of the unsuitable elements were not stated either verbally or in writing.

Maggy

Maggy reported to the teacher educator that she was ordered 'to sit in a corner and make notes of how things should be done'. In seeking help from an experienced teacher educator team, the tutor reported that Maggy's host teacher shouted at her in the presence of the children and that she had lost face and wished to withdraw from the school. The first host teacher commented in her report:

Maggy is unsuitable for teaching. I have had experience of teaching in all parts of the world. Some people are just unsuitable.
Maggy had been a successful teacher in another country before starting the BEd course. She had a thorough working knowledge of the British formal educational system. Like others she had completed successful observations of the school and classes prior to the start of the practice. This was a requirement which according to Wilson (1975:137) generates 'propositional awareness not fully specifiable elsewhere'. The tolerance of both the tutor and Maggy was 'severely tested' in what they came to see as 'a middle class white preserve' into which they 'could not fit', because the prevailing attitude was that she should not be allowed to fit.

Benn and Burton (1995) argued that Britain has an education system premised on failure. They indicated that the resulting educational inequalities are directly related to class, gender, age and race. Fitting into an existing system may therefore be a challenging series of leaps across several structural barriers. For Maggy it was becoming too great. A change of school, however, to one which valued Maggy from the outset as an already 'experienced' teacher who could enrich a system, whilst gaining the credentials she needed to practise in Britain, resulted in a successful outcome.

Santa

Santa Kee was a young Muslim student. In completing her school placement form for her second practice she had expressed a willingness to undertake teaching practice 'in any school provided that it was quite near her home'. She
was placed in a large Church of England School where she was never allowed to teach a group of children although she had had experience of class teaching during her first teaching practice. The host teacher failed to discuss the position with the tutor either before or during the first week of the practice. It was evident that Santa was perceived as being in the wrong placement as the host teacher and the pupils systematically ignored her. Her faith perspective in this environment had no value to those in charge. This was demoralising for her because her role was reduced to being that of an observer. Furthermore, to add insult to injury, she was relegated to being a messenger. She was sent on errands from time to time. She became a valued servant. Attempts to engage either the headteacher or the host teacher in a focussed discussion about her placement proved to be no avail. Despite all of this, Santa felt that it was only a matter of time before she would be allowed to take a group. After her abortive attempts to discuss the matter with the host teacher she protested with her feet by frequently withdrawing from the staffroom/classroom.

A specific equal opportunity policy relating to the placement of students was yet to be implemented. In the absence of a conference, the host teacher was asked by the University Representative to provide a statement on Santa’s progress, based on the criteria of assessment for the 2 week period. The areas to be covered were:

1. Working with children
2. Preparation, Planning, Presentation, Evaluation and Record Keeping

3. Working with the School

4. Capacity for Reflection and Analysis, and

5. Additional Comments.

These were the elements on the general assessment form for students on their second teaching practice. Santa’s host teacher wrote the following in the space reserved for additional comments:

No child-based or child-minded approaches were included in the basic lesson plan. Did not meet criteria with anything. Did not interact with other members of staff, so could not learn. Very little commitment to profession. Doesn’t seem to be suitable candidate. Does not realise commitment and work involved in teaching. No professional attitude.

The brevity, not to mention the grammatical structure, was amazing. There was no reference to the criteria given. Santa was evaluated to be of no value to the teaching profession without access to a trial. Such negative evaluations as that presented leads towards a view of some host teachers as people in positions of power, able and willing to exclude those who don’t ‘seem to be suitable’ because they do not match with a specific, unarticulated value set. Was it Santa’s skin colour, religion or nationality which resulted in lack of opportunity to prove herself as competent for the task?
Although there is considerable evidence that in many societies, rewards in work organisations are distributed in a way that discriminates against minority group members, especially blacks, very few attempts have been made to understand the psychological processes which mediate this process. Research material focuses on the underachievement of blacks citing cultural deprivation so that their perceived lack of success is ascribed to lack of effort and/or ability. According to Orpen (1981:85) the race of the assessor is important when analysing the assessment. Possibly, as in the case of Santa, religion may also be a critical factor. White assessors in evaluating blacks attributed their failures to the 'blacks' lack of effort and inability', as compared to the failure of whites who either had ‘bad luck or a very demanding job’.

According to Cochran-Smith (1995:568) it is important to bear in mind that:

.....teacher educators unintentionally may be unreliable, not constant allies of all students, teachers and parents, and particularly that while teacher educators may be unreliable allies of students of color.

The point is demonstrated by reference to more of Santa’s story. Santa Kee had little enthusiasm to continue teaching practice in another school. She was concerned that her teaching practice would have to be undertaken after her peers and that she would be missing some coursework during this period. In addition, she appeared to have been completely shocked by the cavalier, dismissive and marginalised treatment she experienced. She had, after all, attended Church of
England schools at primary and secondary levels and had gained the qualifications which enabled her to gain admission to initial teacher education. In trying to resolve the dilemma she indicated that she expected to face racial discrimination 'outside of schools'. 'Schools are the places where I should feel safe', she added. To indicate that Santa was naïve is to disregard the collusion of the prejudice within an institution. It is pertinent to note, that there were gross discrepancies encountered between policies formulated at macro level and as implemented at micro level. The headteachers of the schools were entitled according to Kogan (1975:56) to be:

.....allowed to develop organisational and educational styles of their own.....This system of delegated authority carries with it a corresponding power system which enables values to be stored at points sufficiently distant from and impervious to central government or other mechanisms by which society is governed.

This means power, to a certain extent, without responsibilities and regular accountability. Bachrach and Baratz (1962:44) and Lukes (1974:24) have argued convincingly that the absence of action and consistent decisions not to act on issues imply the existence of a policy. Thus neither inaction nor inexplicitness could be dismissed lightly. On the contrary they represent explicit and ideological policy positions.

Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) presented evidence that American teachers’ expectations influence their subsequent evaluations of children. Despite
questions raised by Brophy (1983) and Reichardt (1985) about these findings, there is evidence that race and social class play some role as bases of teacher expectancy. These factors also may be significant when applied to some host teachers in assessing student teachers. However, the processes underlying attributions are complex and vary, depending on the kind of relationships between the assessor and the person whose behaviour or competence is being evaluated. The interplay between the way in which an evaluator/assessor is perceived and the way in which student performance is explained requires more detailed study than is possible in this analysis.
Gender issues

Gay

Gay Hector’s case illustrates how contradictory social goals in teaching may create conflicts. Her class of 8-9 year olds had been described by the in-house teachers as ‘extremely difficult’, yet Gay was expected to be able to cope. Eighteen of the 24 pupils in the class were boys. Equal opportunity issues were declared institutionally as important elements in the planning and delivery of the curriculum. In this matter there was no conflict with Paullon University. This was also a requirement of the training institution. Equality of opportunity was not regarded as a levelling principle in which it was intended to pull all individuals down to a common denominator. Nor was it a strong demanding principle intended to pull all individuals up to an equal share of the very wide range of opportunities. Opportunity was equal in the sense that the aim was for all individuals to be equally spared impediments which would discriminate against them or impair their normal functioning in the educational context. Normal opportunity range was relative to societal norms and so was affected by societal factors including the level of support services.

In this specific case, Gay was expected to plan appropriate learning activities for the class. In implementing her plans she needed to organise and manage the classroom to avoid the boys dominating her time, efforts and energies so that the
girls would not perceive themselves to be ignored. Gay’s previous observations and teaching practice experiences, however, had not prepared her for this ‘new’ experience. When assessing the situation at a theoretical level, Gay determined:

If I divide the class into mixed groups there will still be boys dominating each group. If I have single sex groups then the boys would, I believe, interfere with the girls’ groups.

Because Gay was a final year student she was expected to be responsible for the whole class for three quarters of the day every day of the week. The host teacher expected to ‘withdraw from the classroom as soon as the teaching practice was underway’.

After several abortive plans, Gay sought help from the host teacher and other staff who offered a variety of methods of organisation and strategies for management of the classroom. Gay became distressed when no resolution of the problem seemed viable. After her third day on the practice, she absented herself for two days. In Bion’s (1961) terms she had resorted to ‘flight’ in the face of threat to personal success as a teacher.

Gay’s problem finally was alleviated by recommendation from her college tutor to use the host teacher as a ‘helper’ or ‘support service’. She planned for whole class and group work, but drew the teacher into the organisation and management by deliberately drawing her from ‘the back of the classroom’ to
share the teaching for the first two weeks of the practice. Gay regarded their amicable arrangement as team teaching and anticipated an educationally productive atmosphere conducive to effective learning. Gay failed at first to consider the peer relationship implications about classroom management which were neither discussed nor anticipated. By making the host teacher an integral part of the teaching day, Gay’s original conflict became instead a conflict of identity. Was she class teacher or purely assistant? She did not want a chaotic classroom by allowing the boys’ behaviour to become an issue. On the other hand she did not want to appear to have a preoccupation with order and gender issues in the organisation and management of the teaching context. By holding conflicting ideas within herself, her ambiguous self became evident in the way in which she was predictably confused when the host teacher sought her ‘permission’ to leave her in charge for a day. Confusion became rife when some children told her that she was ‘a good student who let their teacher stay with them’.

Gay suggested that her bouts of depression, which became a feature of the practice period, were her way of balancing her conflicts and preserving her place in the school and the classroom. Here personal needs played a greater part in determining the choice made, but Gay needed eventually to establish herself as the teacher-in-charge. Only by so doing would she be sufficiently ‘valued’ for qualified teacher status to be conferred. At Gay’s request, the host teacher withdrew gradually. With the tutor’s consent, Gay’s practice was extended not
only to cover the period of initial absence, but also to meet the institution’s
criterion, which demanded a sustained period of independence in the teaching
role. In this way Gay was provided with the opportunity to consolidate her
evident ability to manage the presenting situation.

Role Conflict

Maddie

Maddie Joyce, like Gay, initially could not resolve her conflict with what she
perceived as valuable to teachers already in the profession and her deficiencies in
the learning period. Relating her story, however, illustrates the process by which
conflict of values can, and must, move to shared values if qualified teacher status
is to become a realistic goal. Maddie agreed to be interviewed during the first
week of her second block practice, in her first of four years of study. Maddie’s
interview began with a review of her day:

I found it very difficult to deal with the class today. I was unable to sleep
last night because I was so worried about the tutor coming in. But then
she didn’t and I felt better. I haven’t really got the class under control
yet and I still don’t know how to behave when the tutor comes.

Understanding and accepting the various roles of tutors and responding
appropriately to them seemed to cause Maddie some conflict. Her dilemma was
similar to that of many of her peers. She perceived that:
The tutor is there to assess my performance so how can she also help or
guide me?

It was pointed out that the host teacher also plays the dual role of guide and
assessor. But Maddie noted a difference:

The tutor knows more than the teachers. She has been at her job longer
so she has a long list of what she is looking for.

This assumption of the tutor being competent in her craft because of her length
of service is certainly sound, although illusions of omni-competence abound but
rest on insecure foundations. However, in this situation the host teacher can be
perceived as less competent, a comparison which is both unfair and misjudged.
Maddie’s statement suggested that learning to teach is a lengthy process in which
assessing teaching competency is a long way down on the list of values. The fact
that Maddie is a first year student must be taken into account. Maddie, likely
was unable to conceptualise the whole picture of becoming a teacher and start by
trying to survive on a day-to-day basis. In so doing, she attributed higher values
to those already teaching than might have been warranted.

In terms of professional development, Maddie’s position was comparable to one
commonly experienced in infancy. She still had to move through adolescence
and young adult life before becoming an ‘adult teacher’ capable of full
responsibility for the role. Maddie’s conflict was based on her beliefs about the roles of the host teacher and the tutor. Maddie was asked to describe her behaviour when the tutor was in the classroom:

I keep a low profile, apologised a lot for anything the children did, and waited to see how things would go.

Maddie was seeking a value base to adopt, for in its discovery, she anticipated that the key to successful teaching would exist.

Confronted by the idea that this behaviour indicated that Maddie was uncertain about what she was doing, she became somewhat distressed. She immediately adopted the notion of being seen to be incompetent. Like Gay, Maddie adopted a dependency position of what Bion (1961) terms flight when faced with a situation which appeared to threaten her survival and well being. Her flight, however, was in attitude rather than physical withdrawal. She denigrated her whole self. Maddie was keen to achieve a more realistic grasp of the situation. Ultimately she advised that:

It is OK for my tutor to guide me as well as assess me. I have to know how to deal with that if I want to pass.

This is interesting in that as Maddie spoke of personal conflict, she also was intellectually resolving her own problem. Maddie had moved from flight to fight.
Initially, Maddie had made the tutor’s dual roles into conflicting positions. In explaining how she dealt with the conflict she noted that:

Guiding is valued by us (student teachers) as good, assessing is regarded as bad. People can be good as well as bad but they are still people – not good people not bad people, just people.

Maddie had shifted significantly in personal development. The qualities of her assessors had become integrated. Instead of dichotomy of guidance and assessment continuing to be experienced, she had arrived at what might be termed a connected continuum.

Acculturation

Carrie

Like Maddie, Carrie May arrived at an understanding of a connected continuum but by a more complex route. Carrie was the ‘victim’ of low-acculturation. Her personal education and adult viewing of teachers in role had not equipped her for the culture of the British system of ITE. Carrie had been a student teacher in her native country. Her husband was granted a scholarship to study in Britain and she accompanied him. Carrie was ‘unable to transfer to teacher education’ without further academic entry qualifications, which she gained on an Access Course at a local college. Her first year on the BEd course was ‘difficult’. She explained:
I was expecting people (tutors) to tell me what to do and how to do it. I didn’t expect them to leave me to discover how to do the tasks at school.

Carrie had not at this point adopted the cultural values inherent in the tasks.

Kinnell (1990) pointed out that low-acculturated people had greater expectations for direction. Carrie’s expectations were different from that of the institutions. Although there were some references in the course work sessions, as a reminder to students about the school-based tasks to be undertaken each week, Carrie was unsettled by the lack of explicit directive input.

People approach problem-solving from a variety of viewpoints but instead of trying to adjust to the framework given by the tutors and seeking their help when in difficulty, Carrie was frequently absent from University. By the end of her first term, she had missed five out of nine days of school-based work. Her host teacher wrote to the teacher in charge:

As regards working in the school, Carrie’s relationships appear to be satisfactory but somewhat strained because of poor attendance and a somewhat cavalier attitude in terms of responsibility. The headmaster stated firmly that, in his opinion, Carrie would not be in a good position to undertake the first block practice until later in the year.

This was accomplished successfully but left little time to prepare for the second practice. With some help from the Language and Literacy Project team
University, Carrie was encouraged to persevere, though her inability to respond quickly to advice consistently was evident. There were long periods between the time of advice input and action from Carrie. This resulted in referral on her second school practice. After a resit Carrie obtained a year's leave of absence as maternity leave. This in itself could be regarded as interesting. Pregnancy legitimised the Bionian (1961) flight reaction to severe stress, but also manifested Carrie's creative powers at a time when career prospects were ephemeral and possibly unattainable.

According to Carrie, her conflicts really started during her second block practice. She seemed to deny the existence of the problems she faced in Year One. Carrie was often distressed by what she regarded as 'snide remarks' made to her in the staffroom. Her allocated support tutor, in seeking a resolution to Carrie's particular situation, wrote a lengthy memo to the Year Tutor:

The class teacher had apparently been very difficult and hostile to Carrie and in my presence apologised for her behaviour, citing personal difficulties related to her home and school situation. (Not only had she lost her baby, she also failed to obtain the incentive allowance that she had been promised and is now faced with finding another job for September). The school is used by other students whose whole course is different. Both Carrie and I are expected to replicate their approaches and standards.

Based on these expectations, Carrie is acting like a first year student and is therefore 'unsuitable'.

Carrie is determined to continue though she is quite tearful most of the time. She is a passive learner. She appears to be in need of assertiveness training. Her body language often reflects her conflict and distress. We
developed strategies to deal with this and she tried to develop the file as a working document.

Several members of staff sought me out to say that ‘Carrie was having a heavy hands-on approach from the teacher’ and that ‘such treatment was unfair to a student who was not in her final year’.

A long conference was held with the ‘host teacher’ and Carrie and, as a result, I had no option but to take Carrie home as she was too distressed to continue that day. But, she insisted that she wished to continue with the practice.

She was certainly a victim of circumstances:

1. unknown school
2. divided staff
3. hostile host teacher, whose expectations were unrealistic in expecting the student to behave like an experienced teacher or her ideal student
4. an exceedingly long period between Block Practices Two and Three
5. shy immature attitude
6. inability to respond quickly to advice, suggestions and recommendations.

It is not an uncommon feature for practising professionals to expect student teachers to be ‘fully fledged’ in the skills, knowledge and value constructs of trained teachers. No allowance is made for errors which are inevitable in the initiation processes. No value is given to the learning process, it is afforded to outcomes only.

Without the cultural capital needed to interact with the situation and feedback from tutor and effects of classroom variables in special ways, Carrie was in danger of failing to meet requirements for qualified teacher status (QTS). Why should this happen? Simply put, the dominant education system has intellectual
strategies, goals, belief systems and attitudes that produce particular learning, and related teaching systems. Students’ abilities to take advantage of this particular learning system are influenced by class, gender, cultural factors and personal educational experience that include a variety of learning styles.

Although there may be an infinite number of personal learning styles, Carrie had to accept help to make the learning style of the course and the teaching practice accessible. She had to acclimatise and ‘acculturise’. The learning system, which the Department expected her to use, was unfamiliar, even alien to her. Once she had been acculturated Carrie commented:

I now have control over my work and the class. I have more ideas about how to manage the class but I am still afraid to say everything to the (host) teacher, because I think she will not approve. I also arrive quite early but am afraid to touch anything in the classroom. I avoid going into the classroom because I am sure everyone knows that I am struggling.

Fantasy, it would seem, is more powerful than reality perhaps because the reality cannot be adequately grasped by the tender-minded who are beset by low self-esteem. Carrie’s esteem diminished incrementally as she found herself unable to identify what was considered by potential assessors as ‘of value’. The author has come to the firm belief, as a result of elements of this investigation, that learning styles are not linked to intelligence or capability but rather to how the multitude of facts that impinge on one’s consciousness are ordered and perceived. Carrie
was enabled to continue the course once her intelligence was used to adopt a valued culture and its concomitants.

Carrie's role in the classroom developed from observer to communicator/instructor. As she gained confidence in herself she was able to begin the move from survival strategies to 'control over my work and the class'. She had become an adult in the teaching world rather than a dependent child who has to be inducted into an approved culture. Acculturised, Carrie could take risks and tolerate occasional failures in pursuing success. Such thinking is similar to the findings of Fuller (1969) whose theory of teacher development indicated that most beginning teachers, like Carrie, necessarily are concerned with survival rather than the quality of their teaching.

While judgements about Carrie's host teacher may seem harsh, they do point out the pitfalls of relying only on judgements about whether or not student teachers can reproduce certain patterns of behaviour. The quality of teaching requires much more than particular patterns of behaviour. Carrie had to resolve her wish to retain and give value to the way of learning to teach previously experienced in her native country and her need to adopt another way of learning to be a teacher. Besieged by the host teacher's expectations and her own need to adapt, Carrie changed from a passive to active learner. Presented in this way it seems somewhat mechanical but it was personal. The change, however, was short-
lived. Carrie withdrew later in the year. Pregnancy again was used to legitimise her inability to resolve the multiplicity of conflicts which she had to face in order to become a teacher.

Understanding Teaching

Trudi

Perceiving what is needed and valued would appear to be critical to the development as a teacher. Trudi Cray found such acquisition difficult and ultimately impossible. She had been asked to withdraw from the course because she had failed her third block teaching practice. She had 'tried very hard to understand how things worked' but could not access the value set. Trudi observed:

Teaching is more difficult than learning.....The practice was wrong from the start. I did not get any support. I like positive direct criticism to which I can respond but this was never forthcoming.

Her tutor and host teacher perceived the situation differently. At the end of the practice of five weeks, the tutor's assessment of her work with children was that:

Despite her time in school, Trudi still has difficulty in relating suitably to young children, to perceiving their problems and especially their capabilities, to appreciating how to deal effectively with a small group of children. Her self presentation has improved but she still seems to distance herself from the children. Presentation of children's work remains poor, despite the positive models given.
The problem was reputedly related to Trudi’s inability to prepare, plan, evaluate and keep records. The tutor noted:

Her planning on paper often outstrips her actual readiness in the classroom to teach. Her evaluation skills are still very limited.

The rest of the tutor’s assessment suggested that:

Trudi has not acquired enough knowledge of how young children learn or modern primary practice. It is problematic to see how she could obtain this at this stage of the course.

One of the difficulties here was that no one actually set out to be unsupportive. People’s perceptions of their own behaviour do not always accord with how others see them. Trudi could not perceive the help proffered. Compounding the problem, Trudi’s efforts were perceived by the tutors to be based on a faulty model of student learning. In order to repair the deficiencies, Trudi needed to examine and change her beliefs that she used to ‘read’ the situation in which she was placed.

According to Anderson and Bird (1992:67) student teachers use their beliefs to ‘read’ situations, to interpret new information and to make decisions about what is proper, possible or realistic. Trudi’s multiple and often conflicting ideas about the kind of teacher she wanted to be, had been gleaned from her experiences of:
1. teaching at the Sunday School at her local church
2. schooling in the 1950s and
3. motherhood.

She idealised the rote learning which she had employed with 10-11 year olds at Sunday School, because she was 'used to that from my school days in Jamaica', and probably had continued the practice with her own children. Trudi belonged to a different physical, visual, geographical world from the 5-6 year olds she was expected to teach.

Trudi maintained that she had a set of beliefs about teaching:

*Real* (her emphasis) teaching begins with older children who are able to sit and listen to what the teacher says and discuss what they have been told. They are able to write from memory about what they have discussed, draw pictures to illustrate their work and so on.....

While it is true that learning can occur from being told, trying to bring about learning entails much more than telling, even when that telling happens to result in learning. However, in order to understand Trudi's position, it seems that concepts of teaching need to be considered. In Chapter Two, Hirst's (1970) definition of teaching was examined. Concepts, he proposed, are necessary to organise the simplest experiences into forms or patterns that enable an understanding of the world. Trudi's concept of teaching determined what she was prepared to see and act upon. While some concepts are primarily
descriptive in function, others like teaching are interpretative and therein lies a problem for apprentice teachers.

Interpretations like Trudi’s, propel student teachers into understanding major restructuring of their existing schemata, otherwise they face disequilibrium. There was evidence that differences in interpretations between Trudi and her mentors were addressed positively. These differences were seen to be significant variables affecting her performance. The ‘common-sense’ notions of some students, like Trudi however, require direct interventions. Their perceptions of the multifaceted role of teachers revealed in the training institution, the school and as future professionals need challenging. This is so because ITE is a process in which questions of value and purposes are always involved with a view to establishing change related to clearly desired predetermined goals or ends.

Public and private theories inform student teachers’ thinking as illustrated in their stories. Beyerback (1988) concluded from his investigative findings that student teachers could become more aware of the development of their pedagogical knowledge by examining their knowledge schemata. The challenge lies with teacher educators to aid such examination. Clearly there are things which student teachers need to know, in order to conduct their professional lives with some semblance of efficiency. On the other hand, education is about discovery.
But initial teacher education, particularly in a climate characterised by prescribed content, reduces the autonomy of student teachers and their educators.

**Modes of Teaching**

**Ada**

Team teaching was for Gay a way resolving conflict and assisting progress. This mode of work, however, for Ada James was a definite inhibitor to development. Ada was placed in what she described as a ‘large, middle-class and white school’. Having described herself as a ‘female, working class, black student’ it was evident that she was uncomfortable in her placement for school experience. She expanded on her view of how she wanted to be perceived as well as how she believed others perceived her. She was ‘positioning’ herself. She wanted to be high profile at efficient but the perceived reality was of inferiority when compared to student peers.

Positioning as a concept is useful in examining what happens when student teachers work in groups. What appear to be normative and common-sense approaches for some students can be threatening and confusing to others. Differences in behaviour patterns consequently emerge and are used in assessing the competence of students working in groups or teams. The person who sets the rules and determines what space is available for action sets power relations in motion. Ada, as part of a team teaching group, ‘felt powerless, helpless and
abandoned'. Ada's development appeared to be constrained by the prevailing practices and policies in the school. She felt that her performance was being assessed inappropriately by host teachers in the 'team'. Visits by the school tutor were made every three weeks to support Ada and to confer with the class teacher about her progress.

The preferred teaching style in the classroom was team teaching, for which Ada was unprepared. She was experiencing difficulty in adopting the style as a way of teaching effectively. She afforded it no positive values. She later explained 'I didn't believe in it', hence she could not accommodate to its use. She failed to fulfil her teaching commitments but produced legitimate reasons for absence and acquired medical certificates to support her psychosomatic manifestations of conflict. When asked at a case conference held during the practice why she was absent, she explained:

Nothing that I do is considered good enough. I am expected to fail because black people are not perceived as teachers by the staff or children.

Her own perceptions rather than a confirmed reality prejudiced her viewpoint but her position became immutable. Ada was offered a 'new' placement after the first report on her progress was analysed. She refused and later rationalised the situation by stating:
I have four children. I was placed near home and needed to be available for the children. There was no guarantee that I could be nearer home if relocated in another school.

Ada had not in fact asked for details about the location of the ‘new’ placement. She assumed or desired it to be inaccessible. Ada was neither mentally prepared for, nor vaguely empathic to the concepts which she was expected to develop through her training. Her reference point was the quality of her family life.

Although the alternative placement arranged for her would have involved further travel, classroom placement would have offered opportunity for a more familiar way of delivering the curriculum. What was more difficult to alter was that she lived, on a daily basis, with the perception of being a target for racism. She decided, somewhat masochistically, to remain in the original placement, but the decision proved to be a catalyst for change in attitude and value position. As the teaching practice progressed, Ada developed a greater understanding of how students themselves help to create the climate in which they may be dominant or subordinate, motivated or passive. Through counselling, Ada broadened the image of her position in society, the training institution and schools. She succeeded in resolving enough of her conflict ultimately to acquire qualified teacher status.

What was critical to Ada’s co-operation in the ITE process was the discovery that there was, in fact, another black teacher in the school with whom she struck
a congenial relationship. The team teaching issue seemed to fade into insignificance. Logically, the presence or not of another teacher of identical race should not be an issue, but for Ada the 'whiteness' of the school stimulated internal conflicts about equality issues. The black teacher represented for Ada tangible hope for equality emergence.

Diana

Diana Wise also disapproved of the mode of teaching employed in her placement school. She was attached to a small infant school with a host teacher who employed didactic methods of teaching children aged 5-6 years. It was an expectation amongst student teachers that guided discovery methods were to be employed in teaching young children with appropriate teacher intervention points to advance learning. Consequently planning and delivery of 'activities' were to be flexible and children-centred. Diana’s conflict was ‘how to deal with what was expected by the tutor, when it was so difficult from what was expected in the school’. Diana took ‘flight’. The host teacher commented:

She failed to prepare adequately and appropriately by writing her activity plans in retrospect.

Diana had, in effect, taken out an insurance policy to ensure ‘getting it right’. She felt that she had to be seen as valuing what was on offer. Both host teacher
and tutor noted that her planning was never-up-to-date. When cautioned about what was regarded as 'unprofessional behaviour' she explained:

Planning in such a rigid manner as required and expected by the teacher for didactic teaching requires more time than I can afford. I have no intention of spending all my time on preparation every night; I need a social life.

Diana had been able to deliver activities in a highly structured manner, despite her lack of forward planning. The tutor lost courage in trying to shift Diana to a more professional stance and believed that her own lack of experience was a contributory factor Diana's lack of progress in what was seen to matter. A 'new' tutor was arranged to supervise Diana but, because the problem was actually Diana's rather than a tutor's, Diana continued to employ her strategy which avoided making stark choices between alternatives. Diana had to value planning and the host teacher's choice of teaching approach and thereby find a way to resolve conflict. Like Ada James, counselling was necessary to challenge Diana's beliefs and to help her to discover, adapt and/or reconstruct her values.

Students' Own Learning

Students in the research sample not only faced conflicts about the ways in which they were expected to teach in schools but in the ways by which they were asked to learn in the University. Two accounts of conflicts emerged as a result of this research into the organisational elements within the course work. It was an
expectation that students would learn through individual activity, in pairs and in small and large groups. Often, but not always, some students need to be initiated into paired and small group work, such practices not having been employed in their own earlier educational experiences. The unwritten but understood policy in the Department of Teaching Studies was to facilitate learning by skilled mediation and supervision during the early days of the course. Students, who were perceived as needing knowledge about how and when to participate in group work, were supported in advance of ‘critical events’ through involvement in the Language and Literacy Project Workshops. These were timetabled formal sessions run by competent supportive staff, replacing the informal arrangements made by empathetic staff who choose to ‘counsel’ about how to avoid a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. Most students buying into the Project regarded themselves as ‘failing’, a factor that has an inherent element of shame. A them-and-us attitude would emerge amongst a ‘failing’ group which undermined the equality of opportunity perspective germane to the ITE course. As a result of past experiences of various kinds some students had learned to assume the role of a ‘less competent other’. The magnitude of their perceived incompetence was exacerbated by their belief that knowledge was located beyond their grasp.

Sandy

Both Sandy Knight and Cecilia Alberto found group participation difficult. Neither Sandy nor Cecilia were perceived by tutor observers as being less
competent than their peers but both afforded themselves the opportunity to be counselled by staff in the Language and Literacy Project. Sandy experienced enormous conflict within her own mind about her own level of competence. She, unlike Cecilia, was vocal. She used her speed of mind to sabotage group cohesion and development by dominating the scene. She was confident in her own abilities and stopped others from full participation through vocalising thought immediately. Others were made to feel ‘incompetent’ in her presence. Sandy could justify her own actions as ‘sharing and contributing’ but was aware that her need ‘to articulate and express’ could be interpreted by others as ‘showing off’ or ‘bigheadedness’.

The job of the counselling staff was to indicate that, whilst her contributions were valued, there was merit in working with peers to explore ideas. By such encounters, her own competences would be extended and others would share her talents. Sandy was brought to a further understanding of her own situation by peer pressure for her to:

Stop making contributions throughout the group workshops without consideration of others’ potential to do so.

Ultimately, her peers retaliated with like. Sandy found herself isolated. When she did contribute, her peers took the opportunity to make fun of what she said. Ultimately she succumbed to peer pressure by contracting to:
- be more selective with responses and contributions
- hold back and let others speak
- give answers/comments to keep the thread of lecture going and to share her reactions
- take a turn at being spokesperson for a group then leave the job to someone else.

The whole cohort accepted Sandy's resolutions.

Cecilia didn't like working with others:

I don't believe in it as a means of personal development. Other people distract me. You have to do your own learning by yourself.

As a consequence, Cecilia tended to be silent within groups and passively aggressive. Her learning was becoming inhibited by her non-involvement with others. Baines (1992), Wells (1992) and Des-Fountain and Howe (1992) have claimed that working together in small groups provides opportunities for making meaning through talk. Supported by and challenged by peers would enable learners to develop cognitive understanding. This process for learning they regarded as essential for adult as well as child learners. Cecilia though was trapped in her beliefs about learning and conscious concern about image. She feared that she could not match the image of 'competence' which she wished to portray. Her progress was being handicapped by what was tantamount to
minimal active involvement. The groups with which she worked saw her as ‘stand-offish’, and ‘selfish’ in terms of corporate development. As well as seeking help from the Language and Literacy Project staff, Cecilia also sought support from the teacher educators who taught the cohort.

Cecilia’s images of teaching and learning appear to be closely linked. Cecilia expressed frustration that she could not see ‘how reflection on actions taken in teaching relate to the actual practice of teaching’. She believed that she could recognise learning when she saw it:

'It is like planting seeds. You put the seeds in a fertile group, give them water and fertiliser and watch them grow.....'

Cecilia clearly perceived herself as part of a ‘fertile group’, by virtue of her acceptance on the course, and saw the teacher educators and subsequently host teachers as gardeners ‘planting seeds’ of knowledge. Consequently, she viewed pupils as capable of learning on their own with her as a circulating resource providing guidance and encouragement and the kind of teacher she could become ‘as not really within her control’.

One particular teacher educator sought to harmonise Cecilia with the groups in which she was expected to work and to assist her to integrate. A break had to be made in inflexible image of teacher and learner roles. One of the apparent
features of student teachers’ images was their inflexibility. This raised questions about the relationship between images and teaching and self and possible interactions between them. Calderhead and Robson (1991) found that some images of student teachers in their study appeared inflexible. Although the ways in which some student teachers come to understand their early struggles, they are their ways; focusing on their ‘deficit’ model in a personalised way, however, provides little help. Cecilia’s learning began with an acceptance by the teacher tutor and host teacher of her way, thereafter, moving her towards the desired culture.

**Importance of Tasks**

Differences in policies, expectations and characteristics of individuals, it would appear, affect the level of the conflict determined by the nature of tasks. Task-based learning supports the idea that learning in ITE occurs most successfully when related to tasks which are recognised as regularly undertaken by the teaching profession. The teaching practices which engage and facilitate knowledge of the National Curriculum, by illustrating relevance to children’s learning, demonstrate the application of theory to practice. Sequentially, the value of school-based learning by student teachers becomes valued. But conflict emerges in classrooms where student teachers are being trained. Several host teachers during the research period expressed concern about the time factor involved in assisting the students. They regard the education of their pupils as
their primary concern. This conflict is hard for the student teachers to grasp. Their focus essentially is on personal development. The pupils are rivals for the attention of the classteacher. The student teachers combine expectations, goals and personal needs in striving to be ‘good students’. Pfeffer (1982:41) summarised this position in noting that:

Expectancy theory.....argues that people undertake actions according to the probability that these actions will lead to some instrumentally valued outcomes; goal theory argues that people act purposefully to fulfil their needs or to overcome need deficiencies. But the school experience or teaching practice presents a situation in which students are soon aware of the expectations of the host teachers and teacher educators. They are prevented from altering their situation by factors over which they have little control, and are hindered in any attempts by the demands of the assessment criteria. Crudely characterised, the nature of tasks contributing to the development of the ‘good student’ and ultimately the ‘good teacher’ is firstly construed by students as deciding what to do and how to do it in order to pass a teaching practice. As shown above, sometimes but not always, students adopt the host teacher’s ideas as their own either to expand their knowledge or to save face by effecting a compromise.
Conclusions from the analysis

A number of aspects concerning values and conflicts in ITE have been explored as a result of the data derived from the questionnaire and subsequent interviews. In summary, what has become evident through the investigation is that the pace of pressure of learning is a cause rather than an effect of valuing. Long drawn out tasks like the preparation of activities, as required by teacher educators, provide students with opportunities to make informed choices. Short tasks act as catalysts for student teachers to make do by adopting others' values. But there may also have been a perpetual discounting process in which students make a trade-off between solving conflicts and developing competence. Knowledge about their own critical learning and the purpose of tasks in relation to their future role(s) as teachers are vital for students if they are to gauge the success of their long-term and short-term actions.

Knowledge and Acting

Values at work in the teacher training institution have crystallised into a systematic set of practices, expectations and procedures that are co-ordinated towards the recruitment of individuals who are as interested in children as they are in teaching. These learners enter the training institution knowing that they will have to develop knowledge and skills which will assist in:
(a) the delivery of knowledge including professional study of education and experience in schools.

(b) the assessment of professional skills in the application of subject-based knowledge appropriate to a specific age range.

While it is possible to identify desirable practices and procedures quite clearly in course documents, expectations are often, but not always clarified and all too frequently are misinterpreted. There are obviously limits to what can realistically be expected by and for student teachers. In the long-term, however, it is reasonable to expect professional development to take place and for that development to be aimed at the realisation of student learning appropriate to the roles and tasks that teachers are expected to perform.

Cognitive psychologists argue that learners discover and construct meaning from their experiences through analysing data to detect pattern, forming and testing hypotheses and integrating new knowledge with previous understanding (Piaget 1969, Vygotsky 1978). This idea of constructing meaning is a form of adaptive behaviour and is at the centre of all learning. How student teachers set about the task of learning to teach is largely determined by the way they seek meaning, and try to find the underlying theories that will account for the patterns they recognise in their practice. Kelly (1955) asserted, that in devising some construction of meaning which permits one to perceive similarities in two events,
it is also possible to use the same construction to differentiate these events from others. He added that in the simultaneous noting of likenesses and differences, there are endless varieties of invented constructions of each event, influenced by previous experiences and/or perceptions. The management of these constructions is essential to developing the competence to deliver curricula in the classroom.

The author's research has encouraged her to posit that there is an enormous chasm for some students between their perception of initial teacher education and the reality. Their perceptions are based upon their assumptions about what teaching is. Although visits to schools are prerequisites to acceptance for ITE, there is little research about how to use students' experiences of these 'visits'. At Paullon University, the serial practices preceding block practices, during the research period, were task-orientated. Reading a story to a group, on-going study of one child's reading development and planning or teaching maths to a small group were examples of such tasks. Student teachers were expected to analyse what Wilson (1975) called 'the classroom ecology' of their placement in a series of tasks prior to block practice. This process involved observations of the host teachers' behaviour, the classroom environment, the class, the school and its routines. Supported by theories expounded by Pollard and Tann (1987) and tutorial large group work, students were expected to reflect upon their experiences through the writing of logs or journals. The aim was to understand
the ecology of the classroom and then work to extend teaching competences in
the direction of complex interaction patterns.

The findings from the interviewees' stories revealed that survival strategies were
evident in the teacher training processes. The 'with-it-ness', indicative of the
reflective practitioner model and the ability to interpret discrete events in terms
of their immediate and long-term significance, have yet to be developed. What
was evident was that the interviewees appeared to have the need to 'control'.
To understand control strategies, required the interviewees to understand
whether the control strategies of the host teacher reflected an expression of her
values or the cumulative effects of adapting to pupils' needs, or a combination of
both. This is rather different from the application of individual student teachers' theo-
ries about 'control' in classroom management. Few student teachers are
empowered to undertake systematic study of this type without conscious
cognitive training over a period of time. Indeed, the final year students, studied
for the purposes of this enquiry, were better able to demonstrate 'with-it-ness',
differentiation and rapid judgement than the freshers. It is evident that
transferable skills are essential in professional development if students are to
respond appropriately to many different situations in the course of their work.
At present, the imposition of tasks obscures their benefits and intentions as was
evident in Nina Mears' comment, which is worthy of reiteration.
The tasks I had to do before starting teaching practice did not make sense. There was no pattern to them. If I had understood them then I would have been better prepared for the tutorial and the teaching practice.

The emphasis by the research sample on transactions and interactions in schools seemed to indicate that conflicts were developed almost exclusively in the school environment. This emphasis matches the findings in the research literature of other authors such as Ball and McDiarmid 1990, Calderhead and Robson 1991, who suggested that experiential learning is one of the most beneficial parts of their training courses, but as Wade (1976:59) has pointed out, no other aspect:

.....is so traditionally accepted yet suffers so much from the lack of a theoretical basis with which to support future developments or indeed to justify present ones.

Despite the small unrepresentative sample used in this survey, it is perhaps of no surprise that student teachers resort to personal ways of knowing and operating. They are distinctive in the utilisation of their own value systems.
CHAPTER 7

REFLECTION, MULTIPLE VALUES AND MEANINGS

The research community values objectivity, rigour and the ability to conform to specific patterns of writing. To deliberately choose subjectivity and alternative patterns of writing is to invite charges of unprofessional behaviour and the withholding of publication in prestigious academic journals.

Despite this constraint, this penultimate chapter focuses primarily on the research process as a 'story' within a longer 'story'. This short story is less than the actual 'life' of the process because the story told is selective and contextually constructed. Its inclusion is perceived as a much-needed redress to a habitual tendency to stress research results only rather than considering some of the kinds of effort that were involved in obtaining those results. The research process as depicted in most texts seems to the author, to be somewhat mechanical and idealised. On the investigative journey the author traversed, some intellectually interesting territory born of intuition or gut feeling, accident, coincidence, planning, rewards and following the rules. On the last point, for example, it is to be recognised that the style adopted throughout the study silences the 'I' in order to conform to some ideas of scholarship. However, in this chapter, a sharing of the reflections upon the process, ignore exhortations to researchers in the literature to keep a distance and disallow the intrusion of their feelings and experiences. Since the topic explored in this treatise is concerned with values and

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conflict, the story of the researcher's values and conflict have intersected with those of significant others to produce messy constructions of the social world under investigation. Consequently, reflection on the author's lived experiences in the field extends the discussion of values and conflict in initial teacher education but focus mainly on the role of participant observation. It is important to include this aspect because part of the reason for understanding this research is to make the unknown known and to include, rather than exclude, individuals as well as groups. Thus the author reflects upon her various roles and tasks within the research process. In doing so, the formal structure of the investigation is interrupted and 'I' becomes important and temporarily emerges.

Dewey defined (1933:9) reflective thinking as:

Active persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends.

This definition suggested that reflection can be a powerful tool when used by a self conscious person. Consciousness seemed to encode a dual notion of an individual's actions and the effects of structures and experiences in the environment. Dennett (1996:71) asserted that consciousness is the sum of many abilities or 'competences'. He explained further:

"One competency is our ability to discriminate between many different situations and environments, and to respond to them appropriately. Another is that we can report on our environment, so language is important. But another one is the capacity to be moved and feel emotion at certain events."
Put in this way, provided that an individual is able to respond to the environment, describe personal feelings and undergo emotional experiences then the individual is conscious. Chalmers (1996) presented a philosophical argument. While he agreed that the roots of consciousness lie in the brain, he suggested that subjective experiences which give rise to individual feelings across a wide range, demonstrated that there is an extra irreducible ingredient - an abstract he called 'information'.

In drawing these ideas together in this chapter, I, the author of this work, share my responses to various roles with reference to structures in the field and personal feelings. Additionally, information is presented about a particular kind of fieldwork and some of the trails that led to race, gender and class issues being extracted and aired.

Writing in a different context Giroux (1992:204) observed that:

"a reflective account provided a reconstruction of suppressed memories that offer identities with which to challenge and contest the very conditions through which history, desire, voice and place are experienced and lived."

**Constructed Identities**

As indicated in the introductory chapter, I had enjoyed a successful career as a primary school teacher and advisor before employment in the DTS. Promotion of
multicultural education in urban schools and an enthusiastic commitment to working with disadvantaged learners brought me to the DTS as a Teacher Fellow and later a teacher educator.

During the first four years of my tenure I was the only black member of the academic staff. This position was neither unusual nor threatening because it was the norm in my working life. As a black immigrant, my early education during the colonial period and subsequent under-graduate interests contributed to what Ogbu (1990) termed ‘a dual frame of reference’ that is ‘a reliance upon adaptation strategies which promote a separate identity and emphasis on education as a means of success’.

Consequently in order to survive it was pragmatic to:

1. view socio-cultural conflicts as resolvable difficulties
2. acquire new cultural traits necessary for advancement
3. adopt practices which enhanced personal prospects for upward mobility
4. be open to mainstream 'knowledge' which serves to cultivate critical sensibilities.

These principles of survival were doubly important in institutions where black people were considered emblemic representatives. For example, the DTS collaborated with local colleges in the provision of appropriate courses through which disadvantaged students gained entry to HEIs. It was normal to accept some
of these students, many of whom were black, for ITE. Yet it appeared that having achieved their positions through different routes, faculty policy makers, planners and other staff knew little about the nature of the difficulties disadvantaged students faced nor did they understand these students’ interaction processes within the departmental environment as they pursued their educational and professional development goals.

Through some form of institutional scripting the roles that I, the author, carved out for myself prior to the start of the research included:

- immersion in the details of faculty and departmental life through academic work, attendance at course team meetings, course committee meetings and course planning. The democratic structured format of Board of Studies meetings was the arena for collective consideration and managerial decision making with reference to student matters. Staff meetings provided the forum for staff to be informed and to consider appropriate action.
- responding to the perceived needs of disadvantaged students through mentoring, counselling, and role modelling.
- responding to colleagues' expectations of support and guidance as an 'expert' on black issues.

My observations of peers' attitudes towards myself confirmed the idea suggested by Metz (1987) and Goldstein (1988) that a teacher's status within a department or faculty is in part derived from the status of the students with whom there was
interaction. Colleagues' perceptions of my teaching or interpersonal skills were tempered and coloured not only by my status as a former Teacher Fellow, but also by the fact that I taught and was closely associated with disadvantaged students. I was thought to be a good motivational role model for students, yet colleagues held low expectations of black students. I was frustrated by the explanations that all the students' difficulties were cultural and that other factors were ignored, for example, lack of finance and inadequate childcare provision. These latter concerns also contributed to basic conflicts in my feelings towards disadvantaged students. I tended to identify with them and was keen to support them but was reticent in defending them as competent individuals seeking social mobility through higher education. My status was further framed and confused by a social context in which immigrants generally felt disempowered and undervalued. This resulted in peers ascribing limited influence and support to me as a 'new' teacher educator.

Informed and inspired by my students' perceived needs and by my own enthusiasms, I became a researcher and sought answers to puzzling questions and puzzles which helped to shape and influence my beliefs and behaviours and the struggle for a unique niche in which to establish a values-rich identity. Often wishing to be invisible so as not to be perceived as the representative of disadvantaged and black students, my status and identity depended upon my ability to present myself simultaneously as highly academic and student-friendly.
According to Spindler and Spindler (1992: 111) the past is the 'enduring self' and the specific adaptations in a new setting are the 'situated self'. The interplay of these two selves would, I, the author believed, constitute an 'ideal self' in due course. There was, however, no general idea what this ideal self was in the competing pressures and unanticipated demands arising from the nature of and public demands of accountability in ITE.

Rapid social changes were taking place in the structure content and access to ITE when the research began; these changes were noted in Chapter One. Personal and professional conflicts of values surfaced in a variety of ways which were both puzzling and persistent and to which solutions and/or answers were needed in order to respond to the stimuli in the environment. Drawing upon personal and professional values in the light of these new developments and constraints, I began to reflect on the Paullon institution's values and its transmissions to students. Enquiry became a priority and the starting point for answers to the questions which pervade the motivation for this thesis: In what ways do student teachers utilise their values in their teaching practices? In what ways are student teachers influenced by the values of the training institutions? What happens to those who reject all or some of the institutional values?
Starting points

At the starting point of this investigation there were no research plans but detailed observations of students on teaching practices and literature searches for values in teaching highlighted two interesting unanticipated 'findings':

- Student teachers in the author's 'care' appeared to imitate her teaching styles and some classroom management skills.
- There was little evidence of literature about values in teaching.

The first 'finding' was puzzling and worrying. As indicated above, I had been socialised into teaching by significant others in Third World countries whose constructions of teaching and its values were different to those in developed countries. The pragmatic measures utilized in adapting to a 'new' teaching culture failed to eradicate the impact of original core experiences, though they were tempered by 'new' values in order to achieve a harmony, which would promote professional competence in the new cultural context. Knowledge about values in teaching had been personally constructed, local and continuous. The process was a three-stage one that involved:

1. stringing together rules that reflect 'action' values and appropriate operating assumptions based on the context.
2. testing the rules and assumptions alongside theories.
3. adapting rules, assumptions and theories into a personal model, which can be justified.

Thus the enduring qualities of this research author’s values account for their continuing influence in and affirmation and satisfied a sense of what felt right or awakened my sense of what was morally offensive. However, some students in the research sample who had attended schools in the 1970s and/or were taught by teachers who had received little or no education in philosophy (psychology and sociology), during their ITE\(^1\). Consequently, some experienced inability or reluctance to articulate their values and to provide justifications for them, for fear of revealing absence of a high level of moral development. Their years of apprenticeship of observing teachers and teaching, however, would have led to the development of a 'reservoir of values' (Lortie 1975) quite different from mine whose transformed experience of teaching in Britain was constructed from different givens. On the other hand I was able to extract from my experiences as student teacher, teacher and advisor in white institutions to draw or paint lines in some students' pictures as they prepared for teaching practices. The sharing of tacit knowledge in the teaching practice experiences was successful judging by the numerous imitations of my own classroom strategies and teaching styles witnessed in classrooms occupied by student teachers.

Despite my own socialization into middle class academic life, working class values of sharing, caring, solidarity and commonsense theorising were starting
points, which fitted the reality of some students' previous experiences. Switching language and frames to suit situations and occasions became a way of life for me as well as some students. Survival was a key issue.

**Sorting the Puzzle**

The dearth of primary sources about values in teaching, revealed when I came to investigate the nature and direction of existing knowledge, was a shock. There was little reference in the main texts for course work, yet every teacher essentially utilises values. A chance meeting with a colleague at a conference with whom the topic of value formation was discussed further combined with concerns about the high dropout rates of teacher students (30% instead of the more routine figure of 18%) in 1990 initiated research ideas. It was additionally motivated by the comments of two students who were 'sent down' and who attributed their failure to a 'conflict of values'. The goal ultimately set was to provide a confident answer to questions about values.

Review of pertinent studies related to the field revealed values as standards to be attained. These definitions, however, were discarded because they did not fit the purpose of this study. The bibliographies of qualifying studies and a journal by journal research of studies published during the last fifteen years were then used to locate other empirical studies meeting these same criteria. The searches in the
British Education Theses Index and the Educational Research Information Center (ERIC) were the most fruitful.

However in all this literature there was little evidence of the actual construct understudy, the dimensions it encompasses, how values might connect to specific behaviours e.g. teaching and what the links might be to other constructs like conflict. Furthermore, no studies offered or invited engagement with values and conflicts of multifaith students in a multicultural setting. Measurement of values featuring manipulation of variables was no confident answer to a study of human values, which, according to Fallding (1965:225) are organising ends to which satisfactions and other actions are subordinated. As noted in Chapter Three it seemed essential to heed Spates' suggestion that the population under consideration should generate its own values.

The blending of the teaching and values were unavoidable and by extension so were conflicts:

...because primary teaching allows for self-expression and the use of multiple talents, it has the potential to be highly 'inclusive'. This in turn encourages some people to fuse their personal and occupational self-image but has the opposite effect on others who choose instead to distance their 'selves' from their work. Yet the latter course is not easy to follow. While the substantial self is not, by definition, an ephemeral phenomenon, the nature of teaching makes it difficult for individuals to remain immune from situational influences, some of which bite deeply into their core of self-defining values. (Nias 1989:42)
The preparation of an appropriate questionnaire to highlight perceived values in teaching was undertaken with the intention of testing it in a cross section of the student teacher population. The questionnaire was at its validation stage when changes in the status of two gatekeepers necessitated their withdrawal from the distribution of the questionnaire in their institutions. The size and ethos of the field centred on this author's place of work. Further revision was undertaken to note what values student teachers perceived as important in teaching and how these are related to roles and tasks of teachers in the 1990s.

Relationships with me centred on my status, which in turn was determined by my roles and tasks. By the start of the research these included Lecturer/Facilitator of theory and practice of Education, History of Childhood and Art courses, Team Leader of primary (7-11 years) group, Co-leader and liaison person of Access students, supervisor of students on serial and block practices and Placement Coordinator. This is not the occasion to elaborate on the breadth of duties and responsibilities and tasks of these roles but it serves to indicate that there was a deep commitment with and much contact with students. Given the spread of duties and responsibilities of these roles and tasks, and the long tenure, as the author researcher, I was known to staff and all students directly and indirectly and enjoyed a climate of mutual respect and trust. The various roles as a black woman in Britain, researcher, black academic in a white institution of Higher Education, teacher, 'sista', tutor/supervisor (of teaching practices rather than students!) authority figure, counsellor, friend, and mentor
inevitably raised issues about power and conflicts. For example as an authority figure I was in a powerful position in requesting the help of Year One students in completing the questionnaire. They were not in a strong position to refuse but could choose to avoid completion, though non-completion was probably due to lack of thinking time although there was no set time limit.

Initially 'testing' a questionnaire with one group over 4 years as a longitudinal study was the main focus to incorporate Nias's theory (1989:43) that:

when we enter the world of work (or any similar new arena, we open ourselves to a potential conflict - between the beliefs and values built up in our early years and sustained by our significant and generalized others and those exemplified by the people with whom we now interact every day.

Thus the general (national) and particular (institutional) contexts became essential elements in the research and are included at Chapters One and Four. While documentary evidence was available, participant observation acquired importance as a normal part of the 'thick description' expected of qualitative analysis of the particular context.

Normality is a social construction. It is normal for researchers to be observers and participants. Observations in the field are conducted to collect data as a knowledge base for the context or setting, and provide documentary evidence for triangulation purposes and to aid credibility and validity. The structure of normal guidelines begins to blur when the researcher also participates in those matters
that are being observed. Addelson (1994:60) referred to this position as 'double
participation'. Significant levels of trust need to be maintained in order for
satisfactory data collection to proceed. It was a struggle throughout this
investigation to retain sufficient distance for objectivity of assessments. For this
reason, working with a supervisor became important. Consistency in supervision,
however, is equally important. Progress in this research project was hampered at
intervals through the loss of supervisors. With them went a history and culture
but change also brought greater insights into value formation and conflict
resolution.

**Data Collection**

Having been a member of staff for sometime before beginning this research, the
significance of the role of researcher was recognised when data analysis from the
questionnaire began. This period also marked the significance of Addelson's
(1994) 'double participation'. Students were willing and able to discuss values
generally as a part of their course work with me because that was normative
within the institutional framework. Some of the categorisation of roles and tasks
into manageable and smaller 'groups' was aided by the work of students in Group
A as part of the Theory and Practice course just because I was their regular tutor.

Moulding and fashioning the data into logical findings required the author's
subjective interpretation as is expected of a teacher educator/researcher.
Consequently statistical approaches and qualitative analyses have been utilised in presenting the findings. Capra (1988:415) was quite correct in his statement that:

[a] science concerned only with quantity and based exclusively on measurement is inherently unable to deal with experience quality or values.

Despite the help of students with clarification of categories, this part of the research process was tediously lengthy. Changes among the gatekeepers of the Department and heads of Year Groups were responsible for a rethinking of the nature and form of the investigation. Negotiations for access to students to continue a longitudinal study were difficult and ultimately became impossible. Strenuous efforts resulted in an offer to distribute questionnaires to the Year Four group. Consequently, a comparison of values was made between 'entry' and 'exit' students. This change of strategy was advanced as the solution to access difficulties on the 'home front' thus rendering the methodology explorative. In Boudieu's terms (1996:22-3), both time and position had contrived to remove the author from:

....the conditions of existence and the social mechanisms which exert their effects on the whole ensemble of the category to which such a person belongs...and a command of the conditions, psychological and social, both associated with a particular trajectory in social space."

Questions related to my ability to sustain investigative research were asked by my employers who also overtly debated my expertise and inability to present initial
work to conferences or as a stimulus for seminars. Fitting into a society of researchers was a requirement for the allocation of official research time and funding. Thus accidental or fortuitous chances and contingencies were pertinent intervening factors. My self-esteem, however, boosted my determination to further engage in research work. That no time or financial support was forthcoming, however, stimulated a perverse resolve to continue. Retaining value in what could be achieved had to be firmly recalled to memory.

**Obtaining data on Conflicts**

Three main points guided the work on conflicts:

1. Neither time nor energy was available for lengthy interviews following up items on the questionnaires.

2. Through observations and experience it was noted that the traditional paradigm of ITE portrayed professional development as a series of sequential phases through which students progress (Fuller 1969). In reality the model to show their development is difficult to build, because the teaching culture defines certain attitudes and behaviours as positive and, following from that, others as negative. Conflicts, as was demonstrated in the analysis of data collated, are usually evaluated as negative and those students who experience them feel 'different' or 'vulnerable'. Yet there is nothing about students' actions and attitudes that make them inherently conflictual - they become so within a particular culturally created context.
3. On the other hand, the culture of teaching indirectly promotes conflicts because students experience particular actions and attitudes negatively and the results are described as conflicts. Teacher educators know this but prefer to leave this aspect of professional practice hidden.

It was decided that a range of interviews across year groups would provide an opportunity to bring interpretations to bear on themes within the ‘stories’ of conflicts. Narrative inquiry was viewed as an appropriate tool for gaining insights into what conflicts student teachers had faced and how they had resolved them. Additionally, student teachers had gained experience of reflection, which was an essential ingredient in their reflective practitioner model of ITE. In short, it was hoped that the tensions created between the researcher, the interviewees and the stories would reveal values that have been 'naturalised', that is the incidence of conflicts could be explained in part by cultural meanings that have come together in the teaching context.

As indicated earlier, twenty-one student teachers (12 black, 9 white) volunteered their names, addresses and telephone numbers in the wish to become part of more extensive investigations into value constructs than was feasible through questionnaires. One black student later withdrew because she 'had never faced any conflicts'. It was surprising that any black students had volunteered, although a copy of the research findings was on offer as a way of sharing the outcomes. Firstly, it is a well established belief that many white academics achieved their
accolades through their perceived interpretations of black people's lives without sharing the outcomes or repaying the black community for their help during the periods of high immigration and social unrest in the mid-1960s to the early 1980s. Consequently, a significant percentage of black people avoid participation in most research projects. Was a call for volunteers by a black individual a chance to help a 'sister' achieve her accolade?

Secondly, the request for volunteers to talk about conflict was particularly vague and therefore open to avoidance. Efforts to persuade volunteers to be interviewed at the university met with widespread resistance. With those who did come forward, however, there was, it seemed, a tacit understanding that it would be safer to talk away from the university. Was this a strategy to protect secrets, which they perceived to be unknown to other departmental staff or to give themselves some power in telling their stories on their territory? In dealing with authority figures, the 'powerless' undoubtedly communicated better in personally selected contexts because they are more comfortable. The exception was, however, that the 'powerless' people had taken the researcher into their world as a 'sister' sharing their physical and lived worlds. Within their structures, as the researcher, I was reduced to being powerless and often unwilling and unable to press for clarity as some interviewees often interrupted halted their storytelling with the phrase 'You know how it is'. I may have known how it was because of being privy to the details either through case conferences about students or because of familiarity with actions that, when meted out to students, were
perceived negatively. However, simultaneously being distant (as researcher) and close (as familiar with similar situations) was problematic.

In conducting some of these interviews what was most troubling the author was the ways in which the interviewees understood and experienced their conflicts, assumed their various roles and identities as they made meaning and sense out of their apparent pain. The boundary between research and therapy (which Lea and West (1995) earlier had identified was thus visible. The storytelling ranged from 20 to 55 minutes. Time was a powerful element, both in the narration of the details and in the resolution of the conflicts. The need to obtain unassailable evidence about conflicts had been initiated by students’ comments in the questionnaires, hence interviews were sought before lapses in memory could occur. The amount and type of disclosure from student teachers varied with the perceived needs of each interviewee. The 'framing' of the themes shaped the style and format of Chapter Six. The overall aim however was to educate teacher educators about some of the conflicts student teachers may face in the 1990s and next millennium.

Prior to the writing, reporting the nature and outcomes of this investigative project, immersion in most students' details involved several listenings of tapes and readings of transcribed material. As a black woman who already possessed a certain level of understanding about what it means to be a learner in Britain where teaching styles, race and ethnicity, gender and class are problematic issues, I had to respect and be sympathetic to the privacy desired by black students who in a
different situation would have avoided participation in any research. Thus the extracts from the narratives are short. No courses in ethnography; no texts prepare researchers for researchers' conflicts associated with accessing levels of emotions. Mostly, the students who dropped out of the ITE programme felt ashamed—a feeling confirmed by Bartky (1990). Each student teacher involved in the research sessions expressed surprise at 'having to cope when others managed easily'. Being unable and unwilling to comprehend that the construction of personal knowledge begins with struggles, conflict and new meanings of past events, the interviewees probably believed that the 'others' were normal and they were not.

Inescapable Dilemmas

The stories of conflicts needed to be checked against other interpretations of the same story for reliability and validity. This requirement necessitated obtaining all parties' perspectives on the data (Garfinkel 1967). This process brought me as the researcher into a 'triangulation' and emphasised the conflicts in double participation.

In returning to the notion of double participation, it is essential to link this with the willingness to gain other perspectives on the stories of conflict presented by the student teachers from host teachers, in particular, where appropriate. Through actual interactions with student teachers and later in the inspected controlled context of their classrooms, host teachers would have created images of teacher
educators within ITE discourse. These 'normalising' images provide the kinds of standards against which to judge teacher educators or to interpret their roles. This, however, presents at a high level of generality. Since teacher educators rarely wear their researcher hats in schools, host teachers were surprised to be invited to be interviewed about students' conflicts to which they may have contributed unwittingly. Hertz (1997:xi) recognised that prospective interviewees:

...react to us as individuals, with ideas of their own, not simply in a role of researcher. In plain talk, they "size us up" in order to situate us.

The host teachers refused approaches to cooperate citing four main reasons:

- researchers use theoretical language to control interviews and possess observations of host teachers, their particular classrooms and schools (inequality of power). Is this why few teachers read/head classroom research?

- the discussion of student teachers' progress or lack of it with anyone other than their own tutor breaks confidentiality rules and is unprofessional behaviour (inequality of values). Is the inculcation of professional values the task of all concerned with ITE?

- 'doing research' is different from professional practice and is usually done by people who want to escape from the classroom (inequality of status).

- 'time was not available for such matters'. (inequality of relationship)

Would the situation have been different if the author had chosen fieldwork in a different location? Since none of the host teachers had knowledge of the
researchers’ many selves the emergent hunch is that trust was an important factor.
More time and energy were needed to negotiate the trust of host teachers before
approaching them about general and particular aspects of 'their students'. The
supervision of student teachers is an individual socially constructed act
constituting a fear-risk paradox: there is a marked discrepancy between the fear of
poor supervision and the risk of having a poor student. The discussion of any
aspect of professional practice thus increases the fear and risk of disclosure about
standards and competences of both student teachers and host teachers.
Additionally, there was no incentive for host teachers to participate given their
lack of time for extra curricular activities. The attempt to engage host teachers
nevertheless gave invaluable insights into school teachers’ attitudes to research
and inherent value attributes.

My dislocation as a researcher entering the classroom was registered by the
differences in perspectives, values, power and status. Consequently, these
differences limited efforts to gain other perspectives on the data - which is in
essence the objective of triangulation. It was not just a case of interviewing but
an attempt to observe what Lather (1995:295) observed:

"Through dialogue and reflexivity design, data and theory emerge, with
data being recognised as generated from people in a relationship."

The author was already in a relationship with the student teachers in several ways,
host teachers (through her work as Placement Officer at the DTS). Consequently
all dialogue was of value and any future research that developed from the outcomes would be important contributions to the ITE discourse. The lack of support from host teachers disadvantaged all as students' dialogues were converted to monologues, relying on their sole efforts to make sense of personal conflicts.

Assessment reports provided by host teachers as well as teacher educators, logs of classroom practice, reflections in professional practice files and notes from case conferences, helped to increase the likelihood of congruence between the interviewees' stories and the final reconstructions presented in Chapter Six.

The most important lesson learned was that without prolonged discussions and negotiations to develop trust; informed consent to share another's story is impossible. In expecting that host teachers would be willing and able to accommodate me as a (former) host teacher, and ITE colleague from the DTS, I had anticipated the involvement of colleagues, peers, mentors, and 'friends willing to be enemies'....who could as Reason (1981:247) put it, shock one out of habitual ways of thinking and experiencing. Such expectations were few and far between - an 'insider's' tenor of experience is probably neither as clear nor as sharp as the text makes it seem! In presenting truth, the text has become less solid and less structured than intended.
From the start, the work was driven by an obsessive concern for objectivity. Although the uneasy and perhaps dialectical relationship between values and conflict in teaching had generated some discussion, no research had addressed values and conflict in ITE rigorously. Consequently theorising about this aspect was itself an area of conflict. Coursework at the DTS centred on beliefs that students held and how they had influenced professional practice.

\textbf{Pertinent Issues}

By clarifying some of the issues pertinent to the research process, this researcher's values surface mainly as time management and quality of relationships. To achieve quality time in managing the research, decisions were made to achieve full time rather than part time research conditions. This approach facilitated the progress of the work, but effectively distanced me from the setting, both physically and academically. The lack of time for research as well as academic duties, was perhaps a conflict which needed to be resolved because time management was a value. Lack of time to develop trust before negotiation with host teachers was mentioned above. The decisions made and actions taken in organising and reporting upon this investigation are already part of the past. To enquire into what was happening at a particular time in a particular place with particular students has resulted in an improvement in the author's practice and subsequently better management of time for moral realisation:
"so that not only what ought to be is in the (ITE) world, but I am what ought to be, and so find my contentment and satisfaction". (Bradley 1952:181)

My extended presence in the lives of student teachers established good relationships with them which both hindered and helped the research process. Gaining entry to their world was relatively easy though my status as a member of staff caused some final year students (Group B) to mistrust the intent of the study.

As noted above, I was particularly concerned that black interviewees would be overtly cautious about being exploited as a source of data for the development of 'scientific' theories in which they may be pathologised in terms of lack or failure. A second fear was how to deal with generalised anger towards others, especially associated with failure or self-conflict. Fortunately this did not happen. However, it was necessary to probe deeper than intended because black students in particular were aware of my ease of access to information at case conferences and consequently my ability to become informed about their particular cases. As a researcher, I was both within and outside students' cultural milieu. Identification with their special needs and interests flowed from a thoughtful teacher educator following a class/gender/race path. Typically it was extremely difficult to communicate my frustration with interviewees' expectations that their full stories would be unfolded for them. Their personal narratives, while having some cultural resonance for the author, were opportunities to position themselves in particular social spaces of their own choice. The steps to maintain good
relationships had to be taken carefully. Writing and speaking are different skills. Perhaps speaking with a tape recorder nearby was inhibiting and, was it proper to think about Labov's and Berstein's theories about linguistic codes whilst working investigatively? However by counting the number of times (29) that black students uttered 'You know how it is', 'You know what it is like' and 'You know', it was difficult to maintain the perspective of a stranger by merely saying: 'I don't know how it is, please tell me'. The coercive probe was: 'Tell me what it was like for you'.

As regards the creation and maintenance of good relationships, with staff, a seminar presentation of the research findings to the staff of the DTS was undertaken towards the end of the research rather than as a response to an earlier invitation. More than 50% of the staff attended, and were discernibly interested in the findings and the special summary presented in Table 7.1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author's Perception of Values of Institution (1997) (a)</th>
<th>Imposed NC Values</th>
<th>VALUES, ROLES AND TASKS</th>
<th>Conflicts Derived from Data</th>
<th>Ethical roots o Teaching</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Values:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Group B</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commercialism</td>
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<td>Values</td>
<td>Roles</td>
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<td>- Hard work</td>
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<td>Equality</td>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>Provide</td>
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<td>- Commonsense</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Provide Learning</td>
<td>Environment</td>
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<td>Competiveness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>Agent of Socialisation</td>
<td>Plan Activities</td>
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<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Role Model</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utilitarianism</td>
<td></td>
<td>Child Centredness</td>
<td>Advisor</td>
<td>Individualise</td>
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<td>Co-operation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inter Personal Relationships</td>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>Most Needs</td>
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<td>Solidarity</td>
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<td>Empathy</td>
<td>Role Model</td>
<td>Monitor</td>
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<td>Practical Knowledge</td>
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<td>Patience</td>
<td>Carer</td>
<td>Counsel</td>
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<td>Concern for individuals</td>
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<td>Importance of Personal Growth</td>
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<td>Equality of Opportunity</td>
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<td>Competency</td>
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<td>Quality (Assurance)</td>
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<td>With-it-ness</td>
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<td>Responsibility</td>
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<td>Whole heartedness</td>
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(a) The values noted are on an amalgamation of residual, current and overarching values observed in a systemised set of practices, expectations, procedures and policies.
Three main concerns were identified by colleagues reflecting on my findings:

1. What they asked was responsible for the highly rated value of equality (of opportunity) in the responses of Group A students which was excluded from the six most important values in the responses of Group B students? In an institution which demonstrates equality of opportunity in its works, staffing, policies and mission statements, the reality of this situation was at best puzzling, at worst most worrying. It was suggested that:

   (a) the socially desirable ‘product’ of students in Group A was probably based on a combination of latent experience of schooling and information about institutional values gained in a variety of ways prior to and early in their coursework.

   (b) the concrete practical ‘product’ of students in Group B may well be constructed from role expectations based on experiential learning (professional practice) and observations of teachers at work.

2. Colleagues’ second concern related to the discovery was that students were often in conflictual situations with host teachers. It was conjectured that a more systematic approach to preparation for mentoring, better documentation from the DTS and improved liaison with schools in the partnership scheme. A placement coordinator with responsibilities for these tasks, has since this
exposure, been appointed. The status afforded this person was a strategy to connect power and values with a view to developing institutional structures that 'naturalise' ITE within schools.

3. The recommendation that student teachers might be made more aware of the connection between their future roles, tasks and professional values, was applauded by colleagues. It was, however, noted that permeation of any proposals along these lines would have to be implemented only within Governmental policies on Citizenship as part of Personal and Social Education, and in a rather limited way.

Although staff were aware of the potential of the research recommendation, they felt that the present competency-based model of ITE required all the efforts and energies of staff and students to achieve successful completion of the number and range of requirements for qualified teacher status.

The need for conveying meaningful results combined with the motive to find answers to a conundrum provided reasons for some of this researcher's behaviour. Meaning was made out of errors and unexpected events and choices. Theoretical language provided the means to possess and control the data in order to resolve or refine a multivalent ITE into a singular reading accessible to a wide audience.
There are both practical and theoretical reasons why there should be concern about the values of people who put themselves forward for initial teacher education. Practically, the use of student numbers and the pressures to produce 'good' teachers in a market economy make it important that student teachers choose the training institutions which share their goals, thus enabling them to pursue their professional practice with greater confidence and competence. It is recognised that the range of training institutions from which prospective students can choose is usually limited by factors outside their control. There is a tendency to gravitate towards 'best fit'-institution for the student.

In the 1990s, the reality is that student teachers, as consumers are in a stronger position to make informed choices from the 'goods' on offer but lack the skills and experience to do so. The 'goods' are presented as deliverable, neutral and value free. All education unavoidably is value-laden. The choice of values, which are to be central to any initial teacher education, is primarily a function of the institution, the experience of teacher education and the prescribed elements.

Theoretically, the act of teaching involves evaluation, judgement and choice, all of which are essential features of value systems. Peters (1970) claimed that 'values sensitise to features of a situation which are morally relevant'. Such
sensitivity is similar to what Rowan (1981:45) has described as 'the realised level of consciousness' in which 'being rational...at this stage is doing justice to...all that is out there in the world and all that is inside ourselves'. The case argued here is that staff of training institutions need to be conscious of and sensitive to the issue of values. Consequently, it is necessary for them to make decisions in the light of what values are to be 'taught' and what values are employed to justify the teaching of the institution.

The implication of this is that empirical investigations are required to ascertain what values students bring to their learning and whether they are utilised to advantage in achieving goals of their own. Unless this is known, it would be impossible to formulate defensible policies and goals reflecting both educational and institutional aims. In recognition of this, this particular research project was started. It focused on seeking identification of the values held by student teachers and their trainers at the start of an ITE programme, the value shifts that are required of trainees, and the reasons for co-operation or conflict in the process of conserving or changing value bases or positions.

The Research Process

The conventional understanding is that research should be detached and objective. This objectionist stance has been difficult to sustain in respect of the investigation reported in this document.

According to Siad (1978:10):
No one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position or from the mere activity of being a member of society.

A paternalistic notion of what research is and how it should be conducted raises issues about gender and race. Black and ethnic minority experience is underrepresented in research literature concerned with achievement at Higher Education level or above. It is no wonder that black student teachers in the sample involved in this reported research initiative were found to be in conflict with the ideals of a university's equal opportunities policy. They perceived themselves as working class, but their experiences in the Department of Teaching Studies of the University were being shaped by an informal middle-class curriculum that conflicted with their prior assumptions. How their peer group, teacher educators and host educators and the impact of institutional policies on students’ and teacher educators’ behaviour perceived them as student teachers, was included in this 'class' consciousness. They had to adopt middle class values in order to proceed towards qualified teacher status.

Equal opportunities policy-making, at institutional and government levels, may have brought benefits to some black students at Paullon University, which is the setting of the research project in this document. However, questions still need to be asked about which students have benefited most, as individuals may be seen at different times as clever, dumb, independent or reliant, depending on the particular situation in which they are positioned.
Focus on Institutional ‘Norms’

A common feature of many initiatives in ITE is the conflict among staff who are expected to be very efficient in carrying out institutionally agreed decisions, but who often are insensitive to the needs and wishes of the people affected by them. In common with other training institutions, at Paullon University there is no simple correspondence between what any teacher educator thinks should happen, what student teachers should do with these ideas, and what actually occurs. Teacher educators offer their own lived experiences and the resulting values as part of the process; these can be regarded as sources of emulation. Thus the writer as a teacher educator, in common with colleagues, played a variety of roles, which sometimes impeded, but usually facilitated, insightful accurate reporting of the ‘case’ being studied. Yet, to attempt avoidance of a subjective base tackling the subject of value formation is to suggest that the particularities of time and place are “neutral” and “value free”. In absence of context, there is strong tendency to view particular behaviour as fixed ‘traits’ or as ‘personality characteristics’ that exist within people. In making sense of such behaviour, psychological interpretations, based on a particular notion about human behaviour, are being given. For example, by examining the context, an investigation into the enormous power of paradoxical rules behind cultural teachings is permitted. On hindsight, a possible successor in a study of values in initial teacher education would be well advised to take note of his/her own ‘values’ position at the outset.
Prolonged observations of student teachers by a single human being can be both enlightening and predictive. Understanding process as well as structure was at times frustrating and other times confusing. The students who were interviewed found the experience 'tedious'. Some felt that certain values were more prestigious to hold and therefore gave answers they thought were expected. The problem was perceived as a need to converge with assumed notions of the researcher or person held in high esteem. So personal opinions might be deemed by student teachers to be erroneous. Expressing personal opinion could therefore result in discernible anxiety. Error was perceived threatening and therefore to be avoided. The anxiety might be evaluated by the researcher as related to inner conflict about personal values and to those of others. The conflict was seen to emerge more freely in students who had no curricular input about values in education. Those who had received such education appeared more aware of the right to hold different opinions in respect of educational issues.

The author was at the outset of the investigation regarded as an insider by colleagues. Later she was perceived as an outsider. Over the time of the study, the black students in the group of interviewees became more forthright in discussing the conflicts they faced, while ex-colleagues became quite cautious before saying anything about the course and/or institution. The author in the initial phases of this research was actively involved in the teacher educator's role attempting to understand the demands of the job in the context in which they occurred. The combined role of educator and researcher within one's own
institution is unusual, vaguely defined and difficult for most people to understand or accept. It is also difficult for the researcher to maintain a stance of objectivity whilst slipping in and out of different roles.

Championing of the studied group's cause, or engaging in an interpretation of the true character of the institution, are roles that may be experienced in the same study by the same researcher. Specifically, this author found it more important to hold a view of herself as a thoughtful teacher who needed to find answers. Central to the motivation of the investigation was the question: What value positions lead student teachers to commit to learning to teach and to perform as 'good' teachers? The goal was to find answers to questions of conflict or consensus, which tormented and interfered with the smooth progress of teaching some student teachers. The analyses of findings stimulated anxieties about:

1. biases inherent in self-reported recollections of past events;
2. tendencies of human beings to take credit to themselves for good outcomes, while blaming bad outcomes on the environment.

The Scope of the Study

The initial intention of the researcher was to set up a comparative study of values in initial teacher education involving three institutions and some seven hundred students, but this ultimately and unexpectedly was not a feasible proposition. Realistically, and with hindsight, there was neither the time nor resources
available to one person working on a part-time basis to undertake such an
enormous task. It soon became apparent that the intended study would have to
take many factors into account and would impinge upon such disciplines as
sociology, psychology, phenomenology, philosophy and social anthropology.
Even after identifying one institution for the focus of study, limiting the terrain
was difficult with themes as vast, multi-layered, shifting and subjective as human
experience itself. The orderly cohesive arguments that seemed possible at the
beginning became lengthy, messy analyses and the struggles demonstrated in
determining personal values and beliefs are reflected in these. Small samples in
isolation proved to be a very unsatisfactory basis for estimating quality. At this
conjunction in time, it is difficult to judge the representativeness of this work,
despite its respondents coming from a wide social class range and a variety of
ethnic and faith groups. There were few males involved and none at the interview
stage; ethnic mix and ages of subjects also were unavoidably unbalanced. An
ideal random stratified sample therefore should not be assumed in interpreting the
work presented.

The findings of this study, based as it is on a small sample, cannot be deemed a
definitive piece of work. At best it should be received as preliminary research
which merits development. Furthermore, it is unreasonable to expect educational
research to demonstrate conclusively that particular recommendations could
‘work’ or bring certain improvements. Acceptance of the limitations, however,
should not serve to dismiss the findings concerning values and conflict. To
Paullon University they already have currency in planning and policy processes. Data could equally prove valuable to other ITE providers in seeking to better serve the needs of intending teachers.

Methodology

- It was seen as desirable that the study should involve an unobtrusive research method in order to capture the authenticity of representations being investigated. The use of qualitative analysis yielded a basic ‘description’ of the pattern of values in the case study of Paullon University. The complex nature of initial teacher education processes which, as seen throughout this thesis, is infused with economic, political and ideological contradictions, had considerable methodological implications for the research. In terms of the general suitability of qualitative research methods for this investigation, some basic problems, shared with other research methods, emerged.

- Documentary evidence relating to the context of Paullon University, which was the focus of this research project, was firmly guarded. Negotiating for the use of students’ time was time-consuming and difficult to manage due to changes in the administration of the Department of Teaching Studies of the University.

- Surveys cannot penetrate values and values-related issues in all their richness and complexity. From the range of time taken to complete the surveys in this
study and the number of incomplete surveys, it seems that some student teachers responded with elements of difficulty in doing so.

- Value rankings involved compliance with a normative system at the level of reporting, without the further step of internalisation. Further individual, in-depth interviewing would have provided student teachers with opportunities to clarify, qualify or to develop their answers. Small group interviews were conducted instead and had to suffice in respect of time and opportunity constraints.

- Non completion of surveys did not mean that students thought values were unimportant, though a few were 'surprised at being asked about something so personal'. It was likely that a lack of knowledge about values inherent in teaching, had combined with a conviction that it was important for their future careers.

The wide range of definitions attributed to the term 'values' raised some problems in the questionnaire survey, the results of which are presented in Chapter Five. In Britain, the tradition is to rely on formal definitions determined by higher education lecturers. Therefore, the author assumed that student teachers would arrive at a number of recognisable concepts, one of which could be appropriately used in an educational context. This was not the case. The questionnaire responses revealed that it could not be taken for granted or assumed that everyone
knows what values are, what their personal values are nor what their role or function is. This has been a key issue in imposing a structure on the thesis. All the terms under discussion had never been stabilised by unitary meanings. Any movement towards a single-minded definition worked against recognition of the dialogic relations that constitute them. Neither 'values' nor 'conflict' could be said to be simple unproblematic concepts, but they are inextricable from beliefs about how learning and teaching takes place. Historical changes in a society, in the diversity of people who put themselves forward for ITE and in the expectations of teacher educators' result in conceptual changes with respect to initial teacher education. Conceptions of values and teaching are complex, ever changing and contentious.

Theoretical Issues

In order to understand how a particular interpretation came to be imposed on the data, it is necessary to review eclecticism in teaching philosophy. The word eclecticism is born of the Greek word 'eklektikos' meaning 'selected form'. The definition in Webster's Dictionary (1994:386) is 'choosing from what appears to be best from diverse sources, systems or styles'. A different definition in the American Dictionary (1994:213) is 'not following any one system but whatever is considered to be best in a system'. Choosing what appears to be best from different sources, different systems or different styles implies selecting parts from or out of whole units and following whatever is considered best in all systems. This suggests that the chooser uses personal preferences rather than any particular
standard based on external criteria. Thus the implication of eclecticism may appear to be a licence to interpret freely from the variety of patterns in the approach and practice in ITE.

To some extent, such freedom in the use of theoretical models or constructs offers a variety of concepts, and elements to facilitate a practitioner's work. The reality is that the chosen combined 'ingredients' might be incompatible, yet no one theory or paradigm can explain, predict or guide action or intent in the complex messy world of values in ITE.

Despite efforts by psychologists, philosophers and policy makers both 'values' and 'teaching' still suffer from the lack of an agreed terminology. The literature noting the correlation between values and teaching (behaviour) has an element of consensus but generally is inconsistent. A review of literature led to assertions that while many authors have been concerned with the attitudes of teachers, few have noted the relevance of the personal and/or professional values underpinning them. Coverage, however, has been fragmented, relying on psychological personality theories and cultural anthropology to provide a framework for examining a range of value orientations. The earliest of such classification of values by Kluckholn (1961) has served as a framework for understanding how the values in a particular 'sub-group' may vary. Variations persist as Wilson (1974:193) observed because:
anything can be a value however distasteful, trivial or abnormal provided that the person engaged in it sees reason for doing it and provided that this reason in particular is that he is interested in it...something about which he wants to become (without limit) more skilful more informed, more understanding, more appreciable, more experienced.....as long as his interest lasts.

Despite the complex and voluminous range of literature about values, there is still a need to create an appropriate framework for analysis of data, theory derivation and development. The absence of a central unified or consistent theoretical position necessitated highlighting four perspectives – socio-psychological, institutional-structural, philosophical and constructivist. A number of key ideas served to convey elements of a conceptual framework.

Derived ‘concepts’ and defining qualities from these perspectives were

1) commonality of value directions (Rogers 1983:265)
2) early social conditioning towards reference group(s) (Nias 1984:43)
3) potential conflict between substantial self and professional values (Nias 1985:24)
4) organisation of images of self and teaching (Kelly 1955:502; Miller, Galanter and Pribram 1960:17)
5) ITE includes consideration of values (Carbone 1987:10; Elliot 1991:23)
6) individual moral complexity (Peters 1970:252)
7) structures advance as well as constrain choices (Giddens 1976:120)
8) tasks and roles are value based, and open to a variety of interpretations and expectations (Fallding 1965:225, Shuell 1988:227-278).
Having discovered the current discourses, practices and thinking in ITE, with reference to values and conflict in teaching, the following statements appear to clarify the relationships between 'concepts' based on the findings:

- the range and intensity of values which student teachers construct are directly related to individual stages of professional development;
- student teachers display a coherent and consistent convergence of values to produce a ‘good’ teacher profile;
- values in use are a product of compelling personal needs, status and role expectations.

**Use of Perspectives**

Reconstruction of reality from a historical perspective does not emanate directly from the raw facts but as a ‘process of interaction between the historian and facts (Carr 1961:30) using up to ten different ‘modes of construction’ (Stanford 1986:112). Any historical account utilises varying modes of construction. In this investigation, the following modes became evident and merit some discussion: analytical, constructive, emphatic, evaluative, interpretative and narrative.

**Analytical Modes**

In spite of the centrality of values in education, and in spite of attention that has been given to teachers’ actions and their influence on teachers’ effectiveness, values are elusive components of teaching, at least from the viewpoint of
conventional educational research and theory. Human behaviour is regulated by multiple determinants, therefore it is unrealistic to expect a high correlation between a single predictor (valuing) and a behaviour criterion, except on rare occasions. Likewise, institutions are influenced by a variety of events and structures so there is a risk that the hierarchy deceive themselves into believing that they are aware of specific pressures and pressure points at particular times. Learning is timeless. Reliance on the improvement of past curricula, tinkering with time schedules in partnership schools and the achievement of competences, are insufficient to prepare student teachers in a certain amount of time for becoming just, empowered, participatory and compassionate in the learning society.

Perhaps the most difficult challenge of the valuing process is trying to justify its various parts. It is one thing to encourage standards which guide behaviour but no one stops there because the underlying purpose of values is to foster a wide range of standards. This is so because the human person, as a moral agent, is capable of making individual decisions. The recognition of human differences and preferences is not difficult. It is the respecting, honouring or even encouraging of these differences which is much harder for all educators to realise.

Constructive Mode

According to Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986:149) constructed knowing is characterised by a view of knowledge as constructed, tentative and
contextual. These researchers suggest that learners who understand themselves to be constructors of knowledge enjoy the process of inquiry and are reflective about their own cognitive processes. An additional feature of constructivists is their ability to emphasise, enquire about and reflect upon the alternatives before them and “doing the best possible for everyone that is involved”. Unfortunately, Belenky and her co-authors (1986) did not address the issue of whether black women may have distinct ways of knowing.

The conditions of Paullon University, especially in the Department of Teaching Studies, emphasised and promoted learning through a ‘voiced’ position to foster personal development. However, as noted in Chapter Six the perceived relevance or irrelevance of constructionist approaches is dependent upon individual dispositions to bring such thinking to bear on the tasks-at-hand.

**Empathetic Mode**

Stanford (1986: 112) advised that researchers must attempt to think ‘oneself into the world or even the minds of historical agents being studied’. This he refers to as the Empathetic Mode. Great care needs to be taken to avoid misinterpretation of the results as groups and societies vary in their verbal and non-verbal communication patterns.

As a Black female person, the author of this research project was aware from the outset that her own ethnic origin could have an impact on the research samples’
composition and levels of co-operation. All of the interviewees involved in the research process were black female volunteers; hence this report intrinsically has an ethnical dimension. For an individual to volunteer is to confirm the value of giving to others and expresses a spirit of generosity. Whatever the personal motivations or the benefit to the volunteer, the act itself almost always implies a gift. Volunteering is an act of faith and hope. The volunteer has a sense of efficacy, of being able to make a difference. Volunteering, by definition, is based on choice and displays confidence in the goodness of the person who deserves help.

In the interview sample, the extent, to which each student teacher responded varied, depending both on personal circumstances and on the relationship which developed prior to the interview. Whilst the interviews differed both in emphasis and in complexity, in general the approaches used were similar. Their purpose was to seek knowledge about value conflicts. As the relationship between interviewees and the researcher developed the researcher’s anxiety increased about the possibility that the interviewees were being exploited. In this sense, the personal elements perhaps cannot be separated justifiably from the research process. The author’s empathy with female students achieving success in a socialised and gendered society challenges the view that detachment was or could be maintained throughout the research process.
Evaluative Mode

The pursuit of goals leads to the first practical problem in evaluating a course of action. The research pursued questions relating to the hidden curriculum, that is, in what ways do student teachers use values in teaching and learning? The student teachers demonstrated knowledge about their future careers and educational plans, and became more aware of the role of values in teaching as they answered the questions in the survey. Over sixty percent of the respondents requested a copy of the summary of the research findings.

As discussed in Chapter Six, values that create individual value conflicts are often justifiable on political grounds. A good example of discrepancies between different expectations of institutions and students, is the equal opportunity policy as it relates to school placement. Some partnership schools involved in this survey had no such policy and had conflicting views regarding the support of black students, the nature of the policy, and how to implement it. It is not surprising that the policy had no effect in some schools. The headteachers simply requested or avoided having black students.

Interpretative Mode

The fundamental assumption of the interpretative approach is that it is inadequate to survey the effects of social institutions in the terms pre-defined by the researcher. The approach focuses on the meanings of events and processes with a view to demonstrating that daily social interactions in institutions take place on
fragile tacit understandings, which are observable and therefore recordable. The researcher, while not limiting the analysis of the interactions to the research subjects’ perceptions of their situation, can make statements about them. The interesting point to ponder is to what extent the researcher can acquire an inside understanding of the subjective realities of interviewees, even when their appropriate language and behaviour are replicated in the analyses. More information was needed about student experiences, if their value positions were to be identified during the interviews. Thus more precise questions and lines of enquiry came to be centred on students’ self-perceived conflicts and their resolutions. Such real life concerns do not lend themselves readily to the application of research-based theories but as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:21) suggested, the questions arising aided exploration of ‘routine ways in which people make sense of their world in every day life’.

The interpretations have emerged from sensing the way towards ‘meanings that will lead to enhanced meanings and deepened and extended knowledge’ (Moustakas 1990:23). This has been a difficult process in which ‘interpretative hunches (were) ploughed back into and used to organise and direct the continuing process of data collection and literature search’ (Ball 1987:viii). This is evident in Chapter Two in which relevant literature is shown as extensive.
Narrative Mode

Systematic bias was present because of assumptions and values employed. Some of these have been absorbed through education and reinforced by what is written in professional journals and articles. Women have constructed all the narratives in this study. The almost total inclusion of women as the principal characters in this thesis is accidental. The feminist approach reference has been made by Belenky, Clincy, Goldberger and Taule (1986), who offer five epistemological perspectives from which they believe women know and from which they view the world. The authors claim that these perspectives are not fixed or discrete nor do they account for the complexity of women’s thinking. The narratives related by student teachers’ in Chapter Six posed problems or challenged beliefs in what were perceived as problematic enough to be conflictual. The student teachers were dependent on their prior knowledge and value commitments, which they brought to the situations, as well as their ways of knowing. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the determination, in Schulman’s terms (1986:12), of what each narrative ‘is a case of’ and its interpretation in the context of theoretical perspectives were problematic. Most of the time, the choice of perspectives depended on the ideological position of the student. By choosing a particular story to tell the interviewee has assigned significance to it. The ‘stories’, told by students giddy with confusion, were recognisable ‘voices’ to the researcher of people drawing upon personal experiences and seeking to establish their own views of situations, yet at the same time trying to avoid easy accounts of the ‘causes’ of those situations. The lasting impression is one of a strong power
relationship in which the interviewees appear to be constrained by the researcher's identity.

The main recommendations arising from this study are that:

1. All relatively coherent sets of values which underpin ITE courses and institutional norms should be clearly articulated to highlight the specific form and identity for each course and institution, over and above the present fairly distinctive value orientations. Such value-based approaches to the planning and implementation of courses would help to clarify goals and values further and increase the sense of mission on the part of teacher educators.

2. An examination of bridging beliefs underlying school and university curricula, to determine the degree to which they have been proven in practice, should be part of the socialisation of students for their future roles. Both student teachers and teacher educators should have more awareness of the ethos of their training institutions and be enabled to embrace or not, the values of the course and institution. According to Tannerbaum (1968) mutual influence processes and participation include individuals more 'fully' in the institutions.

3. All learners and teacher educators should be aided to identify the distinctions between choices, which can be used to refer to processes, happenings and states and values, which are used to make law-like claims (Ryle 1949). Affirmation about the worthiness of values is imperative.
4. Student teachers should discuss and dissect personal, institutional and professional values so that they develop core images of professional and personal development. Thus, there will be more opportunities to develop sensitivity to their own value positions and those of others. Open debates may help students to understand how values are formed and why 'media' values are so persuasive.

5. In order to prepare students for these discussions and debates, elements of teaching from ethical, historical and political perspectives, would 'locate' the possible forms of professional morality in the training institutions, which include partnership schools. They would help also in establishing approved and defensible techniques and practices of teaching. Specific subjects which may provide the basis for this work, would be philosophy, psychology and history of education. Citizenship and Personal and Social Education (PSE) are part of the curriculum of ITE. One respondent to the questionnaire used early in this investigation suggested that a study of values might be included in a health education unit on BEd courses. Teacher educators have a responsibility to move future teachers from self-centredness to self-actualisation by facilitating the development of values' schema. Justification of value positions and the ability to make reasoned choices among competing values are parts of the process.

6. Teacher educators need constantly to monitor the values' issues since values can change, are negotiable and may have a limited life span. Values are dynamic, infinite and ephemeral. It is not possible to uphold two
contradictory values at the same time. In this way, all can move beyond tacit
knowing ‘about values’ and be willing and able to actually explain their
rationale in integrating personal values with the professional values required
to act as teachers.

The over-arching aim of ITE is to create an ensemble of teachers who can act
together like an orchestra, with each contributor knowing his or her part, and all
following principles for making and testing values. This is not to say that
differences in value-giving cannot be accommodated. The main argument is that
efforts to establish a scientific knowledge base of professional practice will
remain fragmented without clear concepts and effective continual evaluation of
the value-ladenness of theoretical statements and moral directives made by
theorists.

Teaching is primarily moral because it is connected to the betterment of
individuals and society. Teachers must have a language of morality in order to
resolve conflicts between personal and professional values and engage in
education for critical consciousness.

Future Research

Need for two types of research is apparent. A further study may focus on student
teachers in a different context undertaking a different model of ITE. Another
variation of further research may focus on one cohort of students in-depth, that is, over four years plus a follow-up survey after two years of teaching.

The non-interactive nature of the survey data collection-process in this investigation required following up for two reasons:

- It captured only a thin slice of students' thinking. More in-depth interviewing as a follow-up to the questionnaire would have allowed for clarification of how students utilised their values into their teacherly roles.
- Students in the study had insufficient time to gain professional knowledge and experience or insights into the concept of teaching as an intrinsically moral activity, before being asked about their opinions. Given the climate of the times, students felt that they were being tested.

Contribution to knowledge

- Knowledge was gained about values in teaching through the participation of two cohorts of student teachers. The answers point in a suitable direction for a consideration of and comparison with the real values of experienced teachers in controlled inspected accountable schools. In examining their own implicit theories, practising teachers can make them explicit. For example, the citizenship education, which was being piloted at the time of writing, can be subjected to critical reflection.
• The values highlighted in the study constitute mainly female values in one particular institution. While no claim for generality was made, the depth and extent of their revelations add to the understanding of the diversity of student teachers' values. Transferring a finding from one site to another necessitates further research to the relevant hypotheses.

• Male values in ITE may be different and require investigation.

• One of many reasons why student teachers fail to complete ITE is their refusal to compromise in relation to personal conflicts of values relative to the training in institutions and schools.

To see that all knowledge is a construction and that truth is a matter of the context in which it is embedded is to greatly expand the possibilities of how to think about anything, even those things we consider to be the most elementary and obvious. Theories become not truth but models for approximating experience.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION


(2) a) It is a fact that student teachers bring their personal dispositions into the 'training' institution. Consequently they develop perspectives on themselves as persons in the teaching world through value judgements within and beyond 'training'.

b) In the late 1960s and early 1970s teacher training colleges were renamed Colleges of Education. Initial teacher training (ITT) was seen as a part of initial teacher education (ITE). Consequently, teacher education was perceived as an academic discipline in its own right. Since then there has been a linguistic as well as an ideological shift between ITT and ITE. ITE has been reshaped to ITT.

c) In this thesis the term 'initial teacher education' (ITE) is used as a generic term for pre-service education of people preparing to join the teaching profession.

d) The variations in the term used to describe the preparation of people for teaching are themselves constructs of values-in-use.

(3) For the purpose of this study, the term Bachelor of Education (Bed) will be used as a generic term for degree awards leading to Qualified Teacher Status (QTS).

(4) Circulars present information about the main provisions regarding consultation, the content and requirements of various courses and curricula in education. They are issued by a range of statutory bodies such as the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE).

(5) State and Government have been deliberately used as interchangeable terms. This approach of collapsing one into the other is so entrenched in the literature that to insist on their different denotations could appear pedantic. The State should be thought of as a nexus of publicly financed institutions and ideologies which indirectly contribute to the complex roles of teachers. Its responses to public pressure, politically motivated groups and prominent individuals in the society have transformed societal values into what seems to be 'private decisions' and institutional 'interests'.

CHAPTER 1

(1) The notion of quality is a difficult one to define not least because its meaning overlaps with conceptions of what is considered 'important', 'significant' and 'excellent'. The term 'quality assurance' in which quality is used as an adjective has come to be perceived as an evaluative element. Statements about quality assurance are perhaps most appropriate ways of conveying comments on how well the education process has been undertaken by its subjective providers.

The Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC 1966) offers guidelines on quality assurance in Higher Education with this definition:

Quality assurance is the means through which an institution confirms that the conditions are in place for students to achieve the standards set by the institution.....A good system for quality

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assurance should set its desired objectives without unnecessary bureaucracy or intrusion into an institution’s primary activities. (p11)

(2) Throughout the text reference has been made to training institutions, institutions or teacher training institutions. These variations avoid repetition. They are the places in which initial teacher education is undertaken.


The freedom of professionally qualified persons to enquire, discover, publish and teach the truth as they see it in the field of their professional Competence (p34)

(4) Access courses are programmes that are specifically designed to provide ‘access’ to Higher Education, often with a focus on mature students under-represented in the sector, for example socio-economic and ethnic minority groups, women in science and technology. The term 'mature' is used to refer to people over 21 years of age. In the past it has been used for over 23s and over 25s.

(5) Writing in the History of Education Society Bulletin (1990 No 45) R Aldrich observed that:

In the 1970s many colleges of education were in major crisis as the demand for new teachers plummeted. In this new situation those who controlled courses of initial and in-service education......no longer considered history of education to be important. The view that those who were to become teachers should be initiated into a basic theory of education of which history of education was an integral part, was abandoned....Other ‘foundation’ disciplines, for example philosophy and sociology of education faced......similar fates (p50-51).

(6) The general use of the term ‘pluralism’ became relevant to discussion of strategies which enable, expect and encourage harmony between various ethnic, racial and cultural groups in British society during the 1960s. As a form of social cohesion while tolerating cultural diversity, pluralism has come to be seen as an enriching dimension of British life by most sections of the society. See B Troyna (1989) in A Landmark in Pluralism G K Verma (Ed) Lees, Falmer and The Challenge of Pluralism: Education and Values (1992) F Clark Power and D K Lapsley (Eds). Reference to ‘values pluralism’ resulted from debates and discussions arising from the need to clarify which values ought to be transmitted in Britain’s multicultural society. See P H Walkling (1980) for a discussion on ‘values relativism’ in The Idea of a Multicultural Curriculum in Journal of Philosophy of Education Vol 14/1 pp87-95.

(7) For a discussion of shifts in thinking about values and schooling which reached its peak during period of multicultural education see M Bottery (1992) The Ethics of Educational Management. London Cassell. These shifts were reflected in ITE by changes in the curriculum emphasising self development in the ‘reflective teacher’ education models of the 1980s. ‘Values scepticism’ had by then become prevalent in theoretical and public discourse. See M MacIntyre (1985) After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory London: Duckworth. As the ‘melting pot’ of Britain’s multicultural society involved choosing which values to adopt, resistance from some quarters was prevalent in comments like: Who can say which value is good/bad? For a discussion of Pluralism, Relativism and the Neutral teacher see S E Nordenbo (1978) in Journal of Philosophy of Education Vol 12/3 p129-139.


The background of the attack by the New Right has been summarised by Menter (1992:6) as follows:

There are two elements to the background against which we come to consider the recent attacks on initial teacher education. Firstly, the concern with teaching quality......The second element is the growing teacher shortage.

It is in this context that a number of interventions have been made by the writers of the New Right.

(9) The licenced teacher scheme was founded upon a contractual partnership involving unqualified teachers. It was left to the discretion of the Local Education Authority or school as to whether an institution of higher education played a role in the training process. The scheme was introduced in 1991 to offer alternatives to the two established routes (BEd and PGCE) to QTS.
(10) The articled scheme was founded upon a partnership between Local Education Authorities, schools and Institutions of Higher Education (HEIs). Although open to graduates training was limited to the primary sector. See National Curriculum Council (1991) The National Curriculum and the Initial Training of Student, Articled and Licensed Teachers.

(11) The aim of School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) scheme, a consortia of schools are in the lead. They design, organise and provide school based courses for graduates leading to QTS for successful student course are required to conform to the criteria in the relevant circulars for ITE issued by the DfEE. Funding is paid directly to the schools by the DfEE at a flat rate comparable to that paid to providers in HEIs. Higher Education Institutions play a role only if invited to do so.

CHAPTER 2

(1) Parsons isolated the concept of values from that of norms. Values, he argues ‘were so general as to be neither situation specific nor function specific’. They simply provided references for thought and action. Norms, on the other hand, provided specific ‘do’s and don’ts’ of situations. Consequently, a given society’s achievement value indicated that achieving was a desirable end. The specifications of how and what to achieve were within the scope of norms.

(2) Although preparation for citizenship is a universal educational aim, political education has been neglected in schools in democratic states. Consequently, the concept of citizenship is ambiguous because it is a notion equated with political activity which has begun to encompass a wider reference in the vocabulary of education in terms of loyalty and also indoctrination in nationalism.

(3) Reporting in The Journal of Teacher Education Vol 20 No 3 pp283-293 S C T Clarke notes that plans laid in the US Office of Education early in 1967 culminated in a decision to initiate competency-based, pre-service education. Twelve models were funded by the Bureau of Research in 1968. For a discussion of progress and problems see Competency based Teacher Education: Progress, Problems and Prospects by W R Houston and R B Howsam (Eds) 1972 Chicago: Chicago University Press.

(4) The term ‘host teacher’ has been used to identify a teacher in whose class student teachers undertake teaching practice. At the time this study was conducted, the courses on which these students were studying were not fully into a ‘partnership scheme’. Students therefore worked with a supervisor (teacher educator) from the higher education institution and with host teachers in the schools. Since the implementation of the partnership scheme following Circular 9/92 (DFE 1992), supervisors and host teachers generally have been replaced by mentors (mainly headteachers and deputy headteachers) undertaking a greater role in supervising and assessing students on block practices. Throughout the text, the term host teacher is used.

(5) Reflexivity is the ability of the student teacher to undertake self monitoring and demonstrate creative insight with a view to developing personal growth and change. The quality of the students’ preparation, analysis and evaluation of their work is a manifestation of their levels of reflexivity. See V Burr (1989) An Introduction to Social Constructionism, Sage

CHAPTER 3

(1) The term ‘case study’ is used in a variety of ways. Traditionally case studies have been used in projects in anthropology, sociology or institutional behaviour. In combining elements of these disciplines the combined approach is almost entirely qualitative in methodology and presentation and akin to a case history. Basically this is a combination of historical documentation, interpretation and explanation of events and data. In the author’s view a case history probably is the best description of this study. See I Gordon (1985:121) who argued for a broadening of qualitative methods to integrate studies of historical context.
CHAPTER 4

(1) Although it is not clear from the official source used for compilation of the statistics in Table 4.1, that the figures relating to year 1994/95 are not comparable with figures produced in the previous years. It seems that, because of extended coverage and new definitions the figures relating to year 1994/95, incorporate data for the new universities. Be that as it may, this does not pose too serious a problem in interpretation of the figures. In the academic years 1992/93 and 1993/94, the ratio of male to female staff was roughly 4:1. In the case of the year 1994/95, the new and adjusted data revealed a marginal change in the ratio of male to female lecturers, namely it depended on one’s perspective. It has been improved or deteriorated to about 3:1.

(2) Many people refer to Departments and Schools of Education as Colleges. This is due to the historical development of ITE in particular which used to occur in teacher training colleges. Paulson University appears to have been embraced as a ‘community college’ because of its long established history in a particular location.

(3) Throughout the thesis, ‘student teacher’ and ‘student’ have been used interchangeably for people who are undertaking initial teacher education. In all instances, it is the author’s intention to imply both the male and female gender except where stated otherwise.

(4) OFSTED is the acronym for The Office for Standards in Education, the Government’s inspection agency responsible for ensuring consistency of standards in schools, colleges and HEIs across England.

(5) The Teacher Training Agency (TTA) is a quango established in 1984 with sole responsibility for the allocation of student numbers and funding in ITE. The TTA contributes to raising standards of teaching and secures the involvement of schools in ITE.

(6) For convenience teaching staff in the Department of Teaching Studies are referred to as ‘tutors’ as well as by the more general description of teacher educators.

(7) The term ‘black’ is used to describe people of African, Caribbean and South Asian origin in the specific political context of Britain. It is used as a broad biological category in order to avoid more detailed descriptions of ethnicity, which might aid recognition.

(8) Several writers have developed the Marxian idea that ideational forms and social structure are dialectically related (Engels 1957). Commenting on the division of labour in industrialised society Simon (1971:187) has observed that:

‘there occurs the concentration of intellectual activity at one pole in industry and in society, and of the purely practical activity of the workers at the other.’ B Simon (1971) Intelligence, Psychology and Education a Marxist critique, Lawrence and Wishart.

(9) ARTECN is the acronym for The Antiracist Teacher Education Network, a voluntary organisation which publishes occasional papers and represents the deliberations of Regional Groups and a Central Group in areas related to the general theme of permeation and antiracism in teacher education.

(10) The use of survey and questionnaire as interchangeable terms is deliberate, as it is stylistically clumsy to write survey questionnaire throughout the text.

CHAPTER 5

(1) Asking students to write a definition of values was somewhat blunt perhaps, but it was hypothesised that their attempts would reveal a range of ‘starting points’ based on a world view, stages of values development, and/or familiarity with a term in common use.

(2) Questionnaires were numbered and coded to show Group and gender of respondent. Consequently A119F indicates the 119th questionnaire in Group A and the respondent is female.

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Merit goods are those commodities and services that the government feels will be under-consumed and therefore ought to be subsidised or provided free. The government may feel that individuals, if left totally to market forces, may not give themselves sufficient education, health cover or cover against sickness, unemployment and old age.

In the case of education, the main benefits as suggested by Maddison (1974) are still valid in the 1990s despite the rapid political and social changes.

Merit goods are goods that the government feels everybody should have, whether or not they can afford them. For example, the government provides state education and health care so that everyone can benefit from them.


The patterns of internalisations which all learners develop in order to understand their environment are known as schemata. Schemata are defined by Barnes (1987:17) as:

the complex cognitive structures that include both theoretical and practical knowledge and an understanding of the interrelatedness of the knowledge sources for informing judgement and action.

CHAPTER 6

'Pareto optimality' requires that it must not be possible to change the existing allocation of resources in such a way that someone is made better off and no one is worse off. p300 J Beardsaw (1989) Economics Pitman

An allocation of resources is said to be PARETO EFFICIENT if it is impossible to make any one better off, without making someone else worse off. p191 Anderton A (1995) Economics Causeway Press

If an optimum atmosphere for personal and professional growth may be considered a worthwhile goal for an institution providing ITE then the nature of this atmosphere should be of particular interest to teacher educators. Furthermore, if the working environment of the Department was strongly demanding of individual maturity, as the staff claimed it was, then an understanding of how such a mature workforce had developed at PU would be important.

In addition to a teaching role, teacher educators undertake roles and tasks within their line of duties e.g. the supervision of students on teaching practices. Roles and tasks 'below the line' are those for which no official hours have been allocated. They are perceived as an acceptable part of teacher educators duties and responsibilities.

Serial practice is a set of weekly 'practice' days in schools. Student teachers undertake task-based learning to prepare them for their future roles and for longer periods of practice which occurs in a block ranging from about three to nine weeks. The latter are known as block practices. These structured learning situations are designed to provide student teachers with an opportunity to confront and to practice teaching and classroom management activities on a systematic basis, whilst under the supervision of a qualified host teacher and tutor.

The terms respondent, interviewee, student teacher and subject have been used interchangeably. While actual cases are discussed in this study, ALL NAMES USED IN THE WORK ARE FICTITIOUS and where necessary personal details have been further disguised so that individuals cannot be recognised. The identity of the individuals is known only to the author of the study.

The term Black is used broadly to describe students from Caribbean, various countries in Africa, India and Pakistan to preserve their anonymity. To identify them more accurately in terms of their ethnicity would aid recognition.
Team Teaching is a teaching arrangement in which two or more teachers meet regularly to plan and agree detailed programmes of work for two or more classes. There are several variations. One of the strengths of this type of work is that individual teachers could develop their expertise in one or two areas of the curriculum. The relative inflexibility of the planned circular sequence means that individual teachers cannot control the pacing of their pupils’ learning according to their perceived individual needs.

The writers named here have centred their findings on the work of the Oracle Project which investigated the role of talk among young learners. See K Norman (Ed) Thinking Voices: The work of the National Oracy Project Hodder and Houghton

In the USA the competency-based teacher education (CBTE) movement in the early 1970s received widespread public and professional support. By the mid 1990s, CBTE ‘was regarded as a management process that dictated neither teaching methods nor learning objectives but aimed at bringing greater precision in both through systematic evaluation’. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education assist colleges to prepare Competence criteria and appropriate enabling activities.


CHAPTER 7

See Dewey J (1904/1977): The relation of theory to practice in education in J Boydston (Ed) John Dewey The Middle Work 1899-1924 Vol 3: 1903-1906, pp249-272. Dewey argued that for habits of work to acquire a ‘scientific sanction’ the teacher must observe and judge according to the principles of philosophy, psychology and other fields related to education using these principles critically and intelligently, and “applying the best that is available”. He suggested that student teachers must study these principles in order that they are operated as second nature in perception.

An example of clarification of categories presented by students showed Interpersonal Relationships as
- making children welcome
- making children feel secure
- showing interest in children as themselves
- being enthusiastic when working with individuals
- helping children to develop their self-esteem.

Six students paused at various points in their storytelling to compose themselves and resume their tear-inducing stories. The author understood the blend of anger, sadness and guilt born of the struggle to learn to survive to the end.

Fuller (1969) had noted non-linear phases of development, Berlak and Berlak (1968) had emphasised dilemmas of teachers.
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APPENDIX A
PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Survey on values in Teacher Education:
The views of student teachers

This survey is conducted as part of a research project. Your honesty and help are much appreciated. Confidentiality is guaranteed.

1. Current year of study [1 2 3 4] (Tick as appropriate)

2. In which country did most of your schooling take place?------------------------

3. If you were educated in the UK please state the county or city in which the majority of your education took place ---------------------------

4. Age last birthday, please tick: [18-25] [26-35] [35+]

5. List your entry qualifications, noting special entry conditions where applicable:

6. Please indicate the ethnic group to which you think you belong by ticking the appropriate box:

   - African [ ] Black Caribbean [ ] Black Other [ ]
   - Indian [ ] Pakistani [ ] Bangladeshi [ ] Chinese [ ]
   - Asian Other [ ] Greek/Cypriot [ ] Turkish/Cypriot [ ]
   - White, UK [ ] White, Irish [ ] White, Other European [ ]
   - White Other [ ]
7. Please tick appropriate box: Female ☐ Male ☐

8. In what ways do you consider your schooling was influenced by one or more of the following factors? Tick one box only for each item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Strongly Influenced</th>
<th>Slightly Influenced</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
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<td>Disability</td>
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<td>Financial Status</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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<td>Other (specify)</td>
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9. What do you understand by the term "values"? Write a definition.

10. Identify what you consider to be the most important roles and tasks of teachers in primary schools, particularly in the 1990s? Rank them in order of importance.
11. What do you believe are the 6 most important values to be held by teachers if they are to perform the roles and tasks which you have identified? Rank in order of importance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>Rank Order</th>
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12. What values do you currently hold which you perceive as positive to your development as a teacher?

13. What values do you currently hold which you perceive as negative to your development as a teacher?
14. State briefly how the BEd course can/should help student teachers to develop a common set of values.

15.1 Did you find any sections particularly difficult to answer? State why.

15.2 Any other comments?

Thank you for completing this survey. Your responses will be valuable in informing teacher educators and policy makers.
APPENDIX B

MISSION STATEMENT

The ‘PAULLON’ University has a central mission to provide the best possible educational experience leading to a range of employment, social and economic opportunities for the widest possible clientele.

This mission provides four key elements:

Access to Opportunity

To open up life long learning opportunities in an institution which values diversity and provides an educational experience which supports the development of self-reliant, capable graduates and post graduates equipped, to succeed in and contribute to the economic, social, technological, cultural and political world.

Quality

To provide for all students an educational experience which adds value to their capabilities, skills and qualifications and to deliver a high quality service and provision across the whole range of the University’s activities.

Regional Development

To create partnerships which support the social, cultural and economical development of the region.

Internationalism

To deliver a curriculum and learning experience which reflect and promote the International and European context of the University.