Teachers' perceptions of societal factors in teacher education during the 1980s

Suzanne Michele Katz
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIETAL FACTORS IN
TEACHER EDUCATION DURING THE 1980s

by

Suzanne Katz

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Smith College
1991

Master of Arts
University of Wisconsin, Madison
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Suzanne Katz

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Examination Committee Chair

Dean of the Graduate College

Examination Committee Member

Examination Committee Member

Graduate College Faculty Representative

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ABSTRACT

Teachers' Perceptions of Societal Factors in Teacher Education during the 1980s

by

Suzanne Katz

Dr. Rebecca Mills, Examination Committee Chair
Professor of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Over the past 150 years teacher education has continually been accepted as a necessity for those charged with instructing the young, especially when paired with the common school movement. If all school-aged children were to be in classrooms it followed that teachers trained in educating students needed to be available. As school populations exploded from the mid 1800s to the early 1900s, most communities called for teachers in increasing numbers. Such is an example of the link between societal factors and the education of teachers. The political, historic, and societal foundations on which the practice of teacher
education is grounded are the focus of this inquiry.

This study identifies the role that societal contexts play in how classroom teachers perceive their teacher education and explores whether teachers perceive a pattern linking history, politics, societal development, and the evolution of the instruction of teachers. Through interviews with current and former teachers who were trained as classroom teachers, this study attempts to establish, through an analysis of their personal reflection, the social and historic factors that influenced teacher education programs in the 1980s.

Specifically, this study investigates the questions of what experiences and coursework inform the subject’s perceptions of their teacher education programs, and in what way(s) do historic, political, and/or social events intersect with what has been taught in teacher education curricula. The study uses the narrative responses of participants in conjunction with researcher constructed timelines of historic and social data in the Critical Praxis Inquiry Process (CPIP), a research tool that allows the convergence or divergence of participant’s perceptions with other research data to assess what is understood by the participants about possible links between the political and social factors that effect teacher education.
The study finds that while in their teacher education programs, participants were focused on the more vocational aspects of their education and did not voice an understanding of a linkage between political and social forces and their teacher education. Furthermore, participants shared similar opinions of teacher preparation as those noted in previous scholarly research.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

What we are able to conceive can be affected by our previous experiences. Our past informs our present. Teaching is not immune to this. The processes of education enacted in classrooms are more widely associated with the education teachers received in their first twelve years of schooling than with the training they received in schools of education (Carter, 1990; Lortie, 1975). Individual beliefs and experiences often inform educational practice (Schoonmaker, 2002; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981).

Educational policy initiatives seem to be no less affected by what is perceived. Examples of such reform include the implementation of programs developed by the nationally funded School Math Study Group, which followed the Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957. The Back to Basics movement of the 1980s, spawned by A Nation at Risk (1983), stemmed from a similar mindset, the pessimistic perception of America’s perceived financial future as opposed by the growing Japanese economy. That which is believed to be
known at any time can dominate educational thought.

When it comes to teacher education, those in charge of the education of teachers have often been in constant reaction to what is known and understood at any given period of time (Ravitch, 2000). The education of teachers seemingly always has existed as a subject matter in the American university. Teacher education initially was undertaken outside of the state university system and, when encompassed by the institution, was regarded with a widespread suspicion of inadequacy by other members of the professoriate (Conant, 1963; Harper, 1939; Lanier & Little, 1986; Prichard, 1975; Rugg, 1952). The embattled status of education as a field of study within the academy has made it continually susceptible to reform efforts over the past 150 years (Apple, 1989; Borrowman, 1965; Conant, 1963; Edelfelt, 1999). In this same time period, it seems that educators were the last people to have control over the direction of their own field of inquiry.

These two premises, the idea that context affects learning, and the notion of the embattled status of teacher education in academe, taken together, illustrate the concept that those who shape the changing objectives of teacher education are limited by that which they know or have experienced. Policy concerning the education of
teachers is malleable; it changes based on what we know of societal functions, historic fact, and personal knowledge. What we espouse as desired traits for future teachers, what we teach in schools, departments, and colleges of education is derived from what we know of the world in which we exist.

When merged, these ideas form an example of how individual experiences combine to shape what we know and understand. Through our own interpretation of events, and our retelling of these events, we create narratives of how we perceive the world (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In turn, these stories color the perceptions of those individuals who read or hear them. This research study will use narrative as its basis, allowing participants to tell their own stories of their education as teachers.

Statement of Purpose

Over the past 150 years teacher education has continually been accepted as a necessity for those charged with instructing the young, especially when paired with the common school movement initiated by Horace Mann (Harper, 1939). If all school-aged children were to be in classrooms, it followed that teachers trained in educating students for the greater good of society needed to be
available. As school populations exploded from the mid 1800s to the early 1900s (Cuban, 1993; Powell, Farrar & Cohen, 1985; Spring, 1989), teachers were needed in ever-increasing numbers. The political, historic, and societal foundations on which the practice of teacher education is grounded are the focus of this inquiry.

This study identifies the role that societal contexts play in how classroom teachers perceive their teacher education and explores whether there is a discernable pattern linking history, politics, societal development, and the evolution of the instruction of novice teachers. Through interviews with current and former teachers who were initially trained as classroom teachers, this study attempts to establish, through an analysis of their personal reflection, the social and historic factors that influenced teacher education programs in the 1980s.

Educational history’s usual scope of inquiry focuses on the development of schools, methods of instruction, and the profession of teaching through the use of historic documentation (Cremin, 1970; Cuban, 1993; Finkelstein, 1989; Herbst, 1989; Popkewitz, 1987; Tyack, 1967). More recently, focus has shifted to include the lives of individual classroom teachers as a basis for understanding educational history and the development of the American
school and classroom (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Urban, 1990). However, studies are rare that involve teachers as informants to provide insight as to how their own education is relevant to the process of change in teacher education. In recording and analyzing information provided by teachers concerning their own experiences in learning to teach, this study will attempt to add another dimension to our understanding of teacher education in the United States.

Research Questions

This inquiry focuses on the following questions:

1. What experiences and coursework inform the participants' perceptions of their teacher education programs?

2. In what way(s) do historic, political and/or social events intersect with what has been taught in teacher education programs?

Specifically, this study asks informants educated as teachers in the 1980s to review their own personal histories as students of teaching. Using interview responses, their stories are superimposed over historical and social information relevant to the era of their teacher education. The researcher then identifies whether the participants perceive an intersection between
historic/social events and the objectives of teacher education. While documentation of changes in education can already be associated with historic events, this study focuses on whether these initiatives influenced teachers' perceptions of the operations and practices of schools, departments, and colleges of education.

Finally, the stories of the participants drive this inquiry. It is through stories that we often make sense of the world. Not only do we tell stories as a means of communication, but we also use stories to narrate significance and meaning. Our stories and the lessons they impart also change in meaning as we take in new experiences and stories. We live storied lives. (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This study is structured to understand individual stories because they might reveal how teachers' understand and incorporate aspects of their teacher education program. Individuals' stories may reveal perceptions of teacher education programs and the influences on their course of study.

Theoretical Framework

The use of narrative acknowledges the perspective that the individuals' lived experiences are the foundation of their knowledge and continually inform new experiences.
(Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). It is the participant's perspective, developed through continuous lived experience, that drives action which leads to further experiences (Polanyi, 1958). The importance of the participants recounting their own experiences is key to this research. The eight individual perspectives do not merge in data analysis to yield trends within teacher education; rather, the narrative seeks to illustrate a specific understanding of experience.

The narrative nature of this research allows analysis of the stories of individual participants. Each story is analyzed upon a framework of personal experience and historic event, both within the school of education and expanding to the world outside of its walls. There is an "inquiry space" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) that defines the limits and the wholeness of each narrative. In this research, narrative analysis is drawn from characters acting in a specific setting to create a plot. Data analysis is affected by narrative inquiry in that the eight participants tell stories only of their own experiences.

These stories become demarcations in the mapping of teacher education over time; they do not encompass the entire geography of teacher education. The personal retellings of experience add to the discussions of the
historic development of teacher education and of curricular and social impact on prospective teachers.

This study can also be seen as an evaluative analysis of teacher education during the decade of the 1980s. Using the Critical Praxis Inquiry Process (Wink & Putney, 2000), the narrative inquiries supplied by educators can assist in examining whether the processes of teacher education served to meet the needs of the students affected by teacher education. While the constant reform of teacher education in the 1980s provides the impetus to determine what "should have been" taking place in schools, departments and colleges of education, the narratives of the teacher education participants provide a means of examining whether or not these initiatives took root in teacher education classrooms.

Significance of the Study

The language of educational reform is replete with imperatives. Schools are held accountable for an ever-increasing litany of responsibilities (Bloom, 1987; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996; Hirsch, 1986). To the same extent, schools, departments, and colleges of education are encouraged to make changes in
congruence with the schools for which they provide teachers (National Commission of Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985; Carnegie Forum, 1986; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). Just as the development of the common school led to the growth of normal schools for the education of teachers, initiatives in school reform seem to dictate changes in teacher education.

It is important in this study to view the changes in teacher education objectives from the standpoint of teachers who were students of various teacher education programs and who at some point have served as practicing educators in elementary and secondary classrooms. Participants articulate the value and long term effects of the education they received. They not only identify how and what they were taught but also how and whether they believe that their education impacts their own classroom practice. The information they provide determines whether and to what extent the imperatives of teacher education reform remain; this insight lies within the personal histories of teacher educators.

Finally, this study continues to give voice to the stories of teachers and those initially trained as teachers. Since educational research shifted to include more qualitative methods that place greater emphasis on the
"socially constructed nature of reality" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 8,) more complete illustrations of classroom teachers exist. The works of Liston & Zeichner (1991), Connelly & Clandinin (1988, 1990, 1999), and Schön (1983, 1987) have all allowed practicing and novice teachers to speak with authoritative knowledge about the conditions and influences that drive their work. This study allows the histories of teachers, their reflections and personal anecdotes, to broaden the knowledge base associated with a profession that has been necessary to American education for the past 150 years. It is a story that has often been told for teachers by others (Cuban, 1993; Finklestein, 1983); however, through the use of narrative, individuals who have been educated as teachers may illustrate the process that preceded their professional practice.

What follows is a review of literature pertaining to the history of both the development of teacher education as a university discipline and the characteristics of students who came to study in these programs throughout the United States. The participants in this research knowingly or unknowingly entered their teacher education programs as the inheritors of a tradition and were subject to the shifts in philosophy that governed how teachers were trained.
Also, the following chapter will recount the development of narrative as a research method and will justify the importance of using the voices of individuals so that their lived experiences can further what is known about a given topic. The stories within this research can only be told by the participants. Though they only account for eight individual experiences—eight stories of the processes of teacher education—they highlight not the course syllabus nor the interpretations of the teacher of that syllabus, but what was seen, heard, and understood by eight students learning to become teachers.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The history of teacher education and the traits that have defined classroom teachers demonstrate patterns revealing the responses of schools of education to the needs of the university and society as opposed to the needs of teachers and schools (Borrowman, 1965; Conant, 1963; Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996; Goodlad, Soder & Sirotnik, 1990; Salvatori, 1996). The choice to develop public education in this manner continually affects the education of teachers and, therefore, necessitates further discussion. To understand the conditions associated with teacher education, the history that shaped the endeavor and its participants must be sufficiently explored.

This chapter first presents an overview of the history of traditional teacher education programs in the United States. Next, it examines research on the characteristics of individuals who choose to become teachers. In addition, literature on the narrative process through which participants’ stories were told is examined. Finally, the chapter discusses the Critical Praxis Inquiry Process through
which the data of this study were analyzed.

An Overview of Teacher Education

For the first two centuries of our nation’s existence, teachers were not formally trained for the work they entered (Urban, 1990). It was not until the call for common schooling by Horace Mann in the 1830s that this changed. Mann’s idea was grounded in the belief that American children could benefit from education in the basic principles of the Republic. As a result, he proposed common schooling would create a stronger and more unified nation (Spring, 1989, Dewey, 1916/1944). We now realize that this was idealistic in nature; it did not take into account a social structure that would, in essence, deny true common schooling to all children when taking into account race, gender, socio-economic status and other factors (Anyon, 1994; Apple, 1995; Boudieu & Passeron, 1977; Carlson, 1998). In addition, a more immediate problem also was ignored. To educate all children in a common manner, the United States would need to provide teachers educated in a common manner.

Thus, in 1839, largely at Mann’s behest as the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, the first normal school opened in Lexington, Massachusetts.
The normal school concept was based on the idea that education, like other professions, had certain skills that could be transmitted through training, thereby creating a learned practitioner (Harper, 1939; Hogan, 1996; Spring, 1989). Unfortunately, though the normal schools intended to educate students in the technical matters of teaching, the majority of their students entered into normal programs with no more than an eighth grade education seeking to teach in the grades they had recently completed (Salvatori, 1996). To make up for a lack of subject matter knowledge, the normal school, especially in rural environments where no other option for education was available, began to offer curricular courses more akin to what would be found in an urban high school (Herbst, 1989; Urban, 1990). Though pedagogical coursework was available, in many instances, deficits in students' levels of general knowledge needed to be overcome before many could matriculate into these classes.

By the late 1840s, it became a standard practice for normals to offer a two-tiered program; high school graduates attended a two-year course, and other entrants studied for four years (Harper, 1939). Still, the majority of teachers did not attend normal schools, and they had little or no technical preparation. Often they simply
achieved a passing grade on a local examination written for the purpose of hiring teachers (Finkelstein, 1983). By 1898, despite the existence of approximately 130 normal schools and at least as many private institutions founded for the same purpose, only one-fourth of teachers matriculated from these schools (Tyack, 1967).

Individuals who taught in the normal schools, in some cases, came from the ranks of lower schools and were commended as outstanding practitioners. These teachers, for the most part, taught pedagogy, while specific subject areas were taught by instructors with specialized university education. Appointments to these positions were the responsibility of the head of the normal, who usually held a graduate degree from a state university in a field only tacitly related to education. Studies in education at the university level were not yet developed (Harper, 1939).

The American Normal School Association, following its fifth meeting in 1869, sought to define both what constitutes a science of education and what manner of coursework was best for the normal schools (Edelfelt, 1999). The outcome of this inquiry produced more discussion, centering upon what courses should be taught, the course length, as well as the preparation and quality of knowledge of teachers who sought to teach in the lower
schools. Addressing concerns over who taught the teachers was not yet a prevailing factor in the quest for a common education for all students.

Normal schools continued to develop, and, as the population of teachers became increasingly female, male school leaders began to shift the allegiance of teacher preparation from a tradition stressing the moral nature of schooling to a belief in the scientific nature of the profession (Rugg, 1952). The idea of a systematic organization to education took hold. The work of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, which stressed the necessity of teachers gaining student interest via interaction with the objects associated with the curriculum, opened the door to the concepts pertaining to a developmental theory concerning the growth of children. Pestalozzi's work was quickly followed by the introduction of Froebel's kindergarten, further extending the general belief in a scientific basis for the development of the child (Monroe, 1952).

The Habartians, stressing the product of mind-content as the end-product of educative process (Monroe, 1952), also built upon this movement. The period from 1890 to 1910 brought James's Principles of Psychology (1890) and Hall's Adolescence (1904); both added to the growing canon of the
science of human development. Pedagogical study sought to advance itself with new theories, while those teaching future teachers were aligned with the university sciences rather than the teaching of teachers.

The question as to where the scientific study of education should take place also touched upon gender issues. Many normal schools were steeped in a pedagogical curriculum geared toward their largely female student population (Harper, 1939; Ogren, 1995). Emphasis was placed upon what teachers should accomplish in the mechanics of teaching and school-keeping. Women were seen as having differing needs from their male academic counterparts, and this spilled over into their normal school education (Salvatori, 1996). However, the university, steeped in the newer scientific foundations of education, catered to a largely male population (Harper, 1939). Pedagogy and foundational studies in education were seen to be two separate entities, each with its own audience. Possibly the most illustrative example of this separation is John Dewey's tenure at the University of Chicago, where he never taught coursework in the department of pedagogy (Cruikshank, 1998).

New pedagogical beliefs, nonetheless, did take hold in the world of education; though they were not necessarily
taught to the teachers who would one day instruct in primary and secondary classrooms. More often than not, advances in educational thought were disseminated to future administrators in the graduate programs of the university (Conant, 1963; Urban, 1990). Some normal schools eventually did include coursework associated with the new science of education in their programs. The incorporation of mandatory study in the "the Science of Education and Mental Science" (Urban, 1990, p. 62) was indicative of this trend. However, direct and rigorous instruction in the scientific basis of education found its way in to the university structure more predominantly than the normal schools.

During the latter portion of the nineteenth century, public universities created professorships in departments of pedagogy. Among the practical benefits of such a decision, universities could demonstrate their assistance to communities by aiding the public school mission, increasing enrollment, and educating high school teachers (Conant, 1963). Through the nineteenth century, the normal school was primarily in charge of the preparation of elementary school teachers; many high school teachers came from various private academies (Harper, 1939). If the university were to take on the education of high school teachers, still seen as a more academically charged task;
they could then send their graduates to the high schools and have some control over the curricular issues associated with the growing high school movement. Pedagogical study in the university was seen as a win-win situation by departments of education; professors could create a systematic science of education, control its dissemination, and create an ever-growing enrollment population (Borrowman, 1965; Harper, 1939).

However, the introduction of these professorships, usually housed within departments of philosophy or psychology, was not well received by others within the university. Pedagogy was seen as a skill not a science (Borrowman, 1965). Likewise, professors who had no particular instruction in the science of education believed they were able to teach their own students with positive results; therefore, they felt teaching was built on knowledge of subject as opposed to specified study (Borrowman, 1956; Conant, 1963). Finally, faculty worried that the competition among university departments for students would be exacerbated by the inclusion of another school (Harper, 1939). None of these considerations built colleagueship, and departments often pulled out of partnerships with pedagogical departments at the earliest opportunity.
Still, professors of pedagogy sought to develop a scientific basis for teaching teachers. Largely drawing on psychology, and moving away from the day-to-day tasks of teaching, the twentieth century marked a shift in the education professoriate. Schools of pedagogy now were increasingly referred to as schools of educational study and became somewhat removed from the sole task of preparing teachers to teach. John Dewey, at the University of Chicago, became an outspoken proponent for the use of more laboratory-based methods of analysis (Cruikshank, 1998), and the growth in behaviorist techniques in education championed by E.L. Thorndike further reinforced the study of education (Monroe, 1952).

Universities became increasingly concerned with the administrative governing of the common schools and began providing graduate study in this area. Study in school administration and its associated educational assessment techniques allowed departments of education to delve into the statistical measurement accepted in other university subject areas (Barrowman, 1956). This shift in function further distanced the departments of education from what was popularly seen as the pedagogical, or less academically rigorous, concerns of teaching teachers (Borrowman, 1956).
Unlike the university, normal schools had always willingly taken on the responsibility of teaching individuals who wanted to teach (Harper, 1939). When faced with universities graduating high school teachers with degrees, the non-degree granting normal schools stood to lose a significant portion of their enrollment (Harper, 1939; Urban, 1990). The necessity of the normal school to diversify into a degree-granting institution providing wider opportunities for the teachers they taught and also for possible students in the communities in which they were situated became evident, and normal schools pushed the state for the right to bestow degrees upon their graduates (Harper, 1939).

Once this status was granted to the normal school, it became the teachers college. However, the diversification process brought with it the need for a larger faculty, drawing from the arts and sciences professors trained at universities (Barrowman, 1956). Prejudices against the need for teacher education did not die with the transition to the new teachers colleges, and these professors often persuaded students to major in their particular field of study while possibly obtaining, as a secondary pursuit, the teaching certification now increasingly necessary to teach in public schools (Urban, 1990).
The education of teachers was no longer the sole mission in these institutions. The processes of the university became the norm; scholarly research in "true" sciences was urged at the undergraduate and eventually graduate levels (Conant, 1963). This definition of true science did not include pedagogy. The descriptor of "teachers college" even became extinct as the century progressed; these institutions simply became known as colleges.

The university continued on the path forged in the late nineteenth century using research into IQ measurements, memory training, and the like to distinguish the science of education from the needs of classroom teachers (Conant, 1963). While this research had some links to classroom practice, in areas such as ability grouping which made its way into the school curriculum around 1920, by and large, its purpose was more to help newly degreed administrators to govern and was far removed from helping teachers to teach (Barrowman, 1956).

By 1940 most of the institutions formerly recognized as normal schools were now state colleges and were absorbed with doing what universities did, though "with less success" (Urban, 1990). A decade later, the teaching population, which was largely un- or under-educated at the
beginning of the century, now increasingly held college degrees. The teachers of teachers now not only held graduate degrees but also adhered to the research traditions of academe (Barrowman, 1956). They no longer aligned themselves primarily with the practices of the lower schools.

Many tomes denigrating the professional preparation of teachers were produced in the 1940s and 1950s, and few accolades were given to the professoriate responsible for the education of teachers (Monroe, 1952; Rugg 1952). Many professors actually lamented the low ability level of prospective teachers, while professors outside of schools, colleges and departments of education still labeled this type of study within university walls as a softening of true university study (Conant, 1963; Liston & Zeichner, 1991). The American Council of Education’s Commission on Teacher Education pointed out in 1946 that not only should the selection processes of those to be trained as teachers be strengthened but also the preparation and in-service development of college teachers (Edelfelt, 1999).

The debate came to a head in 1957 with the Soviet launching of Sputnik, and teaching and teacher education were blamed for the United States falling behind its political rival. The first reform effort aimed at education
was prepackaged curricula that ensured all teachers could, and hopefully would, teach effectively no matter how low their educational levels or abilities. It is notable that the development of these products by university subject area specialists (Ravitch, 1983) was a defining blow to the status of teacher education across the country. Teacher education programs were defamed as rudimentary and were superceded by university content area specialists who were seen as knowledgeable in creating more sound academic classroom materials for teachers (Urban, 1990).

The 1960s brought social turmoil to college campuses across the United States, the effects of which were not lost upon schools, departments and colleges of education. While a tradition of scientific research had begun in education (Conant, 1963; Barrowman, 1956), campus programs focused on teaching teachers encountered both growing non-traditional educational programs as well as the radical literature of the period. Books such as Neill’s Summerhill (1960), espousing the merits of education dictated by children who held total freedom over every aspect of their learning, “quickly became required reading for students of education” (Ravitch, 2000). As the movement toward free education and open classrooms was taken up, teachers were
educated to enter the schools prepared to operate in these environments (Ravitch, 1983).

The schism between research and pedagogical practice is seen in the 1960s and 1970s. While the open classroom movement gained momentum in practice, process-product research measuring school input and outputs became prevalent in scholarly publications at the time (Good & Brophy, 1986). Studies such as *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfield, & York, 1966), widely referred to as the Coleman Report, began a research trend examining schools' ability to promote student achievement. The report echoed societal concerns of the time, including those of race and poverty, and was discussed in academic literature. However, no evidence was found discussing whether the Coleman Report or other similar documents were discussed in the context of undergraduate teacher education programs.

Beginning with the conservative, government sponsored report, *A Nation At Risk* (1983), not only did the education of America's students come under fire, but so did the academic preparation of America's teachers. As in past decades, the public perception of teachers as being deficient in their academic studies grew with dissatisfaction with the educational system (Carnegie
Forum, 1986; Vance, V. S. & Sclechty, P.C., 1982). While subsequent studies labeled the educational crisis, particularly its use of schools as the scapegoat for economic problems, as overstated (Boyer, 1983, Spring, 1989), the real or imagined belief in an educational deficit in the United States led to a shift in the preparation of teachers. Though still grounded in the movement of previous decades, universities proclaim that educating teachers should be an all-university responsibility, not just that of schools of education (Stallings, 1987; Thies-Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1987; Tigner, 1994; Troyer, 1986; Weiner, 1993). Students who desire to become teachers take not only education courses but also courses distributed throughout the academic colleges of the university including general coursework, content-specific courses, studies in the origins of schooling, and practical pedagogical coursework (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Endefelt & Raths, 1999) . Nationally, the collaboration across the university varies greatly by institution (Davis & Buttafuso, 1994; Ferguson & Womack, 1993; Goodlad & Sirotnik, 1990; Grossman, 1989), yet programs still seek to produce a teacher capable in all facets of instruction.
Increasingly, and especially since the social activism associated with the civil rights movement, schools of education have also taken on a "new progressivism" associated with "the bitter reaction against the inadequacies of American public schools in educating minority children," (Ravitch, 1983, p. 235). Schools, departments, and colleges of education along with the public schools sought methods for educating equitably, and many added to their core of pedagogy, subject specific content, and practice teaching, the completion of work in multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1995). In addition, the need to educate particular segments of the general school population yielded coursework in both gifted education and special education (Weiner, 1993; Edelfelt & Raths, 1999).

Technological advancement also has influenced the changing environment of teacher education programs. As the necessity for technological literacy is seen as a valuable skill, one which students are expected to have, teacher education programs find a need to develop coursework that will prepare teachers to impart this skill once in the classroom (Imig & Switzer, 1996). Courses in educational technology are now often required in teacher preparation.
Movements to standardize the knowledge held by teachers continue. Imig and Switzer (1996) identify no fewer than seventeen entities that influence the education of future teachers. These bodies encompass legal entities including legislatures and state boards of education; the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which since 1987 has developed standards and assessments for the certification of teachers nation-wide; the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association; content area organizations including the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics and the National Science Teachers Association; accreditation agencies such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education; civil rights organizations; foundation and special educational organizations such as the Holmes Group and Carnegie Corporation; and the federal government.

The extent to which each group may influence individual teacher education programs cannot be ascertained. Some are incredibly powerful, while others have a much more indirect effect. Educational Testing Services, the publisher responsible for creating and disseminating the National Teacher Examination and PRAXIS tests that many states require for teacher certification has a significant impact on what coursework is deemed as
required for future teachers. With all these bodies contending for influence in the context of teacher education programs, the previous local relationship between the state and the teacher education program has all but evaporated leaving in its stead a more nationally driven educational system (Fenstermacher in Imig & Switzer, 1996).

The Students of Education

The career path to teaching has always been dictated by the structure of the school system. At first, students of teaching did not exist in the United States. In 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century America, two types of schools predominated: the grammar school and the dame school. Teachers in grammar schools were generally male and earned positions based on their personal moral foundation, as judged by the hiring school board, and their knowledge of academic subjects (Cremin, 1970). At that time, 3\% of Harvard graduates taught permanently in grammar schools, while many more taught part time while funding other academic studies or waiting to be hired on at a congregation. Grammar school instructors were educated, though, as clergy not as teachers (Cremin, 1970).

Dame schools were a different environment from the grammar school; although, their instructors shared in the
fact that they held no specific educational knowledge. Dame schools were generally more accessible to students than the grammar schools, and the women in charge of these schools had very little formal education. Knowledge to read and the possession of sound moral character were considered the only foundations required for this form of teaching (Kaestle, 1983).

With the common school movement the requirements for teaching changed as did the ranks of teachers and prospective teachers. With the proliferation of schools requiring full time teachers and a lack of educated men to fill the positions, school boards increasingly turned to women who required less salary than their male counterparts and were generally seen as less corruptible and more nurturing than their male counterparts (Cremin, 1970; Spring, 1989; Tyack, 1967). While in 1870 it is held that men and women taught in schools in almost equal numbers, by 1890, women held approximately 66% of teaching positions, and by 1930, 89.5% (Elsbree in Apple, 1989).

Many teachers entering the profession at this time did so based on their knowledge of general subjects as required by local school board exams. Often, students graduating from the grades in which they sought to teach filled positions with the full endorsement of the school board
(Finkelstein, 1989; Harper, 1939). Normal school graduates were also hired for teaching positions but still in far fewer numbers than those found within local communities (Borrowman, 1965). The majority of teachers still lacked formal education and had little more education than many of the students they were to teach.

It was not until 1950 that half of American teachers held degrees of some sort in education, which signified some academic work beyond the high school level. However, licensure was still administered by locality, and, therefore, the education level of those entering teaching positions varied greatly. Another thirty years passed before seventeen states required some form of statewide testing to assess the educational competency of those working in the schools.

As educational research developed in the 1970s and 1980s, more data were gathered pertaining to students who composed the classrooms of schools, departments, and colleges of education. Academically, in the years 1976-1979, 11% of students entering into teaching scored in the highest quintile of the SATs verbal and math portions. During the same time period, 38% of those scoring in the lowest range also entered teaching (Vance & Schlechty, 1982). While teaching did attract some students with high
academic ability, others entered the profession with scores at the bottom of the standardized testing pool. The academic qualifications of the students of teaching seem to have mirrored the laments of those teaching in schools of education; they believed that students entering into schools, departments, and colleges of education did not have the necessary skills to learn the science of education (Conant, 1963). However, by 1990, many teacher education institutions had established higher grade point average guidelines for prospective teachers, and academic qualifications grew accordingly (Darling-Hammond, 1996).

Prospective teachers also hailed from backgrounds that could have great effect on their attitudes towards education. A 1982 study, it was concluded that 20% of all teachers' mothers had completed elementary school or less, and over 70% had never attended college (Lanier & Little, 1986). While this study equates the mother's educational background as an indicator or "quality," later studies do not use similar means of comparison.

A subsequent study equated the "quality" of prospective teacher background with the course of study completed in their high school program and found that entrants into schools, departments, and colleges of education were more likely to have completed general
studies or vocational tracks in high school than college preparatory coursework (Darling-Hammond, 1996).

Thus, almost from the inception of American schooling, with the exception of the grammar schools, the academic preparation of the nation's teachers has been considered suspect at the very least. The stereotypical depiction of the ill-prepared, undereducated prospective teacher entering the university may seem warranted when supported by depictions of teachers in some of the earliest American schools. When combined with criticisms of teacher education programs, it is understandable that some individuals and groups perceive the need to guide the development of teacher education. Thus, even when indications exist that the academic preparation of teachers has increased, negative conceptions that have riddled the collective history of who becomes a teacher are difficult to discard.

Theoretical Framework

The Evolution of Narrative

The narrative tradition in research has its roots in Aristotelian thought. In Poetics Aristotle, (trans. 1947) puts forth the notion that Man delights in learning through the storied elements of imitation:
...to be learning something is the greatest of pleasures not only to the philosopher but also to the rest of mankind... the reason of the delight in seeing the pictures is that one is at the same time learning-gathering the meaning of things (p. 628)

The proposed elements of Plot, Character, Thought, Diction, Melody, and Spectacle combine to form the entirety of the storied nature in which humans come to know the episodes that comprise histories.

For Aristotle the linkage between experience, art, and science is anything but a foreign notion. The processes that form consciousness consist of sensation-formulating memory and the repetition of memory forming experience. Art and science are, in their most simple principles, the articulation of human experience. Man, in knowing experience, understands fact. Man undertaking the formulation of art or science demonstrates the understanding of the effect of experience on action and natural change respectively (p. xvi).

The nature of understanding for Man is the story, with its beginning, middle, and end. The plot consists of a defined magnitude, which highlights actions occurring in a particular time. The experiences of the character within the plot draw man into not only what has happened, but also
The sequence of story, according to Aristotle, opens man to the understanding of the world. Man learns and understands in narrative.

While Aristotle provides a formalistic approach to the use of the storied experience as a means of knowing, modern thought has also commented on the same idea. Within the area of educational philosophy, Dewey espoused that the personal and social experiences tied to human existence were key components of learning (Dewey, 1933). For Dewey, education in schools should be constructed around these experiences (Dewey, 1938/1963).

According to Dewey, it is through the structuring of experiences over time and from various frames of reference that we come to understand and interpret the world we live in (Dewey, 1933; Dewey, 1938/1963, Dewey, 1934). Moreover, one experiential event begets future events that link over a continuum to further the learning process. There is a history or story to learning: a past, a present, and a future to the experiences that construct learning and knowing (Dewey, 1938/1963).

The Aristotelian notion of learning through experience and Dewey's philosophy of experience in education are similar in that they share an attachment to
experience as a scientific entity. Aristotle does not distinguish between the nature of the imitative Drama and the realm of science; to have science, experience is a necessary precursor. Dewey also maintains a strong tie between experience and science; in curriculum development the structuring of experiences is a scientific endeavor. For these two philosophers the interdependence between the two entities is apparent.

The notion that experience has value within the world of the sciences has not always been embraced. Positivism, with its strict adherence to the belief that for something to be true it must be explainable in the pure terms of science, casts a shadow over the value of personal and social experience in defining truths. In essence, the personal, and therefore subjective, nature of experience produces easily questionable conclusions when compared to the more objective paths of science. That which is quantifiable and repeatable was believed to result in truth and became accepted as knowledge. However, by the mid-twentieth century theorists such as Polanyi (1958) were again attempting to assert the necessity of experience as a type of knowing.

After the hardships of a world-wide economic depression, the atrocities associated with World War II,
and the subsequent rise of Communist regimes, the positivistic truths associated with science since the Enlightenment were inadequate to explain the vast changes in the world (Appleby, Hunt & Jacob, 1994). In a time of moral and ethical questioning, the pure sciences were not able to provide answers as the nature of ethical questions fell outside the boundaries of objective truth (Polanyi, 1958). Ethical decisions rely upon the personal knowledge of the individual. Judgements and values develop from interaction with the world in which we live and are not based in pure scientific fact.

Polanyi (Polanyi M. & Prosch, 1975) provides the following rationale for including the realm of personal lived experiences as knowledge:

...We cannot learn to keep our balance on a bicycle by trying to follow the explicit rule that, to compensate for imbalance, we must force our bicycle into a curve-away from the direction of the imbalance- whose radius is proportional to the square of the bicycle’s velocity over the angle of the imbalance. Such knowledge is totally ineffectual unless it is known tacitly, that is unless it is known subsidiarily-unless it is simply dwelt in (p.41)
To dwell in knowledge is to enact the meaning of accumulated experiences. Polanyi further stresses the need physicians have of acquiring lived experience as a means of knowing beyond that of textbook and laboratory knowledge. Without the training of the senses through actual experience, knowledge is incomplete. Whereas, previously, experiential knowledge was connected with the embodiment of science, now personal knowledge is seen as separate from scientific inquiry, yet just as necessary as its precursor in interpreting the world.

The transition between what thus far has been referred to as experience and personal knowledge to the term narrative can now be addressed. While the actor in society lives, experiences are acquired that construct a library of personal knowledge. The flow of personal knowledge is two-fold for, as Dewey insists, the history of experience affects future experiences that may result in the acquisition of more personal knowledge. A narrative is the telling, the story, of experience, lived or fictional. The narrative has its own shape or form, though according to Bruner (1986,) "we know precious little of how to make good stories," (p.14). Narrative deals with the changes of human intention and experience. Indeed, narratives develop both specific and general models of "kinds of people, kinds of
problems, and kinds of human conditions," (p. 49, italics in original). Narrative is its own form of knowing separate from the logico-scientific mode. It is the story of experience.

Narrative inquiry, that is the use of story to define insights into changing phenomena, is presently used in branches of both the humanities and the social sciences. Within history, historiography adds to a disciplinary tradition of primary sources, demographic research, and political lineage by inserting implications gleaned from the intersections of societal structure, cultural tradition, and artistic endeavor (Hunt, 1989; White, 1992). The works of Natalie Zemon Davis in particular set out to stand history on new ground by focusing on "how sixteenth century people told stories... and how through narrative they made sense of the unexpected and built coherence into immediate experience (Davis in Hunt, 1989, p. 19).

In anthropology, narrative has recently been used as a means of contemplating change within all aspects of the discipline. Anthropologists such as Geertz (1995) and Bateson (1994) begin to express the notion of change— in setting, in people, in learning, and in the researcher— through the use of story. Not only is the narrative inclusive of the subject of investigation but also of the
stance of the anthropologist within it. It is over time that not only societies and participants change but also the experiences and knowledge of the researcher broadens. Narrative becomes the means by which to explain these changes amidst the "grand contraption" (Geertz, 1995, p.20) of data including geography, religion, economics, art and other data.

While Geertz uses change as the primary element to explain his use of narrative, Bateson (1994) begins with the concept of change and adaptation as central to human growth and learning. It is learning that drives the necessity of the narrative structure, as humans learn from experience, adapt, and explain their own change within the world through the use of their own narratives. Communication between humans is not only accomplished through stories, but the stories, in a manner similar to Dewey's continuum of experiences, lead and mislead others into further learning and adaptation. As humans communicate and learn in story, narrative becomes formulaic.

In the social sciences, the shift to the use of narrative in research is highly visible. Polkinghorne (1988), a research scientist, comes to narrative not out of a transformation within his own work, but upon the realization that research as a whole is shifting to the
social sciences. On observing research done within the social science—particularly counselors, psychotherapists, and organizational consultants—he finds a focus placed upon participants' stories as a means of explaining behavior. From this point, Polkinghorne seeks to identify a theoretic basis to develop narrative research in the goal of making all research more useful by aligning theoretical construct with currently working practices (Polkinghorne, 1988).

In education, the use of case studies in the area of reflective practice again illustrates the use of story as a basis for inquiry. Studies that have taken a reflective turn (Schön, 1991) give reason to the actions of the practitioners through the analysis of participants' stories and actions. Practice in reflective inquiry is not merely reduced to proscribed application. Instead, there is reason associated with action. How that reason is described by participants, both the researcher and subject, is the essence of the inquiry. Reflective practice focuses on how the knowing and learning of the practitioner and how the epistemology of practice are constructed and seeks to define what practitioners need to know in their everyday actions (Schön, 1983).
The differences in reflective practice and narrative inquiry center on the outcome of the study. While reflective practice seeks a definition of best practice viewed through the lens of practitioner thinking-in-action or technical rationalism, narrative inquiry encompasses the more general task of the explanation of phenomena within a particular temporal continuum (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This explanation is gleaned through collaboration in the telling of stories of the subject. In this manner, reflective practice can take on a narrative perspective, but all narrative does not result in findings consistent with reflective practice.

The form of narrative inquiry in the study of teachers has been strongly embraced by D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). Narrative is an accepted means of understanding experience, within the boundaries and "tensions" (p. 29) of temporality, people, certainty, and context (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Narrative exists within these constructs and in enhances traditional notions of research which seek to generalize across contexts. In the use of narrative, the researcher must account for the specificities of context to create an analysis true to the
participants' stories, participants who are the co-collaborators, of the text.

Temporality (Candinin & Connelly, 2000) in narrative refers to the idea that actors act because of what has previously occurred, what is occurring presently, and what may occur in the future. Action is subject to both history and the future as opposed to occurring instantaneously and therefore separately or distinctly from all other actions. The issue of temporality compels the consideration that the acceptance of truth or fact is reliant upon the timeframe of the action; for, if an action were to occur with a different history, the resultant actions may or may not take place.

People also create tensions within the boundaries of narrative. If it is accepted that change is a constant associated with human existence, similar to the views voiced by Geertz (1995) and Bateson (1994), then it is understandable that people, in any specific timeframe, are within the processes of their own change. An individual's stories are bounded by the idea that, as they react to the stimuli the world provides them with, their own conclusions are in a state of flux. The nature of how stories and experiences affect the individual are closely associated with temporality. The meaning individuals attribute to
their own experiences is referenced by their past and present.

Action in narrative can be defined in a similar logic. Instead of being taken as evidence in and of itself, an individual action carries with it the history and experience that predates it. An action is played out due to the combined histories of the actors involved and must be assessed in context.

Certainty in narrative thinking is never guaranteed. The meaning attributed to an event must also be tempered with the idea that interpretations can always "be otherwise" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000 p. 31). The tension between traditional empirical research and narrative inquiry is that conclusions are uncertain instead of being absolute and applicable across all boundaries. Meaning is tentative, is frame of reference-specific, and is changeable.

Narrative inquiry, again, enhances traditional research values in that it is context specific. The history of the actor is applicable in the frame of reference provided within the history of the specific case. The universal case, or the extrapolation of data across all boundaries, not the source of narrative thought. In
shaping sense of action, thought, or person, context is the driving vehicle in narrative research.

Critical Praxis Inquiry Process

While the individual narratives will give voice to stories associated with teacher education programs in the 1980s, the Critical Praxis Inquiry Process (CPIP) supplies a means to organize these stories within a cultural framework and compare them to the compiled timelines. The framework allows for a comparison between what is thought to occur in the process of teacher education and what students of teacher education perceive as being taught and for what reasons. In this manner, the CPIP becomes the lens through which the narratives supplied by participants are compared and contrasted with the documented expectations of teacher education in the 1980s.

The initial premise of the CPIP was developed as an extension of Frank (1999) who created a framework for student teachers to use in both observation of and reflection on their work in classrooms. Teachers used note taking to describe what was happening in a setting, note making to interpret why actions occurred. Wink & Putney (2002) added note remaking which is used to transform actions taken in the setting. Wink & Putney (2002) further expanded this reflective framework to an evaluative tool by
including a critical perspective that juxtaposes the expected outcomes of a program with the outcomes perceived by its participants. They also acknowledge the use of the framework as a springboard for program change as determined by the congruence of expected and perceived outcomes.

The CPIP will be used as a research tool for this study. Instead of a comparison being made between program expectation and outcome, the CPIP will be used to compare whether documented initiatives that changed teacher education programs influenced students' perceptions of the operations of schools, departments, and colleges of education.

Giving Research New Direction

The research base, which includes historical data pertaining to the development of teacher education programs (Harper, 1939; Urban, 1990), and both historical documentation (Baroowman, 1965; Kaeslitle, 1983) and research data identifying the backgrounds of those entering the teaching profession (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Lanier & Little, 1986; Lortie, 1975), provides a picture still limited in focus. While information exists about the development of teacher education and descriptive work illustrating who becomes a teacher, there is little research that applies the personal experiences of those
educated as teachers to the development patterns of teacher education. This study adds eight specific stories of teacher education to the literature on teacher education.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

What follows is a description of how research was conducted, including participant selection, data collection, analysis and presentation. Interview process and timeline construction are detailed, and the method of analysis described.

Participant Selection

Participants were selected in a manner consistent with purposeful sampling (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Merriam, 1998). This process does not seek to generalize across a population as in random sampling; rather, the expected outcome is to discern what occurs in particular cases and to then draw specific implications. For this study, experiences from teacher education during a specific decade are linked with social and historic data to form inferences concerning impact on teacher education curriculum. Therefore, it was prudent to find informants who were not only educated as teachers, but those who were
willing to participate in this reflective process. To this end, participants were chosen based on the recommendations of university faculty, school district administrators, and participants’ willingness to involve themselves in the study.

All participants taught within public education in the United States for at least three years. The three year stipulation ensured that participants moved beyond the initial questions of survival that many teachers face during their first years in the classroom and the initial teacher socialization to the norms of the school organization (Fuller in Feiman-Nemser, 1986; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Pultorak, 1993). The three year minimum also coincides with research confirming that teacher attrition is most likely to occur within the first years following entry into the field (Bobbit, Faupel, & Burns in Darling-Hammond, 1996). There is indication at the three-year mark that many teachers will stay within the profession and have thought through why they will remain (Darling-Hammond, 1996). Participants also may have exited and re-entered the profession or delayed entry upon their graduation from their initial teacher education.

Participant selection was also limited to graduates of one decade. Specifically, participants graduated from their
teacher licensure program between 1980 and 1989. The limitation of one decade gave boundaries to compare the perceived effects of historic, social, and political inputs on teacher education programs, while the selection of the 1980s focused the study within a timeframe that was subject to large scale educational reform initiatives (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Edelfelt & Raths, 1999; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Data Collection

There were two phases of data collection in this study: the interview process and timeline construction. True to narrative format, the study begins in "experience as lived and told in stories," (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000 p. 128). The initial phase, the story collection, allows teachers who have studied within teacher education to share their specific knowledge.

Phase I: Interviews

This study begins with interviews of eight informants all of whom have been formally educated as teachers. The eight completed their initial teacher education programs in the 1980s. The interviews were semi-structured; questions forming three families encompassing specific information were asked to each informant (see Appendix). The researcher

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allowed participants to speak freely concerning their experiences in teacher education, and encouraged them to reflect on their experiences as novices and as experienced professionals. As the interview progressed, clarifying questions were asked if necessary, and participants were encouraged to delve into personal topics that further illuminated their experiences as students of teaching and their subsequent lives as teachers.

All participants were asked questions pertaining to their individual experiences. The first questions revolved around the college or university from which they received their initial teacher education. Specifically, interviewees were asked to name the post-secondary school(s) they attended, the reason(s) for selecting the institutions, and the influences on their decisions to become teachers.

Historically, teachers have been seen as almost provincial in their choice of where they obtain higher education and subsequent employment, often seeking employment in their own town or neighboring areas, only leaving to obtain education when necessary (Howey, 1987; Lanier & Little, 1986). Prospective teachers sometimes feel that there is little to learn save the experiences the college will provide in a field environment (Lanier & Little, 1986; Levin, 1990). Preliminary questions were
designed to compare and contrast participants' experiences with that which is assumed to be true in current educational research. Through these questions the researcher probed for insight into what facets of participants' preservice education curriculum they were most receptive to, especially when paired with the following interview portion.

The second set of interview questions elicited participants' recall of their teacher preparation coursework including, but not limited to, overall program objectives, specific coursework, and field experience. This also expanded to include how and whether participants' perceived this instruction to have influenced practice in their initial teaching experiences (Birkel, 1983; Pultorak, 1993; Reynolds, 1993; Zeichner & Liston, 1987).

The analysis of these reflections allowed examination of the interplay between socio-political function and reform trends in teacher education. At this point in the interview, however, participants were not asked directly to comment on this phenomenon. A recounting of experience was the end-goal of this set of questions; the results were anecdotes which, in the minds of the participants, summed up their preparation as pre-service teachers. Addressing
these issues in hindsight occurred in the next section of the process.

Ultimately, participants were asked to reflect upon the political and societal issues they felt impacted their initial education as teachers and to identify the political and societal influences on their practice. In other words, the questions explored the connection between the effect of influences from outside schools, departments, and colleges of education, and the programs in which they studied as well as insights relevant to current influences affecting schools.

Phase Two: Timeline Construction

Historic timelines were constructed to take into account major political and social events of the era as defined by historic texts including *History of the Twentieth Century, Volume III* (Gilbert, 2000). This volume provides a detailed accounting of the political and social events which took place, decade by decade, with minimal interpretation. Sources in educational history including *American Education* (Spring, 1989) and *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (Ravitch, 2000) were also consulted. These particular volumes are not the sole providers of historic and social data; however, they serve as a starting point due to their opposing viewpoints.
Spring (1989) holds a liberal, revisionist stance concerning educational history. Ravitch (2000) presents a more conservative view. While neither author argues over the occurrence of historic events or social movements, their interpretations of these events represent differing viewpoints based on their philosophical outlook. This variety assisted in balancing the selection of important historic and social events, such as the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and the rise of global market economies for inclusion in later data analysis.

The eight individual cases together formed a collective case study (Stake, 1998) which provides eight separate insights into the common phenomenon of teacher education. While individually each interview gives voice to a specific teacher's personal experiences, the collective data inform the whole. From this guiding belief, cases were overlaid with historic timelines detailing major political and social events associated with the era. Thus, in each decade represented, an attempt was made to distinguish whether a relationship existed between influences outside the university effecting the development of teacher education programs and the coursework encountered in the university.
Participants' lived stories also augmented information gathered from text sources. The retellings of experience highlighted some historic and political information but also pinpointed events and causes that most affected the participants' lives. Therefore, every attempt was made to embrace historic and social data articulated by the participants whether or not this information was deemed important by the consulted texts.

Data Analysis

Participants were each treated as a separate case. Each case represented its own story, and any sample case was not taken as representative of all teachers hailing from varying teacher education programs over a course of ten years, nor were the eight cases taken as a generalization of teacher education as a whole. All interviews were recorded and transcribed; when necessary the researcher followed up via phone calls or e-mail to gain additional clarification.

While each case was seen as a story within its own particular context, all stories were subject to cross case analysis. The use of cross case analysis stems from the case study first articulated in both the Le Play School in nineteenth century France and then the Chicago School in
the first part of the twentieth century (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1991). Most simply stated, a case study is an in-depth description and analysis of a particular phenomenon. A cross case analysis involves first the analysis of selected individual cases, and then of processes and outcomes that exist across individual cases (Merriam, 1998). As the predominant factor in cross-case analysis is still the analysis of the individual case, data were organized into a package briefly listing answers to the most salient questions discussed (Table 1). This table did contain informants' partial responses as a means to manage material and quickly locate specific data (Yin, 1994).

Once key interview responses were organized in this manner, analysis proceeded to uncover connections between the historical timelines and informants' narratives. Specifically, responses to interview questions concerning coursework and historic antecedents were addressed. These data were coded in categories similar to each case (Merrian, 1998). The narrative information supplied by participants was organized into categories which semantically defined elements of the group being studied.

For instance, in an analysis of participants' teacher education coursework, the established category was the type of class taken (Table 2). Once data are coded, varying
Table 1. Organization of Key Responses

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<td>Coincidence with timeline information</td>
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Types of relationships are noted, each with its own specific characteristics; the individual characteristics.
form a theme defining how each subset relates back to the initial category (Table 3).

Table 2. Category Analysis

X is coursework taken in teacher education program (seeks to illustrate commonality in coursework)

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<th>Person 1</th>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Theme Analysis

Analysis is derived from the domain, X is coursework taken in a teacher education program related by a link such as type of educational institution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coursework</th>
<th>Research Univ.</th>
<th>State Univ.</th>
<th>Private College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Once coded, the survey data, particularly the narrative information, indicated some patterns concerning experiences and influences affecting the individual’s experiences in and perceptions of their teacher education programs as well as whether these influences or others impacted the subject’s classroom practices. Alternately, the lack of a coherent pattern or patterns also informed this study.

This organization of data also encompassed the first steps in the Critical Praxis Inquiry Process (Wink and Putney 2002). The organization of the timeline data as well as narrative input fulfills the note taking portion of the evaluation (Table 4). At this point, the research moved into the note making phase, allowing the researcher to identify congruence or divergence between the documented influences on teacher education programs and those that students felt drove their coursework. The goal of this phase was to identify what students of teacher education felt they had taken from their teacher licensure program. The researcher made this determination from the information supplied and also determined to what degree data conformed to perceived program expectations.

Following these steps, conclusions were drawn from the data. These conclusions are interpretive and fall into the
Table 4. CPIP Assessment Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note Taking</th>
<th>Social, political, and historic antecedents impacting teacher education (timelines from the literature)</th>
<th>Note Taking</th>
<th>Social, political, and historic antecedents impacting teacher education (from narratives)</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Conclusions</th>
<th>Recommend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who is being educated?</td>
<td>Expected vs. evident</td>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>Modify or maintain practice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What initiatives effect teacher education?</td>
<td>Expected vs. evident</td>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>Modify or maintain practice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are teacher education students taught?</td>
<td>Expected vs. evident</td>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>Modify or maintain practice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the desired program outcomes?</td>
<td>Expected vs. evident</td>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>Modify or maintain practice?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

category of note making, allowing the researcher to draw inferences focusing on the people and events within the setting. Implications from this stage of inquiry took into account differing perspectives among the participants' narratives and what factors might be attributed to such disparities.
In addition, while the CPIP emerged, in part, from critical theory research (Apple, 1989; Bourdieu & Patterson, 1977; Friere, 1973), the researcher's own graduate studies were grounded in the same critical tradition. Critical theory is a research epistemology that questions patterns of authority and reproduction within a particular setting. The combination of these two factors, along with the subject matter of teacher education, which can be governed by state initiatives, creates another lens through which the data are analyzed.

Presenting Results

Narrative form can take many shapes and encompass many formats (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The "soup" (p. 155) of narrative format contains people, settings, and events, as well as structured arguments, plots, and relationships between characters, time, and place.

This research is presented as individual stories, or ingredients, organized around the three families of questions participants responded to in their interviews: choice of school, decisions to pursue teacher certification, and school environment; perceptions of teacher education curriculum; and perceptions of political and social interplay with their teacher education.
experience. In this manner all individual stories are presented, but they are also interwoven with the experiences of other participants in the "soup" of narrative analysis. Each individual’s story maintains its integrity, while exemplifying both the similarities and differences found across these individual stories of teacher education.

Historic references also are intertwined within the narratives, with mention given to the origin of the references’ inclusion whether an event is mentioned within a text, by the participant, or from both sources. Finally, the constructed timelines also are included to provide a visual representation of the participants’ stories.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Thus far, the study has been outlined, focusing on the research that informs it and the methodology used. Now data is introduced, particularly the stories of the participants and their perceptions of teacher education in the 1980s. First, the participants are introduced and timeline data documented. Then, teacher stories are presented in the order of the families of questions asked, including college attendance and the decision to teach, perceptions of teacher education programs, and perceptions of political, social and historic factors on teacher education.

The Participants

Eight participants, all of whom graduated from traditional teacher licensure programs, provided data for this study. The seven women and one man tell stories that are largely set at publicly-funded state institutions of higher learning. As a whole, the group possesses many of
the traits of entering teachers found in previous research (Table 5). Most hail from middle class backgrounds, attend colleges close to home, and have past experiences that led them to choose teaching as a career (Lortie, 1975; Lanier & Little, 1986; Darling Hammond, 2000).

_Sheila_

Sheila graduated from a large state university in the southwest in 1982 with a degree in Special Education. A traditionally-aged student who began her college career immediately following her high school graduation, Sheila began her education at one school and completed her studies at an institution elsewhere in the state. Sheila entered higher education with the purpose of becoming a teacher and has taught for twenty-one years.

_Lisa_

Lisa graduated from a state university in the west in 1983. Lisa was a non-traditionally aged student, who, unlike most participants in this research, was solely seeking a teacher licensure upon her matriculation, having previously completed a four-year degree in Speech Pathology from another university. Her technical university designation was "post baccalaureate, non-degree status" (interview transcript, p. 6) indicating her own self-classification as well. "I was getting a credential. Not a
Table 5. General Background of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age upon entering licensure program</th>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>Degree Earned</th>
<th>Experience triggering entry into teaching</th>
<th>Years in classroom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheila</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Large in-state university; transferred and graduated from another in-state school</td>
<td>Special Education</td>
<td>Mother, aunt, great-aunt, and grandmother all taught</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Large local university</td>
<td>None-licensure only/ held previous degree</td>
<td>Sought teaching credential for economic reasons</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chis</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Large in-state university</td>
<td>Special Education</td>
<td>Past negative schooling experience</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geralyn</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mid-sized local university</td>
<td>Elementary Education</td>
<td>Past positive schooling experience</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Large local university</td>
<td>Curriculum and Instruction</td>
<td>Career change</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theresa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Large in-state university; transferred to another in-state university; finally moved out of state and completed studies at a large local university</td>
<td>Curriculum and Instruction</td>
<td>Past positive schooling experience</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Large in-state university</td>
<td>Secondary Science Education</td>
<td>Mother and grandmother taught; career expectation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Large local university</td>
<td>Science Education</td>
<td>Career change</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
degree," (interview transcript, p. 6). Like all study participants, Lisa has spent at least nine years in the classroom.

Chris

Chris attended a large southwestern state university, graduating with a degree in Special Education in 1986. Chris began college directly after high school, supported by a scholarship in a discipline other than education. After one year of study in architecture, Chris changed his major to education. Chris has taught for eleven years.

Mary

Mary matriculated at a southwestern university in 1985 and graduated three years later with a degree in Curriculum and Instruction. Mary began her studies at community college and transferred credits into her university-based education program. A non-traditionally aged student, Mary began her educational studies at the age of 32 with the intent of shifting her career from the service industry to teaching. Mary has taught for nine years.

Geralyn

Geralyn obtained both her college degree and teaching licensure in 1989 from a mid-sized state school in the Midwest. Not unlike other participants, Geralyn began her studies at another university before graduating. However,
Geralyn originally did not wish to become a teacher; she took courses in physical therapy, medical records and anthropology before leaving her first school. Then, after taking time off to decide what she wanted to do with her life, Geralyn returned to higher education to become a teacher, eventually graduating with a degree in elementary education. Geralyn has taught for thirteen years.

Theresa

Theresa, a traditionally-aged student, graduated in 1989 with a degree in Curriculum and Instruction from the same southwestern school as Mary. However, Theresa enrolled in two other institutions before she settled at the school from which she graduated. Despite moving around, Theresa graduated with her peers and immediately went on to teach, although teaching had not been the initial focus of her educational studies. Theresa has taught for nine years.

Terry

Terry began college at a large western university in 1978, and, after leaving due to financial concerns, eventually returned on a part-time basis to complete her degree in secondary science education in 1986. Her initial intent was to spend two years at her first school and then transfer into a forestry program at another institution.
After her first year she decided not to follow that path and transferred into the agriculture program at the university—a program that encouraged students to undertake a double major to bolster employment opportunities upon graduation. Science education became her second major, and upon graduation Terry began a teaching career which has continued sporadically for the past fourteen years.

**Beth**

Beth had a career as an airline attendant and then as a nutritional assistant before she enrolled at a southwestern university where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts in Science Education. Initially, Beth enrolled in pre-med coursework and intended to apply to medical school. Her motivations changed after her first encounter with cadavers in an anatomy class. She then chose education as a major and has taught science since her graduation in 1983.

**Timeline Construction**

Using historic and social data from Gilbert (2000), Ravitch (2000), and Spring (1989) two timelines were constructed. The first (Timeline 1) includes political and social data. Material from written sources is listed on the left side of the table, while information from the
narrative data is listed on the right. Historical and social data from written sources were limited to events the United States participated in or was directly affected by. All events received attention in the media. Any information provided by participants is attributed to them by name and is noted in brackets following the entry.

The second timeline (Timeline 2) refers to educational initiatives during the decade of the 1980s. Again, data from written sources are placed on the left of the timeline while information from participants is on the right. The data reflect major trends of the 1980s, all of which spanned the gap between published educational research and mass media debate.

Timeline data are interspersed throughout the results as it applies to information within the narratives. However, while documentation from written sources is prevalent, information from participants is limited. As the results will demonstrate, participant knowledge of events of the decade, both of a political and educational nature was not articulated in the context of the interviews.
Timeline 2. Timeline of Educational Data
College Attendance and the Decision to Teach

Of the eight participants, five could pinpoint a past family or school experience that influenced their decision to enter into a teacher education program. The experiences ranged from positive to negative; one participant, Theresa, who moved from a business administration major to education summarized the thought process for her entrance into the teaching profession by saying:

I became a teacher because of my sophomore year in high school. I had a teacher named Mrs. C... I walked into her English class as a sophomore and loved her from day one. In my recollection of things from the moment I met her, I knew that [teaching] was what I wanted to do with my life (Theresa, interview transcript, p. 4).

Sheila refers to her family background and childhood memories in order to explain her decision to enroll in a teacher education program,

I had wanted to be a teacher since day one. I had never wanted to be anything else. The earliest I can remember is an old family story told by my father. It was out in the garage in the middle of summer. It was 113 outside, and I was seven years old and had all the
neighborhood children in the garage listening to me teach. Most of them were older than me (interview transcript, p. 2).

Chris’s past experience with school also influenced his decision to teach, however; his experience was not as positive as that offered by Theresa. Whereas Theresa and Sheila remember positive aspects of family and school shaping their decision to enroll in teacher education programs, Chris referred to a decidedly more negative memory:

I mean, growing up and having my own educational experiences- being a stutterer myself and going through speech programs and special services and actually being in an LD/resource room. I kind of wanted to give back what my teachers gave to me, even though my junior high teachers sucked. But I thought I could do a better job because I could relate to the kids- because I had the same struggles that they had to go through every day in just normal every day activities, (interview transcript, p. 1).

As previously mentioned, five of the eight participants identify family or school experiences that led to their decisions to teach. However, even with the events noted, four of the five did not initially enroll in a
teacher education program in college. Theresa, who declared, "I knew that is what I wanted to do with my life," enrolled in college seeking a business administration degree. Chris entered college on a scholarship to study architecture. Therefore, while through the process of reflection, participants were able to pinpoint incidents leading to their enrollment in teacher education programs; however, several did not enter college to become a teacher. In six cases, participants sought a credential to teach after they left behind career aspirations in other fields. Only two participants, Sheila and Mary, entered college with the desire to become teachers.

The 1980s showed a rapid growth in the number of students attending college, although by some account these students were less able than their peers enrolled in other academic studies to undertake college level studies (Ravitch, 2000; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985). The economic forecast, with a new focus on highly-skilled and technological labor markets, demanded higher academic skills and training beyond the high school diploma to obtain employment in newly developing technical fields (Shea, Kahane & Sola, 1990). While this fact may have sent students back to colleges and universities, it did not
necessitate a decision to enroll in a credentialing program. For many of these participants, past positive or negative experiences did not initially drive them to teaching. The decision to teach was a choice made later on.

Other participants were more pragmatic in their decision to seek a teaching credential. Beth and Mary sought credentials in order to shift careers. Lisa, who had previously completed a four year degree in speech pathology, also undertook the teacher licensure process for practical reasons:

I knew that I was gonna marry this guy [in the military], and I knew that wherever we went in the world that there would be an American school for me to work at if I had to, but more important, wherever we went in the world I would know about my children’s education. I could make sure they had a good education or at least in the right direction (interview transcript, p. 2).

A secondary pattern demonstrating entry into a teacher education program as a means to securing a stable career path also emerged. “I was 22, and I was going to get myself together and do something. I enrolled in the University of ______ right into their school of
education," (Geralyn interview transcript, p. 1). Teaching was viewed by some participants as a means to earn a stable living and also to assure an acceptable place in society:

I wanted a career that would make me a professional. I cared what society thought because I wanted a career that was a respected career. I didn’t want a career as a bank teller. I wanted a career that had a certain amount of respect associated with it.

(Theresa, interview transcript, p. 14).

Terry also looked to education for economic stability, “The [school] really encouraged us to get a double major that would help us when it came to employment... It really did open more doors to employment after graduation,” (Terry, interview transcript, p. 1.) Six participants referred to teaching as a stable career choice that would allow for self-sufficiency or respect from family and society at large.

Contrary to this notion, Chris noted in a half joking manner that when he told his mother he had switched majors from architecture to education her response was, “You’re always going to be poor,” (transcript, p. 2). This comment highlights the low salaries earned by teachers; however, it does not directly assume society does not hold the act of teaching out as a respectable career. Only Beth presents
the one exception to feeling that teaching was held in esteem. Beth enrolled in her licensure program after leaving a pre-med program and still continued to associate with her pre-med classmates:

When you said you wanted to become a teacher they said, "Why?" It was not respected. You had little influence. Parents had the influence over what they [students] would actually learn. Respect was a big issue. Once we were in the school of ed, not everyone in the bio program became a teacher. If they left, the issue was respect. (interview transcript, p. 3-4).

While Beth saw her career decisions as being in conflict with her peers, she also refers to the professions of teaching and social work— the career her mother went into—as "an honor," (interview transcript, p. 1,) as women within her family background were not expected to undertake education, a college degree, or a career.

Interestingly enough, participants' perceptions of education as a career varied from the public perception of teachers. The widely publicized shortcomings of American schools and students in the 1980s that led to wider scrutiny being placed on the competencies of teachers (Lanier and Little, 1986) were not articulated by the participants. In comparison with other professions,
students who chose to become teachers were noted as being less academically talented with a large portion of the students of education hailing from the lowest quartile of testing measures such as the SAT (Schlechty and Vance, 1981; Vance and Schlechty, 1982). Participants in this study were not aware of these publicized academic differences between themselves and other students on campus. When probed concerning this topic, Geralyn stated that there more similarities between students enrolled in education and other students; however, “Once you were in the college of ed., unless you had friends elsewhere, you really didn’t get to talk to anyone else... All your classes were in the COE,” (interview transcript, p. 3.) Sheila saw perceived a difference between students as social rather than academic. “It’s that unique passion that teachers have; that you are sure of what your focus is and it’s kids. We’re [the education students] not about money” (interview transcript, p. 3). These research participants, upon entering the profession did not seem to be aware about this research concerning the students of education.

Finally, two other patterns were identified in the group of teachers during the analysis: the non-traditional age of students and the selection of universities. Both of these areas are almost invisible in literature on teacher
education, and both topics may cause very different interpretations of participants' perceptions of their teacher education programs.

Of the eight participants in this study, half entered into their initial teacher licensure programs as either returning students or having delayed their college education. Three of the four were career changers, "I was a 32 year-old returning student with a daughter, and I wanted a change from what I was doing [in the service industry,]" (Mary, interview transcript, p. 1-2.) Their age became a factor in how they viewed both the importance of their program and their interactions with other students. Lisa reported:

I was 27... It must not have been all young undergraduates. I don't remember anyone I was close to. I had come home [from Paris] and my husband, well, he wasn't my husband yet, he had not come back 'cause he was in the Marine Corps and he got delayed coming back. So I was focused more on him coming home than going, well, I knew I had to go to school (Lisa, interview transcript, p. 1-2).

Mary also found her age a factor as she attended classes: When I was at [school] I worked and talked with the returning students. We were more serious and
dedicated to what we were doing. We were dedicated to being educators. I really didn’t know the general population of the university... My friends were returning students in the education school... They were more serious about their studies as well. (interview transcript, p. 2).

Thus, for four of these participants, age and life experiences gained prior to entry into a teacher licensure program were identified as a contributing factor to how they viewed their teacher education.

The participants in the study also attended a number of schools over the course of their college education. Sheila, Theresa, Mary, and Geralyn all attended more than one school while obtaining their licensure; in fact, Theresa attended three separate universities in two states:

I did three years at [one school]. That’s where I decided to forego business administration and really focus on teaching... I then transferred to [a second school]. I did one year there and transferred to [a third school]. A boyfriend who eventually became a husband got me to transfer. He had moved after he graduated... and we spent one year apart and decided that was not the way we wanted to do things, so I
Transferring between colleges is not extraordinary among students; however, it is worth mentioning in regard to the study for two reasons. First, the pattern was discerned from responses given by participants concerning factors that defined their teacher education programs. Second, the transfers occurred during the course of a sequential teacher education program and affected the coursework and amount of time spent completing each participant’s licensure program.

Student Perceptions of Their Teacher Education Program

All participants in the study completed their required coursework and obtained their teaching licenses from doctoral-granting state universities in the western, southwestern, and midwestern regions of the United States. Their education departments were large, and were tied to the missions of the universities. Their teacher education programs were established and provided teachers for schools in their respective regions. The participants provide a strong lens from which to view teacher education in the 1980s.
Liberal Arts Coursework

In the first years of the 1980s, schools of education largely conducted programs containing three strands of study: general education, subject matter concentration, and pedagogy (Lanier & Little, 1983). Study participants shared these same breakdowns when describing their teacher education curriculum. However, beyond these three strains, specific coursework and the methods with which they were taught varied by institution; although even with variance, there are similarities found within the diverse programs provided in these seven schools of teacher education.

First, teacher education in the 1980s was characterized by a distinct separation between liberal arts coursework and decidedly more technical teacher preparation coursework (Barrowman, 1965; Beyer & Zeichner, 1982). Interview participants perceived a distinction between their liberal arts studies, usually present as “distribution requirements,” and their educational studies:

I also really didn’t like the economics courses and some of the other liberal arts courses I had to take. There was a composition course, too, that was a waste of time... It was most useful to go out into classrooms and see what was going on, (Geralyn, interview transcript, p. 5).
Sheila also saw a similar separation, articulated as having to take liberal arts and sciences coursework as something to pass, but not related to her education coursework:

I remember taking pre-algebra, and I am not proud of this, three times to pass it. Finally they gave me my own personal tutor to get me through it. "We can sign off on everything else, but this, you have to pass this," (interview transcript, p. 6.)

These views are not unlike research assumptions at the time which asserted a separation of studies and a more technical focus of teacher education programs.

It is of note that participants who undertook education as a second major did not see this divorce of liberal studies from their education coursework. Terry, who began a second major is education to expand her career opportunities, "loved," (interview transcript, p. 4), her coursework in the science department. Similarly, Mary refers to taking two sequences of coursework, one in the education department and one in the English department. In her opinion, the English department was more professional in their approach to the discipline. The professors were more prepared to teach, and the sequence of coursework was structured as opposed to the education department where,
“there was no method to the madness of classes,” (interview transcript, p. 4).

With the release of A Nation and Risk and the subsequent reform literature such as A Place Called School (Goodlad, 1984), High School (Boyer, 1983), and Horace’s Compromise (Sizer, 1984), a more back-to-basics approach was called for in American education. When it was uncovered that many students only encountered what was considered to be academic studies of little rigor before entry into their teacher education programs, reformers called for future teachers to increase the time spent in core content coursework (Bloom, 1987).

**Pedagogical Coursework**

Research on teacher education in the early 1980s noted a trend toward a more vocational orientation in programs. By 1985 students in teacher education programs in fourteen southern states spent 65% more time in education classes than was required for certification (Ravitch, 2000). Furthermore, even in their content area studies, these students took introductory and lower level coursework to complete subject area requirements. Even the more conceptual courses in social and philosophical foundations of education, which were always taught within the pedagogical block, in the 1980s were reduced to allow for
more state mandated time in schools and classrooms before the student teaching experience (Lanier & Little, 1986). The focus of teacher education in the 1980s seems to shift toward a more technical orientation.

A vocational orientation toward teacher education was not perceived as a negative concept by the participants in this study. Patterns from data analysis demonstrate that the methods coursework undertaken in teacher education programs was, for the most part, highly valued by the participants for their perceived usefulness in the classroom:

Education kids tended to take Health Ed and Sex Ed type classes more than the general population—not taking statistics, Econ 101, or algebra 2/trig or calculus. These kinds of classes were not sought out. We were more interested in Nature Walk and things like that—things we could use in the classroom, (Beth, interview transcript, p. 5).

Geralyn echoed the same interest in her methods coursework:
I had methods courses in social studies, science and math. I had a children’s literature course where the professor acted out the books. That was a lot of fun... I liked my art methods class... I actually used it later, (interview transcript, p. 5).
Chris vividly recalls lessons in a children's literature class revolving around the book *A Taste of Blackberries*. She [the professor] talked about the analogies. I always remember the analogies, when the little boy is talking about his baby sister and her skin is as smooth as a peach... She just pointed out the language of children's literature and how beautiful and poetic it is,” (interview transcript, p. 5).

Generally speaking, among these participants, classes which dealt with writing lesson plans, managing behavior, and those which provided actual classroom activities ranked highly as the most useful in their teacher education programs; however, even with the useful nature of the classes, participants did not always feel that their methods courses were academically rigorous in nature. Chris remembers, “We were taking a math class on teaching math, and all we did was play math games,” (interview transcript, p. 2). Or, as Lisa states:

I had to take three math classes during the summer to have enough credits for a multiple subjects [license]. They were a joke... three math classes in one semester and pass them all. They were easy because they were for teachers, (interview transcript, p. 5).
Terry concurs, "In general education what we did was Mickey Mouse stuff," (interview transcript, p. 4). In this group of students, a lack of rigorous academic standards was noticed, in accordance with research of the time.

In the pedagogical block of coursework, these students also were obligated to take such courses as classroom management, school law, and educational psychology. Though the class titles differ from school to school, these courses were prominent in all participants' programs, and the way in which they were viewed by students differed significantly. In general, many of these courses were not viewed as useful. "I took all those other courses- the stupid things you have to take no matter where you are, like school law and all that crap," (Theresa, interview transcript, p. 10).

Other participants had different reactions to these pedagogical courses. Beth enjoyed her educational psychology class recalling the following incident concerning a lesson on motivation:

He [the professor] asked two of us to leave. He knew our personalities before he asked us to do this. The lesson was on intrinsic motivation- what was in people to make them learn. He put a basketball net in the classroom. He said when finding out how students are
motivated it helps to give them a choice. We left and came back in. Everyone was staring at us. I was shy so I remember it. The other guy with me was outgoing. The professor said, "The net is in front and you can take three shots from anywhere. We want you to have success." He then asked me to leave. When I came back in [after the other guy was finished] I took the ball and stood so far away that everyone laughed. I proceeded to throw the ball and missed. I then took a few steps up and missed again. Finally, I walked right up to it and smashed it. I later found out the other guy walked right up to the net and dropped each shot in. Then the professor asked why I chose to shoot from so far away when I could’ve shot from anywhere. I said I had to challenge myself. That’s the kind of person I am. He responded that the other guy would get all the prizes. I said that was OK. I needed the challenge and the real success. That started a whole conversation with the class on how kids learn. It was a good opener because we all related to how we learn and learn differently (interview transcript, p. 7-8).

Beth’s experience in her educational psychology course furthered her interest in what motivates students to learn,
an interest she detailed in the interview when sharing her reasons for entering education.

Sheila also had similar positive experiences with her school law classes, and it is of note that Sheila received licensure in special education. Whereas other participants saw school law as of marginal value to their classroom careers as evidenced earlier by Theresa, Sheila found school law as necessary to her classroom function in implementing regulations stemming from PL 94-142. “I was always fascinated with precedents... How did we get to this point to force school districts to take special education children... I was fascinated with the history of how it happened, (interview transcript, p. 6).

This is not the case with all participants, many of whom echoed the sentiment that courses such as educational psychology, law and classroom management were not important and, indeed, could not remember them specifically, “Maybe you forget what did not have impact,”  (Mary, interview transcript, p. 7,) “Most courses were just average. They were interesting, but not memorable,”  (Chris, interview transcript p. 8).

Field Experiences

All participants completed at least one extended field experience in a classroom setting. By the early 1980s the
field experience, or student teaching, had become an essential part of teacher preparation. Each participant of this study spent at least one semester teaching full-time in a public school classroom. However, research in teacher education in the 1980s questioned exactly what the students of teaching were likely to learn from this clinical experience.

Since 1904, Dewey (in Barrowman, 1965) had contrasted the possible outcomes of student teaching in the terms of an apprenticeship versus a laboratory approach. In the apprenticeship, the student learns the more practical and managerial aspects of teaching in a classroom, while the laboratory approach hones the teacher's ability to understand the context of education including the theoretical and social issues connected with developing learning in the classroom. This contrast was not reconciled in the 1980s; many student teachers entered student teaching with primary concerns about their abilities to run a classroom, and only after meeting these needs did they move on to curricular concerns (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Dewey's laboratory model is not addressed, as student concerns lie within the apprenticeship approach.
All eight participants were able to recall in detail aspects of their student teaching experiences, and in a manner similar to that presented in the research, seven of eight participants recounted stories of their field experiences which related directly to management and discipline issues in the classroom:

I was in a 4/5 combination class. The discipline in the class was, well, horrible, and he [the cooperating teacher] was good... Finally we went to an individual point system. It was something you would not normally do at a fourth/fifth grade level... It was opposite [from what the school told me to do]... I student taught for a full semester, and I don't remember it being that bad, (Lisa, interview transcript, p. 7).

Beth tells of not only her use for classroom management skills, but the focus on these skills by her cooperating teacher, "I needed those skills, so I listened. She said, 'don't write too many passes, don't buy into their schtick,'" (interview transcript, p. 10). Theresa also referred to her student teaching experience in terms of classroom discipline:

I remember my student teaching was a cryfest everyday. It was a ten on a difficulty scale... My master teacher, the kids loved him... They didn't want anything to do
with me. They signed up to have him and didn’t want me. [The master teacher] had to walk into the classroom one day and say, "If you’ve fucked with her, you’ve fucked with me," (interview transcript, p. 11).

Discipline and management concerns were the primary focus of what this group of preservice teachers wanted and felt they needed during their student teaching.

Another aspect of student teaching that came out in participants’ stories, as depicted in Theresa’s example, is the contradictory models that were presented by cooperating teachers and how participants’ reacted to these examples. Theresa’s story of a cooperating teacher swearing at students was not the only incident in this vein. Mary recalls:

I was assigned [for my student teaching] to a woman who had taught ten to twelve years... She was neurotic and unprepared. She told me she was having an affair with an eighteen year-old student who had just graduated. I didn’t know, but I thought the affair must have been going on while he was still a student. She used me as a cover with her husband. She told him she was working with me when she was meeting [the young man], (interview transcript, p. 5).
Many incidents modeled behaviors that may not have been in the best interest for either the classroom students or the student teachers. Beth recalls breaking up a fight between students; her cooperating teacher told her that she should have let them "go at it" longer. Chris speaks of this episode:

We were all sitting there reading one day and one of the students said, "Mrs. _______ can you turn on the heat? It's freezing." She just, without skipping a beat said, "You're not going to ruin my respiratory tract just because you are cold. You can bring a jacket from home." I thought to myself, "What a cold-hearted bitch." This is my student teaching experience. It was awful," (interview transcript, p. 6-7).

While participants agreed that their field experience was the most valuable coursework in their teacher education program, five of them expressed that the experience was not guided by the most professional teachers available in the schools.

Even more remarkable is the fact that not one participant in these circumstances felt they were able to approach those responsible for their student teaching assignment with these problems. While participants were
able to outline university structures and personnel responsible for their placements, and noted that they were supposed to inform supervisors of problems in classrooms, they felt that they would bear the negative ramifications of reporting these incidents:

I didn’t want to tell anyone at [the university]. Then, if you had a problem they would pull you from the class, but you would not get another placement and would not graduate on time. These teachers had authority over your grade, (Mary, interview transcript, p. 5-6).

Theresa reiterates the same sentiment:

I never told anyone at [the university] about the problems in the classrooms. Not an ounce of a problem. I wanted to graduate, and I wanted a good grade. At the time we heard that there would be no job for you without an A in student teaching, (interview transcript, p. 11).

Precisely because of their position as students of education, participants in this study felt able to evaluate and condemn the behavior of their cooperating teachers but felt unable to seek assistance from their universities to stop the problem without their status as future teachers being affected.
Other Patterns Associated with Instruction

All participants in this study identified a university-specified sequence of coursework; however they were not able to identify a cohesive goal of their overall course of study. Everyone interviewed gave statements such as, “One instructor would emphasize one thing, and another would teach the exact opposite,” (Mary, p. 4,) “The college gave us a sequence, but I don’t feel they had a goal in mind,” (Chris, p. 4,) or more optimistically, “I guess our professors were just trying to prepare you for the classroom- prepare you for being prepared,” (Geralyn, p. 5-6.) In the eyes of the students, coursework might as well have been plucked from thin air. Participants offered little to no acknowledgement of a meaningful scope and sequence provided by the faculty or the university.

In the eyes of these students of education, professors bore the brunt of their disdain for the supposed uselessness of their teacher education programs in both a general sense and in accordance with specific assignments. Some of the student opinions were very strong. Lisa said, “None of my education courses were valuable... all the way through,” (interview transcript, p. 11). She goes on to state that, "They [the courses] must have come from some college professor’s idea of how to teach... and it changes
all the time," (p. 14). Theresa concurred, "I’m not sure if everything [the professor] told us was based in research or just his own beliefs," (interview transcript, p. 10). Mary also had similar thoughts, "I had professors who taught ideologies, what we wanted to accomplish in classrooms. I needed more basics instead of philosophy," (interview transcript, p. 7). Others were more tolerant but still found little use for course content:

The education classes were probably driven by what was available to them [professors] at the time... They used those... But they were talking about stuff from model schools. Their stuff wasn’t relevant to most classrooms, (Terry, interview transcript, p. 7-8).

Comments addressing the theory/practice dichotomy associated with teacher education were brought up often by this group.

Overall, participants were able to identify elements they were taught that had direct impact on their ability to become or perform as a teacher. As noted on the timeline, both Mary and Theresa mentioned the use of Madeline Hunter’s lesson planning strategy. Lisa noted the necessity of future teachers passing standardized tests to obtain licensure. However, though these aspects of their teacher education were memorable, they were not linked to the
political or social issues that positioned them in the curriculum in the first place.

While schools, departments, and colleges of education strived to develop teachers skilled in delivering academic material, controlling classroom dynamics, and knowledgeable in the social ethos that affects school and classroom operations (Lanier & Little, 1986), students were more likely to take the knowledge that they deemed as important out of their teacher education program. This knowledge, in accordance with previous research, came in the more technical areas of teaching.

Student Perceptions of Social, Political, and Historical Interplay with Teacher Education Programs

While national reform efforts were driving public debate over schools and eventually schools of education, the more general social and political landscape of the 1980s included events ranging from the freeing of American hostages held for over a year in Iran to the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, the end of the decade of a Republican administration in Washington to the birth of technological advances which would potentially touch all Americans in their schools, homes, and places of business.
With very few exceptions, the participants of this study did not acknowledge the impact of these events on their daily lives. "In the world? I remember more like music. U2 was really big- and the Police... God, what was going on at that time?" (Chris, interview transcript, p. 10). The range of responses did not differ significantly among traditionally-aged college students. Theresa also had difficulty fitting the political events of the era into the context of her college experience, "I remember in college that I was able to vote for the first time. It was Ford/Carter," (interview transcript, p. 13). Theresa attended college from 1984 until 1989. The Ford/Carter election was held in 1976. In this instance, Theresa was not able to place historic events in context.

Possibly Terry sums up this group of traditionally-aged participants' best by commenting, "When I was in school, I ate, drank and slept school and work. I was in my own little bubble," (interview transcript, p. 7). When asked what current events they remembered, or what political events were discussed on campus, the participants did not identify events such as the assassination attempts on either Pope John Paul II or President Reagan, Grenada, or the crumbling of the Berlin Wall as occurring in the decade. Nor were social concerns such as the growth of the
computer-age, or global warming— all of which were to have their own effects on education— mentioned either. Of the events of the time which were mentioned by traditionally-aged students, Chris remembered the Challenger explosion and American and British musicians raising money to combat famine in Africa. Theresa remembered the Iran-Contra hearings broadcast on television, but when probed concerning the content of the proceedings she was able to give little information.

There is a difference between the intersection of national and international events on the lives of the traditionally-aged and returning students in this group, "The economy was good and Reagan was President... I was in school when Reagan said that ketchup was a vegetable when he talked about school lunches and cutting funding," (Mary, interview transcript, p. 8.) Lisa, a military wife who had lived overseas, was acutely aware of national and international events,

"My husband had just come home from Egypt, and then Sadat was assassinated... There was terrorism we just didn't understand here [in the United States...] I never knew or thought of what an Arab was much more than someone with a lot of money and no brains... But the impressions of the Europeans too, when I was in school
I felt that Europeans had a bad attitude towards them so we knew [terrorist activity] was coming (interview transcript, p. 13).

For both Lisa and Mary, the events had impact on their lives outside of school. World and national events did not effect or tie into their academic lives. Beth, however, demonstrates how political and social events impacted both her personal life and the social life of college:

I remember the Challenger explosion. We all [students] thought it was a tragedy, especially with another teacher onboard. In general women were trying to branch out and find a public identity. We were testing limits. O’Conner was just appointed to the Supreme Court, but Condaleeza Rice would have never happened then. It was starting. Prominent women were coming out. We talked about Roe v. Wade because the issue had come back up. We talked about AIDS. AIDS cases were growing and we didn’t know... We were so unaware. One of my friends died later, and I was so immature. (interview transcript, p. 13-14).

Beth gives an example of how events from the outside world can enter into discussion in teacher education programs, but she is the only participant who brings this up in her story.
Whereas participants did not identify political or world events, they were able to identify political and social activity on their campuses. Chris recalled debate over cutting library hours due to lack of funding at the same time the university proposed building a new stadium. Sheila remembered campus protests over the hostage situation in Iran and protests for gay rights.

When asked directly about the impact of political or social factors entering into teacher education curriculum, only one participant was able to identify this phenomenon. Sheila, a special education major, was made aware through coursework of the legal ramifications of PL 94-142 which she would have to implement in the classroom:

We were really into PL 94-142. Mostly we were into tearing that law apart because they had already found a zillion different loop holes— a zillion different examples where it would need to be rewritten— and in about ten years, of course, it was, (interview transcript, p. 14.)

Sheila goes on to explain the zeal of those in the special education program of her school, which in her opinion seems to have been reborn with the passage of inclusion laws, "We felt like we were on the cutting edge. Like we were leading the crusade for these kids," (p. 4). This is the
one instance in the study in which a linkage between political factors and curriculum was noted.

On a more general level, some participants were able to recognize large shifts in teaching due to societal forces. Terry spoke of how her science methods professors in the early 1980s were encouraging teacher education students to use of computers in instruction as quickly as possible even though computers were still in their infancy, “The professors there let us know that this is the direction science education was headed in,” (interview transcript, p. 4). Terry further explained that she understood the professors’ zeal in this area because it was obvious that the use of technology was growing everywhere in society.

In most stories, participants seemed, at the very least, ambivalent about outside factors that could affect teacher education curriculum. “The economy was good, and Reagan was president. I don’t see how this would have any impact on my education coursework,” (Mary, interview transcript, p. 8). Geralyn had a similar opinion. “Politics wasn’t something that came into the college of education. Why would it?” (interview transcript, p. 7.) And, although Chris wasn’t able to define an overlap between political and social events and teacher education
curriculum, he did sense a growing change in his college of education, though he did not see it affecting curriculum:

In teacher ed., maybe, we were always changing so much and questioning how man treats man... People were, like, it was time to reevaluate ourselves. I am wondering if the college education in some manner or way is kind of picking up on that—reevaluating themselves and trying to change, to appease or whatever... This did not effect what we were learning (interview transcript, p. 11-12).

Thus, direct student perception of the impact of political and social forces on their teacher education curriculum was, by and large, not articulated by these participants.

However, these students were indirectly aware of political and social effects on their curriculum, even those who outwardly stated that they did not believe this interplay was likely. A strong example of this pattern is participants' comments concerning multicultural education. Even with the back-to-basics tone of *A Nation at Risk*, the overriding goal of 1980s reform efforts was not only education but education teamed with equity for all students. Since the 1960s, when civil rights came to the forefront of American society paired with changes in immigration policies (Gilbert, 2000) which increased the
school-aged populations of both Asian and Hispanic students, schools were grappling with the questions of what teaching methods would be mostly likely to produce an educated populace.

Half of the participants encountered the ideas associated with multicultural education, either within a course or in a course dealing specifically with the topic. The goals of the class or unit, unlike the goals of the overall teacher education program, seem to be understood by the students. Participants felt that professors were attempting to give teacher education students a basis for understanding and teaching all the students who they might one day encounter in the classroom; however, this group of teachers did not acknowledge that the impetus for this course came from concepts spawned by social issues. "We were supposed to be aware of different cultures out there and have a sensitivity to students in our room," (Theresa, interview transcript, p. 11). Not all participants felt the courses were well structured, and some felt professors were not entirely prepared to teach about cultures they knew little about. Beth commented on how a professor insisted that her spelling of Hanukkah was incorrect even though she had been raised and educated as a Conservative Jew.
Because of the changes in state educational policy while she was enrolled in her licensure program, Geralyn possibly provides the strongest example of a participant articulating, but not recognizing, the influence of social and political factors on teacher education curriculum. In retelling her experiences, Geralyn referred often to SERA, the State Education Reform Act all teachers were expected to implement in schools beginning in 1990, the year she was to begin teaching in the public schools. Geralyn was able to explain in detail the tenets of SERA, how SERA was to be implemented, the supposed effects SERA would have on schools and students across the state, and most importantly to her, what she would have to do to operate her classroom under the guidelines established by the SERA. Yet, Geralyn also stated, "Politics wasn’t something that came into the College of Education. Why would it?" (interview transcript, P. 7). Geralyn seemed not to understand that SERA was a state effort brought about in reaction to a national debate on educational standards. She did not connect SERA with politics.

Perceived Political and Social Impact on Teaching Practice

Identifying public events that shaped their classroom practice was less of a challenge for these teachers. All
participants were able to give multiple examples of how their classroom teaching was affected by societal forces. Terry reported that:

Today, I think things like 9/11 effect what I do. They don’t change my curriculum; they just make me more aware of my students. You have to consider the emotional stability of these kids. There all of a sudden is more stress in the classroom for the teacher and the students, (Terry, interview transcript, p. 8).

The events of September 11, 2001 also played out in Sheila’s classroom:

I have a little boy this year that is Iranian. That was really hard. How do you discuss the bad man flying the jet when he is Islamic? Teaching sensitivity for that, we have holidays coming up so you want to include Ramadan in your studies, and you don’t know what these children have heard at home. You don’t know what the attitude is at home, (interview transcript, p. 18).

Beth approaches different social issues in teaching her at-risk high school population:

I teach science so I take the kids to the health district and talk about communicable diseases- not protection- scientifically. I also give information
on where you can go for help, hotlines for rape, suicide prevention, homelessness. These kids need this, (interview transcript, p. 16.)

The stories in this area were prolific. However, the anecdotes take on a very specific definition of "political and social factors that effect curriculum." The participants in this study saw the phrase as referring to two things, first, political and social factors become current events, and second, curriculum becomes what they choose to teach in the classroom as opposed to the mandates handed down from school, district, and state authorities. When probed further, the teachers still acknowledged political and social factors within classroom practice giving examples of the socio-economic status of students, violence in the media, and immigration.

It was interesting to try to understand how these teachers scaffold curriculum initiatives that stem from the district, state or national level. For instance, all participants at some point during their discussion of their classroom practice referred to standardized testing. Lisa, in particular, who believes in the virtues of testing enough to buy materials to test her own children at home annually, states that she does not like the test swapping that has occurred- the change of one test to another.
However, she administers the new test because that is the test the principal gave her. Lisa offers no evidence that the choice of test was based on anything other than the whim of an administrator. No mention was made to *No Child Left Behind* (2001), the national standards debate, nor to the concern over what knowledge students gain in schools as she discussed testing issues.

Other issues encountered by participants during their classroom teaching experience also follow this trend. When referring to the large number of students in his class, Chris simply states that the principal put them in there. Beth reacts to new procedures for writing lessons plans as something the administration wants to try out. In many cases, the references made by participants about these curricular changes make them seem like they have simply fallen from the sky. Participants did not refer to an educational context as influencing what they are now expected to do as part of their work.

**Ascribing Meaning to Perceptions**

Patterns discerned from participants' perceptions of their teacher education program coincide with much research on teacher education programs in the 1980s. They also reveal differing viewpoints of students of different ages and backgrounds, as well as a limited knowledge of the
impact of factors outside of the university on their teacher education experiences. This information is shown both as individual perceptions (Table 6) and also covers the first three columns of the CPIP matrix (Table 7). The first columns of the matrix organize findings from the notemaking portion of data gathering, both the timelines from literature and narrative information. The third column notes comparison and divergence between the documented influences on teacher education and the perceptions of participants.

The following chapter completes the final two columns of the CPIC matrix, conclusions and recommendations. From the comparison between the literature and the perceptions of participants, implications are developed concerning the wider context of teacher education and recommendations to address these topics are offered. Specifically, the chapter focuses on such questions as how the perceptions of teacher education students inform the practice of teachers and if these perceptions may necessitate change in teacher education programs.
Table 6. Teachers’ Perceptions of their Teacher Education Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Perceptions of Educational Coursework</th>
<th>Perceptions of Field Experience</th>
<th>Recall of Social, Polit. or Historic Events</th>
<th>Perceived Link of Social Events with Teacher Education</th>
<th>Perceived Link of Social Events and Classroom Practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheila</td>
<td>Felt an idealism and purpose in special ed. curriculum</td>
<td>Mixed. Some problems with cooperating teacher</td>
<td>Campus events only</td>
<td>Understood in terms of coursework</td>
<td>Inclusion law and current events: 9/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>Felt education coursework was a waste of time</td>
<td>Saw as the only necessary part of teacher ed.</td>
<td>Events that effected military husband</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>&quot;[Coursework was] interesting, but not memorable.&quot;</td>
<td>Problems with cooperating teacher</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Current events only: war, 9/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geralyn</td>
<td>Enjoyed methods and hands-on coursework</td>
<td>Enjoyed placement</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>&quot;Why would it [be linked]?&quot;</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>English courses more rigorous than ed. courses</td>
<td>&quot;It was a cryfests everyday.&quot;</td>
<td>Some recall of US economics</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Current events only: 9/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theresa</td>
<td>Pedagogical work was &quot;stupid stuff&quot;</td>
<td>Problems with cooperating teacher</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Multi-cultural courses</td>
<td>Current events only: 9/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>Science courses more rigorous than ed. courses. Enjoyed methods work.</td>
<td>Problems with cooperating teacher</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Mentioned in terms of computers and computer education</td>
<td>Current events only: socio-economic status of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>Science courses more rigorous than ed. courses. Liked ed. psych.</td>
<td>Enjoyed placement</td>
<td>Some recall of social events</td>
<td>Mentioned in terms of health and education</td>
<td>Current events only: health/health related issues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 7. CPIP Assessment Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social, political and historic antecedents impacting teacher education (timelines)</th>
<th>Social, political, and historic antecedents impacting teacher education (narratives)</th>
<th>Results: Compare/Contrast timelines with narratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Largely female population hailing from working and middle-class backgrounds; academically deficient in comparison to college age students in other areas of study</td>
<td>Mostly women; significant number of non-traditionally aged students; schools chosen by design; entry initiated by act in their educational past or by family; profession identified as providing security or respect</td>
<td>Similar to past research with the exception of the number of returning students entering the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education research initiatives based on back-to-basics reform efforts (“A Nation at Risk” and “Teachers for the 21st Century”)</td>
<td>Coursework suggested by interest of professors, haphazard assortment of classes, little perceived relation to actual teacher work</td>
<td>Students with few exceptions were unaware of impact of reform efforts on teacher education coursework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coursework in foundations, methods, and field experiences</td>
<td>Coursework remembered is largely field-based in nature or was methods work. Goal of programs (if identified) revolves around classroom survival</td>
<td>Coordinates well with past research, especially that which identifies foundations courses as the least important of their evolution into teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To create teachers skilled in delivering academic material, controlling classroom dynamics, and knowledgeable in the social ethos that creates schools and classrooms</td>
<td>Courses based in lesson planning were identified as most used in practice; most coursework labeled as of little use in classroom setting</td>
<td>In accordance with research, practical skills are identified as the most useful by future teachers; discussions of social impact on schools not seen as necessary for teaching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Implications from Findings on Students’
Backgrounds and Perceptions

Perceptions of the Act of Teaching

The apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975) served by future teachers in their K-12 schooling, is a powerful influence on eventual teacher preparation.

Participants in this study held similar beliefs concerning their knowledge of the act of teaching. Through their observations of favorite teachers [Theresa and Geralyn], least favorite teachers [Chris], and family members who taught [Terry, Sheila, and Beth], most participants in this study had a strong idea about their career choice and their expectations concerning work in schools. The two remaining participants entered teaching by choice later in their lives, both asserting that they gained an understanding of the act of teaching through time spent tutoring or personal traits such as Mary’s “social services personality” (interview transcript, p. 1) which she defines as her
innate desire to help people. They did not report engaging in reflective questioning to determine their ability to teach or whether the career suited their personalities. Once their decisions were made, with the exception of Sheila who changed her education major to a special education major, no participant gave any indication of second-guessing their decision to teach.

In entering the college classroom, these participants had certain beliefs about what they knew, what they needed to learn, and the relative importance of each segment of the curriculum they were to be taught. Assertions from participants of their need for practical knowledge, actual lessons to use in classrooms, and hands-on experience with students highlight a perceived need in this group for the more technical aspects of teaching—a need that may influence their opinions of the importance of other coursework.

While this mode of thought has been brought forth in previous research (Urban 1990, Imig & Switzer, 1996; Schoonmaker, 2002; Urban, 1990; Zeichner & Liston, 1987), it follows that if students of teaching come into their teacher education classrooms assuming a greater importance placed on the technical aspects of professional knowledge, that there must be a source or sources that shape this
belief, be they previous experiences in the classroom, family affiliation with teaching, or another source. It might be necessary to evaluate the sources of this belief, in order to unravel the causes that persuade students of education to hold certain professional knowledge as more necessary than others. If students of teaching ascribe little importance to foundations coursework in comparison with technical knowledge, then they may not be attentive to information that will one day assist them in their classroom practice.

After evaluation of what is modeled by teachers in the K-12 experience, we might explore whether foundations courses are viewed as more valuable once teachers have classroom experience. Many participants in this study told of graduate studies in which they were much more open to concepts associated with societal contexts of education. After they were comfortable with their abilities to teach and manage a classroom they were more developmentally ready to accept information that they saw as too theoretical in their earlier studies. In any case, further study is needed to discern how the experiences of preservice teachers effect the perception of what constitutes necessary coursework in teacher education programs and
whether preservice teachers are developmentally ready to undertake theoretical coursework.

Participants’ Choice of School

In this study, participants did not seem to make definite choices as to where to obtain their college education. Historically, students of education did not have the option of choosing schools—when further education became a requirement, prospective teachers went to the nearest teacher academy or normal school that offered the technical programs they needed as a prerequisite for a position (Harper, 1939; Barrowman, 1965; Urban, 1990). The stories of these participants echo this same theme. Each one went to the school not to obtain specialized education or because the teacher education program offered them something not available at other schools but because of reasons ranging from “it was close to home” [Sheila] to “I was accepted there,” [Lisa]. Furthermore, participants felt able to switch from one school to another mid-program with little consideration other than how many credits would transfer.

This finding implies that teacher education programs, as seen by this particular group, are interchangeable. Though it is beneficial to have students able to move and continue their education if a personal
situation arises, teacher educators may wish to examine if this attitude is supportive of a de facto national teacher curriculum. With compact licensure agreements between states and the growing power of accrediting agencies such as NCATE, schools of education may be perpetuating the idea that all teacher programs are similar. If so, this may be an idea that schools, colleges, and departments of education wish to discuss further. The scientific knowledge base which seemingly has always been sought for education studies at the university level (Barrowman, 1956; Harper, 1939) should result in some interchangeability between programs at different schools. However, colleges of education may wish to examine how to balance the need for a knowledge base in education with the desire to create unique programs that provide a strong preservice experience for their students.

Implications from Findings on Students' Course of Study

Coursework and Course Sequence

Participants' stories reveal a disdain for their teacher education coursework. At best participants viewed professors as trying to teach from a clinical standpoint which distanced them from the true classrooms in which
teachers would one day be placed. At worst, participants perceived professors to be teaching from personal agendas that had little or nothing to do with actual education. In no case were participants able to identify a research base from which their studies stemmed. Courses were seen as little more than a hodgepodge of requirements necessary for certification. Therefore, it may be necessary for teacher education programs to reevaluate how they are addressing the theory-practice dichotomy, and if necessary, make adjustments in instructional practice in order to better highlight the relationship between research and practice to students of education.

The history of teacher education outlines a framework in which a program should adequately address all aspects of teaching including the social foundations of education, the methods required for the adequate teaching of subject matter to students, and a clinical experience allowing for practical experiences with students in schools (Spring, 1989; Ravitch 2000, Barrowman, 1956, Conant, 1963). The goals of this program are not only to teach each area but to also allow each area to augment the other. In the eyes of this study's participants, the linkage between each area was tenuous at best. Without the ability as students to
understand the framework of teacher education programs, it may be that, as teachers, former students of education will have difficulty connecting the separate branches of their own education resulting in missed teaching opportunities in their classrooms. If the goal of schools, colleges and departments of education is to teach students of education to synthesize information from each area of teacher education, then they may wish to reexamine the perceptions students have of how these areas intersect with one another, and restructure their teaching methods in order to better educate teachers to connect both theory from foundational studies with the more technical aspects of teaching.

Since the scientific study of education has been in question since the university systems absorbed the normal schools (Harper, 1939; Barrowman 1965; Conant 1963), a definitive answer to the question of scope and sequence of educational coursework has been elusive. Mandates beginning in the 1980s insisted that a greater focus be placed upon in depth content area studies, even though tests of subject matter knowledge did not always show a relationship to teaching performance (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Students, through need or preconceived notions, desired methods courses and fieldwork. Educators who
believed in the position of schools and teachers as agents of social change or models of democracy and equity championed foundations courses. With a limited number of credit hours in a collegiate program, as credentialing agencies mandate more time be spent in one area, other areas received less and less focus.

With reform efforts moving so quickly into the public eye during the 1980s, it is very possible that colleges and universities, seeking the best for their students in the eyes of both the public and private sector, adapted existing programs to meet the new agendas. Programs could have been quickly altered—expanding content area studies, altering field experiences—and as a result made little sense to students (Warren, 1985). However, this is an area in which commentaries have not changed since the 1980s. There is still debate over the appropriate amount of student time that should be spent in core content classes in comparison to methods courses and fieldwork (Imig & Switzer, 1990; Davis & Buttafuso, 1994, Darling Hammond, 2000).

This group of teacher education students identified the following specific shortcomings in their coursework. First, too much time was spent in theoretical coursework that they felt was not germane to actual classroom
practice. Second, methods coursework, though relatively valued in later educational practice, was too simplistic in nature and often stressed ideal situations which, in students' opinions were far removed from the situations they would face one day in classrooms. Finally, fieldwork, though seen by all participants as important in their evolution as teachers, was not necessarily set up to demonstrate best classroom practice, and students believed the structure of the experience did not allow them to speak out about problems with placements without negative ramifications.

Theoretical Coursework

At the undergraduate level, theoretical coursework has been minimized at alternate times by both students and academe (Beyer & Zeichner, 1982; Birkel, 1983; Barrowman, 1956; Conant, 1963). Students, in their perceived need for useful classroom tactics, relegate theoretical coursework to the status of "the professor's idea of what a teacher should be," (Terry, interview transcript, p. 7,) and, historically, professors in departments other than education countered that if students wanted to seriously study the discipline of educational history or philosophy they should undertake the study of history or philosophy and apply the knowledge to schools (Conanat, 1963).
The school, college, or department of education is placed in an unenviable position of taking subject matter that students do not see a need for and attempting to integrate it into the whole of a teacher education program in a manner that it can be seen as of value to the student in future practice (Beyer & Zeichner, 1982; Carter, 1990). From the point of view of participants in this study, this did not happen in their coursework; however, when theoretical issues were readdressed later in graduate programs, the courses made more sense and were seen to relate more readily to classroom experiences. Therefore, if it is true that preservice teachers are resistant to the benefits theoretical instruction can have on practice, then teacher education curriculum may need to be revised to address this issue.

Methods Coursework

Methods coursework was widely viewed by study participants as necessary to the process of becoming a teacher. The practical aspects of acquiring lesson planning skills and ideas to present content were held in high regard by almost all of those involved. However, in retrospect, this coursework was considered to be "Mickey Mouse," in nature (Terry, interview transcript, p. 4), especially when comparing departmental content area classes...
with the corresponding methods courses in the education department.

Again, these perceptions which participants shared show little difference with compiled research (Ravitch, 2000, National Commission for Excellence in Education, 1983), and past reactions to similar research have included the development of five year teaching programs, the development of Master of Arts in Teaching programs, and a reduction of credit hours spent in methods coursework and made up in the appropriate content area department (Lanier & Little, 1986). Yet the participants in this study find the lack of academic rigor in methods coursework problematic. Possible restructuring of methods curriculum may be warranted if these perceptions hold true among a larger student population because if study in these areas is not seen as having academic value, in light of persisting reform movements, in the future this coursework may be reduced further in teacher education.

Field Experience

All participants in this study identified their field experience(s) as the most valuable undertaking in their teacher education programs, despite some reported negative experiences during their placements. Field experiences are included in a teacher education program, in part, to
develop the competencies of the future teacher in a real world setting (Lanier & Little, 1986; Schoonmaker, 2002). These experiences allow novices the opportunity to explore the “practical relevance of propositional knowledge,” (Thiessen in Gallagher & Bailey, 2000). In addition, while working with a cooperating teacher, novices are socialized into the culture of teaching (Feimen-Nesmser & Floden, 1986). If the goal of student teaching is to model and then transfer models of expert teaching (Sternberg & Horvath, 1995) from the cooperating teacher to the novice, it follows that a cooperating teacher should be knowledgeable in and be able to demonstrate the characteristics of expert teaching.

Half of the participants in this study retold of events in their field experience that called into question their cooperating teachers’ knowledge and ability to model the traits of expert teaching. If, through further study of field experiences, such concerns are founded, a rethinking of the methods in which cooperating teachers are chosen, supervised, and retained may be necessary. How student teachers are supervised and the means in which they are able to report and handle problems with their placements may also be areas to reexamine, including
addressing situations without delaying preservice program completion.

Implications from Findings on the Perceived Intersection of Social, Political, and Historical Events on Teacher Education Curriculum

When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership... saturating him with the spirit of service and providing him with the instruments of effective self direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious, (Dewey, 1902/56, p. 29).

In these few words, Dewey sums up an overriding goal for the social dimension of schooling; that is, students are educated to one day become productive members of a wider society. The quotation speaks of the autonomy of the student- the instruments of effective self direction- but also of the spirit of service that is applied to a world far beyond the classroom. If this is still a valid goal, then teachers skilled in imparting content knowledge must also be able to connect this knowledge to the world beyond the classroom. In a manner of speaking, to affect this
sort of learning, teachers must be of the classroom and of the world outside the classroom.

Participants in this study espoused only the former. They sat through their teacher education classes, learned how to write an effective lesson plan, acquired knowledge on how to engage students, and practiced techniques to manage their behavior. They became quick-studies of how to manage a classroom. However, in their inability to acknowledge political and social events, let alone apply this knowledge to the conditions that impact their daily work, their initial concerns, especially in the first years of teaching are classroom-based. They may not be as well-equipped to address issues that connect school and teaching to societal concerns.

In the history of teacher education, the social contexts of education and what it means to be educated in a democratic society have received differing attention within curriculum; however, it has almost always been present within the curriculum. Because an emphasis on pedagogical knowledge has prevailed in teacher education programs and coursework that allows teacher education students to relate outside factors to the experience of teaching are often offered in isolation of other work, students of education often do not make connections between the impact of
societal forces on school processes (Warren, 1985). This segmentation of the curriculum has left teachers, "unprepared for their more difficult responsibilities, which are to conceptualize, innovate, and analyze disparate educational and policy phenomena," (Warren, 1985.)

In this study, participants did not articulate an understanding of the role that societal contexts play in how students perceive their teacher education. In their recollections there was no discernable pattern linking history, politics, societal development, and the evolution of the instruction of novice teachers. In most cases, participants did not communicate an awareness of the world outside of the college campus, let alone how that world affected their studies and their future careers.

The following question is whether, in this day and age, the ability to make these connections as preservice teachers is necessary. With the introduction of the NCATE standards, recommendations from the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future, and the development of certifications from the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards, all of which address the issues of context in a secondary manner as compared to standards-based issues, the debate might be disregarded altogether. For instance, in the NCTAF recommendations, as well as in
other reform initiatives such as the Holmes Group, students of teaching should meet content standards including a "multicultural competence for working in a range of settings with diverse learners," (Valli & Rennert-Ariev, 2000). At the very least this competency should involve some discussion or academic work connecting issues of politics and social change with teaching- or it may just mean participating in a practicum in an at-risk environment. The new standards do address the issue, but only in a tangential manner.

The importance of this issue is not entirely based upon whether students of education partake in baseline or advanced analysis of the effects of social and political impacts on teaching and learning. If the new landscape of teacher education reform designates this area as of import, then questions pertaining to how to effectively address and possibly restructure teacher education to confront students' lack of fluency in defining the relationships between social and political forces and schooling will be addressed.

If this is not the case, and teacher education programs choose not to address this academic issue, the importance of this study lies in how schools, colleges and
departments of education realize the perceptions of what students feel they have and have not learned from their experiences in teacher education. For years, and definitely in the 1980s, teacher education programs did voice a desire to create linkages in preservice teachers' minds concerning the relationship of schools to society, including the multiple ways that forces outside of schools shape education. Yet, these participants were unable to identify relationships between outside factors and their own education. When reflecting on their current practice, these participants defined outside social and political influences as those of current events only, ignoring debates on standards, issues concerning tracking, and a host of other factors that likely affect the nature of their work. If teacher education programs, after asserting this type of thought process as an end goal, are not able to confer this upon their students, what else are the students of education not receiving that colleges believe they are? When schools of education recommend licensure for graduating students they are asserting that graduates have completed a course of study enabling them to enter into public schools and educate children. If colleges of education are unable to ensure the knowledge and skill level of their graduates, teachers entering classroom may
not be far off from the ill-prepared novice educators documented in reform literature of the 1980s. Further study of the perceptions students have of the knowledge gained from their course of study might assist in addressing this situation.

Limitations of the Study

This is in no way an exhaustive study. First, only eight participants hailing from traditional teacher education programs contributed their experiences to this research. While their stories can inform the whole of the teacher education experience, they are not the entirety of experience, nor should they be treated as such. Each participant can only account for their perceived experience and no more. To enhance findings here, more input from a wider variety of participants might be sought.

In a similar vein, the participants do not hail from all regions of the United States, nor do their school affiliations represent the many milieus in which teacher education is taught. While these participants all received their licensure from state institutions with relatively large teacher education programs, it might be of interest to also collect stories of experience from teachers who obtained their licensure from other types of institutions,
especially from liberal arts institutions which, because of their academic orientation, often spend more classroom time exploring issues pertaining to the social contexts of schooling (Davis & Buttafuso, 1994). This would be helpful in discerning whether the trends identified in this study are unique to the type of education received and if areas of concern are alleviated within different educational contexts.

Finally, the fact that this study deals with student perceptions in and of itself can be seen as a limitation. A perception is a personal viewpoint which in no way implies objectivity. A participant is describing what they believed they experienced at a given time and in a given context. There may or may not be a correlation between the given perception of the teacher education program and what actually occurred. Furthermore, as the information is reported in a narrative format, there is no way to identify a relationship between what is being said and what actually occurs in practice, as with Geralyn who perceived no intersection between social and political factors and her teacher education program, though was able to understand and apply the tenets of the State Education Reform Act in her classroom practice. Perception, though a guidepost for what may have been understood, is not reality.
Questions for Further Study

In examining student perceptions of teacher education programs, this study uncovered the following areas that may benefit from future research. First, with participants' comments concerning the meaninglessness of educational theory in their teacher education programs, and their relative understanding of its importance after time spent in classrooms, is this a matter of their readiness to accept such theoretical instruction and, if so, should programs be reconfigured to take into account the readiness of students to accept instruction in this area? A realignment of teacher education may enhance student engagement with theoretical concepts and enable them to more easily bridge the theory into practice dichotomy.

Next, though not the focus of this study, the number of participants who entered their teacher education programs as older or returning students was higher than the researcher expected; half of the teachers who shared stories fell into this category. With much being understood about developmental differences between learners of different ages and experiences, are the differences among learners in preservice education programs significant enough to warrant undertaking new instruction methods to meet the needs of all students in the classroom?
Currently, many alternative routes to teacher certification exist, and efforts to recruit teachers from different age and experiential backgrounds are growing in proportion to the demand for teachers. As the demographics of the teacher education classrooms change, so may the need for new methods of instruction or curriculum restructuring.

Also of concern are participants’ perceptions of their field experiences. While all feel their practica and student teaching were the most significant portion of their licensure program, students from different schools assert behaviors of their cooperating teachers which ranged from inappropriate to illegal. Furthermore, participants felt reporting such situations would impact negatively on their grades or their ability to graduate. Are problems concerning the behaviors of cooperating teachers widespread or was this atypical? If problems are seen in large numbers, what can be done to assure the quality of the field experience? If the field experience is supposed to allow for the mentoring of students in an environment of best practice, how can teacher educators structure placements to best ensure this outcome?

Teacher education should continue to explore the role of social foundations coursework in teacher education programs. The issue has never been an easy one to address,
and now, with a reinvigorated focus on standards-based teacher education, the function and necessity of these classes seems as ambiguous as it has ever been. If it is important that teachers enter public school classrooms as agents of social change, how can teacher education programs be restructured to make this a more likely outcome, and how can this coursework exist within the new framework of teacher education?

Finally, this study is based in the belief that the perceptions of the students of teaching are beneficial to assessing the outcomes of teacher education programs. Can student perceptions be more widely used to ensure the overall quality of a teacher education program? In what ways can student recollections provide information of what has and has not been learned? It is obvious that student perceptions alone cannot be the sole indicator of the success of an education program; however, in addition to other inquiry methods, they may help bridge the divide between what the college of education thinks students have learned and what knowledge students actually take from their course of study.
Conclusions

Through the exploration of the perceptions of eight teacher education students in the 1980s, a picture of what knowledge students gained in the process of becoming teachers developed. The storied experience (Clandinin & Connely, 2000) of these participants allowed us to view aspects of teacher education programs from eight separate standpoints that might inform the practices of teacher educators. While not accounting for the entirety of the teacher education experience, these eight vignettes strengthen past research as well as raise new questions in the field of teacher education.

The goals of teacher education in the United States are in the process of being redefined by new reform efforts. However, amid the dissonance of these competing voices, certain desirable goals of teacher education remain. Most agree that teachers should be able to adequately transmit knowledge to all students in their classrooms. In addition it is possible that if teachers were able to discern the political and societal influences education that both help and hinder them in achieving this task they might be more effective. Undoubtedly, there are obstacles that must be overcome before these goals could be reached.
Students of education enter into their teacher education programs with experiences and perceptions that serve to both enhance and limit their understanding. These factors include students' family background and association with teaching, reasons for seeking entry into the profession, and even past experiences in schools (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996; Lortie, 1975). These participants also developed a perceived need for the more practical and vocational knowledge associated with teaching and as a result shunned more theoretical aspects of practice.

Once students make this conscious or unconscious decision, reflection on the incorporation of theoretical aspects on practice becomes less likely. Given the example of ascertaining the societal and political influences on their teacher education programs, participants were unable to articulate any meaningful impact of one on the other. If teachers are unable to apply this reflective thought to their own educational experience, it is unclear as to whether they can apply it in their inservice teaching to the benefit of their students. To overcome these obstacles coordinators of teacher education programs might consider or continue to redesign or realign teacher education curriculum to meet both their educational objectives and the needs of their students.
Taken in a broader perspective, this phenomenon indicates that an area of preservice teacher education that has been a staple of instruction was not internalized by this group of students. If this is the case with one area of instruction, it may well be true with other concepts. Further analysis of student perceptions on what has and has not been learned within the context of teacher education may yield key elements of a program design more beneficial to the development of future educators.
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Family #1

1. Where and when did you obtain your teacher licensure?

2. What prompted you to choose to attend this particular school?

3. How would you describe the college/university you attended?

4. How would you describe yourself and your peers throughout the university at this time?

5. What experiences influenced your choice to become a teacher?

6. At the time you chose to become a teacher, how would you describe the job of teaching?

7. Ultimately, when and where did you obtain a teaching position following your preparation program? How long did you teach for?

Family #2

1. Who were your peers in the school of education? Were
there any similarities or differences from the general population of the college/university?

2. What courses did you take during your teacher preparation program?

3. What specifically did you feel this coursework was trying to teach you? At the time did you see any goals to your overall coursework?

4. Can you describe any memorable events or anecdotes from your coursework? From your field experiences? Did these events have any effect on your eventual teaching?

5. Who was responsible for the coordination of your teacher preparation program? Your field work? Actual licensure? How did you see the roles of these supervisors?

6. Which courses were most valuable in your preparation to teach? Which were not? Why? Can you supply examples from your professional practice?

7. Can you describe any instances where you feel your teacher preparation program has had a direct impact on your professional practice? Contrarily, can you recount any coursework that has not impacted your professional practice and why you feel this way?
Family #3

1. What events occurred nationally/worldwide at the time of your teacher preparation?

2. Did these events impact campus life in general, or you specifically in any way? If so, how?

3. Did these events impact your coursework in any way? How?

4. What factors do you see as a primary influence on your preservice and/or inservice teaching?

5. At any time as a preservice or inservice teacher, do you recall social or political events affecting your classroom practice or prompting change in your school or classroom? How?

6. What beliefs did you bring from your teacher preparation program into your educational practice?

Please note that these questions provide a framework for the interview only. I am most interested in the experiences constructed by participants as opposed to obtaining answers solely from contrived questions. As a best possible definition, these interviews should allow the participants to reconstruct the world of their teacher education program and corresponding professional practice, where applicable.
Informed Consent

General Information:
I am Suzanne Katz from the UNLV Department of Curriculum and Instruction. I am the researcher on the project. You are invited to participate in a research study entitled, “School, Departments, and Colleges of Education: Student Perceptions of Societal Factors in Teacher Education in the 1980s.” The study looks at what experiences and coursework inform participants’ perceptions of teacher education programs as well as in what ways social, political, and historic events intersect with teacher education curricula.

Procedure:
If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer questions about your experiences in your teacher education program and how it may have enhanced your eventual classroom practice. The interview takes approximately three hours.

Benefits of Participation:
By participating in this study you will reexamine your teacher education experience and make connections to how it affects your teaching. You will also receive an increased understanding of the multiple factors that play a role in the development of teacher education in the United States.

Risks of Participation:
There is minimal risk involved in participating in this study. You may be uncomfortable answering some of the questions asked. You are encouraged to discuss this with me. I will explain the questions to you in more detail.
Informed Consent (Continued)

Contact Information:
If you have any questions about this study, you may contact me through Dr. Rebecca Mills as 702-895-3656.

For questions regarding the right of research participants, you may contact the UNLV Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 702-895-2794.

Voluntary Participation:
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study or in any part of this study. You may withdraw at any time without prejudice to your relations with the university. You are encouraged to ask questions about this study at the beginning or at any time during the research study.

Confidentiality:
All information gathering in this study will be kept completely confidential. No reference will be made in written or oral materials that could link you to this study. All records will be stored in a locked facility at UNLV for at least three years after the completion of this study. After three years all material will be kept by the researcher in a locked office facility.

Participant Consent:
I have read this above information and agree to participate in this study. I am at least 18 years of age. A copy of this form has been given to me.

______________________________  __________________________
Signature of Participant         Date

______________________________
Participant’s Name (Please Print)
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VITA

Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Suzanne Katz

Local Address:
2601 S. Grand Canyon Drive #1076
Las Vegas, Nevada 89117

Degrees:
Bachelor of Arts, Education and Music, 1991
Smith College

Master of Arts, Educational Policy Studies, 1993
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Dissertation Title: Teachers' Perceptions of Societal Factors in Teacher Education during the 1980s

Dissertation Examination Committee
Chairperson, Dr. Rebecca Mills, Ed.D.
Committee Member, Dr. Nancy Gallavan, Ph.D.
Committee Member, Dr. Lori Olafson, Ph.D.
Graduate Faculty Representative, Dr. LeAnn Putney, Ph.D.