INFORMATION TO USERS

8011208

MULGREW, EDNA CATHERINE BIRMINGHAM

RELATIONSHIPS AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN
ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro　　　　　ED.D.　　　　　1979

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106　　　18 Bedford Row, London WC1R 4EJ, England

RELATIONSHIPS AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT:

AN ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF

TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

by

Edna Birmingham Mulgrew

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1979

Approved by

David E. Purpel
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation
Adviser ___David E Purpel___

Committee Members ___Richard N. Weller___

_____

M. Elaine Burgess

_____

9- 18-79
Date of Acceptance by Committee

9- 18-79
Date of Final Oral Examination

MULGREW, EDNA BIRMINGHAM. Relationships and Personal
Development: An Ethnomethodological Study of Teachers'
Perspectives. (1979) Directed by: Dr. David E. Purpel.
Pp. 181.

This study described and interpreted the patterns of
awareness that teachers expressed about their relationships
with students, and the significance they understood these
relationships to have on the students' personal development.
An ethnomethodological research approach was used. The
primary methods of data collection included interviews with
twelve teachers and participant observation with three of
the teachers as they interacted with students and reflected
on the meaning of their interactions. Three exploratory
questions guided this study: (1) What dimensions constitute
critical awareness in teachers regarding their relationships
with students in the learning environment? (2) What are the
assumptions that teachers make about the significance of
their relationships in regard to the student's development
as a person? (3) Given the focus of this dissertation, how
adequately do the perspectives and the research procedures
of ethnomethodology respond to this inquiry?

Ethnomethodology is based on a phenomenological view
of reality. This view suggests that to understand the mean-
ing of the subjects' world, the researcher must apprehend
it from the perspective of the subjects' interpretive process.
A suitable way to accomplish this in this study was to accom-
pany the subjects as they interacted with others, and to

raise questions with them about how they constructed social reality through these interactions. During the three months of the field study, extensive observations were made, in addition to the interviews. Continual engagement with the three main participants in this work environment also occurred. The data from these sources were analyzed regularly to disclose patterns of thinking or behavior in relationships that merited further examination. After the completion of the field work, the findings were refined and interpreted. Durable and coherent patterns of awareness were then documented and represented graphically.

The Piagetian concepts of substance and form were chosen as a framework to document the coherent patterns of awareness. Each concept constituted a dimension in the documented findings. The substantive dimension contained the polar aspects of groupness and individuality. The formative dimension contained the polar aspects that represented personal contacts and those that represented contextual contacts. Polar aspects of personal contacts included mutuality and one-sidedness, and involvement and detachment. The polar aspects of context consisted of open settings and traditional settings. All of these aspects, taken together, constituted the boundaries of awareness expressed by the teachers in this study. Within these boundaries, a representative profile of the teachers' perspectives was established. Consistently, teachers viewed the purpose of their relationships

to be for the students' development as productive members of groups. The teachers promoted this goal through settings described generally as traditional. Forms of personal contacts were characterized as one-sided and supportive of both involvement and detachment, as considered appropriate by the teachers. Teachers considered their influence to be less significant a factor in the students' personal development than it once might have been. They made this sensible by noting their perceived obligation to respond to the values of the community and its expectations for its children.

The study concluded with a summary of the responses to the three research questions. The findings in regard to the third question indicate that an ethnomethodological research approach adequately disclosed the dimensions of awareness about a phenomenon that could be readily observed by both the researcher and the subjects. However, the approach, as used in this study, was limited by its ability to disclose the integrity of teachers' views about their developmental influence. Consequently, the study concluded that the ethnomethodological approach would be more effective for continued use in educational settings if it were modified and supported by other methods.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

The focus of this study is on the quality of the
teacher-student relationships, with particular attention
to the process by which teachers reflect on these relation-
ships and what their understandings are concerning their
significance to the student's personal growth. I con-
ducted this study through an application of an ethnometh-
odological research approach, using as the principal forms
of data collection interviews and participant observation.
According to Bruyn (1966), participant observation enables
the researcher to establish intimate contact with a small
number of subjects for an extended period of time, as they
function in their own environment. The interviews provide
knowledge about the phenomenon, and support continual explora-
tion into the subjects' perspectives. I chose ethnomethodol-
ogy, with its phenomenological perspective, because I wanted
to provide more valid insights into the nature of the phenom-
enon, as it is experienced and made meaningful by the subjects
in the context of a particular time and setting.

Today, perhaps more than at any other time, there is a
need for greater awareness of the ways in which educational
environments influence the development of children. As

educators, we must be conscious of how we choose to provide opportunities for the optimal development of persons who are competent and compassionate and who function freely in response to the larger cultural community. To liberate the potential of persons so these qualities may be reflected in human activities is the thoughtful concern of many. Compelling statements about human liberation are found in the writings of Freire (1973), Greene (1973), Macmurray (1961), and those others who contemplate the richness of our possibiliities as humans.

There are multiple perspectives concerning liberation as an aim of education. For example, the value of liberation may be expressed through fidelity to a shared cultural identity, one in which cherished traditions are honored. Other views of liberation include reaching toward broader conceptualizations of the human potential, or the creation of new vistas of shared meaning among persons. Whatever the perspectives may be, an important requisite in any liberating educational environment is the conscious involvement of sensitive, critically aware teachers who are themselves engaged in the process of their own liberation.

It is through genuine encounters between teachers and children in a variety of situations that children's thinking, acting, and development as persons are affected. Freire (1970) suggested that dialogic relations between the teacher and the student enables both to become responsible for the

growth that occurs in each. In his thinking, this process
of liberation requires conscious acts--acts which are inten-
tional and reflexive. If liberation is fostered through the
involvement of critically aware practitioners, then it becomes
imperative that the phenomenon of critical awareness of rela-
tionships be explored and described in meaningful ways.

The Focus on Critical Awareness

In my view, the quality of critical awareness is an
essential element in any liberating stance that a teacher
chooses to take. It is   through such reflexive awareness
that the capacity to really care about what happens in the
world is nourished. In fact, the value position that a
teacher chooses, and the degree of consciousness involved in
the choosing, may be the most important curricular issues
currently facing educators. Thus, the quality of awareness
is a vital part of human consciousness.

The theme of "consciousness" is present in the writings
of the sociologist, Alfred Schutz (1970), and the philosopher,
Merleau-Pointy (1964). Schutz concentrated on the "lived
experience" of persons as they create and share social mean-
ings. He contended that, as social scientists, we must be
"wide awake" to the multiple perspectives about reality which
are constructed through human interaction. To him, being
"wide awake" requires full involvement in the present real-
ity, awareness of the involvement, and the ability to step
back and reflect on the awareness.

Merleau-Pointy, through his phenomenological perspective, offered criticism of what he considered the classical view of consciousness. McCleary (1964), in discussing Merleau-Pointy's position in regard to this view, stated,

> According to classical ontology . . . the living body becomes an object. Consciousness is conceived of as passively in the body, and is acted upon causally by external agents. (McCleary, 1964, p. 11)

Instead of this, Merleau-Pointy emphasized the central place that perception has for us, as humans, living in a world of our own creation. Through his work, we are encouraged to look at what we see, and then, ask ourselves what it means to see. In this way, we are able to perceive reality as personally meaningful and provide a base for our awareness and understanding.

A further contrast to the classical view is found in Freire's (1973) description of the critically conscious person. This description includes a recognition of the transitory nature of reality, and a sense of integration with, rather than adjustment to, the environment. He characterized critical consciousness in the following ways:

> . . . depth in interpretation of problems; substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; the testing of one's findings by openness to revision; the attempt to avoid distortion and preconceived notions when analyzing problems; the refusal to transfer responsibility; rejection of passive positions; soundness of argumentation; the practice of dialogue. (Freire, 1973, p. 18)

Greene (1974) elaborated on the theme of consciousness in the following statement:

> Consciousness does not mean mere innerness or intro-
> spection. . . . Consciousness means a thrusting towards
> the things of the world. It refers to the multiple
> ways in which the individual comes in touch with objects,
> events or other human beings. . . . We realize too, that
> consciousness is characterized by intentionality. It
> is always of something--something which, when grasped,
> relates to the act of consciousness involved as the
> meaning of the act. (Greene, in Pinar, 1974, p. 83)

Educators are persuasively urged by Greene to assume an

attitude of "wide awakeness" as they function in their var-

ious work settings. I believe that such an attitude is a

powerful option for fighting against the alienation that

may occur in response to static, externally defined real-

ities. It is through this attitude that a teacher is able

to be present in the situation, to step back and look at

what s/he sees, to be conscious of the inexhaustible meanings

about reality that are generated and shared in genuine rela-

tionships with students.

The Focus on Relationships

Very often, the kinds of relationships we engage in are

influenced by the age and relative maturity of the persons

interacting and even by language and cultural customs. How-

ever, we are all, quite simply, humans living among each

other. How we experience our lives as we interact with

others is one of the fundamental dimensions of our common

humanity. Careful consideration is required to organize

and share thoughts about self and others when the basis for

this performance is on a sense of kinship. It seems more

fruitful somehow to be introspective and discover unique characteristics which substantiate the part of us that is distinctive and individual. I acknowledge the value of this dimension in any image of 'self' that we choose to create as we live. In fact, I believe that one of the most significant relationships we can experience is when we encounter previously hidden aspects of our 'selves'. However, the meetings that I consider most worthwhile to explore in an educational setting are those in which the development of persons is significantly influenced through dynamic patterns of interaction.

My own thinking about the significance of relationships between people is influenced by the interpersonal theory of human development constructed by Harry Stack Sullivan (1953). The overall view of this theory includes (1) a sense of active, caring relationships with other persons; (2) persons as interacting, responsible participants in the cultural community; (3) a concern with fullness in growth as persons for both self and other. Sullivan's position is that humans develop in response to interpersonal situations, which consist of verbal and nonverbal interactions between people that can be seen, heard, or felt by them. According to him, personality is, "The relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations which characterize a human life" (Sullivan, 1953).

A major tenet of this theory is the socio-psychological view of personality growth, in which the unique contributions

of human relationships to the quality of the shared human
condition are given adequate consideration. Although Sul-
livan's theory does not reject biological factors as influ-
ences on a person's development, it does subordinate them to
the social-psychological influences (Sullivan, in Chapman,
1976).

Sullivan constructs six different stages of growth prior
to the final stage of maturity. Each stage reflects patterns
of relationships, and the influence of them upon the develop-
ment of persons. The stages include infancy, childhood, the
juvenile era, preadolescence, early adolescence, late ado-
lescence. When the individual passes through these periods
of development and reaches adulthood, s/he has been trans-
formed from an organism into a person by means of interper-
sonal relationships.

This transformation occurs in response to the energy
generated by persons through interpersonal experiences. To
become increasingly aware of the thoughts, feelings and
actions created by persons through these experiences is an
educative aspect of growth. In this regard, Sullivan con-
sidered a person to be healthy to the extent that s/he ex-
expressed awareness of relationships and their concomitant
thoughts and feelings (Chapman, 1978).

A significant contribution of this theory to an under-
standing of the flow of communication between persons can be
seen in Sullivan's conceptualization of the nature of

interpersonal communications and the factors which influence one's awareness of them. According to him, there are three major modes of experiencing relationships. They are: (1) prototaxic, (2) parataxic, (3) syntaxic. In the first mode, the way that events are experienced indicates that they are similar to images and thoughts that are perceived by a person as undifferentiated wholes. As such, they are seen as discrete, and not connected in any meaningful way to the person. There appears to be little awareness of the self as a separate entity from the world. Generally, young children reflect this mode of experiencing in their relationships.

The parataxic mode of experiencing consists in seeing causal relationships between events that occur at the same time, but which may not be related in some logical fashion. Sullivan believed that much thinking about relationships and experiences does not advance beyond this level. Persons perceive causal connections between experiences that have little or nothing to do with each other. All myths and superstitions, for example, would be considered to be parataxic thinking.

In the syntaxic mode of experiencing, actions reflect integration of values which are consciously chosen and are worthwhile to the persons involved in the experience. In this mode, thinking about relationships produces an awareness of the order among experiences, and enables people to communicate with one another in a conscious and genuine manner.

Sullivan regarded consciousness, or, as he called it, awareness, to be an ongoing flexible process. The degree of awareness present in interpersonal relationships differed according to the setting, and to the pattern of interaction established between persons. Sullivan compared this concept to a tide carrying many things to and from the shore. However, the person who remains relatively unaware in many situations does not experience the transformation of energy that is constantly produced through relationships. In contrast, increased awareness allows a person to develop a sense of the way s/he feels, thinks, and interacts with others, and the consequence of such experiences upon the development of sensitive, able people.

Although the forward thrust of learning predominates in human development, regression can occur in persons when pain, anxiety, and failure become intolerable. In an effort to reduce the tensions created by such experiences, persons often become detached, remain unaware, or, in some other way, refrain from integrating situations. Thus, Sullivan's theory emphasizes the need for conscious involvement, respectful participation and a reflexive attitude on the part of the persons involved in significant relationships with others.

A similar concern is expressed by the authors of Reschooling Society. Macdonald, Wolfson, and Zaret (1973) consider the relationship of mutual trust and respect shared by teacher and student to be a crucial element in an

educational model which promotes liberation through cultural pluralism and participation. However, in order for the teacher to respond as a genuine person to students s/he must be guided by an acute self-awareness and thoughtful reflection.

This concern is evocative of an earlier, lyrical statement about the quality of relationship between teacher and student in which the following is disclosed:

> If the teacher is not valued
> and the student not loved
> Confusion will arise
> However clever one is.
> And this is the crux of the mystery.
> —Lao Tzu

What this Taoist saying suggests to me is that a relationship between a teacher and a student is mutually liberating when it contains the qualities of care and regard. It further suggests that becoming conscious of the significance of such relationships in the education of persons is often an elusive task. Indeed, it is ". . . the crux of the mystery."

Need for the Study

There has been considerable research done in an effort to understand the influence that the teacher has on the performance of the student. Some examples include studies conducted by Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968), Getzels and Jackson (1963), Flanders (1970), Combs, Blume, Newman and Wass (1965), and numerous others. Generally, such research seeks to know objectively the environment through organizing its

properties into variables to be analyzed. This analytic process of research investigates by isolating and abstracting the phenomena so they can be observed under controlled conditions. The data is then made available to normative, statistical treatment and replication.

However, a deeper understanding is needed about the phenomenon of critical awareness in teachers as they reflect upon the significance of their relationships with students. Research about the thoughts, feelings and lived experiences requires a way of looking that includes the subject's point of view. Although the empirical methodology is used widely throughout educational inquiry, it is becoming clear to researchers that other methods are also necessary. What is sought by them are methods which describe not only the behavior of subjects, but also the understandings that the subjects have about the meanings they create about themselves and others. Such descriptions can be disclosed through a methodology which acknowledges the importance of time, context, and perspective. In "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research," Wilson (1977) pointed to a growing interest in the use of such a methodology in educational research. However, concrete representations of the implementation of this methodology remain sparse throughout research literature. Its effectiveness in education must be examined. Therefore, this study meets the need for further application of a phenomenological mode of inquiry,

through its demonstration of the ethnomethodological research approach.

Discussion of the Methodology

Ethnomethodology is the reflexive examination of everyday reality. Harold Garfinkel (1967) and his students developed the concept of 'ethnomethodology' to refer to their work in making accountable the practical, everyday activities of persons in society. Garfinkel (1967) has defined ethnomethodology as:

> The investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent, ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life. (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 2)

The goal of this methodology is to study how subjects make sense out of shared social situations. Central to the approach is the notion that everyday interactions are made sensible by persons through the use of a variety of skills, practices and assumptions. The process of creating meaning from these assumptions and practices is what ethnomethodologists refer to as methods. While the content of interactions is specific and varies with each context, the process is based on rules and patterns which are generalizable (Mehan & Wood, 1975). What is important in this research is the development of concepts and principles that can clarify how a sense of reality among people can be constructed, maintained, and changed.

Turner (1978) stated that, while ethnomethodology has yet to develop a unified body of concepts, it does possess a

core in its perspective. The core consists of two funda-
mental concepts: (1) reflexivity and (2) indexicality. The
first recognizes that much human interaction is reflexive
and interpretive. Attention is focused on the question of
how reflexive interaction occurs. Indexicality refers to the
question of how reflexive interaction occurs. Specifically, it
refers to the questions, cues, words, gestures and other
information sent and received by interacting parties which
have meaning in the particular context. Because they are
situation specific, indexicals can change from context to
context.

Geertz (1973), in describing how thick, in-depth
descriptions about a phenomenon can be generated through the
sharing of perspectives between the subject and researcher,
characterized an approach such as ethnomethodology in the
following ways:

> (1) It is interpretive, for it requires the researcher,
> as participant-observer to think with, and not
> about, the subject.
> (2) It interprets the flow of discourse that is created
> among subjects.
> (3) It rescues the said and fixes it in perusable
> terms.
> (4) It is microscopic and examines phenomena in con-
> text, rather than as abstractions. (Geertz, 1973,
> p. 20)

Through its application, ethnomethodology can provide
an extensive effort at explanation and description of per-
sonal responses to the schooling phenomena. This methodology
assumes certain things about the persons being studied.
Magoon (1977) stated:

(1) The subjects being studied must be considered to
    be knowing beings. The knowledge they possess has
    important consequences for how actions are inter-
    preted.
(2) The locus of control over such behavior resides in
    the subjects, although this capacity for autonomous
    action is often constrained by social norms.
(3) Humans have the capacity for developing knowledge
    by: (a) organizing complexity rapidly, (b) attend-
    ing to the meaning of complex communications rather
    than surface elements, (c) restructuring complex
    social roles. (pp. 652-653)

If large-scale studies dealing with social attitudes or
predictive behavior need to be conducted, ethnomethodology
would be an ineffective research approach. The primary form
of data collection is through participant observation over
extended periods of time. Therefore, collection and analysis
of large quantities of information would be tedious. How-
ever, in concentrating on the process created by persons to
make sense out of their lived experiences, ethnomethodology
is able to provide significant insights into the complexity
of meaning present among persons. As Mehan and Wood (1975)
pointed out:

> Ethnomethodology is not concerned about the truth
> value of the statement of the world. . . . The focus
> . . . is to describe and interpret the reality of the
> persons involved. (Mehan & Wood, 1975, p. 11)

Description of This Study

I inquire into the critical awareness that teach-
ers expressed about their relationships with students
and the understandings that these teachers had about the
significance of these relationships upon the student's
development as a person. I examined also the adequacy

of the ethnomethodological approach, as it applies to educational settings. I am especially interested in clarifying the strengths and limitations of the approach with regard to its orientation and techniques.

In this study, the framework for the process of inquiry is provided by Carini's (1975) development of research procedures. The three steps of the procedures include: observation, record keeping, and documentation. Observation and record keeping take place within the setting, or during the time of the field study. Documentation takes place through the reflective and interpretive activity of the researcher. The specific steps in this inquiry included: selection of subjects, data collection through interviews and participation in the subjects' settings, a follow-up visit with the main participants as a part of the documenting process, continual refinement and analysis of the findings, and the development of a graphic representation of the emergent patterns and reciprocities. The teachers were invited to participate in the interview, the participant observation phase, or both. The study was conducted with teachers from one elementary school. The length of time for data collection was one school semester.

Observing and Recording

The interviews and participant observation were the primary forms of observation and recording. The interview, which was tape recorded, consisted of three sections.

These are the preliminary questions which elicited information about general professional background and setting, the understandings about materials and instructional activities and their influence on interactions with children, and personal interaction with children in the learning environment. The purpose of the interview was to reveal the perspectives about relationships that these particular teachers express. The interview also revealed additional themes or questions about relationships that were explored more intensively with those teachers involved in the participant observation phase of the inquiry process. The interview questions are presented in the appendix.

In the participant observation phase, I maintained ongoing classroom contact with a smaller number of teachers. Throughout the semester, I engaged in direct observations of the interactions that these teachers had with individual students. I asked the teacher questions about these interactions. Also, I encouraged continual dialogue with the teachers by asking questions and by sharing impressions and reflections with them. After every visit, I recorded in a journal a summary of the daily activities, a summary of conversations, my impressions, and further reflections.

Documenting

After the semester of observation and record keeping was concluded, I continued to analyze the data. As

patterns of thinking about the phenomenon began to emerge,
I refined these into broader, more coherent patterns.
At this time, I returned to the school for a follow-up
visit with those teachers involved in participant observa-
tion. I shared my interpretation with them, taking into
account their reactions and additional insights about the
phenomenon. After this, I developed a graphic represen-
tation to describe the unities of meaning that emerged from
the process. In this way, the integrity of the recurrent pat-
terns of thinking began to be formulated. As Carini (1975)
observed, it is in this way that a phenomenon such as
critical awareness of relationships can be revealed in greater
complexity, and future inquiries can be focused toward new
levels of meaning in further research.

The Framework for Interpretation

The framework that I used in analyzing data and making
interpretations about the findings consisted of three
exploratory research questions. I developed these questions
as a way to provide clearer focus on the significant themes
of critical awareness, personal development, relationships,
and the use of ethnomethodological approaches in education.
The questions that guide this study are:

1. What dimensions constitute critical awareness in
   teachers regarding their relationships with stu-
   dents in the learning environment?

2. What are the assumptions that teachers make about
    the significance of their relationships with regard
    to the students' development as persons?

3. Given the focus of this dissertation, how adequately
    do the perspective and research procedures of eth-
    nomethodology respond to the inquiry?

I referred to these questions frequently, during my own
process of reflection as I collected the data. These questions
also provided a guide for the analysis of the findings, and
for the summary of the entire inquiry process.

The Dissertation

In this dissertation I inquired into the dimensions
of critical awareness as they were expressed by a small num-
ber of teachers. The inquiry focused on the significance of
the teacher-student relationships as an influence on the stu-
dents' development as persons. To attempt a coherent descrip-
tion of a phenomenon as subjective as personal awareness of
relationships, an application of the ethnomethodological
research approach was made.

I also presented a review of significant research lit-
erature in the area of teacher-student relationships. My
purpose in this review was to establish the substance and
direction of knowledge in this area provided through the more
traditional empirical mode of inquiry. Included as well
were research efforts concerned with teachers' perspectives

about relationships with students that have been conducted through qualitative modes of inquiry.

An extensive discussion of the qualitative research approach was presented. The emphasis was on the specific approach of ethnomethodology. Included were the philosophical foundations, the general orientation of qualitative methods, and the strengths and limitations in the approach.

There was a discussion of the nature of this particular inquiry. This was followed by the presentation of the data of this study. Included in the presentation were descriptions of the setting and the subjects and the documentation of the emergent patterns of thinking. The conclusion of the dissertation offered my own reflection and insights concerning the experience. Included were suggestions for further inquiry about the phenomenon.

Outline of Chapters

One: The introduction discussed the phenomenon of critical awareness of relationships from the perspectives of various theorists. Included was a consideration of the influences of interpersonal relationships on the development of a person. In addition to an overview of the dissertation and its chapters, the chapter concluded with a description of the research procedures, the plan of inquiry, and the exploratory research questions.

Two: This chapter reviewed selected literature in the area of teacher-student relationships. Included was a discussion of qualitative research efforts in the area.

Three: This chapter reviewed the literature in the area of the methodology. Included was a discussion of the foundations, the techniques and the effectiveness of the methodology. Particular attention was placed on the ethno-methodological approach, and some of the techniques.

Four: This chapter discussed the nature of this inquiry. Included in the discussion was an elaboration of the research questions, and the issues they embody. The chapter concluded with a description of the method of the study, the techniques for observing and recording, and an overview of the scope of the study.

Five: This chapter presented the findings of the study. Included in the presentation were descriptions of the setting, the subjects, the process of data collection, and the documenting process. This process was discussed in light of the graphic representation of the phenomenon, interpretation of the patterns, and a summary of the findings.

Six: This chapter concluded the study with a discussion of ethnomethodology as an approach in education, implications that this study has for further research, and personal reflections concerning the phenomenon.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to describe the perspec-
tives of a number of teachers about their relationships with
students and the impact that these teachers perceive the
relationships to have on the student's development as a per-
son. The method of inquiry the study uses is a variation of
the ethnomethodological research approach.

The review of literature in the area of teacher-student
relationships is arranged in two broad categories. The
first section presents an overview of selected studies from
the comprehensive literature in the area. These studies are
included because they acknowledge the significance of rela-
tionships as a research concern, and they indicate a back-
ground for the present study. However, they are not
reviewed in depth because their methods of inquiry often do
not include an examination of the phenomenon from the sub-
ject's perspective, over a period of time, and in the context
of the subject's setting. The focus in these studies is
quantitative, rather than qualitative.

The next section deals extensively with those several
studies in education that use a variety of qualitative research
techniques. Studies that are reviewed in this section rep-
resent the burgeoning interest in the application of quali-
tative methods to educational research. In addition, they

display some of the strengths and problems in such tech-
niques. Furthermore, they demonstrate the usefulness of
field study techniques in classrooms for certain types of
research questions.

An Overview of Research About
Teacher-Student Relationships

Three categories provide the structure for a discussion
of the purpose and findings of relevant research in this
area. Teacher-student interactions are described in terms
of the thoughts and behavior of teachers as they engage in
instructional activities, the influence of personal qualities
of teachers on students, and the effect of teacher attitudes
and expectations on pupil achievement.

Flanders (1965, 1970) developed a process of classroom
interaction analysis to determine empirically and classify
the kinds of verbal behaviors observed in teachers. His
findings indicated that the pattern of teacher statements in
rooms where pupils had constructive attitudes and higher
achievement differed significantly from the patterns of
teacher verbal behavior in classrooms of pupils with less
constructive attitudes and poorer achievement. The atti-
tudes of the pupils toward the class and toward the teacher
were more constructive in classrooms of higher achievement. The
data from the studies suggested that most teachers dominated
more than they realized, stimulated students to aggressive,
counter-dependent acts by establishing levels of dependence,

and gained more compliance than was necessary from students.
Flanders concluded that the dimension of flexibility strongly
influenced the effectiveness of teachers. All types of stu-
dents included in the studies learned more while working
with teachers who were indirect while clarifying goals and
introducing new material and direct while work was in prog-
ress.

Zahorik (1970), in an empirical study of classroom
teacher planning, examined the effect of structured planning
on the teacher's instructional behavior. Half of the sample
of twelve teachers was given detailed lesson plans well
before the appointed instructional time. The other half
was given information about the lesson one hour before the
time. Upon examining the lessons of the planners and the non-
planners, Zahorik found that the planners exhibited less
honest or authentic use of the pupils' ideas during the les-
son. He concluded from this that the typical planning model,
goals, activities and their organization, and evaluation,
result in insensitivity to the pupils' ideas on the part of
the teacher.

The perceptions about classroom interactions was the
focus of studies conducted by Morine and Vallence (1975)
and Marland (1977). Morine and Vallence (1975) concluded
that teachers focused more on instruction than on student
characteristics and behavior, when they examined the sub-
stance of their decisions. However, the cognitive aspects

of students were prominent when teachers examined the bases for their instructional decisions.

Marland (1977) examined the thinking of teachers about their classroom interactions. He determined that five principles influenced teacher behavior. He concluded that teachers discriminate in favor of the shy, low ability student; ignore the infractions of 'special' children; use peer pressure to influence students; check seat work of low ability children to provide stimulation; and consciously suppress emotions while teaching because they believe that their expression would cause management problems with children.

In summarizing the research efforts in the area of teacher thinking, Clark and Yinger (1977) stated that the prominent themes of research interest in the area relate to the planning that teachers do for instruction, the judgments of teachers during instruction, the theories or perspectives of teachers about instruction. They concluded that the thinking of teachers may be a strategic research site that yields the first practical theory of instruction.

Extensive research has been conducted in the area of the teacher's personality and characteristics (Combs, Blume, Newman, & Wass, 1965; Getzels & Jackson, 1963; Myers & Torrence, 1961; Purkey, 1970, 1978; Ryans, 1960). Ryans (1960), in his comprehensive study of teacher characteristics, found a significant relationship between teaching behavior and teachers' attitudes toward students. He suggested certain generalizations concerning outstanding teachers. Among the qualities

of outstanding teachers are high intellectual ability and
school achievement, good emotional adjustment, a generous
appraisal of the behavior and attitudes of others, favorable
attitudes toward pupils, and an enjoyment of relations with
them. According to Ryans, there were some differences in
studies at the elementary and secondary levels. Teacher and
pupil behaviors at the elementary level were considerably
more interdependent. Participating pupil behavior seemed
to be related to flexible, original, democratic teacher
behavior, and controlled pupil behavior was related to respon-
sible, systematic teacher behavior.

Both Myers and Torrence (1961) and Getzels and Jackson
(1963) provided reviews of research about the effectiveness
of personality traits of teachers. Myers and Torrence con-
cluded in their review, with a summary of the research find-
ings. These findings indicated that teachers who could not
apply principles of acceptance and support in their teachings
were insensitive to pupils' intellectual and emotional needs,
authoritarian, defensive, dominated by time, lacking in
energy, intellectually passive, preoccupied by information
giving functions and discipline, and unwilling to give of
themselves.

Getzels and Jackson (1963) discussed the qualities that
were positively related to effective teaching. Dimensions
such as warmth, nurturance, and responsiveness are among
those considered to be essential for effective teaching.

The authors concluded by pointing out that the educational impact of a teacher is not due solely to what he or she knows or does, but in a very real sense to who s/he is.

This point is further illustrated by Combs (1962), who urged a belief in the importance of positive self-concept, and directed teachers to be concerned with the kinds of concepts students develop. Studies were conducted by Combs et al. (1965) to examine the characteristics of 'good' and 'poor' teachers. They concluded that self-concept is important in determining a teacher's behavior. Therefore, the professional education of teachers must be concerned with the kinds of self-concepts beginning teachers develop. Cottingham (1973) supported this perspective in his discussion of the missing components in teacher education. In his criticism of teacher preparation and curriculum content at all levels of instruction, he viewed the need for greater emphasis on the development of teachers as persons to be an important educational concern.

The teacher is considered to be a significant force in building positive and realistic self-concepts in students. According to Purkey (1970) teachers need to view themselves with respect, liking, and acceptance if they are to be effective models for children. Purkey (1978), in an effort to describe the ways that teachers invite their students to be successful in school, cited numerous examples from the growing body of research about the impact of the teacher's

personality. He noted that teacher characteristics, reflected in behavior, increase or decrease the probability of student learning. Purkey concluded that greater school success will be experienced by students if teachers create and maintain warm and inviting relationships with students.

Interactions between teachers and students are affected not only by concerns about instructional process and content, or the personal dimensions of teachers, but also by the sometimes tacit attitudes that teachers reflect in their encounters with children. A review of research in the area of teacher beliefs and expectations indicates that these beliefs and expectations strongly influence the ways that teachers perceive and behave with their students (Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968; Silberman, 1971).

Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968), in an extensive effort to examine the effects of teacher expectation on pupil achievement, found that positive alteration of expectations of teachers about randomly selected students resulted in significant improvement in the academic performance of the experimental students, when compared with the students in the control group. Critical responses were made to this study in regard to the statistics, the exclusion of the variable of individual will, and to the value placed on expectations (Dienstfry, 1968; Gumpert & Gumpert, 1968; Mansfield, in Urban Review, 1968). The authors of the study, however, contend that, whatever its limitations, their effort

contributed significantly to educational research. The far-reaching result of this research effort was the call for greater awareness of the influence that teachers' perception of and reflection about students has on the student's capacity to change self-expectations, motivations, and cognitive skills.

The point is illustrated further in studies that examine the attitudes reflected in teacher interactions with students (Silberman, 1971) and the effect that teacher attitudes can have on the perceived mental health of the students (Lippett & Gold, 1971). After identifying the dominant teacher attitudes of attachment, concern, indifference, and rejection, Silberman (1971) observed the teachers in classroom interactions with students and found their actions did not always reflect their attitudes. He concluded that even when teachers counteract attitudes in actions, they still affect the lives of the children they teach.

Lippett and Gold (1971) analyzed classroom interactions among teachers and students and coded them according to various descriptive categories. They found that teachers attended to the behavior of low-status pupils in both overly critical and overly supportive ways. The authors concluded that children in low positions of the socioeconomic structure of the class exhibit difficulties in psychological processes, interpersonal relationships and disruptive behavior patterns. They called for more support in helping teachers to be aware of

their contributions to such situations, and assisting them to initiate curriculum content and processes that will have an influence on the structure of the classroom interactions.

Glickman (1976), in an extensive review of research in the teacher-student interactions at the noninstructional levels, indicated that the teacher-learner process is much more than what is consciously taught in the classroom. He found that the role that dimensions such as personality, attitudes, expectations, status and sex has in regard to teachers and students is not widely understood. He concluded that, although these dimensions are examined theoretically, their application to teacher training is slight. As a result, teachers are often unaware of the powerful lessons that their perceptions, attitudes, and actions provide for students.

In summary, a review of selected research about teacher-student relationships indicates a concern for the kind of personalities effective teachers possess, the degree of involvement teachers have in planning and instructing, class-room interactions between teachers and students, and ways to promote positive growth in the student's development as a learner. Comprehensive research in the area of teacher per-sonality and teacher attitudes and expectations has been conducted to investigate the characteristics, behavior, attitudes and skills that constitute successful teacher-stu-dent interactions. The findings of these studies indicate that successful teachers possess a variety of personal

dimensions and attitudes, as do unsuccessful teachers; they are urged to develop their own personal selves as sensitive instruments for teaching; and they are encouraged to provide inviting, healthful environments for their students.

Although such studies have added considerably to the knowledge about teacher-student interactions, they have failed to yield any definitive information regarding the acquisition of the interpersonal skills necessary for effective relationships. Few of the studies examine the issue from the perspective of those they are studying. Biddle and Ellena (1964) suggested that teacher-student relationships are complex and influenced by several contexts. When these contexts are compounded by the range of possible variables, effective research becomes difficult. In order to control some of the variables, significant dimensions of the phenomenon must remain unexamined. Therefore, students are not viewed as integrated persons, but as learners of skills, academic achievers, adjusted to an already existing school environment. Other limitations concern the methods of conducting research.

None of the studies reviewed required the researcher to participate in the subject's setting for any extended period of time, nor did they include the subject's perspective as a substantive part of the conclusions. While data in several studies were collected through the use of self reports, much of the data collected relied on techniques such as

questionnaires, simulated recall, clinical measures of obser-
vation and other standardized forms of evaluation. In a
quantitative research orientation, it is necessary for
researchers to be as objective as possible in their analyses
and interpretations. Thus, when the process of inquiry in
the present study is located in relation to the studies in
this section, few methodological insights appear evident.

The next section of the chapter reviews extensively
studies which demonstrate the use of qualitative research
methods in various degrees. Research methods in these
studies include traditional ethnographic or field study
techniques, variations of participant observation and inter-
viewing, and a combination of empirical and qualitative
techniques.

A Review of Studies That Use Qualitative Methods

The several studies selected for review in this section
consider the thoughts and actions of teachers as they occur
in the teachers' natural settings. All of the studies are
predominantly descriptive, with some type of sociological
or social-psychological analysis. The emphasis in each
review is on the teacher and other contextual variables that
are crucial elements in the teacher's thinking about and
relating with students.

The early research effort of Willard Waller (1967),
which was published originally in 1932, provided a collection

of observations and reflections on teachers and their social world. Waller (1967) based his analysis on descriptive data about life in the upper grades of elementary school and high school. He made use of life histories, case records, diaries, letters, personal documents and observations, in order to understand the process of social interaction in the schools. Waller stated his threefold purpose as follows: (1) to describe with all possible care and completeness the social life of human beings in and about the school; (2) to analyze these descriptive materials particularly from the standpoints of sociology and social psychology; (3) to attempt to isolate causal mechanisms involved in those inter-actions of human beings having their locus in the institution of the school (p. 2). Waller analyzed his data in light of school and community variables, the culture of the school, the teacher-student relationship, and occupational styles of teachers. Of particular interest in this study is Waller's chapter on "The Teacher Pupil Relationship." Waller wrote:

> The teacher pupil relationship is a form of institu-
> tionalized dominance and subordination. Teachers and
> pupils confront each other in schools with an original
> conflict of desires, and however much that conflict may
> be reduced in amount, or hidden, it still remains.
> The teacher represents the formal curriculum, the social
> order of the school, and his interest is imposing
> that upon the children in the form of tasks. Pupils
> are much more interested in life in their own world. . .
> they have only a negative interest in the school struc-
> ture. (p. 195)

It seemed clear to Waller that this tension that existed between the teacher and the student was a functional part of

the teaching process. He viewed the interaction of per-
sonalities as the most important things that happened in
school, for it was the cause of human productiveness.
Teachers expected their actions to produce results from
their students, while students sought to produce their own
results in their own way. He concluded the chapter on
"Relationships" by observing that interactions between
teachers and pupils were dependent on the teacher's under-
standing of the pupil's mind, and on the total effect of the
personality of the teacher.

A later, and equally notable collection of descriptive
data about teachers and students is part of Philip Jackson's
Life in the Classrooms (1968). Jackson and his associates
systematically observed several elementary classrooms over
a two-year period. Jackson's goal was to arouse interest in
those aspects of everyday life in schools that receive less
attention than they deserve. His work illustrates how the
child is initiated into an institutional setting, during the
elementary school years, and how the child learns to under-
stand this institutional life. The characteristics the
child must come to terms with include delay, denials, inter-
ruptions, and social distractions, each produced by the
crowded quality of the classroom.

In his chapter entitled "Teachers' Views," Jackson
described his use of open-ended interviews with selected
teachers, to elicit teachers' reflections about the quality

of their efforts. Among the questions that concerned Jackson in his collection of data about teachers' views was what pleasure, if any, did life in the classroom provide for them. An understanding of this aspect of the teachers' views, Jackson contended, ". . . might help to make the school experience less painful for young children than it might otherwise be" (p. 117).

Jackson observed that teachers seemed to have more emotional commitment to their students and to the immediate environment than to the larger, more inclusive school community. Also, teachers perceived their relationships with students to be more rigid and formalized than they desired. He concluded that the complex social character of the classroom caused teachers to be guided by certain rules of thumb. Furthermore, these rules of thumb were continually modified by the specific and often unpredictable interactions. Jackson's study supports the argument for more observational studies in education in order to see the way teachers develop and modify their thinking and acting in response to their particular situations.

In an effort to observe the process by which the institution of school affects the life of the individual child, Rist (1970) conducted a longitudinal study of one group of thirty black, primary school children, for a period of three years. Through the application of traditional ethnographic techniques, Rist directly observed the activities and

interactions of the children and their teachers as they occurred in an ongoing, naturalistic fashion. The goal of his study was,

> . . . to provide an analysis both of the factors that are critical in the teacher's development of expectations for various of her pupils, and of the process by which such expectations influence the classroom experience for the teacher and the students. (p. 412)

Rist observed the teachers in each of the grades in which the children participated as students. He found that they gave preferential treatment to those children who possessed certain cultural and behavioral characteristics that the teachers believed to be more crucial to learning in school than were others. In a similar manner, those children who appeared not to possess the crucial characteristics were described as "failures" by the teachers, and were related to accordingly. Rist concluded that the way in which the various teachers perceived and behaved toward the different children became an important influence on the academic and social development of the children.

In a further discussion of the use of ethnographic techniques and the study of an urban school, Rist (1975) presented significant strengths and limitations that he perceived in his research effort. A clear benefit derived from the long term and detailed study of one group of children is the direct observation of ongoing activities over an extensive period of time. Secondly, the classroom activities were not abstracted. Thus, the process of interactions was able to

be observed. Finally, long term participation enabled Rist to become aware of the subtle nuances that have meaning only to those within the system, to become aware of the gaps between word and deed, and the official versus unofficial notions of how the roles of the participants are defined. The limitations included the inability to observe all segments of behavior at all times. This was due to perceptual and handwriting limitations, as well as observation of only selected segments of the school day. Another limitation resulted from the promise of anonymity to those who participated in the study. Other limitations consisted of the difficulty in replicating a similar study, and the length of time needed for the study.

Waller (1967), Jackson (1968), and Rist (1970, 1975) have analyzed teachers' perspectives and classroom interactions by looking at the contextual variables and how they affect the thinking of the teachers, as well as what they do to and with their students. In addition, each writer reiterates the complex nature of the environment of the classroom and, more broadly, the school. Each has contributed to the sociology of teaching through his research. The next group of studies focuses on the awareness that teachers express about their relationships with students, and their significance to the teacher as an individual rather than a representative of a system.

Attitude scales, questionnaires, and participation observation over a period of two years, were the primary forms of data collection for the researchers at the Center for New Schools (1973a). The purpose of their research was to examine the norms and content of the relationships between teachers and students at an alternative high school. Relationships at the alternative school were characterized by norms of informality and personal access. These dimensions were viewed by the researchers as a contrast to the more conventional school norms of universality and specificity of interactions. The authors found that these norms were evident in the content of the relationships as well. For example, informal relationships increased the flow of information between the teachers and students. This, in turn, encouraged dialogue between the teacher and student in areas of values and aspirations, considered significant to the student in his or her development as a person. Informality and personal access, however, also created problems. More intense relationships produced an emotional drain on the teachers. Because of the capacity of the students to question and criticize more freely, teachers were hampered in some of their instructional strategies, and could no longer demand things of the students. CNS (1973a) concluded that, although the integration of primary relationships with institutional purposes was not easy, the individual alienation experienced in schools makes the effort worthwhile.

Of particular interest to this study are the use of polar relationships to document as findings and criticisms of the effort which were presented by the CNS staff in a later publication (1973b). The contrast between the dimensions of relationships in the alternative school, informality and personal access, with the dimensions of universality and specificity provide a view of the differences that exist in various kinds of teacher-student relationships, and the impact that such relationships has on the individuals involved. The major criticisms offered by the CNS staff involved cost, and the difficulty in maintaining a balance between the inner perspective of the participant, and the outer perspective of the observer. As a result of their reflection on the research experience, CNS (1973b) developed and refined a model for evaluating school phenomena.

The purpose of the descriptive study conducted by Koffman (1974) was to promote critical reflection of the teaching act in selected nursery school teachers. Improving teaching at this level was important to Koffman because she believed that very young children are deeply affected by their interactions with teachers. Koffman (1974) used a three-stage model of observation and reflection. It included identification of the teaching activity, analysis for meaning, and reflection on the impact of the activity. In the study, Koffman and the individual teachers, after observation of a sample of each teacher's interactions with

children in the classroom, identified five different teach-
ing activities. The teachers then analyzed the activities
for meanings, patterns of interactions, and factors within
the teachers that prevented full awareness of the meaning of
the activity for the teacher. Koffman (1974) concluded
that reflection was an essential dimension of the model. In
her view, it was reflection that enabled the individual
teacher to become more aware of his or her own style of relat-
ing to children.

A notable contribution to greater knowledge of teachers'
understanding about the children they teach was part of the
work of Bussis, Chittendon, and Amarel's Beyond Surface Cur-
riculum (1976). The purpose of their study was to investi-
gate understandings of teachers about the curriculum, the
working environment, and children. Clinical interviews with
60 elementary school teachers who were trying to implement
informal approaches to education was the method of data
collection.

Of significance to this present study is the authors'
findings about teachers' understandings of children, which
were summarized under three headings: children's needs and
feelings, interests and choice, and reciprocity in interac-
tion. They grouped the teachers into four orientations.
Orientations in the area of children's needs and feelings
include:

A. Needs and feelings are only remotely perceived and lack reality (20% of the teachers).

B. Needs and feelings are perceived as real, and their expression desirable, but they are in conflict with learning (15% of teachers).

C. Expression of needs and feelings is seen as a necessary context for learning (32% of the teachers).

D. Expression of needs and feelings is seen as integral to and inseparable from the learning process (33% of the teachers).

In analyzing teacher responses to questions about student interest and choices, Bussis et al. (1976) grouped the teachers into the following orientations:

A. Student interest not mentioned. Student choice very limited (20%).

B. Worthwhile learning occurs through student choices, but choices were permitted only in elective areas. Choice synonymous with enjoyment (30%).

C. Choice permitted in core and elective areas. Interests easily influenced by teacher and other external factors. Interests accepted at face value, without probing for further expression (22%).

D. Interests were starting points for investigation. Teacher observation and inquiry were seen as a means for bringing out interests. Student choice was perceived as a continual process of the student

evaluating the direction of interests. Teachers

help students to focus on process of choice (28%).

Finally, Bussis et al. grouped teachers into four orienta-

tions with regard to their thinking about interactions among

children. Orientation A teachers (18%) reported that

interaction was not significant for learning. Orientation B

teachers (5%) saw interactions as interfering with learning.

Orientation C (37%) saw interactions in terms of peer tutor-

ing or learning socially acceptable behavior. Orientation D

(40%) saw interaction as a process of children learning from

one another in both the cognitive and social-emotional

domains.

This research is significant to this study in two

ways. First, the effort points out that in attempting to

describe and explain the perspectives of others, it is impor-

tant to consider the belief system that teachers have about

the human development of persons. Second, the usefulness

of the in-depth interview as a research method provides a

means of examination of the use of the interview in this

study. The researchers wanted to disclose the deep struc-

ture of the understandings expressed, rather than the sur-

face structure. While the clinical interview is not a common

procedure in educational research, the researchers consid-

ered its strength to be its ability to elicit personal opin-

ions, understandings, attitudes, and those things which

constitute a construct system. Further, they assumed that

the interview was an adequate means of data collection
since, in their view, persons act, or intend to act, in
ways that reflect their thinking.

A criticism of the use of the interview was offered by
Berlak and Berlak (1976). They suggested that the interview
as a view of reality is limited by the fact that the view does
not include any observation of the way that thought is trans-
lated in action. Berlak and Berlak observed further that
explication of meanings that teachers give to experience
requires recognition of the complex dynamics among the mind,
the action, and the social and political contexts in which
the behavior occurs.

Numerous writers have criticized the exclusive use of
the interview to disclose personal meanings of subjects
(Rist, 1975; Wilson, 1977; Wolcott, 1979). Many researchers
who adhere to the qualitative research orientation stated
repeatedly that ongoing contact with subjects in their own
setting is a requisite for observing and reflecting on the
meaning of the subject's actions.

Some of the studies in this review combined both empir-
ical and subjective research techniques (CNS, 1973a; Jack-
son, 1968). Some others used the interview in varying degrees
(Bussis, Chittendon, & Amarel, 1976; CNS, 1973a; Jackson,
1968; Rist, 1970; Waller, 1967). All, except the last study
reviewed, used some form of observation in the subject's set-
ting. In support of multi-method approach to educational

research, CNS (1973b) reported that sensitive and useful information about a particular phenomenon is most likely to result from approaches that gather their strength from a variety of methods.

CHAPTER III

THE METHODOLOGY

This chapter examines the foundations, concerns, and procedures that support ethnomethodology. The content of the chapter is presented in four sections. The first section provides an introduction to the discussion of the methodology. In the next section, the background of qualitative methodology is considered. Included are brief examinations of the philosophical foundations, recurrent themes, and assumptions of qualitative research. The third section examines the ethnomethodological research orientation. Some core concepts, ethnographic techniques for data collection, and methodological concerns are discussed. After this, the chapter concludes with questions to be considered when qualitative research methods are used in educational settings.

Introduction

Current research approaches in education focus almost exclusively on the quantitative aspects of behavior. Quantitative methods assume the possibility and the necessity of applying some empirical standard to social phenomena. Such assumptions can result in severely limiting the kinds of questions and problems that might be studied.

In <u>Pygmalion in the Classroom</u>, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) brought attention to the impact that a teacher's expectations had upon a child's achievement. The finding that teachers and students actually responded to a false expectation to make the expectation self-fulfulling was a powerful reminder, statistically recorded and empirically supported, that there was something non-instructional at work in schools. What was not examined, however, was the differences in the ways that teachers interacted with those children from whom they expected greater intellectual growth, and the ways that teachers became aware of the progress of the children.

Different kinds of problems require different kinds of methodologies. Patton (1975) makes this point in his analysis of the contrasting patterns that exist between the empirical and qualitative approaches. Distance, objectivity, variables, outcomes, generalizability are essential dimensions of the empirical approach. In contrast, the qualitative methodology requires closeness to the situation in order to gain insights into the particular perspective of the subject. The goal of qualitative research is to find underlying themes that unify the data. Evaluation of a situation from a qualitative perspective requires sensitivity on the part of the researcher to the process of change, rather than the product.

Meaningful data about teachers' thinking lie in the perspectives expressed by the teachers themselves as they

engage in teaching activities, and then reflect upon their actions. Jackson (1968) observed that conversations with teachers about their craft reveal "attitudes, feelings of satisfaction and of disappointment accompanying success and failure, and the reasoning that lies behind the action" (p. 236). Thus, watching teachers in action and talking with them provided data to Jackson. From these data, themes were developed to describe life in the classroom from the teacher's perspective. In order to elicit understanding and discover various dimensions of the thinking and acting of individuals, a research methodology which is concerned with the quality of human experience is a vital consideration.

One question that this study raises concerns the usefulness of a qualitative research approach in the examination of educational issues that call for a personal response. In particular, this study makes an application of a qualitative mode of inquiry called ethnomethodology. This approach is characterized by the assumption that no one person can experience a reality that is free of interpretation. Research focuses on greater understanding of the value and meaning of shared human experience, rather than the acquisition of generalizable data. These assumptions are shared with other qualitative research approaches. Further, the assumptions are based upon those of the phenomenological perspective of human reality.

<u>Qualitative Methodology</u>

<u>Philosophical Foundations</u>

Central to the ethnomethodological orientation is the phenomenological tradition, which asserts that a distinguishing human characteristic is a striving to make sense out of experience; to understand it in order to make it more personally meaningful. Historically, phenomenology has been concerned with speculations about the nature of knowledge and knowing (Husserl, 1973; Merleau-Pointy, 1964; Schutz, 1970). Although its roots go back to ancient times, the influence of phenomenology on modern thinking is attributed to the work of Edmund Husserl (1973). Describing Husserl's development of phenomenology, Schutz (1971) explained:

> It was his conviction that none of the so called rigorous sciences, which use mathematical language with such efficiency can lead toward an understanding of our experience of the world . . . a world, the existence of which, they uncritically presuppose. (Schutz, 1971, p. 100)

To critique reflectively how meaning is constructed from experience, Husserl (1973) developed a method of analyzing consciousness, which is referred to as the Phenomenological Reduction. This method, which relies heavily on intuition, calls for a bracketing of the natural, unreflective attitude. In this step, all of the taken-for-granted thinking and beliefs about the everyday world are suspended. Reductions continue until the final step, which is called the transcendental reduction. Here, both the outer world

and individual consciousness are suspended. Through this method, Husserl hopes to come face to face with the ultimate structure of consciousness.

While his work generated some difficult problems which continue to stimulate the thinking of philosophers and social scientists, Husserl's influence is evident in the thinking of Schutz, and later, Berger and Luckmann. The latter two directed their work toward the study of a shared reality of everyday social life. Their efforts sought to clarify the way in which common sense knowledge is constructed through the daily living of persons.

Schutz (1971), a social scientist and a philosopher, characterized the life world as primarily a social world. The focus of his work was on an exploration of the essential structures of daily life. Schutz (1971) made use of the phenomenological analysis to describe the structures of the mind which enable one to apprehend and interpret the world in typical ways. According to Schutz:

> Knowledge of an object is the sediment of previous mental processes by which it has been constituted. . . . This history of its constitution can be found by questioning it. This is done by turning back from the seemingly ready made object of our thoughts to the different activities of our mind in which and by which it has been constituted step by step. (Schutz, 1971, p. 68)

Grounding their work in the phenomenology of Husserl and Schutz, Berger and Luckmann (1966) present a sociological analysis of everyday life in which they emphasize the dialectical relationship between the individual and society.

> It is important to emphasize the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, the product, is a dialectical one. That is man and his social world interact with each other. Externalization and objectivation are moments in a continuing dialectical process. The third moment is . . . internalization. It is already possible to see the fundamental relationship in these three dialectical moments in social reality. . . . Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 61)

It is through this dialectic that reality is socially constructed and maintained.

Essential Themes

The phenomenological tradition has a number of themes which represent essential aspects of the construction of reality. The following overview provides an explanation of some of the themes which articulate this dialectical relationship between individuals and society. The themes include everyday reality, intersubjectivity, biographical situation, stock of knowledge, action, and intentionality.

Everyday reality. The working world, the common-sense world, the world of daily life, are all equivalent expressions for everyday reality--the "lived" reality of persons as they experience the world with a natural attitude. To us, the world seems self-evident. We assume a taken-for-granted attitude toward our knowledge and our experience of this world. Further, this taken-for-grantedness is shared with others as we live in the world together. Schutz terms the experience of daily living the "paramount reality" for it is

an imposing reality which creates the most tension in us and
cannot be ignored.

    <u>Intersubjectivity</u>. The world toward which the inten-
tional consciousness is directed is called the life world.
This life world is viewed by Schutz (1970) as intersubjec-
tive. Intersubjectivity describes our mutual interrelated-
ness as beings in the life world. It points to the inherent
sociality of consciousness and to the experience of the
world by self and others as a world in common. Schutz (1970)
developed the thesis of the "reciprocity of perspectives" to
describe the form of intersubjectivity. Common-sense thinking
overcomes the differences in individual perspectives by two
basic idealizations. First, there is the interchangeability
of standpoints. In this, we take for granted that if we
changed places with another, our ways of experiencing the
world would be identical. The second idealization is that
of the congruence of the system of relevances. Through this
we assume that, in spite of our unique biographical situa-
tions, the differences in our systems of relevances can be
disregarded for the purpose at hand. Each of us assumes that
we interpret potentially common objects, facts, events, in an
identical manner.

    The dimension of intersubjectivity is what differentiates
everyday living from other realities such as dreams. It
is the social interactions with others that supply the struc-
tures from which institutions emerge. Shared human needs

and interactions legitimize institutions and maintain them in the world.

   Biographical situation. Schutz used the term 'biographical situation' to signify the building up of experiences which are used to locate a person's place in the world. Our interpretation of the world is based upon our stock of previous experience and the stock of knowledge either at hand or given to us by others. The handing down of knowledge is called socialization. The young individual identifies with significant others who define the situation, share language, and provide some conceptual skill at ordering the individual's world. Secondary socialization is built upon this. Berger and Luckmann (1966) stated that "secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional sub worlds." In our complex society, such socialization occurs in institutional settings such as schools, and is distributed by institutionally defined persons such as teachers.

   Stock of knowledge. This knowledge enables persons to make sense out of the objective world. It is made up of typifications of the common-sense world. Included are explanatory schemes such as morals and maxims, and frames of reference for institutional conduct. Meanings and definitions of reality based on this stock of knowledge are known reciprocally among members of a social world. This constitutes the basis for much ease and acceptance of that which is taken for granted in social interactions.

Action. Action is "human conduct which may consist of physically tangible activities, of activities of the mind, of deliberately refraining from acting, or, of tolerating the actions of others" (Schutz, 1970, p. 8). Action is motivated by an end-to-be-achieved. Schutz calls this "in order to" motive. A second kind of motive distinguished by Schutz is the "because" motive which explains actions on the basis of biography, environment, personality. "Because" motives refer to past experiences which cause a person to act in a particular way. In the ongoing process of acting, the actor has only the "in-order-to" motive to consider. When the actor stops acting and reflects with an attitude of "wide awakeness," s/he retrospectively grasps the "because" motive that was operating.

Intentionality. This theme refers not only to actions, but also to the consciousness one has of them. The essential feature of consciousness is the intentional relationship between subject and object of thought. Intentionality constitutes consciousness, investing its content with meaning. McCleary (1964) described how the world is an intentional object of consciousness:

> If we actually reflect on our situation, we will find that the subject situated in the world and submitting to its influences, is at the same time, he who thinks the world. No world whatsoever is conceivable that is not thought by someone. (McCleary, 1964, p. 7)

Schutz (1970) characterized a consciousness that is actively interested in meeting reality as one that is "wide awake."

This concept of wide awakeness provides a starting point
for active attention to how reality is constructed, and
for reflective interpretation of human involvement in the
process.

In summary, the viewpoint of knowledge generated by the
phenomenological perspective declares that knowledge of what
is real is constituted by persons as they interact in the
everyday world. The reality of this world is one that cannot
be ignored because it is created and maintained through inter-
actions with other objects, facts, and persons. Although
there is a private world, a subjective environment that is
created in response to our unique biographical situations,
the paramount reality is one that is intersubjective. The
intersubjectivity of the commonsense world is characterized
by the naive attitude concerning reciprocity of perspectives
This reciprocity presupposes that if persons changed places
with each other, their perspectives about the world would be
identical.

In order to objectify the knowledge of the common-sense
world, typifications of what is valued as 'real' are created
by its members. Examples of typifications include morals,
maxims, and knowledge of appropriate institutional conduct.
Understanding this stock of knowledge comes through the pro-
cess of socialization. Often our understanding is implicit
and based on assumptions, rather than conscious reflection.

Actions in the common-sense world are performed for two motives. The "in order to" motive is more easily viewed, since it is part of the ongoing process of achieving the ends. The 'because' motive, however, is disclosed through a reflective attitude, one that is characterized by intentionality. Intentionality is an essential feature of consciousness for it provides a relationship between the subject and object of thought, and invests thought with meaning.

Knowledge in this view is constantly open to reinterpretation of meaning. Thus, any research inquiry into the knowledge that members have of their world cannot be represented in any simple way by a collection of facts. Knowledge is viewed as the product of an active, theory-building mind. It is necessary to employ a research orientation that makes similar assumptions about the subjects being studied. The following discussion presents a brief examination of some of the assumptions of the qualitative research orientation.

Research Assumptions

A qualitative approach to research, such as ethnomethodology, depends upon the ability of the researcher to make of herself or himself a sensitive research instrument. This is done through transcending the subjective perspective and becoming acquainted with the perspective of those s/he is studying, in order to step beyond these perspectives and to understand the human process of assigning meaning to experience. A fundamental assumption of qualitative research is

that persons are living in the world of their choice. They
have a history and a projected future.

Geertz (1973), in describing how thick, in-depth descrip-
tions about a phenomena can be generated through the sharing
of perspectives between researcher and participant, observed
several characteristics about a qualitative form of research.
Included in his view are the following points: It is inter-
pretive, for it requires the researcher to think with, and
not about, the participant; it interprets the flow of dis-
course that is created among the participants; it rescues
what is said and fixes it in perusable terms; and it is
microscopic and examines phenomena in contexts rather than
as abstractions.

Magoon (1977) examined the assumptions of those whose
research reflects a qualitative perspective. A chief assump-
tion of this perspective is that the subjects being studied
must be considered to be knowing beings, and that the know-
ledge that they possess has significance for how actions are
interpreted. A second assumption is that the locus of con-
trol resides within the subjects, although the capacity for
autonomous action is often severely constrained by either
tacit or explicit recognition of social norms. What this
indicates is that behavior is performed with some purpose or
aim. Social behavior, such as teaching, is more clearly
understood when the meaning and purpose of the subjects is
examined.

A third assumption of this perspective is that research-
ers encounter subjects who are, even at a most basic level,
unavoidably sophisticated and highly organized. As humans,
we have developed the capacity for (a) developing knowledge
by organizing complexities rapidly; (b) attending to the
meanings of complex communications rather than the surface
elements; and (c) having individuals take on elaborate social
roles.

Social phenomena, such as those observed in educational
settings, may be highly organized and sophisticated, yet
so deeply imbedded into the setting that they are only tacitly
known by the participants. In order to explicate the rela-
tionships that exist among the phenomena, ethnographic tech-
niques developed by anthropologists and community study
sociologists are used. In the framework of ethnomethodology,
these ethnographic techniques serve to describe and inter-
pret the complexity of meanings generated by teachers'
thinking about their interactions with children.

In summary, several themes are significant in the back-
ground and assumptions of qualitative research. The goal of
this methodology is to make sensible the meaning of human
experience. In this framework, reality is constructed in a
shared, often tacit, way among members. The expression of
what is mutually valued and agreed upon as real may be found
in the actions and beliefs of persons as they interact in
ongoing, everyday relationships. Becoming conscious of how

this reality is constructed requires a stepping back, an intentional examination of the phenomenon.

In this methodology, research efforts depend on the researcher's ability to become aware of, and interpret sensitively, the meanings generated by the subjects in the context of their settings, as they create knowledge and communicate it through social roles. Another essential dimension of the research process is the need for the researcher to transcend the personal perspective in order to disclose the patterns of meaning that are present in the representative human experience.

The next section of the chapter provides a discussion of the central concepts of one particular qualitative research approach, ethnomethodology. Included in the discussion is an examination of major ethnographic techniques for data collection and the research issues and concerns that may develop from their use.

Ethnomethodology: Concepts, Techniques and Concerns

Definition and Concepts

Ethnomethodology emphasizes the process of interaction, the use of interpersonal techniques to create situational impressions, and the importance of perceived consensus among actors over the nature of the world in maintaining social order. Roy Turner (1974) broadly defined ethnomethodology as "the study of the methods used by people to make sense out

of their interactions" (p. 2). "How and why is society possible?" is a fundamental question raised by this research approach. Ethnomethodology is based on the notion that commonplace, routine social activities are made possible because of a variety of skills, practices, and assumptions of the participants. Jonathan Turner (1978) commented:

> The cement that holds society together may not be the values, norms, common definitions, exchange payoffs, role bargains, interest coalitions, and the like of current social theory, but, peoples' explicit and implicit "methods" for creating the presumption of a social order. (Turner, 1978, p. 405)

The primary research concern of ethnomethodologists is to study the commonsense features of interactions, with emphasis on those things that everybody "knows."

Harold Garfinkel (1967) and his students developed the approach as a means of exploring the nature of what is meant by common understanding among individuals (Bailey, 1978; Garfinkel, 1967; Turner, 1978). The intent of Garfinkel's research inquiries is to disrupt the taken-for-grantedness of interactions, and to create settings in which the researcher can observe how the subjects assert, maintain or change rules about what is real. This intent is the central topic of Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

Turner (1978) stated that ethnomethodology has yet to develop a unified body of concepts. However, it does possess a core in its perspective. This core consists of two fundamental concepts: indexicality and reflexivity. Indexicality refers to the questions, cues, words, gestures and other

information sent and received by interacting parties, which has meaning in a particular context (Turner, 1978). Mehan and Wood (1975) describe indexical expressions as "utterances that require contextual information to be understood." To say "Ice floats on water" is more objective than "It is raining," because the latter is dependent upon the situation in which it is expressed, for its meaning to emerge. To the ethnomethodologist, talk and action are produced and understood as indexical displays of the everyday world. Although the particular context of indexicals can change there is an order and pattern to their use. Ethnomethodology seeks to understand these patterns.

Reflexivity recognizes that much of human behavior is interpretive. Humans interpret their interactions with each other in ways that sustain a particular vision of what is real. Even contradictory knowledge is reflectively interpreted to maintain a body of beliefs and knowledge. Ritual activity is an example of reflexivity. For example, if prayer and other forms of ritual activity do not bring forth the desired intervention, participants may proclaim, "They did not pray enough," or "their cause was not just," rather than question the correctness of their belief. The concept of reflexivity focuses attention on how people in interactions maintain the presumptions that they are guided by a particular reality.

Cicoural (1973) summarized a number of methods used by ethnomethodologists. Some examples include searching for what is normal, and the _et cetera_ principle. The former suggests that participants hold a view of what is 'normal' and will direct their interactions toward this form. In the _et cetera_ principle, participants fill in or wait for needed information in interactions, rather than disrupt the inter-action. For example, when the phrase "you know" follows an utterance of a person engaged in conversation, the other person does not counter with "No, I do not."

Some problematic implications of Garfinkel's ethnomethodol-ogy are discussed by both Filmer (1974) and Turner (1978). Filmer points out that this approach appears less than def-inite in its provision of a comprehensive analysis of the systematic character of social life. While the goal of ethnomethodology is to determine the conditions under which interpersonal techniques are used to construct reality, few propositions from which theory might be generated are found in the ethnomethodological literature.

Turner (1978) offered two examples of propositions to illustrate what ethnomethodological theory might become:

1. The more actors fail to agree on the use of inter-
    active techniques such as the et cetera principle,
    the more likely action will be disrupted, and the
    less likely social order will be maintained.

2. The more action proceeds on different visions of
   what is real, the more such action is disrupted,
   and the less likely social order will be maintained
   (Turner, 1978, p. 413).

What is needed in ethnomethodology is to discover the partic-
ular conditions needed to create a sense of collectivity
among interacting individuals. Turner (1978) declared that
it is to this end that ethnomethodological theory and research
must be directed if it is to challenge the more dominant per-
spectives about how knowledge is constructed.

Approaches to Ethnomethodological Inquiry

Various inquiry processes are used in ethnomethodology.
Among them are breaching, linguistic analysis, and field
studies. Breaching refers to the purposive disruption of a
social interaction by one of the participants in order to
examine the reaction of the other individual (Mehan & Wood,
1975). For example, an experimenter might repress the
feature of responding in a practical manner to a conversa-
tional utterance. Instead, a theoretical interest in the
conversation might be adopted. This entails seeking to
understand meanings for their own sake. No regard is shown
for the circumstances surrounding the conversation. Thus, a
response to "Hello. How are you?" might be, "Would you
clarify what you mean by that?" This results in the halting
of social order. Mehan and Wood (1975) suggested that the

repression of the feature of practicality in social inter-
action breaches the subject's sense of what is normal and
indicates the vitality of this feature for the construction
of everyday scenes.

The use of linguistic analysis as an ethnomethodological
approach questions the assumption that language is a resource
used to generate concepts and theories. Turner (1978), in
observing the influence of linguistics within ethnomethodol-
ogy, stated that language creates realities. Words are not
neutral, but are, instead, the topic for analysis. Linguis-
tically-oriented research solves the problem by concentrat-
ing on the formal properties of language in use. Substance
and context of conversation are ignored, and forms or pat-
terns of talk are analyzed. For example, sequence of talk
among actors might occupy the attention of a linguistic
ethnomethodologist.

The third approach, exploring reality through the use
of the field study, enables social phenomena to be examined
in greater depth than provided for in other approaches. It
is a way of examining particular phenomena for general pat-
terns. Mehan and Wood (1975) considered this approach an
appropriate choice if the researcher wants to direct atten-
tion to "trans-situational features of particular situations."
The particular activities are not used as a vehicle for explor-
ing the general features of all activities. Instead, the gen-
eralized problems of social order present in a specific sit-
uation become the focus of the approach.

An important consideration in this study is the use of an approach that provides maximum opportunity for the researcher to become aware of the meanings about reality that are expressed.through the thoughts, actions, and conversations of teachers as they interact with children in the school setting. Among the various ethnomethodological research approaches discussed previously, the one that provided the most opportunity for ongoing examination of subjects as they interact within a particular setting is the field study approach.

While a variety of field study techniques are available for data collection in this approach, McCall and Simmons (1969)considered.participants' observation and in-depth interviewing to be the two major methods of collecting data. The following discussion examines these two approaches. Included in the discussion are some of the methodological concerns that influence their effective use.

Ethnographic Techniques: Data Collection and Concerns

Ethnographic techniques are best suited to respond to such questions as "What is going on here?" and "How did things get to be this way?" They also provide a way of responding to such educational questions as "What do teachers and children have to know to do that they do?" and "How is the process of teaching/learning understood by its participants?" Responding to these questions requires time and

sensitivity. Knowing what things mean to individuals could make a difference in an understanding of how patterns of particular situations are characteristic of the larger, more encompassing social context.

According to Pelto (1970), the structure of inquiry in ethnographic research relies on the major strategies of participant observation and interviewing. Participant observation is defined by Kluckhorn (1940) as, "Constant and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons" (p. 335). Wolcott (1979) described interviewing, a technique used also in the empirical mode of inquiry, as "any systematic form of conversational activity that the field worker does to intrude in the natural setting of the participant" (on tape).

The next section examines the two major techniques for gathering data. Emphasis is placed on participant observation, which is traditionally considered as the foundation of data collection in this research orientation.

Participant Observation

Participant observation enables the researcher to secure data within the symbols and experiential worlds that have meaning to the participants. The intent of this strategy is to prevent the imposition of alien meanings upon the actions of the subjects. In discussing participant as a role, Vidich (1971) assumed that the way in which different

forms of participation occur influences observation that is
effective, valid, and meaningful according to the purpose of
the study. He differentiated between participant observa-
tion that is passive and participant observation that is
active. In the former, the emphasis is on observation.
The researcher is detached and observes events with a mini-
mum of personal intrusion. Observation that is conducted
behind a one-way viewing mirror is an example of this method.
The active participant observer maximizes participation with
the subjects. Relationships with the participants are
viewed as data and also as clues for uncovering further data.
What is important in this role is to achieve a balance between
active participation in the lives of the subjects, and obser-
vation of their behavior which will be most productive of
valid data.

The typology developed by Bruyn (1966) delineates fur-
ther the various forms of participant observation.

1. Complete Participant--In this form, the participant
   observer's activities as such are wholly concealed
   from the participants.

2. Participant as Observer--The activities as observer
   are not kept secret, but they are subordinated to
   activities as a participant.

3. Observer as Participant--The role as observer is
   sponsored and publicly acknowledged by the partici-
   pants.

4. Complete Observer--The observer performs a range of

    roles. The role of participator, however, is

    excluded (Bruyn, 1966, p. 13).

The choice of the kind of involvement considered appropriate

depends on the purpose of the investigation and a determina-

tion of what techniques will produce valid and meaningful

data. Through whichever degree of participant observation

the researcher becomes involved, Bruyn (1966) suggested the

following questions to sensitize the researcher to the mean-

ing structures of the participants s/he will encounter:

(1) How is meaning made intelligible to others?, (2) What

quality of feeling is associated with the meaning?, and (3)

What action accompanies the meaning conveyed? Reflecting on

questions such as these allows the researcher to function

more effectively as both an insider and an outsider.

Achieving a balance in perspectives is a concern

expressed by methodological commentators. In a discussion

about the issue of "objectivity," Wilson (1977) pointed to

the need for the technique of "disciplined subjectivity." He

considered it essential to come to grips with the constructs

of the participants, through such techniques as empathy and

nonstandardized observation. However, in the discipline of

this research tradition, the researcher is required to con-

tinually monitor and test personal reactions. Wilson (1977)

stated:

> By systematically seeking to understand actions from
> the different perspectives of various groups of partic-
> ipants, the researcher avoids getting caught in any
> one outlook. . . . These tensions between points of view--
> between outsider and insider . . . keep the careful
> researcher from lapsing into subjectivity. (p. 255)

McCall (1969) examined other concerns about participant observation techniques that have been expressed in the literature. He summarized them under the following headings: reactive effects of the observer's presence, distorting effects of selective perception and interpretation on the observer's part, and limitations on the observer's ability to witness all the relevant aspects of the phenomenon. As a check for relative effects, McCall suggested that the researcher compare data with informant accounts of similar events at which the researcher was not present. What is an important consideration in this process is reflection on the frame of reference that the researcher develops through interpretations s/he places upon events and makes known to the participant.

Distortions in perceptions may result from over-identification with one point of view, or from personal characteristics such as mood, prejudices, and even intellectual frame of reference. A comparison with pertinent respondent and informant interviews may provide a check to incomplete or inaccurate information on the observer's part.

Limitations on what is witnessed by the observer are closely linked to the role s/he has assumed. Also, the observer's personal characteristics may lead to either over-rapport or mutual avoidance between the observer,

other persons, and events. The intellectual frame of reference may overlook certain events or categories as being significant. What is essential, in McCall's (1969) view, is for the observer to discuss interpretations with top informants, and whenever possible, with knowledgeable colleagues.

Although the researcher shares in the life activities and sentiments of people in face-to-face contact, the literature clearly emphasizes the requirement of both personal involvement and detachment (Bruyn, 1966; Wax, 1971; Wilson, 1977). To insure the workability of this method, Bruyn (1966) developed six indexes which serve as a basic framework for subjective adequacy of interpretation. They are:

> (1) Time. The more time an individual spends with a group, the more accurate the interpretation of the meaning of the group will be.
>   . . .
> (2) Place. The closer the observer works with the subjects, the more accurate the interpretation will be.
>   . . .
> (3) Social circumstances. The more variety in activities and settings . . . the observer can relate to his subjects, and the more varied the activities he witnesses, the more likely the observer's interpretations will be true.
>   . . .
> (4) Language. The more familiar the subjects' language is to the observer the more accurate should his interpretation be.
>   . . .
> (5) Intimacy. The greater the opportunity for intimacy the observer achieves with his subjects, the more accurate his interpretations.
>   . . .
> (6) Consensus. The more the observer is able to confirm the expressive meanings of the community, either directly or indirectly, the more accurate will be his interpretations. (Bruyn, 1966, pp. 180-186)

While the most complete form of gathering data is participant observation, the interview is also considered to be a major source of information. What follows is a brief discussion about the use of interviews in ethnographic research. Included also are observations about factors which influence its effectiveness as a research method.

Interviewing. Wolcott (1979) listed seven different kinds of interviewing techniques, some of which can be used in both ethnomethodological research and empirical research. They are: key informant interviews, life interviews, formal interviews, informal interviews, questionnaires, projective interviews, and standardized tests. Of these, the two that are most accessible to qualitative interpretations are the informal interview and the key informant interview. In the informal interview, the researcher explores many facets of the participant's concerns, treating subjects as they come up in conversation, pursuing leads, allowing imagination to contribute as new questions emerge and are asked (Becker & Geer, 1969). The key informant interview is the most anthropological approach. This is often a detailed interview with an individual who is particularly well-informed and available.

Data obtained from interviews, whether it is from informants or respondents, represent a flow of information between the researcher and the participant. Therefore, it is important to examine some factors which may affect this flow of information.

McCall (1969) discussed some dangers of contamination that are intrinsic to the interview process. He groups them into the following categories: knowledgeability, reportorial ability, reactive effects of the interview situation, ulterior motives, bars to spontaneity, and idiosyncratic factors. The researcher must consider whether the respondent is in a position to have valid knowledge of what s/he is reporting. Also important to consider is where the respondent's knowledge comes from. Is it firsthand? Does the respondent seem to be reasonably introspective?

Even if the respondent is sufficiently knowledgeable, a second consideration is whether the information is able to be reported adequately. Factors that are of significance in this case are memory, reliability, awareness of details that may seem obvious to the respondent but not to the interviewer, and self-confidence in responding to probes.

Some examples of reactive effects would include giving the 'right' answers in a desire to be helpful, being overly defensive or combative, being especially attentive to the researcher's feelings, reactions, status. The researcher also needs to be aware of how questions are asked.

Ulterior motives, such as avoidance of distasteful topics, desire to expose someone's inadequacy, rationalizations, are a way of promoting less spontaneous, and more restrained, responses in an interview. Other bars to spontaneity would include the presence of someone else, or the

possibility of being overheard. Factors such as mood or a change in attitude can affect the interview as well.

A major characteristic of the techniques of participant observation and some forms of interviewing is nonstandardization. Inquiry is frequently redirected to more fruitful areas of investigation. Changes in research direction are made in order to disclose more critical data for emerging questions. Participants are not treated uniformly, but are interviewed about the things they can illuminate most. Another characteristic is that effective use is made of the relationships the researcher establishes with the participants for eliciting data. Questions that touch on confidential or personal subjects can be asked because a relationship has been established between the participant and the researcher.

In discussion of the limitations of gathering data through field study or informal interviews, McCall and Simmons (1969) observed that the limitations of the methods are closely related to the characteristics mentioned above. In their view, the nonstandardized way that data are collected makes it unable to be used for statistical treatment. What this means is that quantitative relationships cannot be established, and the researcher has to depend on impressionistic interpretations. Such interpretations can suggest further questions, or hypotheses to be tested, but seldom provide data for testing.

A second limitation flows from the researcher's use of
relationships established in the field. Because it is diffi-
cult for the researcher to tell how representative a picture
s/he is getting, some biases may be present. Limitations
can occur through establishing relationships based on role
and status. Also, his/her own personality characteristics
may attract stronger relationships with certain kinds of
participants than with others. For example, if the researcher
is perceived by the participants as a representative of some
external authority, such as the principal, s/he may exper-
ience expressions of mistrust or constraint in the responses
of the participants. If the researcher appears overly per-
sistent or evasive to inquiries by the participants, similar
responses may occur.

Warnings and Advice

In offering advice to researchers, Wax (1971) stated,

The most valuable thing a fieldworker can take with
him into the field is good luck. . . . The next most
useful thing . . . is intelligence manifested in com-
mon sense, shrewdness, and flexibility--the property
called having one's wits about one. (p. 268)

Her focus is on field work in other cultures; however, her
warnings and advice are relevant for researchers in educational
settings. For example, disciplined workmanship is an essen-
tial quality in any research effort. The disciplined
researcher, whatever the aims or instruments, enters the
field with the expectation that s/he will do many things in
spite of personal preferences. Conclusions must be based

on comprehensive data collection. This means that careful participation is required, as well as a willingness to talk to anyone who can enrich understanding of the phenomenon.

The fieldworker is viewed from more than his or her own perspective. In any attempt to associate or disassociate from the perspective that others have about the researcher, s/he needs to learn how to interact in a genuine manner, where to draw the line and, generally, how to explain to the participants what s/he would like to study. This needs to be done in a concrete and specific manner.

Applications to Educational Settings

There is an obvious difference between field study research conducted in an unfamiliar cultural setting and the same methods used in the schools of this culture. The difference is that schools are not alien social systems to most educational researchers. Hall (1978) pointed out,

> this does not mean that these researchers necessarily understand much about schools and schooling; only that they are not apt to be as detached in their perspectives on schools as the anthropologist observing a foreign culture. (Hall, AERA, 1978)

A second difference noted by Hall is the application of methods through teams of researchers with different roles and activities, rather than the lone researcher submerged full-time in the culture.

Some of the challenges that educational researchers face in the use of these methods were outlined by Hall. Creating, maintaining, and interpreting the research approach

has received little attention in the literature. Although there is much written about conceptualization, there is need for application of such methods in educational contexts.

Hall (1978) questioned the degree of judgment involved in selection and style of reporting. The more fully the researcher understands the phenomenon, the more the perspective about it changes. As perspective changes, so does data collection style. What assumptions can be made about the levels of understanding at which certain data were collected?

There is a danger of generalizing to a large population based on data from a small sample. Instead of providing an alternative interpretation to what is meaningful to participants in the particular study, findings of one teacher, or one school may be applied in a universal and conclusive way.

Qualitative methods, such as those using ethnographic techniques, are long, arduous, and constantly require attention. Even when careful interpretation yields a pattern or a theme or a matrix that seems to fit the data, the question still remains: Would the matrix hold up in a different setting? What is necessary for educational researchers who choose to do this work is a degree of trust that there is a simple order in the midst of complexity.

If large-scale studies dealing with social attitudes or predictive behavior need to be conducted, an approach such as ethnomethodology would be inappropriate and ineffective. Data is gathered with small groups of subjects, as they

interact in particular situations. Therefore, collection, analysis, and standardization of large quantities of information would be slow and tedious. However, in concentrating on how definitions of reality are constructed by individuals as they interact in situations, the ethnomethodological approach provides much insight into the complexity of meaning among persons.

In summary, this chapter discussed the ethnomethodological approach within the framework of its origins, usefulness, techniques, and limits as an inquiry approach. Ethnomethodology is one illustration of a qualitative method of inquiry. The phenomenological perspective is a foundation of this method. In this perspective, social reality is constructed by the common assumptions and beliefs that humans share tacitly as they interact. Thus, the subjects in phenomenological inquiry are considered to be knowing beings who are living in a world of their choice.

Ethnomethodology emphasizes the process of interaction, and how people make their interactions sensible. While a unified body of concepts has not been developed yet, ethnomethodology does possess a core in its perspective. The core consists of the concepts of indexicality and reflexivity. Indexicality focuses on the words and gestures of interacting parties, and is situation specific. Reflexivity focuses on how people in interactions maintain their belief that they are guided by a particular reality.

Some ethnomethodological approaches include breaching, in which a theoretical interest is assumed in an ordinarily unquestioned social interaction; linguistic analysis, in which communication patterns are analyzed for meaning; and the field study, which focuses on generalized problems of social order, present in specific situations. This inquiry will use the field study approach. Date collection consisted of the ethnographic techniques of participation observation and the interview. Participant observation enabled the researcher to secure data within the settings and symbols that have meaning for the subjects. The interview provided a flow of communication between the researcher and the subject. The discussion of the methodology concluded with an examination of some factors that affect the usefulness of the approach. Such factors include the sensitive nature of the relationship between the researcher and subject, the need for long, constant and careful attention to the data, the limited usefulness of the approach in large scale, predictive studies, and the trust that there is a simple order in the midst of complexity.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THIS INQUIRY

Plan of Study

This study used an ethnomethodological approach to describe the dimensions of critical awareness that teachers express about relationships with students, and the significance of these relationships on the students' development as persons. In this dissertation, the term "relationship" refers to the dimension of personal, ongoing contact that occurs intentionally between teachers and students in the context of schooling. "Critical awareness" describes a combination of thoughts, beliefs and behaviors which enables a teacher to interpret the world and act rationally in it. Ethnomethodology is a research orientation that refers to . the examination of the ways that people make sense out of their everyday, ordinarily unquestioned interactions.

Three exploratory questions provided a guide for this study. They include:

1. What dimensions constitute critical awareness in teachers regarding their relationships with students in the learning environment?

2. What are the assumptions that teachers make about the significance of their relationships with regard to the students' development as a person?

3. Given the focus of this dissertation, how adequately
   do the perspective and research procedures of ethno-
   methodology respond to this inquiry?

What follows is an elaboration of these questions and
the issues they embody. To clarify my curiosity and reason
for choosing this project, I want to focus on the understand-
ings about relationships, reflective awareness, and their
significance for teachers, that are available in the educa-
tional research literature. Then, I want to discuss what I
consider to be the value of using an ethnomethodological
research approach to examine a phenomenon as subjective and
often tacit as the views that teachers have about their
daily interactions with children. The chapter concludes
with a presentation of the research procedures, an outline
of methods of data collection, and the scope of this study.

Relationships and Reflection

Over forty years separate the work of Willard Waller
(1967), originally published in 1932, and the staff members
at the Center for New Schools (CNS, 1973a). Yet, both efforts
demonstrate the abiding interest in explicating the meaning
of relationships that exist between teachers and students.
Each piece of work expresses the belief that human relation-
ships are the most fundamental dimension of learning that
occurs in schools. Each points out the tensions that are
produced because of the institutional setting and the

expectations that are demanded from the role of teacher and the role of student. Clearly, however, there are also differences in the two views.

Waller (1967) determined that the validity of the social world of schools was caused in part by the tension created by the teacher and the student as they pushed against one another. It was understood that teachers, as agents of the community, directed. The task of children was to respond to the direction of the teacher, however much they might wish not to. Waller's research questions were ones of "how." How do teachers control the lives of children? How should teachers direct the lives of children for the best interest of all concerned?

In contrast, CNS (1973a) acknowledged the ambiguous and often contradictory nature of contemporary teacher-student relationships. In addition to factors such as crowds, a lack of a clear tradition in teaching, and the increasing problem of individual alienation (Greene, 1978; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975), teachers also struggle with an uneasy mixture of distance and nearness in their interactions with students.

Nearness is required to bring to fruition some of the ideals and values espoused by educators. Consider the call for teachers to be warm and inviting as they interact with their students, and the importance of developing positive feelings about self for students (Combs, 1962; Purkey, 1978).

Effective teaching is generally described in ways that reflect an emphasis on personal dimensions (Getzels & Jackson, 1963). Caring for a garden as a wise and patient gardener, leading a tour as a experienced travel guide and companion are metaphors to describe the ways that teachers are involved in the development of children (Kliebard, 1975). In the face of this, teachers experience the realities of the institutional norms of universalism and specificity.

According to CNS (1973a), universalism requires people to interact with each other in terms of their organizational roles. Specificity requires people within the institutional context to limit their interest in each other only to organizationally relevant characteristics. Together, these norms contribute to making interactions in organizations different from interactions among friends. Bidwell (1965) noted that these norms promote fairness and efficiency in interactions, emphasize objective bases of behavior, and guarantee the instrumental orientation of the institution. They also create the feeling of distance, formality, and impersonality among the people who live in the institutions.

CNS (1973a) documented the efforts of a group of teachers and students in a public high school setting, to provide an alternative to this institutional depersonalization. However, their efforts to change the focus of their relationships were only partially successful. Barriers such as detachment, a lack of mutual trust, a sense of unreality expressed by

both teachers and students, illustrate how difficult change is, even when it is chosen with relative freedom.

In responding to the ambiguous nature of relationships between teachers and students, which the CNS study documents, teachers may react in a variety of ways. They may detach themselves and become impersonal. They may experience irritation, outrage, despair, and, as a form of denial, project their frustrations on to their students. All of these are ways of avoiding full consciousness of their situation. Such responses are understandable, even reasonable when faced with institutional constraints that intrude upon the teacher's capacity to develop and maintain relationships with students. However, such responses can result in both teachers and students becoming uncritical, often bored individuals, susceptible to further alienation and mystification.

The importance of full consciousness, or "wide awakeness" for practitioners, is a major concern in the writing of Maxine Greene (1973, 1978). Greene (1973) formulates a crucial question for teachers to consider. How can one act on one's commitment, and, in doing so, set others free to be? Through deliberately provoking mindful disquietude, Greene encourages teachers to ask themselves painful, perhaps unanswerable, questions. She also encourages teachers to search for their own meanings, and to become involved reflexively in their work. In her view, reflexive involvement requires teachers to deliberate critically on what is real

to them, and then to commit themselves to authentic action in their work.

The importance of teachers reflecting upon their basic priorities and seeing connections between them and ongoing classroom interactions was a significant theme for Bussis, Chittendon, and Amarel (1975). They acknowledged the fact that people can know and understand things in ways that cannot be verbalized. Also, teaching often demands common sense and intuition from its practitioners, rather than actions based on a specific theoretical framework. However, Bussis, Chittendon, and Amarel considered reflection and the ability to articulate its product to be essential components of teaching. Critical thinking and articulation of the thoughts affect the teacher's ability to communicate with colleagues, parents, administrators, and in a more subtle and complex way, with children. Reflection is also a tool for a teacher's evaluation of his or her own efforts, especially when things are going poorly. Through their research efforts, Bussis, Chittendon, and Amarel sought to understand what kind of conscious frame of reference teachers can bring to bear in an analysis of their teaching relationships, particularly if connections or priorities are only dimly perceived by them.

One way that we develop our humanity is through social contexts such as education. Schools not only serve to engage individuals in personal quests for academic competence and

understandings; they also serve as a vehicle for membership into the larger cultural community, where further human enrichment is possible. Given this view, it seems clear to me that teachers, as a group, have the potential to influence the direction and the degree of human enrichment that occurs through their relationships with their students.

The thinking and acting of teachers toward children, through instuuctional activities, classroom environment, personal interactions, contributes to a child's development (Jackson, 1968; Rist, 1970; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968). In order to understand the process and possibilities of the contribution, further exploration of the teachers' perspectives about their involvement with children is necessary. If any change in the quality and frequency of teachers' reflective activity is considered to be a desirable goal in education, then a first step in achieving this goal is to reveal the dimensions of critical awareness that constitute the perspectives of teachers and the factors that shape teachers' thinking about the significance of the relationships.

Using Ethnomethodology

Examining the ways in which people are aware of a phenomenon as subjective as a relationship, and the reasons that people have for engaging in relationships, requires an approach that considers as essential the particular time, the setting, and the point of view of the participants. Also, relationships are often based on assumptions, many of which are not

consciously questioned by the participants. Thus, in order
to examine the phenomenon of teachers' thinking about rela-
tionships with their students, it is necessary to use an
approach that includes the participants' perspectives and
seeks to understand the ways that people have for making
their interactions with each other sensible.

Ethnomethodology was chosen as a research approach
because it emphasizes looking closely at parts of reality
that are taken for granted by those who are engaged in
everyday interactions with each other. Examples of taken-
for-granted reality would include habits, tradition, ordinary
social courtesies, beliefs. Ethnomethodological methods of
data collection vary from the traditional field study, or
ethnographic techniques, to the more confrontive and short
term techniques such as breaching, which is discussed in an
earlier chapter. What is important in any of the ethnometh-
odological approaches to data collection is the questioning
of meanings that ordinarily remain unquestioned by people
as they interact with others. Because of the nature of the
questions asked in this study, it will be necessary for me
to use research procedures and techniques that provide me
with ample opportunity for observation, collection of data,
and, through these, relevant categories for documentation.
Therefore, I have chosen to use the traditional field study
approach, with the techniques of participation observation
and interviewing to collect data.

While participant observation was the primary form of
data collection, interviews were conducted with an addi-
tional number of teachers to add breadth to the data. I
planned to use the interview data, along with informal conver-
sations with various members of the school community as a
background from which relevant themes might emerge and be
pursued in greater depth with those teachers who would be
involved in the participant observation phase of the study.

Research Procedures

The aim of participant observation in this study was to
provide a comprehensive description of the phenomenon as it
was made meaningful by the participants. This approach was
concerned with depicting the understandings of the partic-
ipants about the phenomenon. It also sought to construct
ways of explaining the coherent and durable patterns of
thinking and acting that I was able to observe as I partici-
pated with the teachers. In order to accomplish this, I
adhered systematically to the structure for research pro-
cedures provided by Carini (1975) and Engel (1975). This
structure consisted of three stages of research procedures:
observation, record keeping, and documentation. What follows
is a discussion of these stages.

Observation. In observation, one assumes that the phe-
nomenon is inexhaustible in its meanings. In practice, the
observer seeks to become aware of the multiple meanings as
they are available to the participant and the observer.

According to Carini (1975), observation occurs on four different levels. The first is the level of the physical dimensions of the setting; the second is the level of functional organization; the third is the level of coherence. At this level, polar dimensions of the phenomenon are incorporated into the observer's awareness. Here, the many different expressions of the polar dimensions are observed. At the fourth level, the durability of the phenomenon is observed. It is at this level that the observer sees how the dimensions of the phenomenon persist in the setting and are transformed over time.

Record keeping. The function of record keeping is to preserve the inquirer's participation in the event. Recording also provides a vehicle for later reflection about the data. Because the stages of observing and recording are closely related, Carini (1975) suggested that the researcher must built his or her own repertoire of ways in which to represent the phenomenon as s/he is capable of perceiving it. Graphic representations, words, movement notations, collection of drawings and writings, illustrating a gestural property through personal movement, are all examples of recording processes. While there is no specific format for recording, it is required that the event or observation be recorded in such a way that the meaning of the words or symbols used are increasingly revealed, and the observer's point of view is explicated and refined over time.

Documentation. As recorded observations become more
extensive, understanding the underlying patterns of the
phenomenon becomes critical. These patterns emerge both
through the increasingly revealed complexities of the phe-
nomenon observed, and through the increasingly articulated
thought and interpretation of the observer. This process of
selecting and juxtaposing recorded observations is called
documentation (Engel, 1975). It is this stage in the pro-
cedures that the coherent and durable patterns of the phe-
nomenon are revealed, and the integrity of the phenomenon is
approached (Carini, 1975). There is neither a set content
nor a set presentation of content that defines the document
ing process. Instead, each documentary account emerges
through the interpretive effort of the researcher. In the
interpretive process, a point of view about the phenomenon
is developed and refined. As this point of view is extended
to other data about the phenomenon, newer and deeper levels
of meaning then emerge. It is here that the transition to
descriptive research is made.

Critical Awareness

I brought to this study certain theoretical perspectives
about the meaning of critical awareness and relationships.
Critical awareness refers to one's capacity to be inten-
tionally conscious of other people, events, objects, ideas,
all of which exist in the world. There is recognition of
how transitory reality is and how involved we are in its

creation. The thinking of a critically aware person is characterized by Freire (1973) as possession of depth in interpretation, a willingness to test ideas and to revise them, an acceptance of responsibility, avoidance of preconceived notions when analyzing problems, and a refusal to be passive. Essentially, a critically aware person creates a sense of dialogue among interacting persons. In my view, critically aware teachers are necessary in any stance toward human liberation we, as members of a shared community, choose to take.

My view of relationships is influenced by the interpersonal theory of human development, constructed by Sullivan (1953). He believes that as humans, we develop in response to interpersonal situations, which consist of any interaction that can be seen, heard, felt, or in some way, experienced by us. Interpersonal relations, which occur throughout development from infancy to adulthood, are the essential aspect of growth from an organism to a person.

The modes of communication that are observed among people also affect the way we experience relationships, and are aware of them. According to Sullivan (1953) there are three major ways of communicating in relationships. In the first mode, called prototaxic, events are seen as discrete and not connected in any meaningful way to the person. There is little awareness of the self as a separate entity in the world. Parataxic, the second mode of communicating,

consists in seeing causal relationships between events that occur at the same time, but which may have little or nothing to do with each other logically. In the syntaxic mode of experiencing, the actions of persons reflect values which are consciously chosen, and are considered to be worthwhile by the person who chooses them. Greene (1973) described such persons as "wide awake," or fully present in the situation. This mode corresponds to Freire's notion of critical consciousness.

Sullivan (1953) regarded awareness as a flexible process. However, he viewed persons with increased awareness to situations as being more open to the transformation of energy that is produced through interpersonal relationships. Increased awareness allows teachers to have a sense of the way that they think, feel, and interact with children, and the consequences that such experiences will have on the development of children as persons.

These perspectives are valued by me and influence my own thinking and acting. However, I was attentive to this, and throughout the study I consciously tried to avoid pre-structuring my inquiry to prove or disprove some relationship between these variables or dimensions. Instead, I attempted to generate questions and test them out on a day-to-day basis while doing field work and then develop possible explanations from the descriptive data.

Data Collection

In the field, extensive notes were recorded about the actions and statements of the teachers involved in the study. The notes would be read, organized, and analyzed regularly and tentatively. As I remained in the setting over a period of time, I noted patterns and recorded their frequency and durability. In some cases, these patterns were the basis for further investigations. In these cases, I believed the field setting was helpful because it provided further opportunity for testing and analyzing the data. I attempted to develop concepts in order to explain the dimensions of the phenomenon that appeared to be most durable and significant to the questions that guided this study. As the inquiry proceeded my intention was to make sense of these concepts by developing a working model, to explain the social world under study.

Outline of Approaches

The following are approaches and materials I used in the study to collect data:

1. Structured interview, which would be tape recorded.

2. Classroom visitations to establish a schedule of teaching activities.

3. Ongoing participation, observation, and communication with selected teachers in the context of their work setting.

4. A journal, in which I recorded descriptions, observations, experiences, summaries of conversations, and further analysis.

5. Follow-up visit in winter of 1979 to further document recorded observations and significant themes with the participants.

Scope of This Study

Time

The length of time for the field study was the Fall semester of 1978. Approximately four months were spent for the entry process, the data collection, and the follow-up visits to further document the patterns. This time was divided generally in the following ways: two weeks for the entry process; one week for follow-up visits; and the remaining time for data collection.

Subjects

The participants were teachers who worked at one of the elementary schools in the county. At a faculty meeting, teachers were invited to participate in either the interview, the field study, or both. Participants were selected from those who expressed a willingness to volunteer. Thus, selection was not random. It was not required that teachers must clarify why they chose to participate in the study. Twelve teachers were selected for

the interview. Three teachers were selected for participant observation phase of the study.

Setting

The particular setting in which the study was conducted did contribute significantly to the perspectives of the participants. Most of the participant observation and other forms of data collection occurred in the classrooms of the participants, the teachers' lounge, and any area where teachers interacted with students. Examples of such areas included the playground, the media center, and the cafeteria. It was understood that the impact of a particular setting affected what was real to those teachers who participated and interacted in the setting. Therefore, the findings of this study were meaningful to the teachers involved in the study and would not be generalized to other populations.

Definition of Role

In this study I used a modification of the "observer as participant" role. In this role, I identified the reason for my presence and, to some degree, shared in the activities and entered into interaction with the participants. I informed the teachers, students, and other staff members at the school of the general purpose of my study and that I would be taking part in some of the classroom activities during every visit.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Introduction

This chapter details the collection, descriptions, and findings of the study. Three sections organize the presentation of the data. The first discusses the methods of data collection. The next describes the setting and the participants. The last section includes a presentation of my interpretation of dimensions of critical awareness expressed by all of the teachers who participated in the interview. Profiles of the views of the three main participants within the framework of the dimensions constitute, in part, a summary of the findings in regard to these dimensions, and the assumptions made about the significance of relationships upon the student's personal development.

Method of Data Collection

Entry and Selection of Subjects

In August, 1978, I contacted the principal of an elementary school to discuss the possibility of conducting this study with teachers in the school. With his agreement, I met with the assistant principal, who is also a teacher in the primary grades, and several other teachers at an informal, primary area faculty meeting. I explained the general

purpose of the study, some theoretical background for it, and responded to any of their questions. At this time, I asked for volunteers for the interview and for the participant observation phase of the study.

Some teachers decided not to participate, citing time and energy as reasons. Six teachers volunteered to participate in the interview. Three more volunteered for both the interview and the participant observation phase of the study. The same procedures were followed in faculty meetings for teachers of the middle grades. Three teachers from this group volunteered for the interview. In all, twelve teachers were involved in the interview, and, of these, three were involved in the participant observation phase of the study. Nine teachers taught in the primary area, which included kindergarten through grade three; and three teachers taught in grades four and five. Participant observation activities occurred continually for the three months of the field study. The data collection began in the middle of September, 1978, and was completed, except for the follow-up visit, by the middle of December, 1978. The follow-up visit occurred during the first week of March, 1979.

The Interview

The interviews were conducted during the first six weeks of the study, with two exceptions. These individuals were unable to be interviewed until the eighth and ninth weeks of the study. The length of time for each interview

ranged from 30 minutes to 80 minutes. However, the average length of time for each interview was 45 minutes.

While the interview was structured in terms of the content and the sequence of sections, each teacher was encouraged to speak at length about aspects of questions that were significant to her or him. The emphasis of the questions was on the teacher's thinking about relationships with children, either through direct interactions, or indirectly through materials and instructional activities. The focus of the questions was as concrete and situationally oriented as possible. Because of the looseness of the structure and the varieties of responses that were possible, the order or words of some of the questions changed. However, the essence of each question was included in all of the interviews.

The interview was organized around the following format: (1) preliminary questions, which dealt with general professional background and instructional setting; (2) questions dealing with the description of materials and instructional activities. These questions explored perceptions about the impact of instructional decisions and actions upon children; and (3) questions about interactions with students, designed to gauge perceptions of the personal dimensions of the interactions. Each section contains several questions (see Appendix A).

The preliminary questions were asked quickly in order to establish rapport and encourage ease in response. The questions in this section included:

1. Background information--How many years have you taught? On what grade levels? How long have you taught in this school? Would you indicate your degrees, or level of educational preparation.

2. Please describe briefly your classroom. How is the setting organized with regard to materials and activities?

3. How do the children become involved in these activities?

Asking these questions elicited background information and promoted some ease through responses that were brief, factual, and descriptive.

Questions about materials and activities were concerned with the understandings that teachers expressed about the kinds of involvement children had in their learnings and the value and function of elements that constituted "instruction."

Questions in this section included:

1. Which instructional material(s) from among those you currently use would you consider to be essential in your teaching, particularly with regard to the learning experiences promoted through its use?

2. Do you expect the children you teach to make any personal decisions about their learning? If so,

how do you promote them in your instruction? How
do you think the children handle choices they make?

3. In your view, what would be the consequence of devel-
oping instructional activities based on the needs
and interests of individual children in your class?

4. If you were not restricted in any way, what kinds
of changes would you consider making in how or what
you teach to children?

The remaining section was concerned with the personal
qualities that teachers acknowledged to be influential in
relationships with their students. These questions included:

1. How do you come to know the children you teach?

2. When you interact with the children in your class,
are you aware of any discoveries or new knowledge
that you gain personally as a result of the inter-
actions?

3. Characterize a personal dimension that you consider
to be an asset in making contact with children.

4. Are you aware of any ways that you influence the
children you teach? If so, what are some ways you
might utilize this influence?

5. Would you describe a difficult experience you have
had with a child who would not or could not learn.
How would you change the relationship between the
two of you?

Participant Observation

In this phase of the study, I used a modification of
the observer as participant role, outlined in a previous
chapter. I informed the teachers of the general purposes of
my study and observed in the classrooms for certain periods
during every week. As the study progressed, and I spent
more time with the teachers, my role as participant in their
setting increased.

In conversations with the participants, I attempted to
remain aware of the possible connections between the focus
of this study, my own observations of interactions, the reflec-
tive comments the teachers would offer about my observations,
and significant themes which emerged from other contacts or
interviews. After every classroom or teacher contact, I
recorded my observations and summaries of conversations in
my journal. In addition, I began an analysis of the field
notes after the sixth week of the study. As topics or themes
began to emerge, either from my observations or from the
interviews, I followed up on them by asking the three teachers
questions and by encouraging further conversations about the
topics. Examples of themes include competition, social or
intellectual exceptionalities, and the capacity of children
to think for themselves.

The length of the participant observation was twelve
weeks. During this time I observed and recorded my contacts
with the setting, the teachers, the principal, several

parents, aides, and some of the children who were students in the three classrooms. As a result, the field study produced a considerable amount of information. The field notes and transcribed interviews numbered well over two hundred pages. In the documentation of the findings, not all of the data are included. What does appear, however, represents what I judged to be the most illustrative and revealing, given the purpose of this inquiry.

Follow-up visits were conducted during the first week of March, 1979, to share the provisional findings of the study with the three participants. As we reviewed the findings, the teachers discussed their reactions and asked questions. Two of the teachers expressed support for the findings and elaborated further on their insights into the kinds of relationships they believed they encouraged, or would wish to encourage, with children. Although the third teacher was generally supportive of the findings, she also expressed the view that her relationships with students did encompass both polar qualities of several aspects of the dimensions. In our discussion, she explained this further by stating that qualities in relationships such as regard for individuality and involvement would become evident "in the future, after the child has grown."

Summary of Data Collection Techniques

The following approaches and materials were used in the study to collect data:

1. A structured interview, tape recorded, with twelve
    teachers.

2. Classroom observations to establish schedule of
    teacher's activities with children.

3. Ongoing participation, observation, and communica-
    tion with selected teachers in the context of their
    work setting.

4. A journal, in which I recorded descriptions, obser-
    vations, experiences, summaries of conversations,
    and further analysis.

5. A follow-up visit with the three participants
    during the winter of 1979, to document recorded
    observations and significant themes.

Descriptions of the Setting and Participants

Since a fundamental consideration of ethnomethodological
research is the influence that the context has on the person's
perception of what is real, descriptions of the setting and
the participants are provided. The description of the setting
presents an overview of the town, the school, and the class-
rooms of the three participants. The description of the
participants includes the professional background and exper-
ience of the twelve teachers. A further glimpse of the
three main participants is also included.

The Setting

The town. The elementary school is located in a rural,
mountain community with a population of 18,000 people, 8,000

of whom are university students. A state university, several small industries, and farming dominate the employment situation. Incomes in the community vary greatly. Many people who live in the community have achieved a college level of education. However, almost half of those who are native to the community have discontinued their schooling after three years or less of high school study (WAMY survey, 1970). There are eight elementary schools, with grades kindergarten through eight, and one high school in the county. Of these, this school, with a student population of 1,000, is larger than the other schools and second only to the high school in size. It is the only elementary school actually located within the town limits.

The school. The building was constructed in 1972 and is the newest and largest of the elementary schools in the county. The school maintains a close relationship with the university, through its support of internships, student teaching, and several research projects. Also, a large, though not major portion of the students at the school are children of university employees.

The building itself is a sprawling single-story structure made of brick and glass. There are several entrances. Sidewalks, steps, and ramps are present. Inside, the entire floor area is carpeted. The school is divided into three instructional areas: primary, middle, and junior high school. In addition to the large instructional areas, there is also a

media center, which is the library, a cafeteria, a gymnasium, a band room, a suite of administrative offices and conference rooms, and, in the primary area, an enclosed sound proof room with a stage called "The Little Theater."

The professional staff consists of thirty-two classroom teachers in kindergarten through eighth grade; five special education teachers; one art teacher, two music teachers, two librarians; two physical education teachers, one assistant principal; one half-time assistant principal who also is a primary grade teacher; and one principal. Sixteen of the teachers work in the primary grades, eight work in the middle grades, and eight are junior high school teachers. Also in the primary grades are eight teacher aides.

The classrooms. The physical setting of the school was called "open" by all of the subjects. The design of the school included few inside walls, in keeping with the current educational practices of team teaching, child-centered curriculum, and multi-aged and changeable groups of learners. However, in the seven years that the school has functioned, many teachers have chosen to return to self-contained situations. Two of the three teachers in this study have refrained from team teaching. They have consistently taught one group of like-aged children. The third teacher enjoyed team teaching until the end of last year, when her teammate assumed another position in the county.

Each classroom is approximately 1,000 square feet in area. Two are square and the other is rectangular. The two

rooms located in the back of the school are bounded by one outside wall. The third, a corner room, has two outside walls. Further boundaries were constructed by all of the teachers. Moveable bookshelves, closets, cabinets, blackboards, and bulletin boards transformed the areas into 'rooms.'

A plentiful supply of texts in reading, math, social studies, language, as well as other materials provided through the school budget, were evident in all of the rooms. In addition, two of the rooms had extensive collections of children's books, reference materials, and games, which belonged to the teachers, and were either made by them or accumulated over a period of time. The number of children in each room ranged from twenty-six to twenty-nine, with a fairly equal distribution of boys and girls in each room.

The Participants

Teachers involved in the interview. Twelve teachers

were involved in the interview, eleven women and one man. The length of experience in the teaching profession reported by these participants ranged from over twenty-five years to slightly more than two years. The average length of experience was thirteen and one-half years. Seven of the twelve worked continuously as teachers, while five reported interruptions in their careers for varying periods of time, and for reasons that were related to child care. Ten teachers

possess graduate degrees in educational fields such as elementary education, middle schools, reading, and administration. Two of the twelve teachers were involved in other careers when they made the decision to teach, and returned to educational institutions for the necessary certification.

Nine teachers described teaching in a variety of settings and locations throughout the country. Of these, two teachers also mentioned work in other countries such as England, Germany, and the Panama Canal Zone. Teaching, for three of the teachers, was experienced only in this particular elementary school.

Six of the twelve were forty years of age, or older. Four more were between the ages of thirty and forty. Two were less than thirty years of age. Eight of the twelve were currently married. Nine teachers were also parents to their own children. Nine of the twelve taught on the primary level, and the other three taught in the middle grades. Class size for each teacher ranged from twenty-four children to thirty-three children, with an average of twenty-seven. Half of the teachers described their settings as "self-contained." The other half, of whom five were members of teaching teams, and one, a resource teacher, described their settings and teaching approaches in terms that reflected an "open" orientation. "Self-contained" refers to environments in which a single teacher has responsibility for the planning, organization, and activities with students that occur

throughout the day. "Open" refers to instruction that occurs through individual and small group projects. Centers, developed by observation of what children express an interest in, availability of materials, and environmental resources, are the means provided for learning experiences. With the exception of two teachers, both members of a team described by them as "open in approach and ideas," and one other teacher, all of the teachers considered the setting of the school to be a constraint upon their ability to develop and maintain spontaneous and close relationships with their students. As one of the teachers commented:

> Just when something gets exciting, and kids show their
> energy with noise and movement and questions, we have to
> tell them to be quiet and not disturb others. Something's
> wrong when we can't be comfortable enough to enjoy the
> excitement. (9/28/78)

Teachers involved in participant observation. Three teachers volunteered to take part in the participant observation phase of the study. All were women, and all taught on the primary level, in grades one, two, and three. What follows is a discussion of their backgrounds, experiences, and other relevant information.

Each of these participants has been involved in teaching for at least fifteen years. One of the three worked as a nurse prior to her decision to teach. Each has worked in a variety of settings ranging from some areas in the southern part of this country, to other countries as well. All of the participants are over forty years of age, and are parents of grown children.

The participants have earned graduate degrees in educational areas. Two of the teachers have master's degrees in elementary education. The third has degrees in reading and in administration. This teacher is currently working part of the time as an assistant principal, in preparation for her assumption of the position on a full-time basis.

During the school year, each of the participants is active as a member of different school committees. All noted particular interests, skills or talents that they considered enriching to their professional competence. One reported that she is quite knowledgeable about math instruction, and has developed an extensive collection of games, activities, and teaching ideas. Another brings to her interactions with children, a growing understanding of those students identified as "gifted and talented." The third devotes much time and effort to her acknowledged expertise in the areas of reading and language. She reported a comprehensive understanding of the materials and texts in the areas, and thought that this competence would enhance her contribution as an administrator.

In summary, the background of these three teachers suggested that the data gathered from them, reflected the views of career professionals. These are educators who have travelled broadly, worked in many settings, continued to educate themselves, and, consequently, brought a depth and

breadth of experience to their teaching. In this study, the data collected from the participant observation are used to disclose thicker, more intensive views of the patterns of awareness that my interpretations of the interview data disclosed. The profiles of thinking that emerged from the observational data typify the direction and substance of the patterns of awareness consistently expressed by teachers throughout this inquiry. As such, these profiles constitute examples. They provide the reader with further illustrations of the patterns expressed by all of the participants.

<div align="center">Documentation</div>

Documenting, the final stage in the research procedures detailed by Carini (1975), provides a descriptive account of the patterns of teachers' thinking that emerged from the data. The patterns, developed through an interpretive process, afforded varying degrees of insight into two of the three questions that guided this study.

The first question served to disclose the dimensions of critical awareness in teachers regarding their relationships with students in the learning environment. What I was interested in disclosing through this question was what the perspectives of teachers were concerning their relationships, and how the perspectives were explained or made sensible by the teachers. In other words, what was the reality of relationships, and how did the teachers maintain this reality through their thoughts and actions?

The second question inquired into the assumptions that teachers make about the significance of their relationships upon the students' development as persons. Through this question, I wanted to elicit from the teachers reflections about the impact of their involvement on the lives of children. I wondered if teachers perceived connections between who they are and what they do on an everyday basis, and the kinds of persons who developed as a result of their involvement in the process.

The third question that guided the study was concerned with the adequacy of ethnomethodology as a research approach in an educational setting. I wanted to test the usefulness of this method to evoke substantive responses to the first two questions. In the next chapter, this question will be discussed in terms of the constraints and strengths of this particular qualitative approach.

The Process of Interpretation

The documenting process is the integrative function of the procedures because it represents the results of my interpretive efforts with the data. In this study, the results are represented in the form of polar qualities. Polar qualities reflect aspects of a dimension that are viewed as oppositional or as contrasts, rather than complementary. Generally, teachers seemed to express awareness in terms that exhibited an either/or quality of thinking. I wanted a way

to depict this quality of thinking in the range of responses that teachers expressed about relationships. Therefore, I chose the form of polarities as a way of representing this polarization of views.

I identified and illuminated teachers' themes in various ways. As the interview data became more comprehensive, I repeatedly examined the taped interviews, looking for such things as the amount of energy different questions evoked in the teacher's response, the use of a theme or illustration introduced by the teacher, or data that was not an "ordinary" response. By this, I refer to responses that appeared to contradict statements made earlier by the same teacher as s/he answered another question. Some examples of themes identified in this way include "the significance of competition" and "the thinking of children." When the interview data suggested possibilities in the form of such themes and stimulated further curiosity on my part, I would pursue the themes and the curiosity in greater depth with the three participants.

Other avenues of illumination for me included observation of interactions, followed by informal interviews with the participants to raise questions and clarify their process of making the interactions sensible; and purposive interruptions of conversations with the participants, in order to see how they responded to the questioning of what they assumed "everyone would know" about the reality of their

interactions. For example, one teacher described a partic-
ular child as "all boy." I interrupted her description at
that point to inquire of her what she meant by the term,
and how it applied to the child. On other occasions, I
assumed a contrasting perspective to what was presented. I
engaged in conversation and observed the reaction to this.
In other words, I became the devil's advocate and watched the
process of thinking and reacting that occurred in the
teachers.

Throughout the recording process, the data were analyzed
by me on a daily and weekly basis. Patterns emerged from
those themes that persisted in the teachers' reality. As
these patterns emerged, I concentrated on the process of
refining them. This interpretive process which eventually
resulted in the documentation of the findings was gradual and
often tentative. Much time and attention are required if
themes and patterns are to be recognized and developed fur-
ther. Also, there is necessarily a great deal of tension
during the process of interpreting the data. What is essen-
tial in this method is to achieve a balance between the per-
spective of the "insider," which is developed through par-
ticipation in the setting; and the perspective of "outsider,"
a vital part of the process, developed by stepping back from
the setting and engaging in my own reflection.

The documenting procedures became the dominant activity
for me as the data collection came to completion. For a

period of approximately eight to ten weeks, I continued the process of refinement and reflection. Themes, events, observations were juxtaposed in many different ways. During this time, I was supported by further reading in relevant areas and frequent contact with some of the members of my committee. The result of all of this was the identification of several major descriptive categories. What remained was organizing these categories in some way that would permit a graphic representation.

During this process, however, I experienced some difficulty with a substantial amount of data that persisted in the teachers' thinking, yet did not quite fit as a way of describing the awareness of how teachers and students interacted with each other. It was apparent that institutionally defined goals and expectations permeated the thinking that teachers did about their relationships and their developmental influence. Because of the underlying presence of such organizational norms of reference, it was clear that some provision had to be made to insure their inclusion in the documentation of the findings. I resolved this difficulty by returning to the data and examining it from the perspective of disclosing teachers' thinking about the purpose of their relationships with children. What dimensions of awareness did teachers reveal about their purpose in establishing relationships with students? What were the goals teachers perceived themselves as promoting through their relationships? How did these goals developmentally influence students?

The documenting process clarified two major themes of
awareness about relationships. One reflected thinking about
the purpose,and the other reflected thinking about their
manner. The final stage in the documenting process consisted
of refining these themes into patterns which would approach
the integrity of the phenomenon of awareness of relationships.
In addition to approaching the integrity of the phenomenon,
the patterns were necessary for an organizational framework.

A distinction that encompassed the themes of "purpose"
and "manner" was mentioned by Macdonald (1975) in his anal-
ysis of everyday life in schools. He explicated the social
and political implications of schooling and observed the per-
vasive effects these implications had on the quality of
human activity. In doing so, he differentiated between the
substantive and the formative aspects of school. He noted
his differentiation in this way:

> Formative and substantive are used here in an analogous
> sense to the way Jean Piaget uses them. The formative
> aspects refer to the private, developmental growth and
> not the arbitrary substantive content of a society.
> In this sense, the formative base of everyday living
> develops attitudes, feelings, dispositions and cogni-
> tive orientations rather than the specific substance of
> a curriculum. (1975, p. 86)

Macdonald's interest in these terms was to point to the
importance of the formative character of activities as a
guide for personal meaning. He did not consider the sub-
stantive nature of activities to be especially helpful at
his level of analysis. However, both terms are meaningful

here, because they delineate the differences in the content of awareness, and provide a suitable framework for the presentation of the dimensions of awareness.

In this study, substance refers to the perspectives about the reasons for engaging in relationships with students. In the expression of awareness of the substantive aspects of relationships, teachers reflected their understanding of what the goal was, as far as development was concerned. This aspect included responses to questions about the kinds of learning teachers considered to be essential, and why they thought as they did. It also included the responses of the participants as they reflected upon their contacts with children and the environment.

Form refers to the dimensions of awareness that are disclosed as teachers reflect on how they interact with students. The form of relationships includes both the face-to-face, informal interactions, and the contact that occurs in the context of the instructional setting. Examples of face-to-face, direct interactions that were discussed by teachers include expression of interest in a child's activities, casual conversations, playful contacts such as teasing and sharing jokes. A teacher-directed reading group, choice of a particular instructional material, evaluation of a child's work, and seating arrangements are examples of less direct contextual interactions.

Using substance and form as a framework, I developed a
graphic representation of the dimensions of awareness about
relationships. The aspects contained in each dimension
reflect the polar qualities of awareness disclosed by the
teachers in the study. I decided to present the dimensions
in the form of polarities because it appeared to be the most
helpful way to reflect clearly the range of contrasting
thoughts disclosed in the data.

On the following page is a graphic representation of the
substantive and formative dimensions of awareness. The sub-
stantive dimensions contains two polar qualities: groupness
and individuality. The formative dimension is categorized
into two kinds of contacts: personal and contextual. The
polar qualities of awareness in personal interactions include:
mutuality and one-sidedness, involvement and detachment.
The contextual contacts include open and traditional set-
tings. The slashed lines along the continuum represent the
perspective of the participants in regard to the aspects.

Application of the Framework: Findings

This section of the chapter describes the polar aspects
of awareness in the two dimensions. The organization of the
dimensions is based on the data gathered from observation
and interviews with all of the teachers in the study.
Included in the discussion of the various aspects of the
substantive and formative dimensions are illustrations of
the patterns of thinking disclosed in the data.

Documentation of the Dimensions of Awareness

A graphic description of the substantive and formative
polarities of relationships:

The Polarity in Substance

Groupness____/_____Individuality

Polarities in Form

Personal Contacts:

Mutuality_____/_____One sidedness

Involvement_____/_____Detachment
                    (professional - personal)

Contextual Contacts:

Open_____/____Traditional
              (instructional setting)

The representative profiles that follow the discussion of the aspects partially summarize the findings. They are constructed from the data gathered from contacts with the three main participants. The purpose of these profiles is to exemplify in greater detail the general tone and direction of the patterns of thinking. Thus, the term "representative profiles" refers to their illustrative function in this study.

The Polarity in Substance

The substantive dimension represents the thinking that teachers expressed about the purpose or reason for their relationships with students. This dimension includes the polar aspects of groupness and individuality. Groupness refers to the notion of membership. This is also expressed as belonging, fitting in, getting along well in a group, and being a productive community worker. Individuality refers to the promotion of diverse, often personal, responses to learning, chosen jointly by the teacher and the student.

Groupness. Although individuality was mentioned often, groupness emerged as the preferred aspect in this dimension. Concern for groupness was revealed by teachers in many ways. In the interviews, much reference was made to the regard for standardized levels of achievement, as measured by objective, norm referenced tests; working well together in some form of instructional group which contained children of like academic abilities; the demand for uniformity in work

such as handwriting, worksheets, textbook assignments; in various kinds of social behavior such as walking on a line, taking turns and making sure everyone has one, sitting in fairly uniform seating arrangements decided upon by the teacher, neatness; progress charts; and fixed schedules.

Seeing children in terms of their membership and identifying them by labels such as "normal," "slow learner," "second graders," "eight year olds," "gifted/talented" all illustrate the dimension of "groupness" as it was expressed by the teachers in their elaboration of the reasons for establishing and maintaining relationships with students.

One teacher, in a discussion about the need for classes of homogeneously grouped children, was asked to consider the possibilities that came to mind about developing a curriculum based on the needs and interests of individual children. She responded in this way:

> Oh sure, I guess everyone would like to do this. But it's hard. There are too many directions. Besides, I don't think you can meet the needs of all children. And, in some areas you just can't go with their interests. I'm very much for teaching Basics. If the kids get this first, fine--then they can go to their interests. Without reading and writing, you can't . . . you can't . . . I mean that's just the way I feel. It may be done in other places. But I think Basics come first. (10/20/78)

The issues of involvement and cooperation were stressed by another teacher in several different responses to questions. She observed the value and limits of these qualities

and their significance for children's development in the fol-

lowing statement:

> I don't want children to be submissive, but I don't
> want them to dominate each other either. I want them
> to share in their leadership. My job is to be a med-
> iator. But academic skills--that's different. Children
> have no choice there. It has to be done my way. (Why
> necessary?) They might not learn the skills they'll
> need to survive in the next grade, where these skills
> are expected. I know it's not fair. But it's a real-
> ity, and I would be unfair to any child if I didn't
> help him to survive. (10/13/78)

The theme that embodied the reasons that teachers gave for

their commitment to the development of children as productive

group members related to their view of the acquisition of

skills as necessary for survival in the world. The teachers'

commitment to this view was so fundamental to their thinking

about relationships that efforts to suspend an unquestioning

acceptance of it proved to be a difficult task. According to

one teacher, the reason that a child came to school was to

become a skillful member and to do so with a sense of satis-

faction. When asked to elaborate on this she replied:

"All children need to know how to read and write and count--

and get along with others." She paused, and then added firmly,

"If you ask me to choose which one was most important, I

couldn't" (11/6/78).

Individuality. The concept of individuality emerged as

a contrasting view to groupness. Awareness of individuality

focused on the capacity of the student to develop in ways

that would enable him or her to identify and act upon

particular needs and interests. The aspect of individual-
ity was revealed through discussions about the variety of
backgrounds of children, perceptions about learning centers
as a form of instruction, views about the ability of chil-
dren to make choices and live with the consequences, and an
awareness of individuality as something that was inimical
to, rather than complementary to, groupness.

Generally, the views about individuality reflected some
awareness of it as a restriction upon the maintenance of the
group. Thus, teachers often made sense of individuality by
presenting it as a negative factor in relationships, some-
thing to be minimized. One teacher's comments reflected an
irritation with the different pace of a child. She explained
her reason for punishing him because of incomplete work:

> Jackie is a hard child for me. He's one out of twenty-
> seven children. . . . His schedule isn't the same as
> ours, so he doesn't meet his work obligations to the
> class. . . . One child can't be allowed to foul things
> up, so I restricted him from participating. They say
> you shouldn't pressure a child, but _life_ is a pressure.
> That's what reality is and Jackie needs to realize
> this. (9/27/78)

The difficulty in integrating groupness and individuality
was addressed by one teacher in a discussion about her own
desire to incorporate both in relationships with children.
She pointed out, however, that the setting of the institu-
tion and the realities of living prohibited spontaneous and
personal interactions between teachers and students.

I understand that Basics are important. I believe also, that being curious and interested in life is very important--it's the most important thing I can teach. I have learned, though, in the past few years, that not everybody is going to be accepted based on their individual needs. Children are going to be judged in relation to other people, and they have to know how to deal with that. (9/28/78)

The value of "individuality" as a significant factor in the development of persons was clearly a minority view among the teachers. An illustration of a response that reflected a positive view of the aspect of individuality, however, was found among the comments of one teacher as she enthusiastically described her orientation towards children in her class and detailed the excitement of developing learning activities based on a combination of children's interests, and her own capabilities. She considered her awareness of each child's personal strengths and needs to be a deciding factor in the kind of activity that developed in the course of a day. She stated:

In order to teach a child how to extend on his interests, I have to know them on an everyday basis--then I get to know the interests, talents, even fears of children. I guess I share mine with them, too. It's hard to stand outside of a situation and determine what's the most important thing. I think you have to take first things first. Start the day with whatever a child brings--whether it's crying or being curious. (10/6/78)

This awareness, although limited in its expression among the responses of the teachers, does reflect a consistent view of a minority of teachers. The most common response to the polarized notions of developing students as diverse

individuals or as productive members of groups, however, was
contained in the comment of one teacher, as she discussed
her preference for structured group activities. She con-
cluded that: "It is important to have an idea of the needs
and interests of each child, but it is much more important to
reinforce the skills necessary for school success" (10/25/78).

Polarities in Form

The formative dimension of awareness represents the
thinking that teachers expressed about their modes of relat-
ing to students. The modes of relationships are categorized
further into those modes which depict aspects of awareness
about personal interactions, and those modes which depict
aspects of awareness about contextual interactions. Per-
sonal interactions include thinking concerned with the direct
face-to-face interactions that occurred between the teacher
and student. Contextual interactions include views about
contacts within the setting and instructional activities.

The polar qualities of awareness in the personal inter-
actions consists of the aspects of mutuality and one sided-
ness, and involvement and detachment. The qualities in the
contextual aspect include the polarities of open settings
and traditional settings.

Mutuality refers to the sense that teachers have of
being involved in reciprocal relationships with children,
ones in which both teacher and student are open and supportive

of each other as individuals. <u>One-sidedness</u>, in contrast, refers to the exclusive focus placed on the child in the relationship. This is to observe and objectively understand the child's progress as a member. <u>Involvement</u> refers to the ways that teachers see themselves initiating contact with the student in the learning environment, in order to facilitate the child's ability to achieve. <u>Detachment</u> refers to the presence of some degree of distance between the teacher and the student, because of the need for privacy, objectivity, or indifference. Awareness of involvement and/or detachment can be expressed professionally or personally. <u>Open settings</u> refer to the approach to instruction that incorporates learning centers, individualized instruction, multiaged groups of children, and experiential learning. <u>Traditional settings</u> are contrasted by their emphasis on basic skills of reading, language, and math, taught through large and small group instruction, planned and directed by the teacher. Traditional settings focus on promoting competence in what is referred to as "The Basics."

Personal Contacts

The aspects include mutuality and one-sidedness, and involvement and detachment. What follows is a description of each of these aspects and the ways in which they contrast each other.

Mutuality. The concept of mutuality can be used to describe those relationships that teachers interpret as reciprocal. Some of the thinking expressed by teachers indicated an awareness of their own capacity to experience a shared intimacy with a student and vulnerability in being known by students ". . . in a way that lets them know that I'm as human as they are." Because of the age and relative maturity of the students, as well as the perceived demands of the community for productive groups of students, teachers described this quality of their relationships as desirable at times, often elusive, and, when experienced, somewhat embarrassing to them. An exception to this was reflected in the comment of a teacher who described her setting and activities as "child centered." Musing over how much she felt she had learned about courage, because of her relationship with a boy in her class who faced recurrent surgery, she observed:

> John has had so many operations. The other day he confessed to me that he was very afraid when they put the tubes on him and took blood. I understood, because I feel that way myself. I told him that I got afraid just like he did--still--even though I'm grown now. And he was so surprised--he smiled. (10/6/78)

Several teachers noticed how pleased, yet awkward they felt upon receiving the kindness and compassion of children when the teachers were debilitated either physically or emotionally. One teacher, in describing her timidity about sharing her reason for being unable to concentrate on what she was doing, commented: "I was so depressed I had to risk

being honest with them. I really didn't expect them to under-
stand, but when they did, the sympathy felt good" (9/28/78).

Teachers rarely mentioned any thinking with regard to
mutuality in learning. Occasional references were expressed
about the personal learning that occurred within the teacher
as a result of relationships with children. One teacher
noted that she had learned more about enduring pressure, from
watching the way that some of the children she came into
contact with were able to do so. Another reflected on her
growing capacity to be less judgmental of friends in the
"real" world, which she learned from observing the acceptance
children seemed to have for one another. Neither of these
teachers, however, could perceive of any realistic way of
acting from these perspectives in their everyday relationships
with students in the learning environment. The knowledge was
similar to a personal insight, gained from observation of
children as they went about making sense of their own inter-
actions.

Only two of the teachers, both members of a teaching
team described by each of them as "open in space and ideas,"
expressed an awareness of learning as mutually stimulating
and created contributions of knowledge, curiosity, and mater-
ials reciprocally made by teachers and students. When one
of the teachers was asked to think about any limitations to
development that such freedom of choice about learning and

reciprocal kinds of involvement in the content might produce,

she thought for awhile and then expressed the following view:

> I don't know. . . . Other than being careful about
> human hurts--you know--when a child's freedom restricts
> another--maybe he might kick or spit, or not be respon-
> sible with materials. But other than that, well I
> suppose we are limited by time and materials. There
> are so many children in our area that it's hard to be
> with each one every day. And the materials too--you
> can only learn from what's available. (11/6/78)

One-sidedness. In contrast to relationships that are

mutually involving, one-sidedness refers to the exclusive

focus placed on one of the persons, usually the student, for

the purpose of knowing more about the child's background,

capacity for achievement, and ways of being motivated. In

this study, one-sidedness was the preferred mode of inter-

acting with children, particularly when the teachers related

it to maintaining their commitment to groupness.

My interpretation of this aspect is based upon discus-

sions with teachers as they reflected on the choices that

they believed children either did make or should be allowed

to make, on the kinds of learning that teachers viewed as

important, and on the need to discipline a child's behavior.

Engaging in relationships interpreted as "one-sided" enabled

the teachers to consider themselves to be objective, impar-

tial, and in control of the interactions that occurred not

only between them and various students but also among stu-

dents.

"I have certain ideas about what children this age

should be able to learn, and how far along I want them to

get," "Children are too young to make the right choices for themselves. I choose for them because I know, better than they do, what's best for them," "I decide the work we'll do, and the children follow along" are illustrations of how this aspect is made real by the teachers. Other examples include restricting a child who has not completed work, considering as necessary to maintain order the dumping of a child's desk as a reminder to clean it, and publicly reprimanding a child.

There was very little evidence of any desire to engage in reflection of other modes of relating or to examine, in depth, this mode. Often, the understanding of interactions in terms of promoting skilled and productive group members was the way that teachers made sense of their interactions. If they did not focus exclusively on the child and his or her progress, children might choose not to participate, or they would have a significantly different pace from the rest of the students. More fundamental to their process of awareness was the genuine desire to protect children by directing them and assuring their survival as students. Thus, creating a sense of tension, often a necessary ingredient to assuming other perspectives, resulted in less willingness to continue any dialogue, rather than further mindful curiosity.

Involvement. Involvement and its polar quality, detachment, both contained personal and professional considerations in their expression. Involvement in this context refers to a sense of being in face-to-face contact with the student,

in an informal manner, for the purpose of stimulating the student's desire to achieve. While the aspect of mutuality shares some similarity with involvement, these qualities are disclosed differently by teachers. The concept of mutuality describes relationships between teacher and student, in which each is known by and, in some ways, available to the other person. Involvement, however, describes an awareness of relationships in which the teacher is in control and establishes the pace and direction of his or her involvement with the child.

Personal involvement was disclosed by teachers as the way in which they are able to use their own experiences and interests as starting points for teaching; as the ability to listen to jokes, stories, problems and experiences that children wish to share with them; and the capacity to be available to children, especially in times of stress. One teacher explained why this form of availability was beneficial, in her view. She explained:

> It's important for a child to know I'm aware of him. If he's sad or upset, I'll go over to him and try to cheer him up by putting my arm around him, or maybe touching him in some way. That might help him to feel better. Then, he'll be able to work. (10/28/78)

Personal involvement was also revealed by teachers as they described such activities as baking cookies or pumpkin pies, to be eaten by the children for holiday snacks, teasing and being teased in return, extending an interest in a child's progress throughout various grade levels, and giving small

rewards for good work. One thing was clear, however; the teachers understood such involvement as ways of making relationships more pleasant, the child more content, and the work--decided upon by the teacher--more willingly attempted and completed.

Professional involvement is exemplified by the views that teachers expressed about their instructional expertise and how effective it was as a means of educating a child. For example, one teacher described a personal quality that she considered to be an asset by remarking on her awareness of herself as a competent professional. She explained:

> I have a great deal of knowledge about materials. I know how they can be used most effectively with children. I feel really competent with reading materials. I know how to modify texts, or worksheets to reach a child who needs a particular skill. (10/25/78)

Other comments which reflected an awareness of involvement as professional included a teacher's description of herself as creative and stimulating in her teaching, another's discussion of her ability to maintain firm, yet fair, discipline; and a third who expressed a willingness to try new ideas and teaching approaches with children. Interestingly, in the interpretation of thinking that led to the construction of this particular formative aspect, there was much less polarization of thinking disclosed by the teachers. More than in any other aspect of either the formative or substantive dimensions, the awareness that teachers expressed reflected an understanding of involvement and detachment as

complementary to each other, rather than in opposition.
The teachers made involvement sensible by seeing it as nec-
essary for closeness with children. In addition to it,
detachment insured the distance required for them to treat
all children fairly and, in their view, uniformly.

Detachment. Detachment refers to the teacher's sense
of distance from children. This aspect is disclosed through
references to the need for objectivity, in order to evaluate
children; and privacy, considered by teachers to be vital
for personal space, planning, and generating new ideas.
Perspectives about detachment included an awareness of per-
sonal detachment and professional detachment, though to a
lesser degree in the latter.

Personal detachment, along with professional involvement,
was most commonly observed among teachers as they discussed
their views on testing and other forms of standardized eval-
uation of students. Also, this combination enabled teachers
to function most effectively and comfortably as agents of
the community. Teachers were most articulate in their under-
standing of the importance of establishing patterns of work
for children and maintaining a smoothly functioning environ-
ment. In their view, a sensitive balance of closeness and
distance was required for this work environment to be sup-
ported. Through close relations with children, habits and
expectations could be known by the children. Through objec-
tive testing and other forms of measurement requiring distance,

teachers could monitor work progress. If a child deviates from the group in some way, whether through an inability to keep up, or too much ease with the work, then further evaluation occurred. Depending on the results, a child can then be categorized as a "slow learner," and thus not required to produce as much; or, "gifted and talented," and thus given additional tasks, special privileges after the required work is completed, or both. In these ways, children could be understood by the teacher and placed, accordingly, back into the group.

What continued to be unquestionable to the teachers, however, was the kind of "work" that was necessary, and the requirement that every child, if capable, produce some. Work was the focus of the relationships. When the year's work was completed, so was the relationship, according to the teachers' views. This was revealed by several of the responses in regard to the significance of relationships upon the development of persons.

When comments which speculated about the developmental influence of relationships were examined for teachers' meaning, what became apparent was a view of relationships as significant on a day-to-day basis, rather than extensively significant. Also, teachers considered their influence to be more superficial than profound, when personal development was the focus. For example, one teacher in explaining her reasons for remaining removed from any involvement with an

activity called "Show and Tell" noted both her reason for

allowing the activity, and her own detachment from it, in

the following way:

> I don't have too much to do with it. I'm not
> interested in that stuff. Mostly it's junk, and I
> don't need to be bored by it, too. . . . I suppose it's
> a chance for them to talk to each other, to share some
> stuff. Well, we do it right after lunch, so it's a
> chance to relax. (9/28/78)

Even when the potential for influence was able to be

expressed by teachers, the sense of not being able to measure

it objectively intruded upon the thoughts. As one teacher

put it:

> I think that the child's character is the most
> significant thing that can be developed. I wish I
> could teach them about this. But how can that be?
> There's just no way to measure this. And, how will I
> know if I'm doing what's right for them? (11/14/78)

The other form of expression for detachment was in a

professional sense. In this form, observed with less consis-

tency in the data, teachers reported that they refrained from

an expression of their own opinions about a topic, ". . . so

the children can learn how to think for themselves." Other

expressions of professional detachment included: an occa-

sional call for more common sense in teaching, and less

technical expertise; and a regard for the adequacy of the

text, and the suggested lesson plans, as sufficient for

instruction.

Contextual Contacts

In my interpretation of the findings, I found a great
deal of similarity between the contextual polar qualities
and those aspects of the substantive dimension. Initially,
I sought ways to include them in the aspects of groupness
and individuality. However, because of the structure of
this particular setting, and the influence it had on the
thinking and acting of the participants and other teachers
in the study, I identified the context as an effective
vehicle for describing interactions. Teachers noted that
children could move about as they worked and could see and
hear others. Generally, these factors influenced the modes
of interactions between the teacher and student. Therefore,
the awareness that teachers expressed about context and rela-
tionships was included as one aspect of the formative dimen-
sion.

Open setting. Teachers described the interactions that
occurred in open instructional settings as flexible, informal,
and more personal than those interactions which occurred in
settings described by the teachers as traditional. In open
settings, teachers reported that they engaged in frequent
interactions with individual children throughout the day,
for such purposes as evaluating the child's progress infor-
mally; modifying the child's work, if necessary; and direct-
ing further learning activities. Teachers who described
their settings as open, and saw this as positive, reported

that they functioned most effectively with children when
they were involved in relationships with them. Although the
value of detachment was evident in their thinking, it was
often understood as a mode of interaction that enabled them
to be more fully involved with children. Essentially,
detachment allowed the involvement to be a flexible process,
because it provided space for the teacher to be objective
about a child's interests or needs in regard to learning.

Although all of the teachers in this study described
the school setting as open, many of them reported a discom-
fort in their instruction and their interactions with children
because of the openness. They experienced such constraints
as noise, disorder, and a lack of privacy. Also, teachers
observed that their schedules became more rigid, instead of
more flexible, because of the setting. The result of this,
they stated, was less spontaneity in their interactions with
children.

Traditional setting. Even though the school was
described as open, many teachers reported that they preferred
a traditional setting and did what they could to develop
this orientation. This form of setting relied on large and
small groups of children, most of whom were working on tasks
that were similar, if not the same. Teachers placed children
in instructional groups according to their level of achieve-
ment in skills. The focus of the instruction was on the
continued development of skills in reading, language, and
mathematics.

When teachers made these settings sensible, they did so by explaining that "Basics" were necessary to learn for school success. In order to insure this, teachers maintained control over the children and their activities. Thus, though relationships in these settings were characterized by teachers as one-sided, involvement was high during the instructional periods. Afterwards, however, the teachers valued and promoted within themselves some form of detachment. When questioning of this form of setting was attempted, responses included some confusion as to why a question had been raised, an explanation of the setting as the best way to make sure children learned what they needed for the future, and an assurance that this way was the only way that children would be sure to learn something. Whether the "something" was an influence on the development of persons remained, in their view, a question to be answered more adequately by the community.

Summary of the Findings

Dimensions of Awareness

Two dimensions constitute the patterns of awareness in the teachers who participated in this study. They are the substantive dimension and the formative dimension. Polar qualities of awareness are constructed in each dimension to represent the contrasting views that teachers expressed consistently in regard to the purpose of their relationships and the form of their relationships with students.

The substantive dimension. Groupness and individuality
are the aspects interpreted to be expressive of the substan-
tive dimension. Groupness refers to the value that teachers
placed on developing in children the ability to fit into a
group and to become productive members. Individuality refers
to the development of each child's talents and skills and,
through these, the promotion of a continual interest in learn-
ing. Almost all of the views of the teachers in this study
reflected a firm and unquestioning commitment to the aspect
of groupness. Directing the learning activities of children
in such ways that the children learn how to survive and
adjust well in school, and to perform adequately and produc-
tively as group members, was clearly understood by the
teachers to be the purpose of their relationships. Further,
this commitment was made sensible by their conviction that,
as teachers, they were acting as representatives or agents
of the community. "Community" was described by them as
"the parents" and, at times, as "society."

When questioned about the aspect of individuality, many
of the teachers believed that promoting this aspect was much
less important than school success which, in their view,
meant adjusting the children to the community's expectations.
Actually, individuality was not only considered to be less
desirable than groupness, but also was viewed by some as
undesirable. Reasons for this negative view of individuality
include the belief that it would make the control of direction

and actions of children a difficult task; concern for instruction in the standardized texts and skills, known as "the Basics"; and an awareness of no real support for the notion of individuality as an educational goal of the community.

A comment of one of the three main participants provides an illustration of the last reason. This teacher considered current educational practices such as "open education" and "individualized instruction" to be ultimately detrimental to her work with children. She stated that the encouragement of such practices in classrooms, without examining, as a society of people, what we want for our children through schooling and how we will help educators to proceed, is like baking an apple pie with the wrong ingredients. She explained this in the following way:

> It doesn't matter how good my intentions are, if I want to bake an apple pie, and I put salt into it instead of sugar, the pie won't taste good. . . . Now, maybe we don't want "apple pie" for our children. But if that's so, then we first need to consider alternatives before pushing all this other stuff on us, and then expecting the same things to happen, only better. (11/14/78)

The formative dimension. This dimension contains the patterns of awareness about personal and contextual contacts. Personal interactions, which refer to face-to-face, informal contacts, are described by the polar aspects of mutuality and one-sidedness, and personal or professional involvement and detachment. Contextual interactions refer to the manner of contact which the setting promotes, according to the teachers' perspectives.

In this study the teachers expressed a strong preference for one-sided relationships, rather than those reflecting the notion of mutuality. One-sided relationships were characterized by the participants as teacher directed and teacher controlled. Teachers viewed this quality as necessary if order, objective assessment of skills, and uniform standards of achievement were to be maintained. Mutual relationships, in which teacher and student were open and available to each other in a reciprocal manner, were generally felt to be threatening, or at least an inappropriate way for teachers to insure classroom discipline and consistent behavior from students.

Involvement and detachment were the only aspects interpretively disclosed in either dimension that teachers viewed as complements to each other, rather than contrasts. In other words, teachers were aware of the complementary nature of these aspects. This differed from the view of other qualities of relationships such as mutuality and one-sidedness. In such views, teachers appeared compelled to value one side of the polarity, almost to the exclusion of the other. Both involvement and detachment were understood as significant modes of relating to students. Detachment was considered to be necessary for a teacher to evaluate the needs and progress of the student. On a personal level it was required for privacy and distance from children.

Teachers perceived their involvement as natural, almost inevitable, considering the informality and mobility of the caassroom settings. It was also viewed as a desirable way to establish rapport and to motivate a child to want to work well in school. The degree and direction of the involvement, however, was clearly perceived by teachers to be determined by them.

Open settings and traditional settings describe the polar aspects of the contextual contacts. In this study, the dominant view expressed a preference for traditional settings in which instructional interactions were initiated by the teacher with small and large groups of children. This view was consistent with the teachers' perspectives about the substantive dimension of groupness and the aspect of one-sidedness in the formative dimension.

The Developmental Significance of Relationships

In this study, perspectives about the developmental significance of relationships with students were disclosed primarily through ongoing contact with the three main participants. In the interview, teachers responded to questions about the significance of their relationships in very general terms. They made passing references to hopes and wishes for children, to the perceived limits of their influence, and to the difficulty in judging the future worth of relationships. Such responses were brief and often vague. However, they

did provide some needed direction for the more extensive conversations and questions asked of the three participants. Also, ongoing contact with these participants in their work settings permitted opportunities to observe interactions and to question the teachers about the consequences of these interactions. Therefore, in summarizing the findings of this question, I found it most helpful to use the views of the three main participants as representative profiles of thinking in regard to the second research question.

The profile that is interpreted from contact with the three teachers further confirmed the firm and clear commitment to groupness expressed by all of the teachers in this study. Each participant was aware of the significance of individuality, and understood that children could develop in a variety of ways. However, each one also expressed the belief that a primary concern in her relationships with children was to serve the needs of the community.

Accordingly, the kind of development that these three teachers promoted in students, through conscious and tacit actions and views, reflected the desirability of helping children to belong and to be productive workers. A reason for the commitment to "belonging" was sensitively expressed by one of the teachers as she noted:

> We are not all equal. Some of us are just stronger
> than others, and smarter too. That's why it's so impor-
> tant to belong, to know that you're like others. I
> used to think that goodness would be rewarded. But I'm

> learning that it's not necessarily so. . . . Children
> need to belong so they can have hope. They can learn
> to discriminate, to cope, and to be responsible for
> living. (11/8/78)

Competence was described by the teachers as "achieving

progress in academic skills of the grade level." Developing

good work habits and teaching children the importance of

meeting work responsibilities were other related themes that

reflected an understanding of children as workers. One of

these teachers explained her keen attention to checking up

on the work that children had completed through her own daily

check sheet, and her desire to keep a record of the books

that children read for pleasure, by talking about work respon-

sibility. All children were required to complete the same

work. The only exceptions to this were those children con-

sidered to be "slow," and even these children were expected

to complete some of the work. As she put it, "The kids know

that they have to finish all their worksheets and seat work

before they can go out to play." She elaborated on the mean-

ing of this by noting, "They (children) might as well find

out that they're always going to have to meet their work respon-

sibilities, whether they're seven or forty-seven. That's just

the way life is" (9/29/78).

This view of reality as given, unable to be changed,

was present in much of the thoughts of these teachers. How-

ever, there was also some acknowledgment of limits of such a

perspective, and the consequences that it might have on the

teacher's capacity to significantly influence the kind of

development that affects the student as a person. One of

the three teachers reflected an awareness of these limits,

as she discussed her sense of professional isolation. Iron-

ically, the theme of the particular conversation from which

the following comment emerged, revolved around the positive

changes this teacher had observed in her own development as

a professional. In the past few years, however, she observed

that her views about children were less supported than in

previous times. According to her,

> Character is the most significant thing that can be
> developed (in children). I wish I could teach them
> about this. But how can that be? There's just no way
> to measure this (objectively). And, how will I know if
> I'm doing what's right for them? (12/1/78)

The same sense of helplessness was reflected in the comments

of another of the participants, in regard to being able to

choose the developmental focus of interactions. She stated,

> Sure, I would like to consider things like a child's
> development morally, or in values. You know, sort of
> like offering them some guiding principles, like the
> Golden Rule. But some parents seem to get offended by
> that. Besides, I'm expected to teach Basics. How
> would it look if my reading scores were lower than those
> of the other teachers on my grade level. I'd be
> expected to account for that. (9/28/78)

In general, the commitment of the three participants

to their role as agents of the community, responsible for

promoting the kind of development they understood the com-

munity to desire, was unshakable, using any of the research

methods described earlier. These teachers were willing to

engage in active, often lively, dialogue, when the focus of

their reflection was on the meaning of relationships in light of prevailing expectations. Promoting any serious and critical examination of the issue of development itself, or the consideration of possibilities for new directions of thought concerning the development of persons, was a difficult, often alienating task for these teachers. Usually, this task encountered resistance.

The resistance was observed in the kinds of responses that the participants made to questions about their influence. Their responses reflected generalities, confusion over the questions themselves, and wishful thinking. Teachers spoke vaguely about the significance of their influence. On some occasions they questioned the degree of their influence, believing it to be less than it might appear to others. At other times, they hoped that they were influential, but thought that it was such a natural occurrence, unable to be altered by them. As one of these teachers suggested, "There's really no way for me to change my influence, so I try to be beautiful for the children inside and out" (10/10/78).

I want to conclude the summary of the findings with a final illustration of the sense of constraint and obligation to the community that the teachers expressed in their awareness. During the follow-up visit, one of the participants commented on the accuracy of the findings. She concluded:

> We really have a narrow view of the child. It's unfortunate that this is so. But it is. It seems to be what society wants from schools, and we are expected to do what we can as teachers. We don't have any choice, at least not any real one. We have to do it. (3/2/79)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which summarizes the findings of the three research questions that guided this study. Next, I consider the implications of this study for continued research in related areas. Finally, I conclude the chapter and the dissertation with some reflective comments about the way that teacher-student relationships are perceived and how they affect human development.

Summary responses in the first section clarify the more salient findings of each question. In the responses to the first two questions, I comment further on some aspects of the interpretation of the findings as they were presented in the previous chapter. In this section, however, much attention is devoted to a detailed consideration of the third research question. Here I examine the adequacy of ethnomethodology as a research approach in an educational setting. The examination focuses on the strengths and limits of the approach, as they were revealed in this study. Some of the conclusions of the first two questions are also included, and are discussed in relation to the methodology.

The First Question: Dimensions of Awareness

The first question inquired about the dimensions of critical awareness in teachers regarding their relationships with students in the learning environment. An interpretation of the findings disclosed two coherent themes in the teachers' thinking: the purpose of their relationships, and the manner in which they related. The process of documentation utilized Macdonald's notion of substantive and formative aspects of schooling as a way to represent the unities of thought about these themes. Thus "substance" and "form" constituted the two dimensions of awareness in teachers' perspectives. The substantive dimension contained the patterns of awareness that teachers expressed about the purpose of their relationships. The formative dimension depicted the patterns of awareness about the manner in which teachers perceived their interactions with students.

In the documentation process, the patterns in each dimension were constructed as polar qualities, in order to reflect the limits of the contrasting views that teachers expressed in their thinking. Within these polar qualities, a profile emerged. This profile represented the general direction of thinking along the continuum of the aspects. The profile indicated that teachers in this study were firmly and consistently committed to the development of students as productive group members. In their view, this purpose was best accomplished in settings that reflected a preference

for traditional teaching orientations, through interactions with children that were one-sided, and in ways that permitted both involvement and detachment on the part of the teacher. In other words, teachers, as agents of the community, considered it necessary to control and direct the activities of children, their interests, and the content of their learning, to help them develop as productive workers.

When contrasting perspectives were introduced into the awareness of teachers, they were often perceived as undesirable, rather than as alternatives or possibilities. One thing was clear, teachers were unwilling or unable to suspend their belief in a reality that provided security and stability for them in their work settings. While many parts of this reality were unsettling at times, the reality itself was quite fixed and provided a framework for their everyday actions.

What stood out to me as significant in regard to the process of awareness in teachers in this study, was the contrast it provides to Freire's (1973) description of the critically conscious person. What Freire considered essential to the process of critical awareness was a willingness to view reality as problematic, not something given to us by others. He also found important the qualities of depth of thought, capacity to argue without distortion or preconceived notions, an acceptance of responsibility, and rejection of the passive position.

The teachers in this study engaged in conversations about their relationships with much vigor and openness. The understanding of the purpose for their relationships, however, remained for the teachers as something unchanging and externally determined. It is here that the contrast to Freire (1973) became clear. Teachers viewed themselves as responsive to the community's expectations. Thus, the reasons they gave for their actions were often based on assumptions about what was expected of them. They did not seem to test these assumptions, or even to question them deeply. Instead, the teachers indicated a view of themselves as professionals who were accountable to others in the community, rather than in dialogue with them. Interestingly, the teachers in this study generally appeared to expect the same kind of passive stance from the students with whom they related in their work settings. As a result, there appeared only sporadic indications that teachers in this study encouraged children to enter into relationships in ways that were most suitable personally, to engage in questioning and criticism of what they learned, or to develop the capacity to make individual choices about meaningful educational activities.

The Second Question: The Developmental Significance of Relationships

The second question inquired into the assumptions that teachers make about the significance of their relationships

with regard to the student's development as a person. Much
rhetoric was evident in the teachers' responses to this
question. Concern was expressed about the importance of
character, of morals, of values, in the student's develop-
ment. When pressed to examine their understanding of devel-
opment from these perspectives, however, the teachers responded
in a vague and speculative manner. Very few teachers were
either aware of, or attached any particular significance to,
the importance of their relationships upon the personal devel-
opment of the student. For example, some teachers expressed
the belief that teachers are no longer as influential as they
once were. Or, they maintained the assumption that as teach-
ers they were influential only on a day-to-day basis, in an
imitative way.

When teachers did acknowledge the potential influence
of their relationships, they discounted their responsibility
for contributing to the significance. For instance, some
described their influence as natural. Others explained it
as something that "just happens," and therefore, not able
to be changed by them. A few teachers noted the similarity
of their roles as teachers to those of parents. However,
even these teachers observed firmly that the focus of their
relationships was rightfully directed toward the development
of the student as a productive group worker.

In my view, there was much about this question that
remained to be answered. Given the parameters of this study,

it was a difficult task for me to reveal a totally compre-
hensive picture of teachers' views about the significance of
their relationships with students. One reason for this dif-
ficulty related to the technique of raising questions about
firmly held beliefs. Often, we act from beliefs that are
only tacitly experienced. When we try to make these beliefs
sensible to others, we may encounter contradictions in our
thinking, or an abiding unawareness of just what our beliefs
may be. Possible responses to questions that confront such
assumptions or beliefs included a reliance on familiar
rhetoric, an expression of the felt confusion, or a discount-
ing of the question.

I value the critical examination of our thoughts and
actions and consider it to be an essential human endeavor.
Further, I actively seek ways to promote this among educators.
However, I also consider the responses teachers made to this
research question to be valid, at least from the perspec-
tives of the teachers. What I consider as necessary to
encourage a reflective stance toward beliefs, and a willing-
ness to suspend acceptance of them, is a relationship much
stronger than the one that existed between myself and the
teachers. The presence of such a relationship might engender
the degree of trust required for the task.

Another reason for the difficulty I encountered with
the question related to my own growing awareness of the com-
plex nature of human development. In order to examine

critically the developmental process through the ethnomethodological approach, it was necessary to share a view of the consequences of relationships upon development with the participants, and to construct questions about the meaning of these consequences. Clearly, this was not always available within the time limits of the study. As a result, the responses of teachers were often speculative and concerned with predictions about the future. Since both of these reasons were connected in some way to the adequacy of the research approach used in this study, I included a more detailed discussion of them, as well as other aspects of the first two questions, in the summary response to the third question.

<div align="center">

The Third Question:
Ethnomethodology as an Approach

</div>

The purpose of ethnomethodology is to disclose the generally unquestioned ways that people have for making their interactions with each other sensible. Also, the approach, with its qualitative orientation, gathers data for interpretation by attending to the personal responses that participants make to the technique of questioning them about what is "real." I wanted to examine the ways that some teachers were aware of their interpersonal relationships with students and the developmental significance they placed on these relationships. In addition, I wanted to do this in a manner that would support this focus and maintain the integrity of the

participants' perspectives. For these reasons, I chose to apply ethnomethodology as the research approach in this study. One constraint in my choice, however, was the fact that approaches such as ethnomethodology have only recently been used in education since generally educational research places emphasis on the more traditional quantitative models.

Several factors stood out to me as significant in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of the application of ethnomethodological approach in this study. Among the benefits were an opportunity to view the process of awareness in the participants and the opportunity for the participants to disclose responses in a way that was personally meaningful to them, within the parameter of a particular setting and time. To these, I would add as a benefit of the approach, a chance to reflect upon the complexity and subtlety of the process of personal development.

Some of the limits of the ethnomethodological approach included the great amount of personal energy and other resources that the method requires, the difficulty in raising concrete questions about speculative responses, and the investment of a point of view. I also considered time to be a significant factor in the effectiveness of the approach. However, I viewed it as both an advantage and a disadvantage. I will discuss it as it is relevant to the other factors.

Benefits of the Approach

The process of awareness. The process of awareness
that emerged through the questioning techniques could be char-
acterized by a lack of tension in thinking and an understand-
ing of relationships as functional and fixed. With few
exceptions, the substantive and formative dimensions that
teachers expressed through this research approach reflected
an avoidance of the tension created by the polarities.
Interestingly, it was this tension that many theorists consid-
ered most fruitful for critical interpretation, mindful
disquietude and productive synthesis (Freire, 1973; Greene,
1973; Perls, 1971). An example of this lack could be found in
the substantive dimension of awareness. The polar aspects
of this dimension that I identified in this study were group-
ness and individuality. As discussed previously, the teach-
ers in this study were very consistent in their view of
groupness as positive and individuality as negative. Few
teachers expressed views that differed from this awareness.

The length of time for the data collection, and for my
ongoing involvement with the participants, permitted exten-
sive opportunities for this factor to emerge. This was true
for the expression of a functional and fixed view of rela-
tionships as well. The coherence of this view of relation-
ships was evident through the continual process of asking
questions and engaging in dialogues with teachers. "Teacher"
and "student" were clearly defined identities, i.e., seem-
ingly quite real to the teachers. These identities reinforced

predetermined expectations and supported role-defined ways of acting. The significance of relationships was in part based on, and measured by, the level of proficiency that children achieved in academic skills. When teachers made sense of their relationships by viewing them as functional and role-defined, rather than personal and mutually involving, it was then possible for them to reflect upon the effectiveness of their relationships.

What this study did not disclose through its research method was the reason for these forms of awareness. Why were these teachers unwilling or uncomfortable in their expression of awareness when tension was introduced into their thinking? In what other way might teachers have been encouraged to examine "the other side" of their views? My initial thought in regard to the questions was that more time and alternate forms of inquiry were necessary for any valid response to occur. As an approach, ethnomethodology depends on a suspension of that which is taken for granted. In this study, however, and in others similar in design and population, care had to be given to the methods of suspension to insure that a degree of trust and a willingness to engage in dialogue would be possible for the participants. Without these conditions, questions such as those posed above cannot be effectively addressed.

The integrity of the personal response. For newer and deeper levels of human interactions to be possible, an

explication of the meanings that such interactions have to those persons involved in them is needed. In other words, how do we make our contact with others sensible? Many meanings are tacit and normally unquestioned by people. Ethnomethodology, with its focus on this concern, provides an invaluable process through which we may obtain insight.

While I conducted this study, I was interested in describing the process that teachers used to make relationships sensible. I was interested in how the "truth" is viewed, rather than discovering one particular "truth." Ethnomethodology gave me some freedom in the looking that I did, because I did not feel the need to prove or disprove some preconception concerning awareness about relationships. Meehan and Wood (1975) suggest this as well, when they write:

> Ethnomethodology is not concerned with the truth
> value of the statement of the world, except as phe-
> nomena. The focus of this research method is to
> describe and interpret the reality of the persons
> involved in the research. (p. 11)

Personal development as a complex process. As I conducted the research, and reflected on the process and what I have learned from it, I became aware of how significant the phenomenon of personal development is to me, both personally and professionally. The adoption of the ethnomethodological perspective in this study enabled me to examine closely some of the ways that people engaged in relationships with each other. In doing so, I gained some insight into the profound influence upon the direction of our human growth that relationships can have.

For example, as I observed and questioned the teachers about their interactions with children, and watched the responses that children made to teachers, I realized how subtle and complex the process of development is, and how our everyday attitudes permeate the process. To translate this process into theory is clearly a delicate task, whatever the perspective about development may be. Consider as illustrations, the social-psychological theories about personal development that have been constructed by Sullivan (1953) and Erikson (1968). Other theories about development that come to mind include Kohlberg's (1976) conceptualization of moral reasoning as a cognitive developmental process, and Piaget's (1973) construction of stages to describe cognitive development in children and adolescents. Although the conceptual focus in each of these illustrations is different, what is required in all for the construction of a descriptive etiology is patience, commitment, and clarity of perspective.

I have learned much from this method of inquiry, particularly in regard to the impact that humans can have on each other as we interact with many people over periods of time. I am curious about the influence of this impact on the direction and degree of personal development. In my judgment, this is as valuable to explore as an etiology is to construct.

Limitations of the Approach

Personal energy and other resources. While this par-
ticular approach was limited in obvious ways, which include
staff and funding, I consider the large amount of personal
energy I expended as I conducted the study to be a most fun-
damental limitation to me. Personal energy refers to my
capacity to maintain interest, concentration, and detachment
as I collected the data, refined themes, constructed ques-
tions, and, in general, utilized the resources available to
me. It refers also to the capacity to tolerate ambiguity and
tension that such a research endeavor can promote. Often,
this research required much time and attention from me. I
listened to tapes repeatedly, recorded conversations after
every visit, and began to refine and attempt to document
some patterns after the first month. In addition, I believe
that it was necessary for me to keep up with reading and
other forms of personal inquiry about the process in order
to maintain a view that was reflective of some interpretive
stance, rather than simply an echo of the participants. All
of these activities required the energy of my thoughts and
actions for an extended period of time.

Although the limitations were clear, I viewed this
effort as an opportunity for me to develop competence as a
researcher, progress in my own education, and to do both in
a way that held personal meaning for me. Therefore, I
believe that my personal energy, while used extensively

and with a lack of continued external supports, was productive.

I also want to comment on the importance of a shared perspective, and how it can favorably affect this factor. The ethnomethodological research approach calls for the researcher to assume an unknowing or theoretical interest in everyday reality among people. Thus, what is observed should be questioned as though it is alien or unfamiliar to the researcher's experience of reality. Attempting to do this in the public schools in this society becomes quite difficult without some assistance. The experience of schooling is something that we have all shared in some ways. As such, we are very familiar with the everyday notions of reality about schooling. Working together with others is one way of broadening the perspective and insuring against some forms of research "blindness." A shared perspective would provide added strength to the approach.

Concrete questions about speculations. One vital aspect of the ethnomethodological approach is the ability to raise questions about everyday interactions, or the consequences of the interactions. It is necessary that the questions are oriented to an observable situation and inquire as concretely as possible. Personal development, however, is a slow, often tacit process, the result of continuous interactions with many persons over a long period of time. In order to clarify the understanding of the teachers in this study

in regard to development and their influence on it, I
attempted to focus on particular interactions as elements
of development. When considered together, I viewed these
elements as constituting one comprehensive entity of devel-
opment. This is similar to the illustration that Polanyi
(1967) offers about proximal and distal forms of knowing.
He uses the analogy of a face to elaborate upon his meaning.
We know the face (distal) by an awareness of its various
parts (proximal). Yet, taken by themselves, the individual
parts would not be understood as meaningful. What I tried to
accomplish through my method of questioning, was to elicit
the assumptions that teachers made about the entire process
of development (distal knowledge), by examining single ele-
ments or interactions (proximal knowledge). I discovered
that I could not make the entire process of development sen-
sible with the teacher, by examining very few of the elements
out of context. When I inquired into the consequences of
certain interactions upon development, the responses that
teachers offered were speculative, and either past or future
oriented. Thus, we could not share completely the experience
of influence in the present.

Although it was my intention to disclose the assump-
tions that the teachers in this study made about the signif-
icance of their influence upon the development of persons,
my efforts produced limited insights into the research con-
cern. The length of time for the study appears to have

influenced this factor. Also influential was the view that teachers had of themselves as agents of the community. As agents, teachers were aware of a need to act responsively to the community's decisions about children's development. Therefore, any consideration of their choice to be involved in the process, or to seriously question it, was not viewed as realistic. The issue was less problematic to them than how to effectively maintain the community's regard and support.

To examine the thinking that teachers expressed about their influence on the phenomenon of "personal development" for only three months does not approach the integrity of the phenomenon. Nor could it. If this research concern were to be examined again, I would formulate the question from a different research perspective—one that did not require so many questions and so much talking. One possibility that comes to mind at this time is the exploration of awareness through the aesthetic dimension. Creative forms of language, such as art and movement, are very powerful modes of expression. As Greene (1979) pointed out, these, too, are forms of reading and speaking in which literacy is necessary. How eloquent we might become if given the opportunity to express what is possible, and personally real, without the primacy of words. This approach might be further enhanced by the establishment of a small, ongoing group of other, equally curious teachers who seek ways to disclose what is personally meaningful to them.

Another possibility for an expansion of inquiry into
the issue of personal growth is the use of literary forms
such as novels, short stories, or drama. These and other
art forms, such as film, address the need for sensitive and
reflective inquiry from a personal perspective. Again, I
would consider the support of a group of involved persons
necessary to enhance the reflective process. Insights could
be shared. Meaning could be expressed by the creation of a
personal art form, for example, poetry or painting, or by
a commitment to try and integrate professional activities
with the new awareness that may emerge as a result of the
process.

The investment of a point of view. Ethnomethodology
requires a disinterest in any particular truth, or reality.
What is paramount in this approach is a disclosure of how
the reality of social interactions is constructed by the
participants. Thus, this approach, much like others, requires
the researcher to put aside any preconceived biases or opin-
ions about either what is real or what ought to be real. It
is clear that this process is essential to the efficacy of
the research effort. It is necessary if the integrity of
the phenomenon is to be approached with a minimum of percep-
tual distortion. Ethnomethodological approaches require
this suspension in order to disclose the phenomenological
meaning, rather than one perspective, however broad the per-
spective may be.

I experienced some reservations about this as I became more familiar with ethnomethodology through its application in this study. These reservations include some question about the desirability of neutrality toward people and their interactions and the supposed disinterest of the researcher in any one particular truth or perspective. I understand and support the desirability of assuming a neutral stance, as observations are made, and research techniques are applied. However, human activity does not appear to be easily neutralized. In my view, the decisions that a researcher must make about the nature of the inquiry and the significance of the findings should not be conducted in a neutral manner. When we conduct inquiries into human phenomena we cannot detach ourselves totally from the perspective of reality that we bring to the encounter. Nor should we. For it is these perspectives that reflect our values and our beliefs about the human condition.

My own views about what is desirable, sensible, provocative in my own thinking about the phenomenon were presented in the first chapter. Certainly, the recognition and acknowledgment of my investment in the perspective that I expressed enables me to establish boundaries between my thoughts and the research process. How do I know, however, that the integrity of a phenomenon has been disclosed, rather than a perspective about it? How can any researcher come to that point, when an essential part of the process

is the inclusion of personal thoughts and interpretations?
These thoughts may, indeed, possess the qualities of rigor,
substance, insight. But are they not influenced and made
sensible by the time, the setting, the tacit beliefs of the
researcher, much in the way that the perspectives of the par-
ticipants are thought to be?

Ethnomethodologists, such as Garfinkel (1967), claim
to be detached from the ownership of any one truth. As I
reflect on my experience, I arrive at a different conclusion.
In my view, when researchers use ethnomethodology to disclose
the process of making interactions sensible, they are choos-
ing a particular stance in regard to "truth" or reality.
How else could they make a choice?

The fact that this research approach has developed is
due to a commitment to some belief about either what is or
what ought to be. As I understand it, ethnomethodology
reflects the belief that achieving clarity about the con-
struction of reality, and possessing the ability to raise
questions about its content and its impact on our shared
lives, is something to be valued. And, indeed, it is.

Finally, I want to comment on the importance of making
connections between the findings of studies such as this one
and perspectives of educational theorists whose writings
reflect similar themes. One example that comes to mind,
in light of the findings of this study, is an analysis by
Apple (1975) of the nature of conflict and the hidden

curriculum. Apple approached the issue of tacit acceptance
of forms of reality from a theoretical examination rather
than an applied form of inquiry. Also, his focus was on the
forms of rationality that are unquestioningly internalized
by the student, rather than the teacher. However, his dis-
cussion of the powerful and tacit influence that basic and
preference rules have in the organization of school activi-
ties provided a significant frame of reference for the find-
ings of this study.

Basic rules are like the rules of a game. They are the
parameters in which action takes place. These relate to the
substantive dimension of awareness in teachers. Preference
rules are the choices that one has within the parameters of
the game. These relate to the formative dimension of aware-
ness. These basic rules, by which the student learns how to
adjust to conditions, are rarely questioned in schools
and are, in fact, strongly reinforced by the hidden curric-
ulum. So, too, the unquestioning belief that teachers in
this study expressed about their roles as the community's
agents and the importance of children being productive mem-
bers of the group.

Preference rules, on the other hand, permit more freedom
to question. However, as Apple suggested, the questions do
not confront the parameters of the game. Instead, they pro-
vide choices among a range of activities. The formative dimen-
sion of awareness exhibits a similar quality. Teachers were

able to express greater flexibility in their views about how they interacted with children, especially with regard to their involvement and detachment, without questioning the assumptions they held about the substance of their actions.

The literature regarding this methodology indicates that ethnomethodological approaches concentrate on an explication of how interactions are made sensible. They do not dwell very much on the content of these interactions. This is consistent with the purpose of this approach, as established by Garfinkel and associates (1967).

In social settings, such as education, where the quality of our shared lives is a concern, it is important for research efforts to increase knowledge and insights about this quality. Ethnomethodology contributes much to our understanding of the process of the personal response. In my judgment, however, we will gain a great deal more from the looking that we do, if we sharpen and strengthen our points of view, our values, instead of standing apart from them.

In summary, I found ethnomethodology to be a helpful and valuable approach to my research questions, when it provided a way to describe the process of awareness that teachers expressed about their relationships with students. A particular strength of the approach, with its phenomenological perspective, was its regard for the integrity of the personal response to reality that teachers in the study offered. The use of field study techniques supported the

establishment of relationships with the participants. The
teachers were generally willing to support my inquiry into
their awareness of ordinarily unquestioned interactions with
students. This structure of inquiry also provided time for
reflection. To be involved as an insider, and then to step
back from the setting and observe it as an outsider, were
both necessary for the interpretive stage of documentation.

The study was limited in several ways. A great amount
of personal energy was required of me as I collected and
interpreted data. This factor would have been strengthened
by the addition of supports, such as other staff members.
The study was limited by other factors as well. These
include the speculative nature of personal development, the
difficulty in viewing this development as an entity, and the
methodological requirement to remain detached from any one
particular value position.

Further Research Implications

Further research efforts that possess a similar struc-
ture and focus would benefit from modifications in the
research approach, and in doing so would insure effective
use of human and other resources. One modification would
call for a shared perspective as the data is collected and
interpreted. Another would require a focus that was more
narrow and concrete, and therefore, more amenable to observa-
tion. A third modification would call for the use of a

multifaceted approach as suggested by the CNS study (1973a) on teacher-student relationships in an alternative high school. This approach, which was described in more detail in a previous chapter, advocated the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data. Each could be used in ways most appropriate to the needs of the particular research question. These modifications could provide a comprehensive view of a phenomenon, while regarding as well the validity of the subjective experience.

Other possibilities for research appear to be fruitful as a result of the efforts in this study. The possibilities that come to mind now include inquiry into awareness from various perspectives and relationships in different settings.

One very important perspective that was not included in this study is that of the student. How does the student make relationships with teachers sensible? Does s/he accept them as defined by the teacher? Are there ways to clarify the issue of personal development by examining the process from the point of view of the student?

A similar study might be attempted with teachers in other levels of public schools and in private schools. For example, high school is considered to be less familial than the primary school environment. How would teachers in this environment view the substantive dimensions of their relationships with students? Would the formative dimension

contain the same polar qualities? If not, how would they differ? Do teachers in private schools express similar patterns of thinking? What degree and direction of support do they perceive from the community? How does this affect the kinds of assumptions they might express about the significance of their relationships upon the student's development as a person?

Ethnomethodological approaches are potentially valuable with persons who respond to each other according to the social construction of their shared reality. In view of this, I would value considerations of persons in multi-aged relationships and relationships of people in other work settings. I would be interested in exploring the reality of relationships that occur within families, among people who are old and young. What differences in awareness might be observed among people who have experienced the process of maturity and those who possess youth and its promise? Are relationships in families or other intimate communities syntaxic, as discussed in Chapter I, along with Sullivan's other levels of communications? Or are they sometimes based on roles, images, and predetermined expectations?

Collegial relationships is another area that would be productive to examine through further research. What influence do the factors of hierarchy, status, expertise have on the ability of professionals to engage in relationships in their work setting? How can relationships that are

constructed for the purpose of supporting and enhancing the effectiveness of a system be characterized?

If we desire a change in substance or direction of the relationships we engage in with our children, or with other persons, then we must consider ways of looking that support our shared perspective. I believe that we need to continue to examine and analyze ethnomethodology and other qualitative approaches for the contributions to this desire for change that such approaches can make.

Personal Development: A Final Reflection

Rollo May (1979) observed recently that alienation is increasingly evident in both public and private responses to the current human existence. This is so, he noted, because of the emphasis in our culture upon efficiency and large systems. No longer are individuals required to be personally responsible for their actions. Paradoxically, the energy, the indignation, the concern that might be experienced if this issue were to be critically examined often serves to heighten the sense of helplessness. Thus, indifference grows as a means of protection. In order to retain personal dignity and, along with it, some sense of freedom, something called "the human potential movement" has developed and is flourishing in many forms, according to May (1979).

The current emphasis in the human potential movement is on individuality. Persons are encouraged to view themselves as unique, unlike any other. Becoming a person is

sometimes connected with the development of individuality.
Thus, the term "person" becomes synonymous with "individual";
and each is interchangeable with the other.

Dai (1979) points out that being able to become familiar
with who we are as individuals, and to accept our talents
and our limits, enables us to turn outward and become a per-
son in relation to the world. I agree with this and believe
that developing the qualities we possess as individuals does
much to enhance our development as persons. What is also
clear to me is that differences exist between the meanings
of these terms. Merton (1965) expresses an understanding of
these differences, as he observed:

> Personalism and individualism must not be confused. . . .
> To give priority to the person means respecting the
> value of the other person, as well as one's own, for
> a respect that is centered only on one's individual
> self, to the exclusion of others, proves itself to be
> fraudulent. (p. 17)

Personal development, in Merton's view, is built on basic
social relationships that, when carried out humanely, develop
the human potential of each person in relation to others.
The belief that we can cultivate happiness by discarding
personal responsibility results in the diminishment of our-
selves and our capacity for freedom. Yet, this idea persists.

This alienation from personal responsibility is present
in many forms of our culture, one of which is schooling. It
is not uncommon to realize that institutions such as schools
actively subordinate the personal aspects of human life to
the functional ones. This illustrates what MacMurray (1961)

refers to as "the crisis of the personal." According to him, this crisis is cultural because it profoundly alters relationships among persons.

The crisis consists of a growing appeal to external authorities to determine what is to be valued and an unwillingness to assume personal responsibility for our actions. MacMurray (1957) believed further that habits of self-examination will be lost because the knowledge that could be gained from the activity is, less and less, an aspect of meaningful action. The basic tenet of Macmurray's position is: "All meaningful knowledge is for the sake of action. All meaningful action is for the sake of friendship" (p. 15). When I think about this, in relation to the crisis of the personal, a fairly depressing question emerges. If we are no longer personally responsible for the renewal of our common world, then what is the point of encouraging teachers to maintain a sensitive and abiding commitment to the development of persons to live in it?

In light of this question, one assumption that I could make is that teachers, like many other persons, experience the same sense of alienation and helplessness that have been described by May (1979) and MacMurray (1961). Therefore, the expectation that they could or would choose to attempt to affect the substance and direction of our human growth, even if they were well supported in the attempt, would be an unrealistic one.

Another assumption, one that I much prefer to make, is that teachers are potentially very powerful persons, because they are among those closest to the process of human growth. Teachers engage in relationships with children on an everyday basis. When they do this, whether consciously or not, they affect the possibilities that children perceive for themselves as persons. Thus, examining what is real for teachers requires our support, our attention, and our commitment.

Perhaps this assumption will permit us to believe, along with Greene (1979) that:

> Schoolpeople, most especially, have to take responsibility for creating situations in which young persons will be enabled to connect what they are learning to the search "anyone would undertake if he were not sunk in the everydayness of his own life." This is the search that prepares the individual to discover his/her own vision, his/her own voice. (p. 635)

Inherent in this belief are many risks. But, within any risk, there is also the possibility of hope.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apple, M. The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. In W. Pinar (Ed.), Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1975.

Bailey, K. Methods of social research. New York: The Free Press, 1978.

Becker, H., & Geer, B. A discussion of interviewing techniques. In G. McCall & J. Simmins (Eds.), Issues in participant observation. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. The social construction of reality. New York: Anchor Books, 1966.

Berlak, A., & Berlak, H. A review essay: Beyond surface curriculum: An interview study of teachers' understandings. St. Louis, Mo.: Webster College, 1976.

Biddle, B., & Ellena, W. Contemporary research on teacher effectiveness. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

Bidwell, C. Schools as organizations. In J. Marsh (Ed.), Handbook of organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Bruyn, S. Human perspective in sociology. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Bussis, A., Chittendon, E., & Amarel, M. Beyond surface curriculum. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1975.

Carini, P. Observation and description: An alternative methodology for the investigation of human phenomena. Grand Forks: North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation, 1975.

Center for New Schools. You can talk to teachers: Student-teacher relationships in an alternative high school. Chicago: Author, 1973. (a)

Center for New Schools. The CNS Evaluation Model. Chicago: Author, 1973. (b)

Chapman, A. H.   Harry Stack Sullivan: The man and his work.
    New York: G. D. Putnam's Sons, 1976.

Chapman, A. H.   Treatment techniques of Harry Stack Sullivan.
    New York: Bruner Mazel, 1978.

Cicourel, A.   Cognitive sociology.   London: Macmillan,
    1973.

Clark, C., & Yinger, R.   Research on teachers' thinking.
    Curriculum Inquiry, 1977, 7(4), 279-304.

Combs, A.   Perceiving, behaving, becoming.   Washington, D.C.:
    Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development,
    1962.

Combs, A., Blume, R., Newman, A., & Wass H.   The professional
    education of teachers: A humanistic approach to teacher
    preparation.   Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965.

Cottingham, H.   Two missing components in teacher education.
    Unpublished manuscript, 1973.   (Available from Dept.
    of Counselor Education, College of Education, Florida
    State University).

Dai, B.   Interpersonal approaches in the therapeutic rela-
    tionship.   Paper presented at A.S.U. Symposium on Love
    and Healing, Boone, North Carolina, 1979.

Dienstfry, H.   Outside the expected.   Urban Review,
    1968, 3(1), 26-27.

Engel, B.   A handbook on documentation.   Grand Forks: North
    Dakota Study Group on Evaluation, 1975.

Erikson, E.   Identity: Youth and crisis.   New York: Wm.
    Norton and Co., 1968.

Filmer, P.   On Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.   In
    P. Filmer, M. Silberman, J. Walsh, & M. Philipson (Eds.),
    New directions in sociological theory.   Cambridge, Mass.:
    MIT Press, 1974.

Flanders, N.   Teacher influence, pupil attitudes and achieve-
    ment.   Washington, D. C.:   U. S. Dept. of Health Educa-
    tion and Welfare, 1965.

Flanders, N.   Analyzing teaching behavior.   Reading, Mass.:
    Addison-Wesley, 1970.

Freire, P.   Pedagogy of the oppressed.   New York: Herder
    and Herder, 1970.

Freire, P. Education for critical consciousness. New York: Seabury Press, 1973.

Garfinkel, H. Studies in ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall,11967.

Geertz, C. The interpretation of culture. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Getzels, J., & Jackson, P. The teacher's personality and characteristics. In N. L. Gage (Ed.), Handbook of research in teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Glickman, C. Unraveling the hidden curriculum. Education: Winter, 1976, 97(2),192-198.

Greene, M. Teacher as stranger. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1973.

Greene, M. Cognition, consciousness and curriculum. In W. Pinar (Ed.), Heightened consciousness, cultural revolution and curriculum theory. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1974.

Greene, M. Landscapes of learning. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1978.

Greene, M. Liberal education and the newcomer. Kappan, 1979, 60(9), 633-636.

Gumpert, P., & Gumpert, C. The teacher as Pygmalion: Comments on the psychology of expectation. Urban Review, 1968, 3(1), 20-24.

Hall, G. Ethnographers and ethnographic data: An iceberg of the first order for the research manager. Paper presented at meeting of American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, 1978.

Husserl, E. The idea of phenomenology. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.

An interview with Thomas Mansfield. Urban Review, 1968, 3(1), 27-29.

Jackson, P. Life in the classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Kliebard, H. Metaphorical roots of curriculum design. In W. Pinar (Ed.), Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1975.

Kluckhorn, F. The participant observer technique in small communities. American Journal of Sociology, November 1940, 46, 331-343.

Koffman, F. Model building research: A conceptualization of the nursery school teacher as doer. Doctoral dissertation, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1974.

Kohlberg, L. The cognitive-developmental approach to moral education. In D. Purpel & K. Ryan (Eds.), Moral education . . . It comes with the territory. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1976.

Lao-tzu. Tao Te Ching. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

Lippett, R., & Gold, M. Classroom social structure as a mental health problem. In M. Silberman (Ed.), The experience of schooling. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1971.

Lortie, D. Schoolteacher: A sociological survey. Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1975.

Macdonald, J. B. The quality of everyday life in schools. In J. B. Macdonald & E. Zaret (Eds.), Schools in search of meaning. Washington, D. C.: A.S.C.D., 1975.

Macdonald, J., Wolfson, B., & Zaret, E. Reschooling society: A conceptual model. Washington, D. C.: A.S.C.D., 1973.

Macmurray, J. The self as agent. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1957.

Macmurray, J. Persons in relation. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1961.

Magoon, A. J. Constructivist approaches in educational research. Review of Educational Research, 1977, 47(4), 651-693.

Marland, P. W. A study of teachers' interactive thoughts. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1977.

May, R. Values and freedom. Paper presented at National Group Leaders' Conference, Chicago, April 1979.

McCall, G. Data quality control in participant observation. In G. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

McCall, G., & Simmons, J. L. Issues in participant observa-
    tion. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

McCleary, R. Introduction. In M. Merleau-Pointy, Signs. Chi-
    cago: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1964.

Meehan, H., & Wood, H. Reality of ethnomethodology. New
    York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Merleau-Pointy, M. Signs. Chicago: Northwestern Univ. Press,
    1964.

Merton, T. The way of Chuang Tzu. New York: New Direc-
    tions, 1965.

Morine, G., & Vallence, E. A study of teacher and pupil
    perceptions of classroom interactions. B.T.E.S. tech-
    nical report 75-11-6. San Francisco: Far West Lab.
    for Educational Research and Development, 1975.

Myers, R. E., & Torrence, E. P. Can teachers encourage
    creative thinking? Educational Leadership, 1961,
    19(3), 156-159.

Patton, M. Alternative evaluation research paradigm. Grand
    Forks: North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation, 1975.

Pelto, D. Anthropological research: The structure of
    inquiry. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Perls, F. Gestalt therapy verbatim. New York: Bantam
    Books, 1971.

Piaget, J. To understand is to invent. New York: Grossman
    Publishing, 1973.

Polanyi, M. The tacit dimension. New York: Anchor Books,
    1967.

Purkey, W. Self-concept and school achievement. Englewood
    Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Purkey, W. Inviting school success: A self-concept approach
    to teaching and learning. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.:
    Prentice-Hall, 1978.

Rist, R. Student social class and teacher expectations:
    The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education.
    Harvard Education Review, 1970, 40(5), 411-451.

Rist, R. Ethnographic techniques and the study of an urban school. _Urban Education_, 1975, _10_(1), 86-106.

Rosenthal, R., & Jacobsen, L. _Pygmalion in the classroom._ New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

Ryans, D. _Characteristics of teachers._ Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1960.

Schutz, A. _On phenomenology and social relations._ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Schutz, A. _Collected papers I: The problem of social reality._ The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.

Silberman, M. _The experience of schooling._ New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971.

Sullivan, H. S. _The interpersonal theory of psychiatry._ New York: Norton, 1953.

Turner, J. _The structure of sociological theory._ Illinois: Dorsey, 1978.

Turner, R. _Ethnomethodology._ Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974.

Urban Review. An interview with Thomas Mansfield. September 1968, 3:1, 27-29.

Vidich, A. Participant observation and collection and interpretation of data. In M. Franklin & L. Osborne (Eds.), _Research methods: Issues and insights._ Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1971.

Waller, W. _The sociology of teaching._ New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967. (Originally published 1932)

Watauga-Avery-Mitchell-Yancey (Counties). Unpublished survey of high school graduates, Spruce Pine, N.C., 1970.

Wax, R. _Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice._ Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971.

Wilson, S. The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. _Review of Educational Research_, 1977, _47_ (2), 245-265.

Wolcott, H. Ethnographic research methods. In R. Jaeger
     (Ed.), Alternative methodologies in educational research
     (tape series). Washington, D.C.: American Educational
     Research Association, 1979.

Zahorik, J. The effect of planning on teaching. The Ele-
     mentary School Journal, 1970, 71(3), 143-151.

Appendix A

The Interview

<u>Preliminary Questions</u>

1. Background Information

    a. How many years have you taught?
    b. What is the age range of the children you have
        taught?
    c. How many years have you taught in this school?
    d. Please indicate your degrees, or your level of
        educational preparation.

2. Briefly describe your classroom. How is the setting
    organized with regard to materials and activities?

3. How do the children become involved in these activities?

<u>Involvement with Children Through Materials and Activities</u>

1. With regard to the learning promoted through your instruc-
    tional interactions, which material(s) from among those
    you currently use would you consider essential to your
    teaching?

2. Do you expect the children you teach to make any personal
    decisions about their learning? If so, how do you pro-
    mote them in your instruction?

3. How do you think the children handle the choices they
    make?

4. In your view, what would be the consequence of develop-
    ing instructional activities based on the needs and
    interests of individual children in your class?

5. If you had no restrictions, what changes would you con-
    sider making in what you teach to children? In how you
    teach children?

<u>Personal Interactions</u>

1. How do you come to know the children you teach?

2. When you interact with any particular child in your class,
    are you aware of any new discoveries or new knowledge that
    you gain personally as a result of the interaction?
    Would you give some examples?

3. Characterize a personal dimension that you consider to be an asset in making contact with children.

4. Are you aware of any ways that you influence the children you teach? If so, what are some ways that you might utilize the influence?

5. Would you describe a difficult experience you have had with a child who would not or could not learn. How would you change the relationship between the two of you?

Appendix B

Additional Interviews with the Three Main Participants

Theme: Development

1. What does "development" mean to you?

2. Do you place more value on some kinds of development than on others? Please elaborate on this.

3. How much influence do you try to have on a child's development?

4. Describe the ways your interactions might influence a child's development.

5. What does "development as a person" mean to you? What emphasis is placed on this in your interactions with various children?

Theme: Difference

1. How do you approach the exceptionalities that you are aware of in various children? Please elaborate on this.

2. What function do categories of exceptionalities, e.g., gifted/talented, learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, have in your interactions with children?

3. How does identification by these categories benefit the child as a person?

4. There is much emphasis placed on getting along with others. In your view, what does this mean?

Theme: Cooperation/Competition

1. Please discuss the place of competition among your students. How does this function in relation to cooperation?

2. If you minimize one, do you maximize the other? Please elaborate.

3. In your view, how do these qualities influence the personal development of your students?

4. Should all children be exposed to the same materials and activities? What are the advantages? The disadvantages?

Theme: Thinking

1. In what ways does your setting promote curiosity among the children?

2. In your view, is the development of thinking a basic skill? If so, how do you meet this need through your interactions with children?

3. What priority do you place upon actively inquiring about the thinking of particular children in your setting? Please elaborate.

4. How do you inquire into the thinking that children do?

Theme: Relationships with Individual Children

1. Whom would you want to teach again next year? Why?

2. What child in your setting are you least prepared to talk about right now? Why do you think this is so?

3. Whom would you remove from your room if you could? Why?

4. Who, in your setting, has developed most from your interaction? Please elaborate.