University of Southampton

The Initial Training of

Modern Language Teachers:

A Social Theoretical Approach.

In Two Volumes: Volume 2

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List of Contents

Appendices

iv

List of Figures

<u>Synopsis</u>

<u>Chapter 5: Level 2</u>

<u>Data Analysis: Mapping the Field</u>

This chapter represents the critical core of the thesis and is made up of the second stage of the 3-level methodological approach adopted. The structure of the field of training is given in terms of Site, Time and Agency. In effect, this means locating students in particular times and places, and in relation to those involved, and examining what happens to them, their thoughts and feelings. A number of 'dilemmas' deriving from this analysis are offered, and some consideration given to why students respond to these in the way that they do. It is suggested that the outcome from these events are conditioned by the interaction between significant elements in students' background and character', and the concrete practice and ideas that surround them. Examples of the essential characteristics of training are supplied.

Chapter 5

Level 2 : Data Analysis - Mapping the Field

Chapter 5: Content

5.1.1   Introduction
5.1.2   Level 1
5.1.3   Level 2
5.1.4   Level 3
5.2   Mapping the Field: Introduction
5.3.1   Pedagogic Habitus: Previous Language Learning
5.3.2   The Course
5.3.3   The Department
5.3.4   The Tutor
5.4   Summary

Chapter 5

Level 2: Data Analysis - Mapping the Field

'Someone is held responsible for providing
educational activities (sponsor); these activities
always involve consciously selected patterns
(procedures); someone is responsible for conducting
these activities (operative); of course those who
are to be helped in learning are always involved
(learners); and there is a constituency concerned
with the outcome of the educational activity
(constituents). These , then, are the integral
structural elements through which the educational
process is carried on. By looking carefully at
informed educational activities we are able to see
clearly the simple essential anatomy of education
unencumbered by the vast accretions which formal
schooling systems have added'.
(Chamberlin 1974: 120)

5.1 Introduction

The 3-level framework for analysis I set out in chapter 3
was derived from analogy with a scheme suggested by
Bourdieu for the study of 'fields'. I have argued that
teacher training should be regarded as a field and have
discussed the theoretical underpinning of this term along
with that of 'pedagogic habitus', which is again an
adaptation from Bourdieu. Both these concepts stress the
temporal, spatial, structural configurations immanent in
social practice. In conducting this research I have drawn
on this theory of practice by foregrounding temporal,
spatial dimensions whilst analyzing the data. I have also
noted that this approach to analysis is homomorphic to
the formation of professional teacher knowledge itself.

My discussion led to a 3-level approach to the data analysis:

5.1.2 Level 1

I have defined level 1 as an analysis of students, not so much in terms of their detailed biographies but as an expression of their thoughts, actions and experiences in the course of training. These were constructed initially as unanalysed, reflective case studies, one example of which is given in Appendix 3. The five 'stories' were told as best I could without presupposition or critical comment. The case studies included in this thesis are in the form of a 'critical' analysis of each student in training; especially in the main teaching practice term. The move, from uncritical to 'critical', alters the perspective of the writer and moves the author from a trainer's account of trainees' experiences towards a researcher's analysis of these. These two types of case studies form a level 1 analysis and are presented as a good ethnographic account of trainee teachers.

The purpose of the rest of the analysis is to move increasingly away from individual involvement, both of the particular trainee teachers and my association with them as individual subjectivities, and use what has been gained from analysis of these as a basis for a rigorous interrogation of the content, contexts and form of training.

5.1.3 Level 2

Level 2 has been referred to as the mapping of relations between positions occupied by agents who have authority within the field. Again, by not foregrounding authority, it is still possible to express teacher training as a structurally configured field. I shall do this by

discussing the forms of structure, both material and ideational, and giving examples of how these two are distinguishable but inseparable. Taking up the analysis from level 1, I shall then refer to the way individual student experiences can be expressed in terms of the constituent product of such inter-penetration. I shall go on to discuss how the situational context of students' training give rise to a number of dilemmas, which, although not always consciously expressed, form the foundational aspects of professional knowledge in exegesis, with all the indeterminacy that implies for consequent action. Finally, I shall move towards my level 3 analysis by discussing the morphological character of the field of training in descriptive terms.

5.1.4 Level 3

Level 3 will take up on this last point. Rather than simply describing the structure of the field, and giving representation to its operation in practice, this level will examine its function more critically. The intent here is less to express the field of training as a by-product and mirror of the field of education, although this issue is ultimately at stake, than to analyze in more detail the functioning of this particular part of its professional knowledge formation; namely modern language teaching. I hope to locate the critical areas of interaction between students and the field of training. Eventually, this will lead on to a consideration of the possible consequences of reshaping the field by reformulating its component parts; for example, as in the case of recent reforms in teacher training. I intend to express this in terms of the processes of teacher education, and thus highlight their essential nature.

The 3-level framework provided could be regarded in terms of a subjective/objective continuum, offering various readings of the same field content. In chapter 4 I worked through the subjective thoughts and experiences of students in training. In the first section of this chapter I move towards a more generalizable, objective account by describing the basic field of training through its structural components. I label these in diagrammatic form according to levels defined in terms of location and time.

The next section uses the concept of pedagogic habitus to explore how students experience training at these basic structural sites; and how this experience can be understood in terms of essential elements within their life histories. I go to some lengths to objectify examples of such elements in relation to their effect in practice at specific points in the field of training.

Next, I consider the course and the effects of the developmental stages of training over its duration. In particular, I refer to a number of dilemmas emergent in and consequential on the course structure and argue that the dimension of time is critical in understanding the ways students act to resolve them. Again, illustrative examples from the case studies are offered.

Finally, I focus on the main media for influence on students during training; namely, the departments in which they are located and the involvement of their university-based tutor.

These four sections thus deal with significant structural components within the field of training and begin to suggest how the epistemological framework I presented earlier can be used to interpret the empirical data.

5.2 Mapping the Field: Introduction

I earlier referred to the components of training –
content, site, programme, school experience, personal
interactions, etc. as a structured structure and
individual students' character as habitus, or a
structuring structure. Of course, in a real sense they
are both structuring *and* structured structures. I also
took some time to make clear the dynamic definition I
attribute to structure as, essentially, the basis of
sense activities. I have therefore warned against
reifying structure and taking a static view of its form.
It is time to demonstrate what such a dynamic view of
structure means in real terms in the present context.
Clearly, to link the various levels of analysis through
reference to 'homologies' does not give sufficient detail
to the content and representation of structure in the
case of modern languages teacher training. The present
chapter addresses this issue. I wish to begin with a
simple statement of teacher training, of those involved
and where, in basic structural terms.

We might regard training as consisting of two basic
elements, which I shall call Primary Structures: the
individual student, with all that entails in terms of
pedagogic habitus and consequent practice provoking
dispositions; and the content form of the course. For the
latter, there are two prime locations where students can
be situated; namely, the university and the school. These
I shall refer to as Secondary Structures; or spatially
specific sites of training activity. Each of these
represent multiple layers of activity with which students
may be interacting at any one time. These layers I shall
call Tertiary Structures. Thus:

SCHOOL

9. Society

8. Individualised Student Lives

7. Education Profession

6. Schools

5. Modern Language Departments

4. Classroom

3. Classes

2. Lessons

1. Teacher/ Pupil Interaction
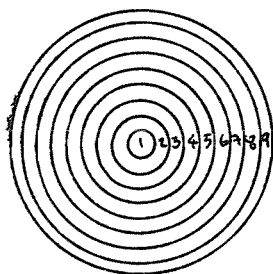
UNIVERSITY

1. Student/Colleague/ Trainer Interaction

2. Individual Course Sessions

3. Modern Language Programme

4. PGCE course

5. School of Education

6. University

7. Education Profession

8. Individual Student Lives

9. Society at Large

Figure 6: The Basic Structure of the Field of Training

Tertiary structures are representational levels of student existence from classroom to their outside lives. These tertiary structures or 'layers' do not exist in the abstract but are experienced to a greater or lesser extent at any one particular time. Moreover, the layers do not exist in isolation but are connected, and so should be understood in relational terms. Such connections, whether through printed material or face to face interaction, I shall call <u>Quaternary Structures</u>, and it is at these points, at any one time, that any individual, or individuals, is located.

Thus, the course of training might be expressed as:

<u>STRUCTURE OF THE FIELD</u>   **<u>COORDINATES</u>**

SPACE ───────────────── Macro

<u>Primary (1)</u>   Habitus ──────────── Course Structure

<u>Secondary (2)</u>   School   University   *TIME*

<u>Tertiary (3)</u>   Various Layers   Various Layers

<u>Quaternary (4)</u>   Points in Time for Individual Students

Micro

<u>Figure 7: Primary, Secondary, Tertiary and Quaternary Structures In Training</u>

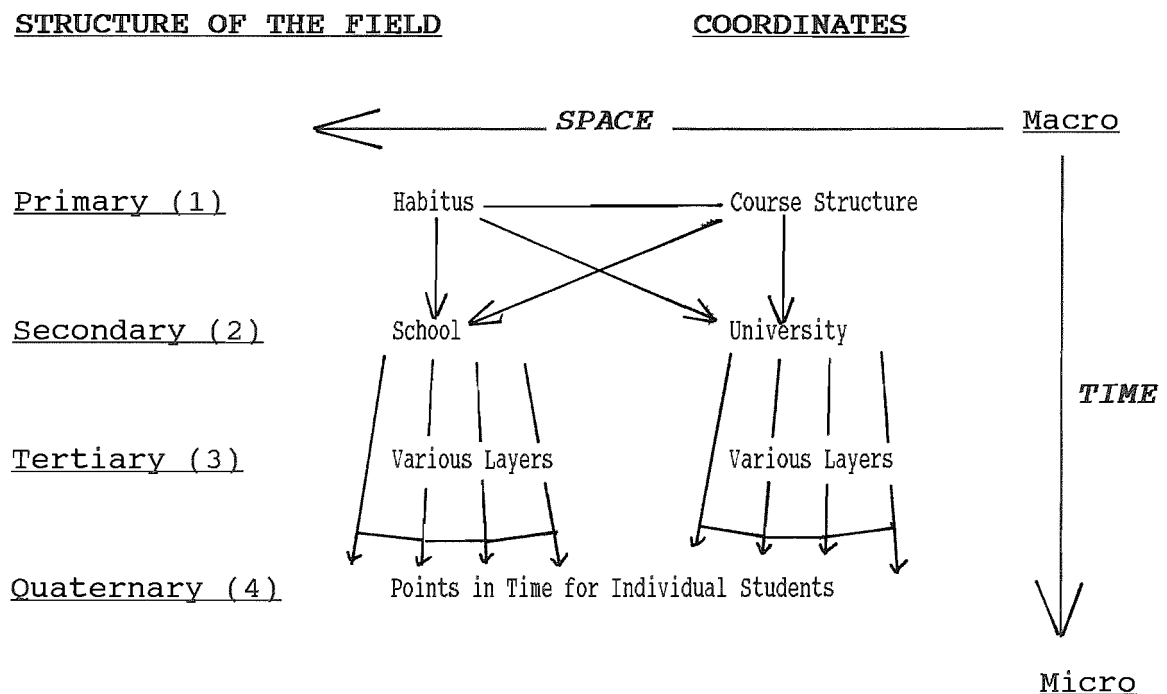Structure is temporally dependent; it can only be experienced in time, which is the 'horizon' (a Heideggerian term) of its coming into being at structural level 4. Tertiary structures are the located sites of activities; quaternary are the connections between these layers at any one time.

298

I set the schematic form of these structures as a guide
to the various points of analysis. It would be possible
to start an analysis from almost any one point in the
scheme. For example, in classroom observation, we are
concerned with the very heart of the two previous
diagrams: Teacher/ Pupil and Student/ Trainer interact.
It is simply a question of not losing sight of, and,
indeed in some ways attempting explanations in terms of
the constituent effects of the other layers. For an
individual student teacher placed in a school, the centre
of these diagrams is of the most acute concern, and I
have set out data relating to this, but I want also to
move outside this focus in order to explicate the other
areas of the structure, so that the constituent effects
of these can also be judged.

I shall first consider what I have referred to as
'pedagogic habitus', before looking at the other primary
structure: the course itself. Some of the former will
cover again certain aspects of the critical case studies.
However, in the present chapter I re-locate these aspects
much more explicitly in terms of the structural
'environment' in which they are situated. I analyze both
primary structures in terms of spatial, temporal
dimensions, and the effects these have on students and
the ideational forms immanent in their experience. It is
not ultimately possible to separate out the two primary
structures as they are mutually implicated. To refer to
habitus then only 'makes sense' within the structures of
the field. To refer to the structures of the field only
'makes sense' in terms of their constituent activity with
individual habitus. I previously referred to Bourdieu
stating that the relationship between field and habitus
exists as a kind of 'ontologic complicity'. What links
them is the notion of structure; both in a
phenomenological, differential sense, and the differences
between students, the make-up of the training course, and

the diverse situations, and thus experiences, it provides. It is, however, impossible to talk of habitus and field at one and at the same time: but to discuss one must be to connect with the other. Such an understanding is necessary if oblique linear determinism is to be avoided.

5.3.1 <u>Pedagogic Habitus</u>

I have used the notion of habitus to give an analytic
concept to the system of practice provoking dispositions
students possess. I use the term pedagogic habitus as a
concept that extends the meaning of the term to refer to
those aspects of individual thought and practice that are
more specifically involved in the practice of becoming a
teacher. Pedagogic habitus is one configuration of
habitus. The latter is totally implicated in the
pedagogic act. Pedagogic habitus is employed as a way of
retaining the dynamism of the term, but using it to
locate and situate constituent parts identified as having
a major influence on the practice of teaching. I have
argued that it is dynamic enough to avoid overt
determinism; for example, in the way that some writers
suggest that trainees teach in a certain way as a direct
result of specific biographic influences. The point of
using the term pedagogic habitus is that certain
dispositions are only realised in practice; in this case,
in the structural locations of training. It is less
important to give an account of personal predilections
and idiosyncrasies than to explicate student responses in
terms of particular habitus characteristics and their
actualization in practical situations. I want to discuss
pedagogic habitus in terms of two principal aspects
identified from the case studies; namely, <u>previous</u>
<u>language learning</u> and <u>professional experience</u>. The first
includes not only personal linguistic competence but
understanding about language and how it is taught. The
second is the foundational basis of general attitudes and
dispositions towards pupils and work. Although it is
necessary to give an account of these, a reading of them
needs to be set within the course context, as it is here
that particular influences are articulated. This was not
explicitly undertaken in my critical case studies. I see,
therefore, the present analysis as putting into sharper

relief not simply the significance of certain student characteristics in terms of pedagogic habitus but their significance in terms of the structural position they have articulated on the course. Moreover, the two, previous language learning and professional experience, interconnect and can, and do, mutually compensate each other in various practical situations.

5.3.1 Pedagogic Habitus: Previous Language Learning

When previous language learning is taken as a focus for identifying the occurrence of pedagogic habitus, two students appear as examples of 'weak' linguistic competence; Janet and Carol. Both experience related difficulties in training. It is tempting to make the claim that these difficulties were the result of students' linguistic weaknesses. However, a more careful study of the data in terms of the temporal, spatial dimensions of training indicate that the connections between this element of pedagogic habitus (linguistic competence) and subsequent experiences within the course of training are more complex spatially and more subtle temporally than a linear chain of cause and effect would allow. What follows are examples which illustrate how the structures on Figure 6 are manifested in practice (*).

(*) I shall indicate the structural position on the diagram by the following rubric:

> *University : U*
> *School   : S*
> *Layers   : 1 - 9*

Where significant, I shall also state the specific term of the year: autumn, spring, summer. I do this in order to be spatially, temporally specific; as a way of highlighting an event or characteristic, and its significance, without rendering the main text illegible through complicated codings.

In Janet's case study I referred to the way that her modest language skills undermined her confidence early on, partially initiating feelings of marginalisation, which contributed to her final disaffection. One result of her disengagement was to limit lesson planning to the formulaic. Although organising pupils and filling lessons, and providing enough mirror evidence to pass the course requirements, this allowed Janet to disconnect from an active relationship with methodology. In this case, Janet accepted the model lesson given in Layer 3 of the university structure above and applied it to Layer 2 of the school structures. In both sites, however, Janet was unable to move to the core of the structure in an active way, the actual relational aspect between pupil and tutor, in working on the problems of the model. It is as if the lesson model became a support to her positioning in training with respect to lesson plans, but, by being statically interpreted, finally ended in becoming a barrier to a more developed pedagogic relationship between her and her pupils. In terms of the tertiary structures represented in Figure 6, Janet's actions resulted in a direct quaternary connection between the 'modern languages programme' (U3) and 'lessons' (S2), which allowed her to bypass engagement with any more fundamental tertiary activity. There was hence little change in her approach to lessons over the three which were observed. However, this also has to be set in the context of the student's position within her school department and the course. In the latter case, early sentiments towards disaffection with teaching languages came about through marginalisation from the group at the university and the issues discussed there. This disaffection indicates disturbances for Janet at the core of the university structure (U1 and 2). By the end of the first term, this failure to respond positively in relational terms to both her colleagues, pupils and the content of the course meant that she referred back to her

303

previous successful language teaching experience for a
source of justification for the practical approach she
intended to adopt. Her disaffection was reinforced by her
being placed in a school department which itself felt
marginalised, both in terms of the school and more
'progressive' styles of language teaching. This situation
indicates difficulties at school structure Layer 5 (S5),
in that the modern languages department had problems in
locating itself within the school, and indeed, within
prominent trends in the education profession (S7). These
difficulties were to come to light in its inspection,
consequent criticism and the changing of personnel that
was insisted upon. Janet's initial attempts at teaching
were partially successful, but her previous successful
teaching was in TEFL, a language in which she was
'fluent' (S1 pre-course). In Janet's TEFL situation she
had been able to strike up relationships with her
students, which she described as the best part of
teaching in justifying it as her choice of career (U/S
8). She was, however, unable to replicate this experience
in modern language teaching. Her modest language skills
again played a crucial role as limited success further
undermined her confidence, and language became 'unreal'.
This unreality is as much a reflection of her use of the
language with pupils (S1) as it is her own relationship
with language. She had not spent a year abroad (Evans
1988 refers to the transforming effect of the year
'out'), and did not have contacts there. The foreign
language itself was then literally 'unreal'. At school
and university (layers 7 and 8), there was hence a
problem in Janet connecting her personal experience with
that represented as ideal for becoming a language teacher
within the education profession. In the case of this
student, attempts to accommodate her actions to her weak
linguistic skills produce a connection between U3 and S2,
which limits the necessity for, and hence her ability, to
engage interactively (U1/2 and S1). Her previous

professional experience (U7/8 - successful EFL teaching)
links with her poor linguistic competence to lead to her
rejection of teaching as a profession.

We might argue that linguistic competence becomes an
essential element of pedagogic habitus. However, to claim
that a high level of competence is required for
successful teaching overlooks the complexity of the
relationships involved. 'Good' linguistic skills are
important but other factors are involved; such as the
possible compensatory effects of the different aspects of
pedagogic habitus. For example, Jackie, who appears to be
the most successful of the group. From the start of the
course, attitudinal factors seem to override any
negativity. Doubts over academic prowess and linguistic
competence are overcome by recourse to her own strength
of personality. She was aware of this herself. Less than
full commitment and positiveness from fellow course
members is not tolerated (U1/2 Autumn), and there is an
open appraisal on language teaching; a positive critique
that always searches for a better way, identifying
problems and rectifying them. She is also clear about
locating the source of the problem; for example, herself
or the pupils. In this, it is possible to see a congruent
structure between the principles of industrial management
from her previous job experience, such as, for example,
organisation and project definition, and an attitude to
teaching that seems to rely on personal application to
the task in hand. This important element of professional
habitus also becomes highly significant as part of
pedagogic habitus.

Unlike Janet, Jackie was placed in a school where she had
always wanted to teach, and where she says support from
the department was total (S5). This mutual regard is also
evidenced by the fact that she was offered a post in the
school at an early stage of her teaching practice.

However, there is little evidence from the lessons
observed that the surface structure (S2) and content of
her lessons was noticeably different from Janet's, and
both students have perceptive, 'theoretical' comments to
make on language teaching in practice. This similarity
suggests that not only is the content of lessons not
totally revealed by observation, but that articulations
about language learning can go beyond their realisation.
Theoretical competence outstrips practical performance.
For Jackie, personality seems to pervade all, even to the
point of being overbearing. Indeed, she herself makes the
point that some colleagues and pupils find her so. Such
objectification of personal qualities seems a key to
using them; for example, as a preservation of self image,
or as a means of establishing a quality of relationship
with pupils (S1). Moreover, not only is personality
compensating for lack of confidence in linguistic and
academic competence, it seems to be bringing language
alive for the student. At one point she notes that she
has never enjoyed her language more. For Jackie, unlike
Janet, language has become the basis of her 'good'
relationships with pupils (S1 Summer).

Carol was also relatively weak linguistically but her
reactions were different in the context of the course.
For her, there seemed to be an attempt to minimise
linguistic interaction with pupils as much as possible,
and to construct an extra-linguistic meta-discourse (S1/2
Spring) that relied on pupil compliance in exchange for
gifts; both material and in the form of limiting demands
to work. Pedagogic habitus then includes not only
positive dispositions that can contribute to the
pedagogic act, but negative components that exert
influences which move the student away from realising
this goal. Carol came from a top executive job (U8).
Presentation was all, in this case, and this trend
continued during training (U4); her materials were

produced to the highest professional standards and
integration into her teaching practice department (S5/6
Spring) was highly successful as a result of the efforts
she put into personal relations, attendance at meetings
and general industriousness. A similar predisposition was
also evident in the autumn term (U1/2 Autumn), together
with an active involvement in the theoretical debate
surrounding language teaching. The question of the
proximity to language teaching, and the site of activity,
is crucial in this case. A theoretical preoccupation may
be suitable while based at the university, but, if such
is being put in the place of practice, this will become
increasingly evident whilst on extended teaching
practice. It is as if, no longer having recourse to
explicit theory, Carol replaced it with professionally
produced materials and pupil compliance as a way of
avoiding direct pedagogic contact, which partially
resulted from lack of linguistic competence. Carol's
management background and experience was characterised by
the belief of achievement through individual effort, as
this had previously worked for her. However, there is a
crucial difference in that for Carol the effort went into
constructing a suitable theory, professional activities,
a professional role and a sympathetic relationship with
pupils rather than engaging with and working to resolve
the uncertainties of teacher led lessons, confrontations
over discipline and a critical awareness of the
shortcomings of method. In short, whilst there were no
doubts over Carol's professionalism, there were over her
ability to teach languages. This was evidenced by the
fact that, although appointed to the teaching practice
school, her retiring head of department expressed
reservations about this. This points towards two distinct
levels of relationship with departmental heads (S5):
pedagogic and professional. Carol's relative weakness
meant that she by-passed some significant tertiary
activities - for example, U3 and U2 - by forming strong

connections between her previous professional life (U7/8) and the presentation and management aspects of lesson structure and personal interaction (S2/3 and U1).

Jill was a similar case, in that her departmental head criticised her for not being the very thing that the department (S5 Spring) itself was not: progressive and active in its approach to language teaching. The dislocation and disconnection of standards is hence very real, which was a source of ambiguity for Jill, and points to an uneasy positioning within various structural levels of the field and their consequent ideational effects. Jill was happy to theorise about language teaching (U3), indeed seemed almost preoccupied with the relevant issues. Yet, such a stance led to an overcriticalness; of the principles of language teaching, of pupils (S1), of the school department (S5). At the same time, Jill showed an inability to be criticised and to operationalise her critical insights. The clue to why this may be the case does not lie in her particular personality, or linguistic ability; in fact she was very competent in languages. Rather it is with reference to her position in relation to the practice of teaching and the issues of teaching as two separate activities. Jill chose teaching as a career partly to suit her domestic arrangements (S/U 8) and partly to re-engage with the topic of her academic studies. Prior to her starting the course she had worked as a secretary, and had an amateur career as a part-time journalist. Words, rather than gesture, mime and personality projection, were her previous experience. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that she was able to articulate well within course sessions on language teaching; indeed, that part of her reasons for teaching were satisfied so much by this activity. Nothing in her case study suggests that this was someone who genuinely wanted to engage with pupils in a teaching relationship; in her words, 'to make happen'

rather than 'to make herself'. The active part of her
training seems to remain at a dialogic level (U3) with
the communicative approach, which mainly entailed all the
reasons why it could not work for her. In particular, as
with Carol, a major reason for this was essentially a
belief in formal methods of language teaching rather than
the approach being offered. Proximity to another,
apparently contradictory, method (S4), seemed to act as a
barrier to experimentation and a critical assessment of
her own lessons. The situation was not improved by the
ambiguous messages of the department. A former experience
and a formal position then became not only the basis of
what she felt she should teach and how, but a self-
justification for this when principles seemed to clash
with other formal principles that had been honed through
continuous over-objectification in a separate
structurally located context; namely the university and
the autumn term. This can be understood as there being a
strong quaternary connection for Jill between U3 autumn
and U3 summer, which leads to objectification rather than
engagement in tertiary activities of the spring term
(S4/3/2/1)

With Marie, there is no question of her linguistic
competence, as she was a native speaker (8 Pre-course).
In her case, as language was a way of expressing herself,
and was always 'there', there was a real effort to be
herself in the classroom and to connect with pupils (S1)
on a personal level; for example, by using her own
christian name in the way she had previously done as an
assistant. It is perhaps unsurprising that lesson (S2)
plans become an imposition that 'get in the way', and
that activities were seen as 'bitty', as they take apart
the continuity of language. Yet , there is no evidence
that in abandoning her plans (S2), Marie was able to
replace them with a more direct interaction with pupils.
Indeed, according to her own report, such abandoning of

plans and failing to establish a direct dialogue in the
target language with pupils rather led to her becoming
more under the influence of the department in terms of
approach to lessons. The language may be 'there' but it
is compromised by the demands of the position of the job.
One of her strategies for dealing with such problems was
to engage in a form of analytic reflection that comes
from her culture and academic training. This was also
partly true of Jill. However, for Marie, this reflection
seems to be turned in on herself; a dangerous move as it
turns an over critical stance onto her own efforts, which
finally debilitates her and prevents her from working
more measuredly with the predominant view of language
teaching that surrounds her (U3 and S5). This phenomenon
is expressed in her own claim to becoming 'like all the
rest'. Moreover, in this student's case, there is some
evidence that initially, and partially as a result of
being a native speaker, she feels that she does not fit
into the department (S5 Spring); she says she has not
conformed, and she is not clear how to behave. Such
marginalisation sets up a space to be filled. One
positive element in becoming 'like all the rest', is the
feeling of being accepted into the fold, although this is
obviously tinged with guilt in terms of tutor and course
expectations. Marie could be seen to be caught in what
she perceives as the dichotomy between tertiary
activities at U3 and S5. She does not seem to form a
link between these two but is seeking to locate herself
within one activity or the other.

In this last section I have attempted to discuss one of
the structures I have called primary - namely habitus -
by explicating the example of linguistic ability. I have
tried to avoid overt determinism but develop this
personal feature of students in terms of their own
previous learning experience and professional knowledge,

and the consequences of these through and on the contextual sites of practice in the course of training. I do this to demonstrate what the mapping begins to look like in terms of the underlying interconnections between students and specific points in training. In the following section I would like to examine the other primary structure - the course - in terms of its secondary structures, school and university, with reference to the dimension of time. This will entail locating students specifically over the three terms of the course, and, with reference to their respective location, examine the sorts of issues immanent in their experience. These issues will take the form of a series of 'dilemmas'. I shall further discuss these both in terms of their constituent character and the nature of the process of their possible resolution; in other words, why one particular student is likely to do one particular thing at one particular time.

5.3.2 <u>The Course</u>

The PGCE course is organised into three terms. This section mainly covers the first two of these; the first based largely at the university, the second in schools. I understand the two, thus, to be characterised by foundational dimensions of space (site) and time.

The first part of this section deals with some of the resultant dilemmas of training in more general terms. To read each case study is to become aware of a whole range of contradictions and contrary demands facing students. For example, Carol does not want to be authoritarian in the classroom but finds this creates discipline problems for her; Janet wants to use a teaching style with which she had some previous success but finds that this runs counter to both what the pupils seem to expect and the predominant views of the department in which she finds herself.

Whilst reading the critical case studies, the various contradictions and problems that students experienced were noted as part of my analysis of the data. Listing these at the end made it clear that many of these were common to all cases; simply they were expressed in different ways or affected individual students to a greater or lesser extent.

In the following section I refer to these as 'dilemmas'; a term I have borrowed from Billig et al. (1988) to refer to 'problematizations'. Dilemmas seems a pertinent term as it expresses dichotomies that are never really resolved. Moreover, it is in working with them that change occurs; through various mechanisms of defense, adaptation and innovation. The term dilemma also allows me to express a problematic area in terms of two polar opposites. This approach is convenient for clarity in expressing the

312

content of the dilemma. It should be stressed, however, that these dilemmas rarely occur in this pure, either/or form; mostly individual students locate themselves at various points along a continuum. These points are themselves fluid and are continually re-sited in response to context and event. A dilemma can also be understood as becoming apparent when an individual fails to make robust quaternary connections between tertiary activities. This lack of 'connectedness' presents itself from the viewpoint of that student as bi-polar oppositions or dilemmas.

The period of time in question, one year, is very brief for the initial steps in professionalization to take place. Moreover, the course structure is such that context and experience is constantly changing for students. It is unsurprising, therefore, if the picture emerging from the case studies is one of weak group solidarity and peer support. The process of teacher training comes across as being a rather isolatory experience.

The case studies also illustrate just how disruptive many of the experiences of training are. All students clearly want to teach; they think they can teach. They look for positive confirmation of this; often in the face of negative feedback and experience. This section looks at the sorts of dilemmas they face, their origins and significance.

Early in term 1, dichotomies are set up due to the nature of training; indeed, they are immanent in the structure of the course as set out previously. It is only later that they become fully articulated in the light of subsequent student experience.

The clearest dichotomy is between what I shall call the personal and the public; in other words, between what is 'known' and to what extent this is confirmed or challenged by public statements and events.

Dilemma: the incongruity between personal views of teaching versus those represented on the course of training. Carol: 'Seeing most of us learnt in a different way.. you were dealing with a group of people who learnt by the traditional method... we thought we've done it and got on... to be told that communication is more than the 's' on the end of an adjective was heresy'. This dilemma is made even more acute when the one, seen in the light of the other, appears to be incoherent, inconsistent and contradictory. This is countered by the relatively light weight of unformulised personal experience (I think I know) when measured against a research-based approach supported by local authority; for example, the tutor. However, students 'know' that their method worked; the new version is untried.

Dilemma: past experience which has proved to be successful versus a new approach which has not. Janet: '(The Communicative Approach) is not perfect and it's not brilliant, but it's on the right track'. In both cases, the new approach leads to a direct challenge to at least some aspects of a personally held view, unless that view, as in the case of Jackie, has disconnected from past experience as a negative model for language teaching along with a consequent positioning towards the dichotomous alternative. Hence, Jackie: 'the communicative approach is the approach I would have invented if it had not been already'. Where this extreme is not the case, some disruption will occur. In the case of Marie, she seems to accept a theoretical position on the communicative approach as something that will remove her problems. However, this does not appear to be the

case once she is in school, when the problematic nature of language teaching returns. The communicative approach seems to shatter under the pressure to actualise it with classes. In its extreme form, such disruption expresses itself in terms of the question of who is to be believed.

Dilemma: the choice to be made between trusting what I know about teaching and learning from and trusting what others tell me. Jill: 'Mike felt I had tried to do too much. I know that the Head of Department would say 'how are you going to cover the syllabus in that case?''. I am not suggesting that the issue always appears in such an explicit form, but it does so potentially. For example, with Jill, in order to continue to trust what she knows, she has to adopt an objective, critical stance towards the newer approach. The same dilemma appears in all the students accounts to a greater of lesser extent.

These early dilemmas between the private and the public are further problematised by the objective criteria for qualifying on the course.

Dilemma: the need to respond personally to the approach versus the need to fulfil the course requirements. Marie: 'To be in between, to implement all these ideas - I thought it was what I had been trained for, so I had to do it. But there was pressure from the department to do something else'. It would be wrong to underplay the authority vested in the form of language teaching on the course. This dilemma can lead to public compliance to the given model, even to the point of being excessively formulaic, and a private dialogue with the approach that essentially rejects it. This situation is not totally true for the case study students, but elements of the dilemma are present with each of them.

In term 1, these dilemmas arise in nascent form and do not connect with direct teaching experience. They are more likely to be present in students' observations of others. Such observations can be objectified in a way that is not personally disruptive. In other words, the contradictions do not become threatening to students as they are mediated theoretically. The next dilemma might, then, be only weakly felt in the autumn term.

Dilemma: the ability to criticise versus the ability to do better oneself. Jill: 'At one point she said "I don't want to hear anyone say 'you say this and I'll say such and such'. French only please". But not once did she use any French herself to set the scene or the atmosphere of the class, or to give them a model of any kind'. Once students do begin to teach in schools, there is the question of the transference of models for lesson planning and pupil activity to actual real life. This dichotomy is more than simply a question of theory and practice, as it implies a technical versus spontaneous approach to teaching, and the extent to which this implicates personal involvement.

Dilemma: to teach by technique versus to teach through individual personality. Carol: '(Meticulous materials) come from my previous job where presentation is everything...(teacher as entertainer) I always think I'm going to lose them if I don't try to gain their attention...I have been unable to develop a strong rapport with pupils'. Each of these is itself problematic: not only is there the question of whether teaching can be 'acquired' through technique, but that technique itself may be interrogated and deconstructed in the 'theoretical' terms of the course; not only is personality a questionable key to teaching success, but that personality is unknown to students in its pedagogic location. Furthermore, besides the question of technique

and personal involvement, there is the fact that this
slowly becomes contextualised within direct pupil
interaction. This sets up the question of personal and
public priorities.

Dilemma: the need to attend to personal security versus
the need to attend to the pedagogic needs of the pupils.
Marie: 'As a teacher I must realise I need to create more
space for myself and switch off from work. Some of my
lessons did not go very well because I was physically not
fit (lack of sleep, etc.)'. Personal security refers to
activity in the classroom but ultimately the whole
physical effort of being a teacher. Sheer strength of
physique will have an increasingly significant part to
play in students' teaching during the block practice.

Each of these dilemmas begin to become apparent in the
autumn term, and form the basis for work in the spring
term. Very often they are not explicitly articulated by
students until precipitated by direct experience of them.
Dilemmas suppose choices to be made and questions that
remain unresolved. If they are left unresolved in terms
of moves to accommodate one or other of the alternatives
presented by the dilemma, there is likely to be acute
conflict felt in the locations that give rise to them.
For example, Carol and Jill never really resolve their
reservations over the methods represented on the training
course. Ironically, Janet does by drawing on previous
experience and reading. Method is less a problem for her
than the language itself and the ways she can use both to
create relationships that are meaningful for her. Such
conflict will itself need mediating; this as a way of
working on problems. One option is to transfer the
problem to someone else; as Jill does: to the method,
pupils, tutor, department, etc. This may arise as a
question of who to blame when dilemmas are experienced in
a negative fashion. It is an obvious move to explain this

difference in secondary structural terms, that is the
contrast between schools and the university, and, with
that, the distinction between practice and theory. It is,
however, misleading to draw up clear dichotomies with
respect to these issues. Neither is it justified to
regard one or other as representing the real or the
ideal. What is true, however, is that these dilemmas are
increasingly experienced in real situations over the
first two terms; in this case, 'lived' in schools and in
interaction with pupils. Moreover, the basic dilemmas are
increasingly actualised in specific practical contexts.

A blunt description of training might refer to students
being asked to form relationships with pupils when they
do not know the nature of this relationship.

<u>Dilemma: how can I be a teacher versus how can I be
myself</u>; in other words, how do I hold on to my own
personality while trying to adopt a teacher role. Jackie:
'(Teaching practice is an opportunity) to be yourself and
see if you have a good relationship with
classes'....Jackie spoke of not performing the teacher
role pupils expected. Clearly, students know about
relationships and have some knowledge of teachers, albeit
with themselves as pupils. However, the degree of
personality to be expressed in a pedagogic context is
problematic. Jackie is quick to assume a teacher's role;
Carol is not and sees it very much as a loss of self-
image of herself and the teacher she would wish to be. It
is not only a question of becoming a teacher, but
becoming the sort of teacher each student felt they
wanted to be. Essentially, what is at stake is the degree
to which students wish and are able to impose their
definition onto their relationships with pupils. Few
amongst the five manage to do this, and only Jackie
really achieves any success in this direction.

318

In place of genuine pedagogic relationships, students have recourse to techniques. Essentially, these are the activities and lesson plans developed from work in the autumn term based at the university. However, lesson planning itself comes with its own set of dilemmas.

Dilemma: I want everything planned so that I know what I am doing versus I want flexibility to take pupils' response into account. Marie: 'I plan too many things and rush to get through them all. In fact, I would rather make it all up...do what I have to do'. The former implies great control over classroom practice, the latter increasingly less. This dilemma problematises the process of writing plans and implementing them; along with consequent questions concerning the detail of plans, the time spent on them and the proportion of that time on making materials rather than thinking through exercises and the language involved. This latter also implies the amount of control over activities. Students may well feel that making their own materials allows them to think through their various applications. However, producing materials is an instrumental activity, and, as such, is something over which students can exert a high degree of influence and thus control. The certainty involved in actual production may be compensatory for the other uncertainties involved in their application.

These dilemmas clearly connect with previous dilemmas concerning personality, technique, and attention to personal or pupil security. Such dilemmas are not then merely dichotomous but become trilemmas: polyvalent in form and multi-layered in interconnections. For example, to achieve the ideal in a limited amount of time with a limited amount of energy, includes not only the need to cope with less than the ideal in its theoretical form of language teaching, but what is personally realisable from

319

a physical point of view with the particular demands of
the teaching context. In this sense, certain dilemmas
from the autumn term become compounded in practical
locations, and in turn, produce real-life dilemmas that
have a crucial bearing on how students will move to
resolve them. Caught between perceptions of the real and
the ideal, students are faced with choices.

Dilemma: how far to bring the approach to the particular
class and how far to bring the class to the particular
approach; in other words, to work in relation to the
approach or pupils. Janet: 'Like you enter the room and
there is one lad hanging out of the window, one lad being
stabbed with a compass, the roof is leaking, and a blind
is coming down. You walk into a classroom like that and
say 'Bonjour, asseyez-vous' and it does not work'.
Questions of flexibility will arise and flexibility in
the material conditions of the classroom and the personal
context of classes; for example, their abilities,
previous approaches and attitudes. In this sense, a
pedagogic gap appears between student intent and pupil
consent, or, more succinctly the authority of the
pedagogic circumstance. Moreover, this gap is not only
true with regard to classes but also individual pupils.
Such a question again links with notions of the personal
and the public; or, in this case, the dilemma between the
need to respond on an individual basis and the necessity
to have and develop general principles of applicability
of approach. The personal and public referred to is no
more than a static form for discussing dynamic relations
and the qualitative nature of their content in these
practical contexts. For example, the case of difficulties
experienced whilst in teaching. A student may be asking
the pupils to do something that they are not used to
doing, and so they react negatively. This may well give
insights into how particular exercises give rise to
disciplinary demands: large whole-group oral work is more

difficult to control than pupils' private reading.
Moreover, there is the question of relative success and
failure for different pupils. However, the structure of
such a context generates very specific alternatives in
terms of how to cope with negative responses. For
example, faced with a particular problem over the amount
of target language a student is using, and the negative
effect this is having on pupil motivation and hence
behaviour, he or she may consult the classes' normal
teacher. Advice from this source may improve the pupils'
attitude but takes the student away from what is seen as
the basic tenets of the communicative approach; namely, a
high proportion of active, monolingual oral work on the
part of pupils. In the latter case, the tutors' way of
doing things may be perceived as making the situation
worse. Again, connecting with questions of the real and
the ideal, there is the issue of who the student should
relate to for support.

Dilemma: who do I turn to with problems - school or
university ? Jill: '(Mike) tore me off a strip for
putting words on the board for them to learn...the
teachers here are negative and sceptical, however, they
do get good results'.

The question of language use is problematic for students.

Dilemma: do I use the target language or English ? Jill:
'There are many things that can be explained quickly (in
English) which children don't always see the meaning if
you demonstrate'. Clearly, to use the target language
creates a linguistic context and offers the opportunity
for foreign language discourse. Yet English ensures
understanding and creates a shared classroom knowledge.
The students' natural relationship to the class is to use
language to organise activity and pupils. However,
students also want to use the target language as a form

321

of real communication. In this case, the language offered
to pupils does not give them the means to engage in
natural language exchanges; for example, statements like
'ouvrez vos cahiers' are not available to pupils in the
'natural sense'. There is then a separation between the
real pedagogic relationship and the content of the
particular pedagogy. To express them both in the target
language may seem the correct way to adopt a
communicative approach to language teaching but it sets
up a dual layer within the discourse. It expresses the
belief that both can be articulated through the target
language, whilst in fact they each entail different
operational orders and demands on pupils. This dual level
of function in itself is confusing for pupils as they are
unlikely to be able to separate them out in the general
flow of language. It is probably why students have such
recourse to English for the real structural relationship
of the classroom, and revert to the target language for
that supposed other. Because pupils are not offered the
means of engaging in natural language, one proceeds by
ignoring it.

Rather than establish natural pedagogic relationships
between students and pupils through the target language,
the two get separated out. If the pedagogic relationship
is formed in English, then the tendency is to develop
that through explicit reference to knowledge about
language increases.

Dilemma: to teach grammar versus to teach through the
target language. Carol: 'I felt that they would benefit
from clarification of a few basic grammar points, which
were severely inhibiting their ability to communicate'.
In the former case, problems with language are resolved
with recourse to talk about language; an activity that
itself raises dilemmas when the language used to talk
about it is seen as complex or is not understood. In the

322

latter case, students do not experience use of target
language on its own as the key to forming such
relationships; quite the contrary. They then often have
insufficient pedagogic strategies and meta-strategies to
compensate for limited success of target language use as
the key to classroom effectiveness.

Dilemmas - Summary

1) The dilemmas are the ideational form which corresponds
to the students' failures to make connections between
tertiary activities (Figure 6). That is, the students
experience a dilemma because they have failed to find a
way to act.

2) The dilemmas are the contingent structures which are
the consequences of the placement in TIME (of the process
of initial teacher training) in the same way that Figures
6 and 7 illustrate the structural consequences of SITE.

3) The dilemmas are manifest at the level of individual
students experiencing differing forms of the dilemmas.

For example, Carol comes with a high degree of
professional experience, clear views about teaching and
training and successful language learning. However, she
also has weak linguistic competence and is wedded to a
traditional approach to language teaching. In the autumn
term, this profile allows her to engage in the discourse
on language teaching in an academic way; and this is not
particulary problematic to her as the course is mainly
based at the university. However, knowledge gained here,
once transferred to practical situations, encounters a
world in which various dilemmas are faced; she is not
clear that pupils are being taught properly; she is not
certain which method works; she is not sure who to trust;
she is unconvinced about the appropriate mixture of

target language, English and grammar; she wants to be herself but finds pupil response not what she expected. At first in the autumn term, and because she is mainly university based, she is able to maintain a detached, ironic stance. In the spring term, and now situated in school, she is immersed in the department, classroom context. Detachment and irony are no longer possible. Moreover, her actual operation in the classroom is undermined by modest linguistic competence in French. She reverts to two strategies deriving mainly from her previous professional experience: firstly, she aims for a degree of meticulousness in presentation, as well as demonstrating total commitment to her department; secondly, she aims to enhance pupils' motivation through gifts, restricting demands, planning entertaining lessons, etc. Neither strategy achieves what was intended: the Head of Department still has reservations about her as a teacher; lessons do not appear more successful. These strategies arose from the context in which she found herself; namely, school and class lessons. The irony of the first term is displaced; Carol has to act. The way she does act is constituted by who she is, where she is coming from, and the demands placed on her in this particular context: time and site. Her actions are not immediately successful in terms of any ideally desirable outcome. However, the results of her actions set up further demands, that she is now aware of and on which she must again act in the contexts in which they present themselves. She becomes more aware of the possible roles she can play; the negative effects of entertaining lessons; the limitations of explicit grammar explanations. Why and how the dilemmas present themselves for individual students, therefore, provide a base for understanding how they respond to them. Moreover, these responses can be viewed as the motor, the generating force, behind further dilemmas and future ways of dealing with them.

These responses are the processes which are caught in the
structures of the course: school/university; departments;
classrooms; particular classes and lessons. These
processes are brought into being by the students finding
themselves in these locations and the interaction between
these and what I have termed pedagogic habitus.

I have taken some time to discuss the _ideational products_
of such interactions. However, I now want to deal in much
more explicit detail with two other key components in the
training course; namely, the school department (and
ultimately the school in which it finds itself) and the
tutor. The department and the tutor are of particular
significance as they are the medium through which the
school and university influences students. The department
is specifically situated within the school structure; the
tutor within the university structure. Both can also be
defined in terms of their relationships and structural
position within the field of training. Such relationships
have a precipitant effect on _what_ students learn in
training, _how_ and _whether_.

5.3.3 The Department

There is evidence that departments are generally supportive of students. However, neither Janet, Jill or Marie were particularly integrated into theirs, and Jackie seemed almost not to need them. In her case, referring a problem pupil to the Head of Department was seen as a major failure. Carol was well integrated, although her actual teaching did not come up to the standard of the school. She refers to the problematic nature of being regarded as 'transitory' in the school.

Integrated or not, it is clear that departments can have either a positive or a negative (in some cases both in different areas) influence on students. For Jackie and Carol, there do not seem to be fundamental incongruities of method between the school and the university, although, in the case of Carol some are created by her own dispositions. Marie, and to a greater extent, Janet experience overt negative influences on what they are trying to implement in terms of language teaching. For Janet there is also the problem that her department itself has difficulties as a unit. For Marie the department says she is working too hard, that some of her lessons need to be less than perfect; and she finally gives in to 'their' method. The case of Janet is more extreme, involving the problematic nature of the department; a disaffection that mirrors her own. Jill is caught in the double ambiguity of essentially accepting but not altogether approving her department's traditional approach, whilst rejecting and not succeeding with an alternative.

As previously stated, the picture to emerge from these cases is one of training within a school department as being an isolatory experience. Faced with this field within fields, students are not easily placed within

their secondary structure; school and university. At the university, they are eager to learn and qualify as teachers, but they are unsure of the mixture of academic with practical content on the course. In the school department, it is as if they are on loan; they are not really students but they are not yet teachers either. Moreover, they are unsure who is supporting them, and when; who is assessing them, and when. It is as if they are <u>nowhere</u>, as neither site provides a permanent anchor for their experience. In simple socialisation terms, this anomie - <u>groundlessness</u> and <u>indeterminacy</u> - can only be experienced in contradictory terms as identified in the dilemmas cited above. The predominant views of the department towards language teaching are likely to have a fundamental effect on the extent to which such dilemmas are raised, heightened and mediated, or not. It may be that the closest structural context is the strongest influence, and, especially in school departments, practical and pragmatic exigences often have the highest priority. These demands are frequently expressed in disciplinary or managerial terms rather than concerning the issues of language teaching as principally central. Indeed, pragmatism is cited as the delimiter of the possible. This coming to terms with what is possible seems to be the central feature of developing a teacher role. Departments may help or hinder this process, and, if they help, they may do so in a way that confirms or undermines the tenets of language teaching explicitly present in the form developed at the university.

5.3.4 Tutor

A good deal of this data analysis is about relationships; with pupils, with school colleagues, with fellow students. The position of the tutor is even more ambiguous than any one of these is likely to be, since he holds various roles, or positions, within the field; students are likely to react to each one in a different way. That authority is involved is clear, and there are various comments from all students on the extent to which 'the' method is being imposed on them. My position is uncertain in that I am called upon to be supportive, but also obliged to make an assessment on each student. This ambiguity in itself affects not only what is said to me but if it is said to me. It is not a coincidence that most overt criticisms come towards the end of the course when students have all but passed. At this stage, students are sufficiently removed from the immediacy of preliminary training and the exigences of teaching practice to be able to objectify the processes of training they have undergone themselves. For example, Jackie gives a positive appraisal of my role and the form of training I had instigated. Marie and Carol are more ready to offer an alternative form of training. Such expressions of opinion would seem out of place, although more literally out of time, in their teaching practice diary notes. At this stage, they are not 'seen' or 'heard', although the form of the diary itself partly determines what can be said and why. For example, most of my visits to students seem to pass without comment from them in their diaries. Of course, students know that I am going to read it. A decision therefore has to be made concerning what it is prudent to write given the authority implicit in my relationship with students.

Although I am called upon to play various functional roles with students, a combination of which ones, and the resulting facets of this, arises in the course of our relationship formation. Such formation itself depends on our respective habitus, including pedagogic, and the relationship arising between these as located within the field of training. For Jackie, having responded to the method of the course, my role seems perfunctory; indeed, I note that she seems to be almost hermetically sealed. For others, the approach is the medium of dialogue, with points being presented to demonstrate the various issues raised; what works, what can work, and what most certainly cannot. This dialogue becomes most explicit with Jill, where comments are offered as a means of proving or disproving various theoretical claims. To an extent, I become a constraint, as it is 'my' method the students are attempting to use. One way of dealing with this is to apply the method in a formulaic way, as Janet did, as a sign of submission to the authority the approach accrues in being represented on the course. Another way is Jill's scepticism.

The question of the theoretical primacy of the method arises. It would be incorrect to describe the content of the course as theoretical since so little of the theoretical positions underpinning communicative approaches are explicitly referred to. However, it is regarded as theoretical by students to the extent to which it represents an ideal. Key notions such as target language use and the seeming proscription of explicit grammar explanations are clearly extracted from the content of the course as being essential defining characteristics of the approach. If English and grammar are seemingly proscribed, then two major ways for students to express themselves as teachers according to an ideal pedagogic image are removed. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the source of this proscription is

regarded in sceptical and even suspicious terms. The ideal becomes detached from reality rather than having expression in it. This expression might be mechanical, a formulaic approach to lessons, or mediated in the form of making lessons as communicative as possible. Without either component, the form of teaching I am advocating on the course will collapse, and students will revert to their own or the departmental method. However, the negative side of this is that the tutor, as source of authority, is also responsible. Problems can then ultimately be expressed as a flawed method as represented by the tutor. In its extreme form, this can lead to such oblique statements as 'flashcards do not work'. In other words, a student's lack of success with flashcards is due to the cards lack of potential for success. Or she may, as in the case of Jill, refer to the tutor to explain what should have been done in a lesson as an alternative; as if success was attributable to the selection of specific activities and exercises. Implicit in this approach is a 'tell-me-what-I-should-have-done' attitude that not only deflects responsibility away from the student to the tutor, it also reduces language teaching to a specific choice of activities rather than a general relationship between student and pupils. In short, the tutor seems to play a catalytic role for the generation of practice, but also a focus for anxiety when things are experienced negatively.

5.4 <u>Summary</u>

The critical case studies in chapter 4 offered a rich description of five students in training. The present chapter has re-expressed some of the content of these in terms of what I have called a level 2 analysis. Level 2 is concerned with 'mapping the field'. The term 'mapping' has been employed in order to stress morphological features. Accordingly, I began by setting out the structural make-up of the field of training. I then proceeded to examine its two primary structures, namely 'habitus' and 'course' in terms of secondary structures (school and university), the various layers within which these exist and the links between them (what I termed tertiary and quaternary structures).

Various field structures can be ascertained - school/department, school/university, student/department, student/tutor, etc., and I have worked to systematise these. Moreover, I have shown how the various structures of the field have ideational consequences. In particular, I have argued that student responses should be understood in terms of their individual pedagogic habitus and its interactions with the components of the course. These components should also be understood as structurally configured. I have examined the types of ideational consequences arising from such interactions in terms of a series of dilemmas within which students locate themselves at any one place and time. Moreover, how these dilemmas are expressed for particular students depends on the relative weighting of components within their pedagogic habitus and the characteristics of sites on the course. A good example of the former is linguistic ability, which has consequences not only in terms of knowledge about language but students' relationship with it. Whether or not a student has spent a year abroad as part of their undergraduate studies is highly significant

and has an impact on how they are able to think about and operationalise language in the classroom through particular pedagogic methods. What is to be found at various structural points on the course is also extremely important to how these dilemmas are manifest; for example, the make-up of the department, the predominant views of a colleague, or a relationship with a tutor.

Overall, the field of training appears to be highly structured but fluid in a way that moves students around from one site to the next. Such changes of experience are often highly disruptive; especially when each have different demands, contexts and personal outcomes. I have suggested that students often appear to be 'nowhere', and the experience of training can seem isolatory in many ways. Furthermore, there may be resistance, and for a number of reasons, for students to move developmentally to the centre of the school and university sites; namely, actual lessons (S1/2) and group sessions (U1). This resistance is often expressed in ideational terms; in a heightened sense of contradiction or dilemma with a resultant effect on what is thought and achieved in practice. Moreover, the links between the various layers and structures represent critical points where problems may occur. To take an example such as an over-reliance on a formulaic approach to lessons. This observation needs to be read in terms of the other components of the field; structurally expressed for any particular student. Only then is it possible to understand the phenomena as a structural event involving student habitus and material and ideational relations immanent in the field of training.

This chapter has transferred many of the components of the case study to the field of training and expressed them according to the general theory of practice I previously outlined. In chapter 4, I referred to many of

the observed events as the products rather than the
processes of training. In the present chapter, I have
made explicit some of the key structural relations
embedded in the case studies:

Overall Structure

I have set out an analysis into primary, secondary,
tertiary and quaternary structures, and expressed these
diagrammatically.

Site Analysis

The analysis via Figures 6 and 7 of the tertiary
structures or activities of training was connected with
students' 'pedagogic habitus'. Examples were given of how
these structures can be used to describe students'
experiences in terms of SITE of location.

Time Analysis

The dimension of time has been ever present in these
analyses. Students are located situationally _in time_.
However, by considering the course structure _over time_, I
have highlighted the way dilemmas emerge and are
responded to over the course of training. I have offered
this explication as an analysis of the dilemmas the
students face on the course.

Agency Analysis

Finally, I have discussed how the major, different agents
operating in the field of training can exert influence.

These four foci of analysis are offered as a study in
relationships to people, place, events and the responses
to which they give rise. Within these structures it is
possible to begin to catalogue some of the important
features of training to teach languages. For example:

Some Features of the Processes of Training

1. The importance of students' transference from one site of training to another; and the problems that can arise in this. When this transference is problematic, and why, is also characteristically significant for individual students; for example, linguistic ability, or their 'fit' within the school/ department.

2. The layers or levels involved in the sites of training and the importance for students of a move to the 'core' of the structure (U1 and S1); and not only to be 'concretely' located but to be 'ideationally' engaged.

3. The significance of lesson rigidity. Applied formulas to lessons leave little room for adaption and development of techniques.

4. The relational aspect of training and its tendency to isolate students. Again, this can be expressed both in terms of concrete situation, social relations and the predominant thoughts and ideas about teaching languages that surround students.

5. The relative weight of significant components in students' present and past lives; both professional, pedagogic and personal.

6. The structure of the school department; its position within the school and the position it takes towards approaches to language teaching. Again, these are concrete and ideational relations.

7. The importance of positive experience for students.

8. The significance of students spending (or not) a year abroad as an indicator of their personal relationship to

language.

9. The implications the course structure has for students' opinions and practice; especially how these change over site and time.

10. The element of disruption students experience, both in terms of moving between sites and the effects of opinions and influences they encounter in resolving dilemmas about teaching languages.

'Mapping the field' has enabled me to 'think relationaly' and to make generalizable comments on the basis of the case studies. These comments go beyond the particularities of individual student cases and their commonalities of experience. In other words, this analysis goes beyond the ethnographic to begin to describe the morphology of process that training involves. I have highlighted a number of components in this process - course structure, site, dilemmas, pedagogic habitus, agency - and discussed each of them in turn: but they are not independent entities; rather they are holistically related to each other. However, it is convenient to vary them in a controlled manner for the purpose of analysis. I consider this to be a beginning; only a start on the type of analytical approach for which I have argued. It is an approach that has not been previously applied to teacher education. Although it derives from social theory, its substantive intent is much more broadly epistemological. I have 'bracketed out' the social differential, power-related nature of social activity to focus on the mundane and the particular of training; in this case, to understand the development of professional expertise as knowledge. Thus, this study shares the same epistemological issues that are addressed much more explicitly in the theories of knowledge of social theoretical discussion. My context is teacher training: my epistemological approach is social-philosophical. This approach must be pertinent if we are to take seriously what we know from philosophy and social theory about the nature of social activity in terms of both what and how we research.

The next chapter takes up this epistemological issue much more explicitly and discusses the process of initial teacher education in terms of knowledge development between students and the training discourse in which they locate themselves.

Synopsis

Chapter 6: Level 3

Processes in the Field of Training

This thesis has been based on an epistemological, social
theoretical approach to studying the processes of initial
modern language teacher training. Chapter 5 mapped the
morphological structure of the field and discussed the
ideas and thoughts students had while located within it.
Chapter 6 uses a range of social theories to discuss how
and why ideas, theories, thoughts about language teaching
are communicated within the field of training and how it
is that students respond differentially. 'Discourse' is
used as a guiding concept: as a metaphoric explication of
process. Again, theoretical discussion is alternated by
and integrated with reference to details from the case
studies. Training is presented as involving experiences
that demand individual acts and choices. These are
conditioned by the socio-cognitive nature of trainees.
Finally, the processes of training are expressed in the
field of theory and practice which has formed a spine to
this thesis and students located within it.

Chapter 6

Level 3: Processes in the Field of Training

Chapter 6 Content

Chapter 6

Level 3 : Processes in the Field of Training

> 'In school I thought you had the teacher, the book
> and the pupil. And with us, there was you, the
> communicative approach and us'.
>
> (Marie)

Introduction

This thesis has sought to ground its methodology and
analytical framework in a discussion of epistemology.
Various philosophical and social theoretical issues have
been explored as a way of developing a practical approach
to research. This approach has entailed objectifying my
position in carrying out the study. Similarly, in
researching the students, I have undertaken a structural
examination of their position within the 'field' of
training; basing my analysis on the students' individual
experiences during the year's course. This methodology
was derived from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, from which
epistemological guiding principles were obtained.
However, as I have pointed out at various stages, my
preoccupation has not been, as is the case with Bourdieu,
social differentiation; according to which, the normal
categories of analysis for social theory are class,
power, gender, race, etc. Rather, I am interested in
knowledge formation within a professional setting; the
development of teaching competence of initial trainees.

Bernstein (1990: 174 - 177) makes the point that Bourdieu
is essentially concerned with 'relations to' legitimacy
in a social context; and that this is a dominant trend in
social theory, preoccupied as it is with the causes and
consequences of social hierarchies. Bernstein contrasts
these 'relations to' with 'relations within', which refer

339

to the ways in which legitimacy is internally
constructed. This distinction is helpful in the present
context as it addresses a critical methodological issue
for me. I have derived my methodology from social theory
but the focus of research is not social categories and
hierarchies. Similarly, I have employed a 3-level system
of analysis in presenting my findings: both because this
allows for the critical reading of constructed texts in a
structural phenomenological way, which itself has been
partly derived from a consideration of educational theory
and practice; and because it supplies analyses on
distinct subjective and objective levels. Bourdieu draws
the distinction in terms of the structural position of
fields within fields, the morphology of a field, and the
individual habitus configurations located there. At each
level, he is able to see relations to legitimate objects
and forms of knowledge, and thus power relations. Such an
account reduces the outcome of analysis to a social
differential narrative. If I were to adopt this approach,
my level 3 analysis would now describe training in terms
of its relations to the field of education; who sets
policy and controls organisational practice?, etc.
However, the focus of this thesis is much more
epistemological, in that I am concerned with the
formation of professional knowledge. I understand this
formation to be differential according to individual
students and the contexts in which they find themselves.
I am, however, interested to account for the essential
features of the processes that give rise to individual
responses; to understand the permanent modes of operation
of these processes.

Chapter 5 took the emergent themes identified in the case
studies and analysed them in terms of the 'morphology of
the field of training'. For the most part, these themes
were represented by the structural consequences of who
students were and where they found themselves, and their

resultant thoughts and actions. 'What students do' comes about as a result of what they think and feel about the ideas and occurrences that surrounds them. This chapter takes this notion as a central guiding principle. In my Research Plan (Chapter 3) I described this level 3 as: analyze the character of the processes of teacher training. Such an analysis arises from a 'critical reading' of previous levels. This time, however, I am interested to understand how the processes of training can be characterised. My approach to such an examination is firstly to locate myself and the students within the knowledge field of training; this chapter is then more 'ideational', more concerned with training as a field of interconnecting ideas. At different points in this thesis, I have reflected on theory and practice and raised the issue of different forms of knowledge and stances to them. I have located myself within these fields of knowledge and distinguished this position with that of the students.

There is a linguistic paradox in this thesis in that it is about a language teacher, training others to teach languages, which itself implies theories of language learning and teaching; and using a research methodology that is heavily overlaid with philosophies of language to discuss it. Yet, theories about language learning and teaching have not so far been explicitly referred to in this thesis. Therefore, after revisiting the Vandenberg diagram in order to review the issues of theory and practice that have provided a spine to this thesis,

I want to briefly address theories of language learning and teaching. I do this for two reasons: firstly, in order to complete the Vandenberg diagram and give expression to the formal theories of language explicit in the processes of training; and secondly, because I want to draw on some of the issues such theories address and extend and apply them to the

processes of teacher training themselves. I do this by drawing an analogy between <u>discourse</u> in learning a language and the 'discourse' of training itself. I refer to the way the term 'discourse' has been used in ways other than the purely linguistic and show why it has become such a powerful metaphoric concept for analysis. I also relate discourse to the conceptual terms I have previously employed - namely, pedagogic habitus and field - and draw again from my empirical data in order to exemplify what the thrust of the argument means in practice. Through alternating modes of discussion, and employing a range of social, philosophical and neo-postmodernist theories I build up a picture of training as a 'communicating field' and a 'field of communication' into which students are 'interpellated'. This latter term is taken from Althusser (1971: 162 - 163) to express the way that ideational (in fact, 'ideological') fields function so as to 'recruit' individuals, 'transforming them into subjects' as a form of 'hailing' (ibid.). This function positions them dialogically within the ideas field, within differentially valued practice, and thus 'speaks them into being', to echo a key exponent of the term 'discourse, the French philosopher Michel Foucault. This chapter considers the extent to which this image is appropriate for understanding the professional field of teacher training. I consider the character and consequence of this 'interpellation', not only in terms of the nature of the ideational field itself but the way individual students engage with it. In short, I suggest how it is that each student responds in a differential way, and by what socio-cognitive processes, in practice.

The whole is presented as a process of professional knowledge development that is multi-faceted, multidimensional, and in which pedagogic competence is formed to a greater or lesser extent as much as a result of student initiated activities as of the forces that

342

organise such practice.

It is probably worth stating quite explicitly at the outset that I recognise that this chapter involves bringing together a number of disparate threads, and integrating theories that do not normally co-exist. Moreover, I want to exemplify this process of synthesis from my empirical analyses from Level 1 and 2. In order to do this I need to create an horizon against which the direction of the development of my analysis can be seen. The first three sections of what follows should be read as the components of this horizon; in particular, theory and practice in professional development, language learning theory, and the notion of discourse. In these early sections I make no explicit efforts to integrate these perspectives; rather they provide me with the theoretical background from which I develop my argument in the remainder of the chapter. This gets underway chiefly from section 6.4 onwards.

Concrete Practice

Practitioner's Pre-theoretical
Understanding

Justifying Educational ⟶ Fundamental
Principles   Educational
                                                        Theory

Knowledge from   Appropriate
the Special   (Phenomenological)
(Normative) Sciences   Philosophical
                                                        Resources
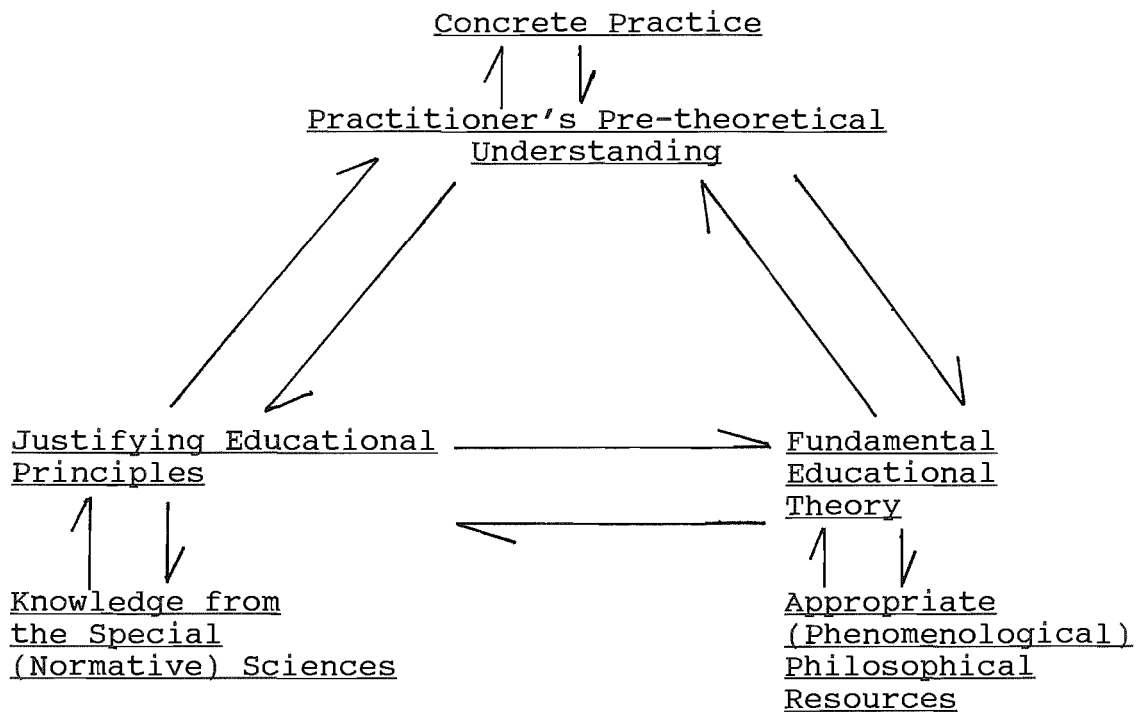
Figure 8: Interpenetrating Modes of Theorising
(Vandenberg 1974: 191)

At various points in this thesis I have referred to the
above diagram: firstly in a discussion of educational
theory and its relationship to practice; secondly, in
order to objectify my position as tutor and researcher in
relation to the student; thirdly, as a way of indicating
the process of objectification involved in creating the
critical case studies, how these 'contained' the
processes of teacher training within them, and the
epistemological stance I was adopting in approaching the
research data in this way. I am returning to it here as a
way of locating the fields of knowledge involved in
training.

A good deal of this thesis has focused on the right hand
side of this diagram; in that I have worked on students'
practice and their attempts to articulate their
understandings and experiences. I have done this by

presenting case studies and using students' own words.
The students' 'moves' from practice toward 'fundamental
educational theory' can be found in their diaries and in
their reflective articulations in interview. Implicit in
the Vandenberg diagram is the notion that these different
forms of knowledge should be understood as different
activities which are governed by dimensions of time and
place. Teaching and talk about teaching take place in
different times and places.

The activities in which I describe students constitute
their concrete practice, that they discuss, articulate,
'fundamentally', through the various opportunities with
which I have provided them. This 'fundamental theory'
often appears unstable, contradictory, rigid and
inconsistent. For example, the way that both Marie and
Janet hold theories about how they should teach, which
are partly formed, but also partly threatened, by the
views on language teaching they encounter in the course
of training. Most of the students also say one thing in
one time and place, and another in another. For example,
Jackie's thoughts on pupil autonomy (P. 258), and what
this requires in terms of language and methodology, arise
away from practice; in school, she does not 'hear' this
message, or at least immediately recognise and implement
it.

It is clear that it is in this fundamental educational
knowledge that students provide rationales for what they
do and explain what occurred in practice. It is
unsurprising, therefore, if such theory does reflect the
contradictions of lessons and the active practice of
working with students in schools and the university.
Furthermore, this fundamental theory is constituted by
present and past practice, both in theory and practice,
and the resultant knowledge formation. For example, both
Jill and Carol have very firm views of language teaching

based on their own experiences as learners and the conclusions they drew from this in terms of preferred pedagogic action.

To understand the processes of teacher training it is necessary to understand the nature of relationships between the present and the past, theory and practice, sites of training activity, and the various orders of knowledge involved in these; in other words, it is necessary to understand the processes in terms of the arrows on the Vandenberg diagram. These arrows need to be understood in terms of the site location and relations in the course of training; both organisational and personal. What does it mean for the communication between the areas in the diagram to be developed or restricted? By what mechanism does one area influence another? Which aspects are most critical? What effect does the 'triangle' of others have? What are the positive and negative determining factors in any of these? Such are the catalogue of issues needing to be addressed in order to understand the processes of training.

Students are generally much less aware of 'Justifying Educational Principles', still less of 'Knowledge from the Special Sciences' that underpins them, preoccupied as they are with practice and making sense of it in their own terms. Yet, 'Justifying Educational Principles' are not absent in the knowledge field of their training. I, as tutor, designed the course and based it broadly on communicative language teaching principles as I interpreted them from my own experience as a teacher, policy documents, and my knowledge of specialised sciences such as second language acquisition research. Each of these fields of knowledge are themselves interconnected and are represented by individuals, texts and the activities that give rise to them. In a sense, I am the gateway for students in what is allowed onto the

course and articulated to them. Other messages, some
congruous, some incongruous with my own, come from other
sources - teachers, materials, colleagues, texts, family
and friends - and are weighted against one another in the
course of training.

My own relationship to theory and practice is clearly
different from that of the students; in that I no longer
teach languages in a secondary school context and am now
closer to teaching in principle and to the scientific
knowledge on which this is based. Thus, a good deal of
the students' 'Fundamental Educational Theory' is formed
not only in relation to what they know in and of practice
but also in relation to the 'Justifying Educational
Principles' contained in the fields of knowledge about
language teaching and learning implicit in the training
course. In this sense, there is evidence of theory
formation in the case studies of students' activities in
'left-hand side' theorising.

The arrows in this diagram therefore represent bi-
directional routes along which students 'travel' in their
thinking and talking about teaching and the principles
that underlie it. The strength of the conceptual terms
derived from Bourdieu is that it suggests that this
'travelling' is conditioned by individual students'
pedagogic habitus and the locational context within the
field of training in which they find themselves. What
follows is an attempt to explore how such an engagement
within the field of training knowledge operates.

I have referred to the students's struggle with 'theory'
as they understand it in the form of the principles
behind the communicative approach. Indeed, much of the
case studies can be seen as representing the ways
students engage with this 'theory' in their attempts to
understand it, apply it and cope with the problems of

doing so. As the epigraph to this chapter indicates, it
is as if 'the communicative approach' was the medium in
which my relationship with the students was cast. It was
our medium of pedagogic communication in the way books
and materials were for pupils and teachers in schools.
This chapter looks at the nature of this medium of
communication, the processes it involves and the
differential means of its operation. Because it is a
medium of communication between the participants
involved, there is a close analogy with language itself.
This connection is especially pertinent, as I have
already referred to philosophies of language as an
underpinning to the epistemological and methodological
approach I have adopted. To approach a study of the field
of training, I want to first begin by making explicit
some discussion of the left hand side 'points' in the
Vandenberg diagram given above (Figure 8). I do this
firstly because the principles and justifications for
communicative language teaching, so far absent, do need
some articulation in this thesis. I am not, however,
interested in what particular interpretation is made of
the approach by a particular student; rather, I want to
indicate what they and I were working through. Moreover,
I want to use some of the socio-cognitive aspects of
learning given in a communicative approach to language
teaching as a basis for elucidating training as a field
that shares similar aspects of process. In other words, I
will argue that the relation between an individual
student and the knowledge base of the field of training
share characteristics with an individual's language and
the socio-cultural systems of communication within which
they are located.

6.3 <u>Language Learning</u>

In this section I want to give a brief account of <u>communicative language teaching</u> (CLT) and some of the pertinent theories of second language acquisition which underpin it. These topics represent the left-hand side of the Vandenberg diagram and have not yet been explicitly represented in the thesis. As I have argued that the whole triangle is relevant to shaping students' professional competence, it is necessary for me to state what might be included in this diagram in an explicit way. In order to do this, I prepared an entire chapter on communicative language teaching in an earlier draft of this thesis, as well as a critique of the various social, psychological and philosophical theories underpinning it. Moreover, I included a detailed description of the language teaching training programme I organised for students. I wanted to show, quite explicitly, the principles and style of language teaching I was passing on to students; the left-hand side of the Vandenberg diagram. However, as I developed the thesis, I realised that such coverage was inappropriate and so have vastly reduced it. I did this for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it begged the question of the extent to which the methodology I presented <u>could</u> be called a communicative approach. Secondly, it set up an expectation of the kind of study that assesses the application of a given model in practice. Neither of these points are central to this thesis. However, consideration of them raised a number of issues for me. Although the students understood what I was doing as training them in <u>the</u> communicative approach, I did not interpret the techniques and principles I was offering in such pure terms. Indeed, I realised that my approach to training was to offer them a base method, which they could problematise, develop and personalise once they had

mastered it. I did this in a procedural way rather than
treat the whole issue of langauge teaching as problematic
and get them to invent their own method in response to
the problems encountered. However, despite my lack of
concern for the communicative purity of the methodology I
offered them, students still interpreted it as the
approach. Clearly, despite the diffuseness of the CLT
term, there were significant differences in it from the
previous methods many of them were used to; for example,
the promotion of target language use, the avoidance of
systematic grammar teaching, the downgrading of
translation. As such, even in broad terms, CLT
represented an important shift in the classroom role and
function of the teacher; and it is this change, probably
more than anything else that proved problematic for
students.

Despite this, in many respects, the precise theoretical
form the teaching methodology I was developing with
students was largely irrelevant to the main focus of this
thesis, since I was researching the processes of training
which only involved the application of CLT in practice as
a vehicle or content of these processes. The essential
aspects of the processes of training should be constant,
whatever the particular methodology advocated.

Nevertheless, CLT was the medium through which the
students and I worked. It is an approach that has emerged
within the contemporary academic discourse. This
discourse itself has been heavily influenced by
philosophies of language and subjectivity, and I have
earlier referred to some of these. In order to understand
the epistemology of individuals' training processes, the
development of their pedagogic subjectivities, I intend
to draw further on such philosophies; in particular, the
social-cognitive. In this section, I want to highlight
these aspects of theory most closely related to CLT. I

shall later redeploy them in the context of explaining
the development of the pedagogic competencies of training
teachers.

No comprehensive account of the history of modern
language teaching in the U.K. over the past few decades
has yet been published. For the most part, it is possible
to regard developments in approaches, methods and
techniques (cf. Anthony 1963) as running closely in
parallel to general international trends in second
language teaching and learning; thus, a movement from
strict deductive grammar methods of the 50s and 60s, to
neo-behaviourist audio-visual methods of the 60s, and a
greater concern for cultural authenticity and orally-
based communicative approaches in the 70s and 80s (cf.
CILT 1989, Brumfit 1988, Brumfit and Johnson 1979,
Littlewood 1981, Widdowson 1978). Methodological purity
in terms of the varied approaches and methods listed by
Richards and Rodgers (1986) is rare, both for individuals
and national policy statements. Curriculum reform (DES
1985, 1990) has come about as much from the desire for
innovation in line with broader political and humanistic
objectives than as a direct result of methodological
advancement; although, invariably, the latter have found
some expression in the new syllabus and curriculum
designs.

This communicative focus has emerged from a professional
field that itself has been formed not only from those
involved within it - teachers, advisers, policy
developers, etc. - but the outside influences on these.
For example, the curricular reform and methodological
innovation of which I write can be understood as coming
about through the work of individuals in three distinct
areas: socio-cultural developments in Europe that sought
greater inter-communication within the community by

offering language 'threshold levels' (cf. Trim 1978, Van Ek 1975, Page 1979); the Graded Objectives model of language learning (cf. Harding et al. 1980) – a movement that originated in grass-roots policy development by modern language teachers to cater for a wider ability range; and more theoretical research in applied linguistics, second language acquisition research and communicative language teaching. It is very difficult at present to ascertain which of these was most influential or how; invariably, it depends on individuals and the links they set up with the institutions of In-Service training and policy reform. There are, however, clearly discernable outcomes, or characteristics, to these developments in terms of resultant methodology. Firstly, a focus on authentic materials arising from the language culture, rather than prepared, culturally neutral texts. Secondly, a stress on oral target language use for teaching in place of English. Thirdly, a shift to first-person transactions and accounts – pupil as host or tourist. Fourthly, the near abolition of translation. Fifthly, a move towards more inductive, and thus less deductive, treatments of grammar. In sum: a closer correspondence, or natural allegorical link, between second language learning and the characteristics of that of first language.

It is not difficult to place these methodological characteristics on the Vandenberg diagram as the terms of the site of 'Justifying Educational Principles'. Moreover, it is possible to see these principles demonstrated in the practice of students and the ideas and opinions they express. Jackie refers to her role-play where 'she throws herself' in as a waitress and is just 'there' with the pupils. Marie too demonstrates an intent to be herself linguistically, which she feels the pupils appreciate. However, there are also evident problems with the approach; for example, in the way that Janet is

unable to operate in the target language when pupils
refuse to give sufficient attention in order to
understand, and in the way that Jill finds grammar
explanations easier and more effective.

To take these basic teaching principles and to continue
on to the area of the 'Special Normative Sciences' of the
Vandenberg diagram is to begin to identify the
multitudinous sources from which they originate. Brumfit
(1988) lists the theoretical influences on communicative
language teaching - linguistic, anthropological, socio-
linguistic, social psychological, philosophical and
ethnomethodological - and writes of 'remarkable general
consensus' about the nature of language: that is;

> a) context-dependent;
> b) unstable within conventionally-determined
> limits;
> c) negotiable at all levels, but particularly in
> meaning of particular items;
> d) closely related to individuals'self-concept and
> identity.
>
> (ibid.: 7)

However, such consensus in the nature of language often
obscures the tensions inherent in conceptualising how it
operates; in other words, the epistemological. Moreover,
such an operation has clear methodological implications.
Researchers often base their work in psycho-centric or
socio-centric perspectives; in other words, by either
focusing on what they understand to be innate, natural
features of language (cf. Chomsky, 1957, 1965, Krashen
1981, 1982, Krashen and Seliger 1976, Lamendella 1975,
Dulay and Burt 1974a and b, 1973, Dulay et al. 1982, de
Villiers and de Villiers 1973), along with acquisitional
implications; or by conceptualising language in its
interactionist mode - as arising out of discursive events

(Peck 1978, Hatch 1978 and 1992, Hymes 1972, Halliday 1978), again, with consequences for the nature of learning, and thus teaching.

Each of these traditions arises from different academic fields. Moreover, the research knowledge to which they give rise is distinct; for example, the psycho-centric aims for the type of analytic, controlled and predictive knowledge from which to formulate scientific theories that I earlier referred to as empirico-positivist. The socio-centric is much more context and time dependent, and thus 'impoverished' in Popper's terms (cf. Popper 1957). Such a division in paradigms indicates that the way of thinking about language has practical implications for research into it and consequent conclusions. For example, although Chomsky has produced a linguistically robust theory, it is not clear if he, and the universal grammarians in second language acquisition that have followed on after him, have indeed identified innate characters of language, or simply constructed a formal structure that can ideally be applied to it:

> Identity of deep structure is a concept projected by the theory itself not by any conspicuous feature of observable linguistic usage. It is a classic case of finding work for an idle description to do.
> (Harris 1981: 110)

For writers such as Harris, the Chomskyan distinction between language and its use is a 'theoretical artifact' (ibid.: 75).

Although he does not refer to language learning or acquisition *per se*, Bourdieu too stresses the need to think of language in terms of its social context:

> The entire destiny of modern linguistics is in fact
> determined by Saussure's inaugural act through which
> he separates the 'external' elements of linguistics
> from the 'internal' elements, and by reserving the
> title of linguistics for the latter, excludes from
> it all the investigations which establish a
> relationship between language and anthropology.
>
> (Bourdieu 1991: 33)

Bourdieu discusses language in terms of its value as
socially constructed and 'recognised' (ibid.). Moreover,
this value of language comes from its differential,
phenomenological nature by the way it connects the
individual to the world.

In the hands of linguists, such connections between
individuals' language and the world that surrounds them
is sometimes expressed in terms of information processing
and the cognitive features of thought. For example,
Anderson's ACT model (Adaptive Control of Thought)
conceptualises language as simply another form (or forms)
of knowledge. He posits a distinction between what is
known and knowing how to do things - between the
declarative and procedural - and argues that any learning
arises from automatising processes (Anderson 1983, 1985).
Such automatization can operate at any linguistic level -
lexical, syntactical, strategic - but is essentially
context and semantically driven. Learning language then
becomes a series of operations for constructing
acceptable language according to context and intent.
Moreover, such language does not arise simply as a
generative product of deep 'ground structures', but,
rather like Levi-Strauss' 'bricoleur' constructing myths,
is a product of the user employing 'bits and pieces',
chunks, and a host of meta-linguistic means to manage
communication - literally, anything that comes to hand
(mind). This image itself is reminiscent of the

'lexicalised clause stems' to which Pawley and S yder
(1983) have drawn attention. Language is not a store to
be telemented in a Lockean sense, to be transferred from
one to another, but is immanent in a semantic field that
is phenomenologically constituted. Again, this image is
reminiscent of the psycholinguists' use of such concepts
as 'distributed memory', or 'semantic nets', which are
weighted and drawn upon in constructing meaning through
auto-association (cf. Allport 1985). In other words,
meaning arises not from drawing on word stores and
syntactic structures but by associations that are
semantically based and reconstituted in response to
intentions, both incoming and outgoing.

This socially contextualised, yet psycho-generative, view
of language connects with Vygotskyan linguistics
(Vygotsky 1962, 1978). Here, individual cognition is seen
as external in origin; the intrapsychological being a
product of the interpsychological. Knowledge, both
cognitive and linguistic, is developed in the immediate
social environment, or the 'Zone of Proximal
Development', which includes individuals' concrete
reality and the way this is represented in ideas. The
interplay between the two in the participant learner is
the procedural base of knowledge development. In this
perspective, one major concern is to study the way
learners relate to tasks. Vygotskyan linguists (cf.
Wertsch 1979) make a distinction between conscious
(analysed) and self-regulatory (semi-automatised) forms
of thought; which is similar though not identical to
Anderson's model.

Lantolf and Frawley (1983, 1985) extend these notions to
a study of discourse which they view in terms of attempts
to gain 'self-regulation'. These attempts are carried out
through the processes of 'externalisation' or
'distancing' of linguistic knowledge, so that explicit

features of it can be more easily processed and manipulated. These operations may not be conscious but act as a semi-automatic part of psycholinguistic systems; similar to Anderson's ACT and Allport's automatizations. Language becomes an interactional process between an individual and the linguistic and concrete world they inhabit.

I have taken a little time to set out certain dominant themes within language learning research. As the PGCE course programme demonstrates (Appendix 4), although general principles to communicative language teaching were explicitly stated on the training course, the main focus was practical mastery and thematic discussion. These explicit theories of language learning were present through my own understanding of the processes involved; as the 'Justifying Educational Principles' of communicative language teaching. Students did, therefore, engage with such theories, albeit in an indirect way.

The issues of consciousness/unconsciousness, analysed/unanalysed, declarative/procedural, self-regulation/automatization go to the heart of discussion on language learning. Indeed, they are pertinent to any understanding of knowledge formation, competence, and practical mastery. It is possible to draw a theoretical analogy between the development of linguistic competence and pedagogic knowledge. For example, the relationship between grammar and use in language teaching can be seen to closely correspond to the relationship in teacher training between explicitly known technique and practical mastery. I now want to change focus and extend the epistemological focus on philosophies of language in this thesis to consider how such might be useful in understanding the processes and operation of the field of training. I initiate this discussion through a consideration of 'discourse' and field as a philosophical

frame for addressing knowledge formation before
considering what this means for individual practice.

6.4 <u>Field and Discourse</u>

In chapters 2, 3 and 5 I argued that teacher training as
professionalization should be understood as a 'field', as
this concept allows a dynamic grounding to pedagogic
knowledge formation as constituted through an interaction
with individuals' pedagogic habitus. Both these terms,
<u>habitus</u> and <u>field</u>, are existentially grounded and are
subjectivities and objectivities in the dynamic of social
praxis. Snook (1990: 161) draws our attention to the fact
that knowledge for Bourdieu is not simply a body of
information but an instrument for dealing with human
exigences; is essentially a matter of practice in
response to needs and desires rather than a search for
expressions of truth. Snook identifies two major
influences in this: first, Nietzsche, and with him a
corresponding notion that beliefs as statements of truth
need to be replaced by the idea of them having survival
'value'; second, Wittgenstein, who understood knowledge
as constituted by language as a practical activity, and
thus a social '<u>form of life</u>'.

This notion of knowledge as social praxis, as akin to
language as an expression of immediate needs, permeates a
good deal of twentieth century philosophy. Indeed, as
previously suggested, a philosophy of subjectivities has
been superseded by a philosophy of language; which in
turn has been superseded by a philosophy of subjectivity
<u>as</u> a philosophy of language.

Besides Nietzsche and Wittgenstein, Heidegger saw
language as having primacy in forming an existential,
structural link between Being and the World. It is in
language, and more specifically '<u>Discourse</u>', that this
Being is 'disclosed' (Heidegger 1962: 203 ff.). Discourse
is a central theme in later philosophies of a
postmodernist slant, and, as a conceptual metaphor, it

359

has been employed beyond its commonsense meaning as dialogue. It is to this term that I now wish to turn.

Various writers interested in discourse comment on the diversity of interpretations of the term (cf. Schiffrin 1987, Fairclough 1992). Discourse can be understood as dialogue, as examples of text, as types of language, and as units of analysis. Stubbs (1983) commented over a decade ago that 'no-one is in a position to write a comprehensive account of discourse analysis (as) the subject is too vast, and too lacking in focus and consensus' (p.12). Of course, Stubbs is much more strictly a sociolinguist, and thus is interested in the study of transcripts of speech. Other writers take a broader view. For example, discourse for Fairclough should be seen as 'being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice' (1992: 4). His concern is with text analysis that is carried out through examination of the text itself, the processes of its production, and the social, institutional circumstances of its construction. Such a social theoretical approach to discourse borrows heavily from the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault (1972) writes of forms of knowledge as 'discursive formations', as having semi-autonomous histories and modes of operation. Discourses for him are 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (ibid. 49). The analogy to language itself is telling but Foucault insists that discourses are more than signs or signifying elements in linguistic terms but the sum total of their 'practice'. Foucault's initial intention was to explain how 'discursive formations' constituted the objects of which they 'speak'; for example, 'mental illness was constituted by all that was said in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it

speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were taken as their own' (p.32). This account amounts to a statement of the ideational morphology of a particular social phenomenon; namely, mental illness. Individuals exist in these discursive 'spaces' which are made up of the inter- and intra-discursive practices that form them. Indeed, individuals are 'interpellated' (Althusser 1971) into these discourses, 'hailed' (a term echoing Heidegger's '<u>called into Being</u>'), or located dialogically. This ideational praxis will have consequences for who they are, and what they say, think and do. The objects of knowledge, according to such a theory, are formed by such discourses.

This account offers a powerful explanatory metaphor for understanding the operations of a field of knowledge. Does it differ greatly from Bourdieu's concept of 'field'? Because Bourdieu is essentially a sociologist, he is interested in understanding the structures of society, how they expressed and constituted. A field is, therefore, a network of objective relations; often objective in having precise organisational, relational forms. Thus, profession is understood as a field of relations, which, as training, can be explicitly mapped to give anthropological information on their forms of existence. The sort of personal knowledge in which he is interested is that which creates and sustains such fields, how they characterise themselves, evolve, and the form of their product. He does not focus on the history of ideas as such, in the way that Foucault does. Consequently, he has less to say about ideational representations and their operational nature in genealogical terms.

The limitation of the concept of field in this respect is that I am not interested in the sociology of teacher education *per se* but in the development of professional

or pedagogic knowledge of initial teacher trainees. The theory of practice developed from social theory employed so far has provided a research methodology and a framework for analyzing the processes of teacher training. However, in order to understand more about the nature of these processes, discourse theory is helpful as a tool within the analysis: firstly, because it offers a more subtle interpretation of ideas formation in terms of the operation of the field; secondly, it opens the door on a range of conceptual terms that may be useful in highlighting the theoretical links that may be drawn between language 'discourse' and the 'discourse' of a social praxis. In short, I have, in previous chapters, given an account of training by placing it within a field that is spatially, temporally characterised, much in the same way that Bourdieu does in his social analyses. In this chapter, I am considering the nature of this field as experienced by individuals in terms of professional knowledge formation. Discourse as a concept enables me to examine the nature of the connections of the fields as experienced by individual students. I have referred to different forms of theorising and the explicit forms of theory identifiable in the course of training to become a modern languages teacher. This chapter focuses on how individuals operate, and why, with respect to what processes involved in the field of training. In the next section I extend my analysis by beginning to explore what emerges when training is understood as a discursive practice within the theoretical perspective I have just elucidated.

6.5 Training and Discourse

I have already alluded to the way it might be possible to express the field of training in terms of linguistic metaphors; thus, the grammar of training may be explicit theories of teaching, pedagogic acts equivalent to speech events, teaching and learning as having a 'semantic' sense. These are evocative but a more robust analysis might employ the functional grammar of Michael Halliday (1978) and express the potential for pedagogic competence in training as analogous to the 'meaning potential' of language (p.123). Social interaction for Halliday typically takes a linguistic form which he refers to as a 'text'. This text is determined by the social context or 'situation type', which is itself structured in terms of field, tenor and mode. The field here is the activity participants are engaged in; tenor is how they regard their relationships; mode is the form of their communication. These structures are related to linguistic functions: namely, field to the ideational content; tenor to the interpersonal; and mode to the text as functional relevance. These semiotic properties of particular situation types determine their respective meaning potentials.

To use similar structural, functional terms to describe training is to see it as a field that is made up of interrelated fields (or discourses); for example, school, university based work and the resulting contexts. Moreover, these fields characterise themselves according to specific ideational contents; in other words, predominant views on teaching, theories, etc. Within this field, interpersonal relationships are formed, with colleagues, fellow-students, pupils, tutors, etc., which have tenor in terms of mutually recognised status and function. Each of the relationships has a specific nature. Finally, text involves choices about the

suitability of modes within the field. Different media, for example, flashcards, target language, printed and aural teaching materials are decided about in the light of perceptions about particular context situations.

Halliday is aware of the conceptual match between the structure of language and society. Frawley (1987) draws out the epistemological implications of the view of text as represented by language and the constitution of society:

> My tack...is that mind...is linguistically constituted; mind is a textual derivative. Mind is a system of organising external data, namely texts. What is the information which the system organises ? Texts. Where is the system located ? Externally.
> (p.140)

This line is essentially Vygotskyan: as such, language and thought are practically co-terminus. Individual thought is constructed out of texts and inter-texts, fields and fields within fields; in short, out of discursive space:

> Since mind is a constructing process and ordering of self, ultimately, mind is not located in the discursive space, but is formed by it...The discursive space which individuals construct and which has been given to them in which to construct new texts is the socio-textual environment which provides the conditions for mind.
> (p.151)

Following such a perspective leads to a picture again of training as a field or discourse that constructs the mind of the pedagogue. But this is not a passive process, rather one of regulation. The process of this regulation

is linguistic but functions according to <u>object</u>, <u>other</u> and <u>self-regulation</u>. 'Objects' are anything non-human in the discourse; 'others' are individuals who control the situation or act to control them; 'self-regulation' is how individuals control themselves and their minds (cf. Lantolf and Frawley 1985). It is possible to see such regulation not only in terms of mastery over language but as discursive knowledge in a socio-textual field. Thus, in training, students need to gain control over the objects of teaching; materials, technical equipment, etc. They also need to gain control over others; not only pupils, who may dictate a particular situation, but the ideas of others represented in the theory of language teaching. However, self-regulation is also required; a differentiation of self from others in relation to them, which gives rise to new personal knowledge; a mechanism in which personal 'Fundamental Educational Theory' gives rise to personal 'Justifying Teaching Principles'. One example of the latter would be to consider Marie's introspection and reflective diary keeping as her attempts at self-regulation.

Moreover, this mechanism of regulation occurs in a discursive space that is characteristically structured; which generates such processes in terms of the difference between an individual's ability to be self-regulated and other-regulated. Vygotsky calls this concept the 'Zone of Proximal Development:

> It is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under guidance or in collaboration with peers.
>
> (1978: 86)

An illustration in this context would be the role of tutor, particularly in the Autumn Term (U3/4) as a source of guidance and structure, and teachers (S5) in the Spring Term as source of supported development for students. It is then possible to understand the field of training in these terms: potential and actual development. This 'zone' is individual, task-centred and constituted by moves towards self-regulation for establishing socially based order; what Brown and McIntyre (1993), in research on teacher thinking, would term a 'normal desirable state'. The discursive space of training is made up of the totality of individuals' zones, and it is these individuals who produce their own texts in response to this space and the texts that make it up:

> The texts and intertexts of a discursive space do not represent the totality of knowledge of a discipline (*language teaching for example*) they represent the <u>potential</u> for the development of knowledge; they are the objects and facts with which the individual must interact in order to go beyond his level of actual development.
>
> (Frawley 1987: 161.
>
> My italics and Emphases)

Just as texts are made up of signifiers on which individuals must act to construct mind, so the discursive space of training is made up of significant representatives and ideas of the field on which individual students must act to construct their own <u>pedagogic minds</u>. Their actual development of the latter depends on their ability to gain control through self-regulation in order to act independently of the specific content signifiers of the field; for example, competing notions about language teaching.

In this section, I have described training in terms of discourse derived from linguistic, philosophical and social theoretical sources. Indeed, discourse is the point where the social and the psychological are most closely linked. Essentially, the field of training as discourse can be seen as containing significant elements which act on individuals, and that constitute the pedagogic mind. Yet this is not a passive operation, and I have suggested that we might regard individual students as being 'interpellated' in an Althusserian ideological sense, but in a way that requires action, choice, from them which has specific consequences for the development of their <u>pedagogic competence</u>. These consequences can be seen in the way each of the case study students responds in differential ways to the dilemmas identified in chapter 5. For example, Janet's action in adopting a form of lesson *in toto* had significant consequences for her eventual competence as a teacher.

In the next section, I want to focus on interactions between individuals and the field much more explicitly; specifically in order to account for the differential responses of students and the consequent outcomes of training.

367

6.6 <u>Discourse and Field</u>

The use of the term 'discourse' in analyzing the
processes of the field of training is helpful as it
provides a dynamic concept with clear epistemological
implications. The scheme deriving from Bourdieu has
stressed the dialectic of individual subjectivities and
the objective structures in which they are 'placed', but,
because Bourdieu is essentially a sociologist, this
relationship is read in terms of social differentiation
as a result of structural homologies. What is 'thinkable
and unthinkable' (Bourdieu 1971) is attributed to
'elective affinities' between such structures: but the
underlying logic is social distinction. Knowledge, for
Bourdieu, rarely goes beyond this focus. Psychology, for
example, is therefore often taken as a given and becomes
transparent.

The analysis of the field as 'discourse' begins to
distinguish between elements within it, which can be
understood as inter-textual, and the way individuals
exist in conscious and unconscious dialogue with them.
'Text' is a helpful complementary term in thinking
through these structural elements and the knowledge
immanent in them. Thus, the '<u>structural map</u>' I discussed
in chapter 5 can be considered as the organisational,
relational aspect of the training discourse; except that
the points illustrated (Figures 6 an 7) are experiential
points in time and place; are ideational. The Vandenberg
diagram can be considered as an ideational representation
of this map, which could be superimposed on it. It
represents the training discourse in terms of the
different orders (and origins) of knowledge inherent in
it.

Vygotskyan psychology begins to link these two levels:
the way the mind is created socially but with active

participation of individuals in terms of regulative moves
for epistemological stabilisation. Moreover, this
interpretation has been expressed as determined
environmentally, as the quality of ideational space, and
its effect in terms of potential for knowledge
development.

Both the concrete structure of the field and its
ideational forms can be regarded as interrelating but
constituted by discrete elements. What this means in real
terms is, for example, that at any one time, students are
located literally either in schools or the university as
the active part of their training. Similarly, and partly
consequential of this, they will be 'located' more or
less at one particular part of the Vandenberg diagram.
This picture of the field of training implies place and
time; and thus <u>distance</u> or <u>proximity</u> to discrete elements
or aspects within it. For example,

(1)
Jill:'Flashcards
don't work'. (1)

Jill when (2)
excited by the
theoretical
construction of
Language Learning and
Teaching but failing to
move closer to practice.

(3)
Marie/Janet when
talking about the
difficulty of
planning lessons.
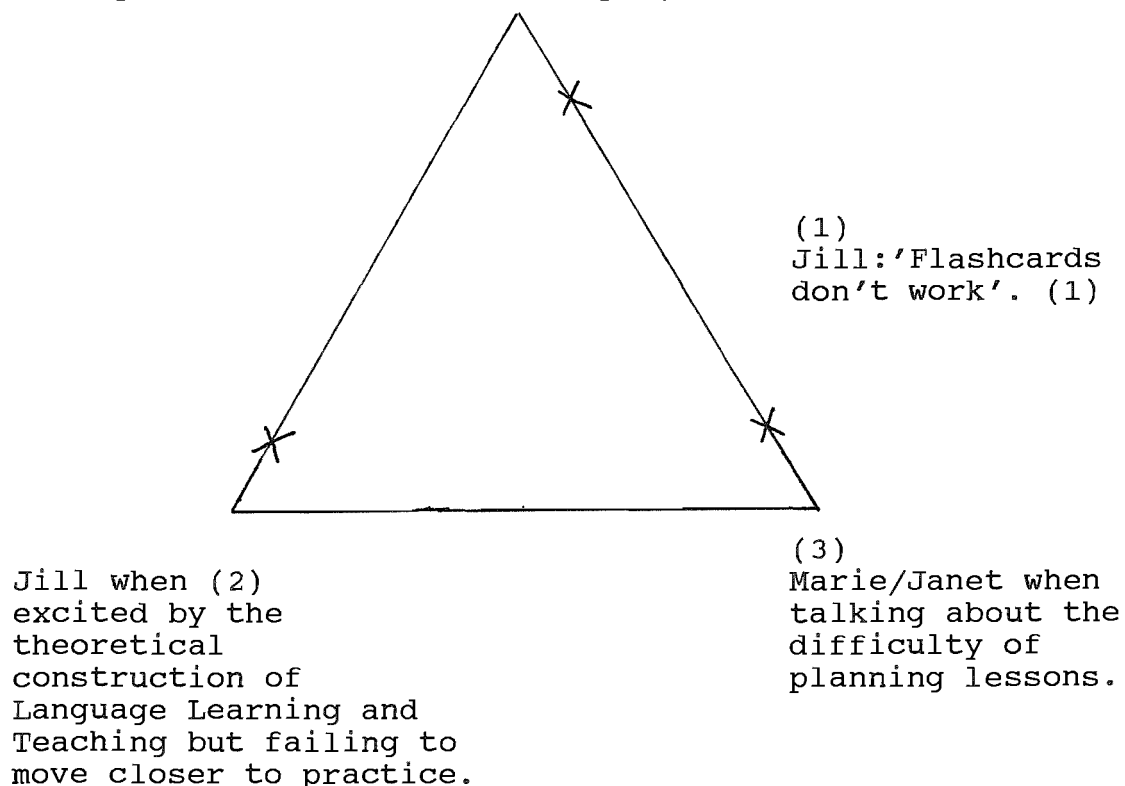
<u>Figure 9: Students' Locations within the Modes of
Theorising in Training</u>

369

(1) Point 1, an articulation of 'Pre-theoretical Knowledge' gained from 'Concrete Practice' can be understood as exemplified when Jill states that 'flashcards don't work'; in other words, she is staying close to practice but is being very untheoretical.

(2) At point 2, 'Educational Principles', as for example when Jill responds so enthusiastically to discussions of theory at the university, she is in a position that is diametrically opposed to point 1. Here, she is close to communicative language teaching in theory but not making the connections to practice.

(3) Examples of point 3, 'Fundamental Educational Theory', are when Marie and Janet talk and write about the difficulty of planning lessons. Here, they are being introspective and reflective but not dealing with a clear principle. In other words, they are not making the connections with more general practical principles at that time. Indeed, each of these examples is of students at a particular time.

The spatial, temporal character of the structures of training hence imply proximity and distance; not only in concrete material surroundings but the ideational forms of knowledge of the field, which are themselves the product of the objectified structures. It is on the basis of such structures within structures that differentiation arises in individual student responses. Students do come onto the course with their own individual dispositions, and these are the source of their particular responses in the field. It does matter where students are located and when. It is not surprising that the dilemmas referred to in chapter 5 are expressed more hypothetically in the autumn term and have very real consequences for practice in the spring. Theory, or ideal forms, might be understood as being 'closer' in some contexts than

others; at the university, when practice is distant, and
in school when it is closer. These dilemmas have
consequences for alternative forms of action. They arise
from within the training discourse, from its ideational
elements and their relative impact in terms of proximity.
Students work 'in' them according to their own
dispositions which sets up a differentiating distance
between them: what is and is not possible in specific
contexts. The potential for the development of pedagogic
competence is dependent on these interactions. Decisive
actions are taken through the dispositions activated in a
range of indeterminate practices constituent of the field
of teaching and training. Such actions are not wholly
random, although random actions may be included. Neither
are decisive actions made by students unencumbered by the
field of knowledge within which they are located at a
particular time and place. In other words, authority is
implicated by virtue of the fact that representational
forms of teaching are held within theories and materials,
which have to be 'regulated' as well as being literally
in-corporated in individuals who hold positions of
authority within the field; who also have to be
regulated. Students have no such authority: they are not
wholly students because they do not depend on academic
success; they are not wholly teachers because they do not
depend on practical success. It is, therefore, perhaps
unsurprising if, when faced with ambiguities implicit in
the dilemmas - for example, with Jill and the use of
grammar in lessons - the only way of asserting themselves
and their own authority is through previously held
knowledge about teaching and the experiences from which
it arose. For them, apparent certainty of this personal
knowledge contrasts with the apparent fragmented,
contradictory demands immanent in the course of training,
both concrete and ideational. How and to what extent this
is expressed depends on their position
(proximity/distance) with respect to these latter.

Locations within the field or discourse have specific
consequences for students; not only in theoretical terms,
but the very real dilemmas faced over practical issues
and how they respond to them. In other words, training
happens by enjoining academic, theoretical understanding
and individual students' ability to take practical action
in the light of such knowledge.

In the next section, I want to discuss and illustrate how
it is that students respond differentially within this
process and why.

6.7 <u>Discourse and Pedagogic Habitus</u>

<u>Discourse</u> and <u>field</u> are useful terms for accounting for
the make-up of training and indicating how students are
located within it. However, students do respond in
different ways, and, in chapter 5, I discussed reasons
for this in terms of 'pedagogic habitus', or those
elements of their biography that were constituently
relevant to their practice as teachers. This section
develops these themes further in the light of specific
examples from the research data; thus, those aspects of
'pedagogic habitus' identified in chapter 5 - for
example, students' relationship to language itself, to
grammar usage, to language teaching, to the communicative
approach - and discussed here in their ideational form
and process of operation rather than within a
site/time/agency analysis.

It is clear from the case study analyses that the model
of language teaching towards which students are working
is problematic for them. They are partly sympathetic with
the general approach; especially in instrumental and
motivational terms. However, communication, as a
metaphor, has limited application, and there are concerns
about the formal aspects of language teaching. The
temporal element is important in that students must
extrapolate from previous experience into present
practice. Not only are there inherent incongruities
between the present and the past, but the latter itself
contains ambiguities of interpretation. For example, the
students' initial questionnaire replies gave prominence
to the natural setting of language (Appendix 1), both in
terms of the reasons for language learning, motivation
and personal gains coming from it. They then re-apply
this idea of natural settings to express also the best
way of learning languages. However, such a re-application
raises the question of formal, grammatical aspects of

language. The course, and the experiences inherent in it, seem to bring the importance of grammar into being in a way that has not previously been expressed. Students then separate out pedagogy from natural contexts in language learning, or are unable to express clearly, at an initial stage, the reasons for their own success. Do students 'know' if they learnt language from knowing the formal rules, which became a predominant view for some, or is it rather that these rules initiated entrée into natural settings from which language was learnt ? Grammar knowledge may be *a priori* or *a posteriori* to linguistic competence. Moreover, such grammar knowledge may have developed as part of the pedagogical content knowledge that students had formed in other early experiences of teaching languages; as an assistant, for example. Students also connect grammar, or explicit knowledge about language to pupils' general levels of intelligence. If grammar is seen as optimal, as it often is, more natural approaches are interpreted as second-best, and thus regarded as most suitable for low ability and poorly motivated pupils.

Such questions and ambiguities form the basis for how dilemmas and resultant choices are responded to in theory and practice, in the light of past and present contexts, and the interaction between these. I have suggested that such questions of theory and practice can be interpreted in terms of location, and thus proximity and distance to elements on the course. But theory at this stage contains both personal and public forms; students' own opinions and those offered within training. The two interrelate in a dialogic sense in the light of practical experience. Both forms of theory, and here I might recall 'Fundamental Educational Theory' and 'Justifying Educational Principles' from the Vandenberg diagram, allow for a personal, objectifying distance to be set up between the students and the pedagogic environment. This

environment can well seem hostile, and at best there is
often limited realisation of intentions in language
teaching as a result of others, the approach, materials,
etc. Either personal or public theory allow a means for
gaining control over experience, of mediating
contradictions and forming working hypotheses.

Here the work of Basil Bernstein (1971(a), 1971(b), 1975,
1986), another social theorist particularly interested in
knowledge discourses and their mechanisms, may be useful
to consider. His work is often used to analyze the
processes of social differentiation in language ; in
particular, his distinction between elaborated and
restricted codes to account for class differences in
language use. 'Code' itself is a term that implies self-
regulation with regard to the linguistic environment; not
only is language acquired but a certain sort of language
pertinent to the socio-linguistic context. Language and
knowledge are closely linked, and Bernstein distinguishes
between <u>commonsense knowledge</u> and <u>educational knowledge</u>.
Commonsense knowledge is based in the home, is non-
technical and informal. Educational knowledge is based in
schools, is formal and more technical. Bernstein sees a
distinction that either type of knowledge may have;
namely, strong and weak <u>classification</u> and <u>framing</u>.
Classification refers to the degree of 'boundary
maintenance'; hypothetically to what extent one form of
knowledge can cross into another. Framing refers to who
controls the organisation of knowledge, the selection for
its content and the timing of its operations.

Extrapolating this scheme into the training context is to
see students' own 'commonsense' knowledge about language
teaching as distinct from the 'educational' character of
the course content, and its representation in
communicative approaches. The organisation of this
knowledge makes it strongly framed; its application

moderately classified. But these hypothetical boundaries are personally in-corporated in students and other representatives on the course. If students' classificatory schemes or personal theories have 'strong' boundaries these will not be extensively 'permeable' to public, 'educational', theories represented in the course of training unless the two are already congruent with each other. For example, Jill, Carol and Jackie seem relatively unaffected in their views of language teaching as a result of practical experience. However, Jackie's approach was the same as that of the course; was the method she would have 'invented' had it not already existed. Contradictions for her are therefore more easily resolvable. This was not true for Jill and Carol. They worked mostly according to their own schemes of language learning, which were not consistent with the course model. Personal theory then became an important means of mediating difficulties between their theory and their practice in terms of externally located factors: the pupils, materials, flawed methodological principles, unrealistic objectives, etc. Their own theories of what should be happening in the classroom are used to offset contradictions between past and present experience. Indeed, a threatening environment, and the insecurity of the unknown, are always likely to make students' classificatory schemes and theories less rather than more permeable to external influence.

Marie also had a strongly classified scheme, which she was partially able to reconcile with the communicative approach and partially operationalise in practice. However, she was not able to fully articulate inherent contradictions in practical implementation. Her strongly classified scheme was based on a theoretical view of language and previous experience. When, in similar positions, Marie internalised problems whilst Jill externalised them. For Marie, she became the source of

the problems in effectively realising the methodology she
was attempting to implement. This was less true when
based at the university, as issues remained at a
theoretical level and hence without practical
consequence. Problems are 'controllable'. When her
classificatory schemes were disrupted in actual practice,
there is less transference to external features as causal
factors, or to a personal theoretical explanation, than a
personal acceptance of responsibility. This makes more
likely the abandoning of her 'own' method of teaching for
that of the school department. Her reasons for this are
expressed in terms of her physical strength as well as
techniques and planning. Jill and Carol effect such a
transference much more readily. This move, along with
strongly held personal views and avoidance of direct
interaction with pupils, enables them to maintain a
position that partially expresses itself in terms of
compliance to a given approach; and thus deflection of
fault and blame for its apparent limitations. For Janet,
it is a combination of external constraints and her own
lack of foreign language teaching schemes of thought
deriving from successful achievement of linguistic
competence and experience in the culture, that lead to
her abandoning the given methodology rather than any
disagreement with it. Indeed, she shows a number of
insights into the approach and is generally sympathetic
to it. However, although she accepts it theoretically
with reservations, and complies with its 'ideal'
implementation, she does not have content knowledge
strong enough to undergo personal and public disruption.
Her knowledge boundaries are hence weak because of
content rather than congruity, or lack of it, between her
knowledge about language teaching and that inherent in
training. The approach, therefore, becomes a shell,
something she can accept in theory, but not something she
can work with as a way of developing a pedagogic dialogue
between her, the approach and the pupils.

The dilemmas previously discussed can also be understood as needing mediation through personally grounded schemes of classificatory thought. One way of responding to threatening situations is to strengthen such classificatory schemes; some can entrench previous dispositions. The opposite may also be true: a relaxing of previously held views, and thus boundaries between public and personal, 'educational' and 'commonsense' knowledge, can only come about from a position of relative security. But progress in training, the development of a personal pedagogic competence, is dependent on such relaxing of boundaries. It is as if so much mental space is taken up coping with everyday problems in practice that there is not the flexibility available for substantial altering of beliefs on theory and practice. Jackie is a good example. At the end of both the autumn and summer terms, she is able to make insightful comments about language teaching, even though there is little evidence that she is able to actualise such insights in practice. It is as if she is only able to bring them to mind in the relative security of the university. Her final thoughts about personalizing language teaching seem to be made without recognising the fact that I, as tutor, had raised the point with her throughout the year. Jackie only 'heard' this when she was ready to hear it. Such a phenomenon should not be dismissed as excessive idealism over realism on her part. This 'time to mature' in thinking is an important element in connecting 'Pre-theoretical Knowledge', and its articulation in 'Fundamental Educational Theory', to a more 'principled' scheme for generally applying in practical circumstances. In this case, objective articulation may run ahead of practice as well as hang behind it. Indeed, it could be that such an objectification arises from an articulation of 'Pre-theoretical Knowledge' expressed less in terms of what students do than what they intend to do. Mostly, during

training, students are working with what they need to do
and know to allow their own thoughts and beliefs about
teaching to survive.

Developing as a language teacher then means developing
pedagogic competence that is distinct from common sense
knowledge about teaching. The processes of this
development should be understood as inherent in the field
of teaching and the particular characteristics of
particular students' pedagogic habitus. Moreover, these
processes are immanent in the two-way 'dialogue' between
field and habitus. This interaction might be understood
as a discourse within a discourse and be comprised of
ideas, opinions and theories derived from within it.
Students react to, analyze and control such ideational
forms in the process of dealing with them and the
concrete practice of teaching. This self-regulation is
discursive in nature. Indeed, developing as a language
teacher may mean developing a view of teaching that is
itself discursive within the discourse of training. This
process is a social-cognitive act. Formal specifications
of teaching, whether lesson planning, technical
equipment, classroom transactions, or pedagogic theory
need to be transferred through self-regulation to semi-
automatised schemes of thought: cognitive skills and ways
of responding in practical pedagogic contexts. Formal
teaching knowledge in the form of 'Justifying Educational
Principles' is superimposed on commonsense dispositions
and previous theories about teaching in a second order
way during the training course. This provides a focus for
thinking and reflection about practice, This thinking or
reflection itself requires self-regulation. In the
process, objective <u>schematic knowledge</u> derived from
elements of the field becomes personal <u>systemic
knowledge</u>; or the declarative becomes procedural to
extend the language metaphor. This process will be
necessary if the kind of pedagogic knowledge is to be

developed that allows for general applications, modifications and re-adaption. The case studies attest to the limited range of development identifiable for these students in the course of one year's training. There is little doubt that certain aspects of teaching are automatised, but this is often in the face of constant disruption and personal doubts about the content of the training discourse and personal thoughts arising from students' location within it.

6.8 <u>Training as Discourse</u>

I have used discourse as a kind of metaphoric explication of process in the field of training.

Firstly, 'training as discourse' points towards activity as a temporal, spatially specific series of acts in which process is immanent. These acts are located and mapped accordingly. Such a description, for example, the discrete events presented spatially in my case studies, or the field map in chapter 5, can be taken as a synchronic account of diachronic elements. The processes inherent in these are constant, although their formal expression changes.

Secondly, 'training as discourse' allows analyses on various levels; as is possible with language itself. These levels might be understood as 'forms of life', as might the structural elements within the field to which they refer. In chapter 5 I expressed these elements in organisational terms and the events and responses arising from within them. In this chapter I have expressed these elements in terms of their ideational process; of the theoretical forms within the field. The practical activity of students is understandable in terms of these structures within structures as defined in differential terms.

Thirdly, 'training as discourse' highlights its communicative nature; the transactions between elements and people in the field. For Habermas (1984/1987), the discursive nature of human activities implies a rational dialogue in which all elements take part; the outcome of which is communicative rather than strategic action. For him, language and the discursive nature of human activity is governed by an assumed commitment to rational dialogue and the consequent refinement of the object of that

dialogue. For training, this means that, in practice, we must assume that all involved are committed to the coming into being of good and effective language teachers. In other words, we cannot believe that any of those involved in the discourse field, the elements within it, are intending to disrupt and sabotage the objective of training. This itself seems to assume perfect knowledge and perfect communication between elements of the discourse at any one time. There may be rationalised agreement about the outcome of training but not necessarily the means of achieving it. Moreover, the discursive nature of training draws attention, as linguistic idealism does in language studies, to the idealism of theory and practice. Writers such as Derrida remind us of how bloated can become the outcome the latter of the signifier/signified dichotomy of representational language. The business of post-modernists is often to deconstruct idealism and reveal its material bases. In the course of training, I have implied that the communicative approach to language teaching becomes a <u>pedagogic ideal</u>. If language always defers, always points beyond itself, so will a pedagogic ideal such as <u>the</u> communicative approach. Theory, and knowledge of it, will always point beyond practical experience of it. Theory and practice can never be co-terminus, as language signifier and signified can never be co-terminus. In fact theory and practice might best be understood as a 'bi-polar' pair of opposites, each immanent in the other. Earlier, I stated that I felt that the post-modernists' line on the extreme humanistic relativism of language might be considered rather indulgent due to its lack of practical implications for the world-view they present. However, there is a very specific issue of great relevance at stake here: if we are to regard the field of training as discourse, which is made up of texts, forms of knowledge, transmissible and transmutable in the process of the life form of the

382

field, then it is important to consider the extent to which these knowledge forms <u>can</u> be communicated. To regard training as a discourse, and then to subject it to 'linguistic' analysis may highlight the inherent <u>communicative</u> nature of the field, how one element 'speaks' to another, and what limits and disrupts this communication. I have already expressed the character of the communication of training in terms of the field and pedagogic habitus. I now want to consider the processes immanent in the relationships between elements within the field in terms of the nature of the message itself and relate it to the practical consequences of training.

Taylor (1992) discusses doubts in the communicative function of language by invoking the term '<u>scepticism</u>'. It is simply impossible to establish 'true' meaning, or to prove that what one says and what is understood is one and the same thing. For Taylor, the consequence of avoiding this issue, as he believes modern linguists do, is a preoccupation with the 'how' rather than the 'what' or 'whether' in language analyses.

Within the discourse of training it is possible to raise similar questions; and the concept of scepticism, if applied in this context, suggests that the messages between various elements in the field are '<u>misunderstood</u>'. In other words, the messages contain ambiguities and contradictions, and, even if clearly 'stated', these will be individually interpreted, articulated and acted upon. The general 'communicative approach' represented in the course of training provides a good example. It is not so much that the approach provides a theory of practice, as I have previously commented, as that the theoretical bases to it are almost absent from the course. At best, it can be regarded as a series of teaching principles to justify the techniques employed (the left-hand point of the Vandenberg diagram).

Yet, it is clear that it is regarded as theoretical by students in that it is detached from practice; the activity of consciously engaging with it does not happen at the same time and place as teaching itself. It is as if the approach acts as a sort of 'protolanguage', as a form of mediation between theory and practice. Fitted into the Vandenberg diagram as the 'Justifying Educational Principles', this theory of communicative language teaching shapes concrete practice which, in turn, provides feedback to such theories which are consequently modified. The communicative approach becomes the 'language' of training to the extent that it locates itself between the elements of this discourse; indeed, these elements might be defined in terms of it. This message seems to be behind much of what students finally say about the training process. To refer again to Marie's statement that I have used as an epigraph to this chapter: 'In school I thought you had the teacher, the book and the pupil. And with us, there was you, the communicative approach and us'. Yet the logic of the above suggests that just as there are no grounds for establishing total communication or meaning in language, there are no grounds for establishing the totality of meaning or practical representation of the communicative approach. It can never be that precise. Indeed, the communicative approach is somewhat of a misnomer in that it does not exist as an entity, still less as a practical science, but is composed of a series of principles and loosely connected features; only some of which may be identifiable in a particular teaching context. It seems, therefore, a rather futile task to attempt to establish if the students are using the approach; to create an ideal and use it as a basis for evaluation in a positivistic way. To do so would be to fall into the realist's trap that Taylor speaks of: of attributing meaning to language because that is the way things are; to attribute meaning to theory because that is the way

that practice is. This assumption would constitute an applied theory approach to training. Yet, again to extend Taylor's argument, it is equally futile to fall into the relativist's trap and state that any one sense and meaning is as valid as another, and, by analogy, any teaching or training method is as valid as another. Both of these extreme positions are symptomatic of disconnecting form from function; of disconnecting form and meaning from its socially valued context. The theory of practice I have derived from Bourdieu sees social praxis as essentially differential and thus immanently valued. Value, in the case of training, derives largely from the views expressed/ acted upon by the principal agents within the field in the context of practice and the theories of language teaching distributed throughout. Students act in terms of their preferred discourses. Value is not a Platonic ideal, but particular to a context. Such is the motor force behind the relationship of the field to habitus. 'Choices' are discerned in the light of such value; indeed, 'choices' is a simplistic, misleading word, as the outcome of, for example, working within the dilemmas previously identified, takes place at the socio-cognitive, self-regulatory level described earlier. The interpolation of a general teaching theory such as the communicative approach into this discourse offers something that is valued and provides values for the experiences of teaching in practical situations. However, it is not so much that what student teachers do has value as defined by the communicative approach, but what they do has practical consequences that are differentially valuable. It is less that theory can be applied to practice, and evaluated, than theory in practice has consequences that are more or less valuable:

> There is no 'communication' in the sense either of a
> making common of something (for example,
> 'knowledge') that was previously the possession of
> only one party or in the sense of a transferral or
> transmission of the same (feelings, beliefs, and so
> on) from one another. What there is, rather, is a
> *differentially consequential interaction*: that is,
> an interaction in which each party acts in relation
> to the other differentially - in different,
> asymmetric ways and in accord with different
> specific motives - also different consequences for
> each.
>
> (Smith 1988: 109. My italics and emphases.)

It is easy to see the students' own pedagogic habitus in
relation to the field of training as being a
'differentially consequential interaction' involving
different feelings, beliefs and motives. Training is not
a linear application of theory into practice but a
structurally heterogeneous field in which various
elements are value weighted in different sites. The
outcome of training, the development of a professional
pedagogic competence, can be understood as the practical
consequence of the way it is structured both as a field
and at the level of the individual student within it. The
implication of this is that certain forms of organisation
of the field will have consequences different from one
another. The practical response to the scepticism and
misunderstanding I spoke of earlier is to focus on
pragmatic issues. Theoretically, one form of teaching or
training is not necessarily empirically better than
another. Each, however, does have distinct pragmatic
consequences, and these are the products of the processes
I have described.

Students in training often appear to share many features
of pupils in learning. In the classroom, pupils are

taught through language; tasks are set, questions offered and exercises completed. It is a common view that pupils do not learn what teachers teach, rather one is immanent in the other; teachers teach and pupils learn. The Vygotskyan perspective I set out earlier makes language and knowledge two mutually interactive, developmental, forms derived from extra, social factors. Language mediates the experiences of classrooms, and, where there are problems, language is used to work with them. In the modern language classroom, the situation is different in that the language is itself the problem. Use of the foreign language is a disruption to the 'normal' pedagogic discourse, in that it immediately makes relationships strange and removes the normal anchoring 'scaffolding structure' (operational within what I previously described as the Zone of Proximal Development) in the construction of the pedagogic self for both teacher and pupil (cf. Peck 1992). Using the principles of the communicative methodology represented on the course - use of the target language, authentic materials, etc. - it is as if neither pupil nor teacher can be themselves: their normal pedagogic personality is displaced. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the modern language classroom can become a strange, disruptive, threatening environment. It is perhaps unsurprising if these sentiments are felt all the more acutely in the early stages of teaching, as students' effort is to create this pedagogic self and organise a normal pedagogic environment. Moreover, in the struggle to create this <u>pedagogic relationship</u>, it is also unsurprising if the students revert to English, a less strange mode of expression, and other compensatory techniques.

It is again possible to extend this picture to the field of training. If the communicative approach parallels language, its representational forms in training have a

similar disruptive effect on previous ideas, on previous selves. Moreover, it does this in both theory and practice, over time, and in particular contexts. For the processes of training to be effective, students have to engage with this disruption; they need to let go or modify previous beliefs and theories in the light of present theory (in its separate forms) and practical experience. This critical phase would seem to be necessary if one theory, or one principle of approach, is to be modified by another.

I would like to conclude this section by quoting some utterances from the student case studies that were made towards the end of the year. Each quote illustrates how the student has individually engaged with the communicative approach and how this is connected to the training process for them.

Carol, for example, reassesses the approach: 'I got the impression at the beginning that it was geared towards the lowest common denominator...but when you go back and look at it, you see that it is more to do with covering the same work but organising it differently'. However, she obviously still does interpret the approach in terms of intelligence: 'We got the impression that this approach was now used because people were not able to cope with the traditional ways...we thought we've done it and got on, and it was pointed out that we were slightly brighter than the rest'. For her, the presentation of an approach exacerbated this 'misunderstanding'; she suggests how it might have been avoided: 'create a hypothetical situation...criticise it...wouldn't it be nice if we had this...sell the idea...and then produce it...so that now we've criticised our way of learning languages, we can all appreciate how good the communicative approach is'.

This idea of alternative training is echoed by Marie: 'We could have straight away gone on trying to find a good method ourselves all together. For example, we have good linguists, people have got good qualifications. We could have tried to teach each other...Try another language unknown to us; maybe then we would understand the way we had learned'. Yet, the communicative approach had value in developing her methods: 'I feel the communicative approach is not yet the right approach, although it is the right way because the children are responding...it's too repetitive, parrot-like...I enjoyed destroying it. But this is a good way into new methods'. This modification of approach seems dependent on her relationships to her past views, the new method, and potential innovation: 'I think that it is important that I can internalise, analyze myself. If you are given a method: this is the way you have to do it, and I'm here and I can't see the relation with me to that, so I have to build up one if necessary'.

Both these positions contrast with the course organisers and tutor over the issue of time. Students see training as their beginning to teach; it is the starting point for a possible lifetime's work. Hence, suggestions for improvement are made as if the time factor was not an issue. Organisation was, naturally, constrained by pre-determined length of the course (1 year). Some of their suggestions, therefore, whilst good are not practical within one year. For some students, for example Jackie, this one year is ample time to 'become' a new teacher; for others, for example Janet, it is long enough to recognise the nature of the difficulties but not sufficient to resolve any of them.

The case studies offer a picture of students' active involvement with an approach, the outcome of which is highly dependent on them individually and their relative

pedagogic habitus. For example, Jill ends her interview with an account of a pupil who found everything boring because <u>she</u> (the pupil) <u>was</u> boring. Jill was attached to traditional approaches to language learning and suspicious of the communicative approach but did change her position with regard to the latter. Essentially, however, Jill, in her own words, was 'better at doing than making things happen'. This was someone who was used to operating on her own. Her attachment to theory is characteristic of someone who is strongly <u>self-regulated</u>, which I earlier also referred to as being strongly <u>classified</u>. The resultant disruption to this, in theory and practice, when faced with the experience of training only seems to have intensified the sense of being 'out-of-control' in pedagogic situations. Her inability to engage with the theory <u>and</u> practice of language teaching involving her own self hindered her progress. Indeed, it was her personal characteristics and background that brought this about.

Individual student habitus is also evident in Janet's and Jackie's account of the communicative approach and its place in training. Both show insights into its significance. Janet: 'It is not quite right but it is in the right direction'; Jackie: 'It hit me then that it was far easier, and more beneficial if they (the pupils) do all the work rather than me...I thought I was being child-centred about a lot of activities...I thought it was being communicative but it wasn't that refined...I was still the contact in the role play...and rather than going for the full production, I would be going around interacting with the groups rather than leaving them to do their own thing'.

However, even in these two quotes it is clear that Janet and Jackie have different relationships to the approach. For Janet, it is still outside her; something imposed;

for Jackie, it is a 'language' through which she 'talks' her own practice. This distinction also arises in their views of training. Janet: 'You are trying to tell us that, not because it's the way you want us to teach but how someone higher up is thinking...this is a method that is geared to the GCSE'. Jackie: 'I could see that the point of you introducing the approach to us and when you did...although people in the group - it was coming across as a conflict situation...you have to have an approach that is presented to you, and for some people it is going to fit the way they work, and for others it's not. So, they'll modify it. But we need the original approach'. Again, for Janet, training is about application; for Jackie it is generation of practice through theory. This differential response again needs to be understood in terms of the students' backgrounds. Jackie came from a teaching family and was doing what she had 'always wanted to do'. The family background was very similar for Janet: 'Both my sisters have done it (modern language teaching). Most of the people I know I have done languages and come out with the reasons of why and what they have gained. I see the relevance and the importance but I don't feel my skills and qualities go in that direction'. This rejection of language teaching can be understood on a personal level, as coming about due to the reasons outlined previously. Here, it is possible to see the consequences of this rejection in terms of Janet's understanding of the communicative approach and what she took training in it to be. It is clearly right that training does and should challenge presuppositions, beliefs and forms of practice. However, the effectiveness of training depends on the quality of such challenges. Students can be seen to be engaging with them in theory and (consequent) practice to a greater or lesser extent depending on who they are (their _habitus_) and the particularities of the contexts (_field_) of training in which they find themselves. The major theme of this

chapter is that such interrelations are concrete,
organisational, and ideational; and that the two should
be understood as the intercommunicating discourse of
training across which theory and practice are
distributed. Finally, these latter terms are misleading;
they set up a binary opposition that has less ontologic
status in reality. Theorising is a practical activity and
draws on real-life reflections; practice only arises from
rationales, whether public and/or private, that are
theoretical in some form. The data here presented
suggests that progress in training depends on developing
a <u>pedagogic self</u> in the discourse, and this depends on
disruptions in it and on responses to such disruptions.
The motor for acquiring new forms of knowledge, whether
pre-theoretical, fundamental, or general justifying
principles, is in the re-stabilisation of disrupted
practice and associated schemes of thinking about
teaching. This re-establishment represents a re-
contextualisation of the practical pedagogic self; new
forms of thought and action for new pedagogic situations,
and pragmatic consequences thereof. Clearly, such
developments occur across time and in differentially
distinct ways, according to the nature of the pedagogic
knowledge in question.

6.9 <u>Summary (Theory and Practice 5)</u>

In this chapter I have discussed the field of training in terms of the processes constituent of its structural configurations. Theory, as interpreted through Bourdieu's work is a dynamic dialectic; a 'structuring structure' and a 'structured structure'. The theory underlying my chosen research methodology is, in itself, dynamic in nature and therefore commensurate with an analysis of 'processes'. Thus, theory in the processes of training operates in the same structural phenomenological manner as in research into these. Here, it is worth making a methodological point. The framework for data analysis I have employed was derived by analogy with Bourdieu's 3-level scheme for studying a field. I did this to provide me with distinct 'readings' of the data, moving from the individualities of student subjectivities to objective details of the morphology of the field in terms of its organisational, relational characteristics and the processes implicit in these. Terms such as 'field' and 'pedagogic habitus' have been employed as they provide stable, analytic concepts on the basis of which generalisations can be made about individual particularities: and I have gone to some lengths to explain the dynamic, quasi-phenomenological, content of these concepts. They are then to be interpreted in dynamic, epistemological terms.

There is a significant difference between my analytic framework and that of Bourdieu: namely, I have reversed his original scheme. In my methodological approach, I went from 'habitus' (the <u>subjective</u>) to 'fields' (the <u>objective</u>): Bourdieu does the reverse. For him, looking at a social phenomenon, for example recruitment into the intellectual elite of the higher education service (cf. Bourdieu 1984), begins with studying the relationship between this sector and the overall education system. He

then examines the actual structure of higher education and its ways of recruitment. Finally, he considers the characteristics of those gaining entry to this profession in terms of cultural, economic and social capital; in other words, their habitus. He does this to provide an anthropology of the social phenomenon under consideration. He also sees the same structural distinctions, expressed in terms of behaviour, characteristics, legitimacy and power, operating at every level: hence, structural homology.

I have wanted to work with the same epistemological principles as a basis for my research as I believe they provide a more dynamic framework within which to operate than is normally the case in ethnographic accounts on teacher education. However, my concerns have not been social distinction *per se*, still less the sociology of teacher education in an orthodox sense. Rather, I have been concerned with the development of professional competence in modern language teaching. By working with Bourdieu's scheme I have moved from the subjective particularities of student experiences to objective processes identifiable as immanent in these. My level 3 is more diffuse because here I am addressing the totality of these processes. Ultimately, what is involved is the multitudinous layers and their interaction contained in student experience of training. In chapter 5 I listed these as ranging from the classroom context to student lives and society at large.

In this chapter - level 3 - I have chosen to begin to construct what such process analysis would look like by locating the field of training in terms of the fields of educational knowledge. Because I am interested in the ideational content of the processes between these fields, I have considered the interaction between various forms of knowledge identifiable within it. I have placed

communicative language teaching in a triangle of
relationships in terms of fields of knowledge, that I
have used throughout this thesis to locate theory and
practice; both for teaching, training, and researching
the two.

My level 3 analysis has placed the field of language
teaching as represented in theory on the course (both in
school and the university) and considered its interaction
with students' concrete practice and their 'Fundamental
Educational Theory'. The processes of teacher training,
and ultimately the development of professional
competence, are located in the interactions between these
three fields of knowledge, these three fields of
activity.

I have also placed the field of training within the field
of social theory, as expressed by such writers as
Foucault, Halliday, Vygotsky and Bernstein. I have done
this in order to explain the field of training in terms
of the 'communicating' elements within it. I have
suggested that the development of professional competence
depends on such communication, although it is never
perfect. By its very nature 'misunderstandings' occur.
Such misunderstandings are the result not only of the
character of the field but students' own character. I
have expressed this in socio-cognitive terms: of strength
of boundary classification in knowledge formation and
self-regulation in the face of concrete experience and
theoretical knowledge (and the dialogue between these),
which is contained within the course of training.
Ultimately, however, choices are made, dilemmas responded
to, because all these have value that is differential and
differentiates. 'How' and 'when' determines 'what' and
'whether', and is dependent on the students themselves as
they are differentially constituted in their respective
habitus. It is on the basis of such responses that

students develop their own characteristic pedagogic personalities.

Throughout this thesis I have employed various philosophical ideas besides those evident in social theory as a way of raising issues of method and epistemology; knowledge development and professional competence. I have cited the American philosopher Richard Rorty, whose pragmatic philosophy can be read as a response to dogma. The appeal for pragmatism for him is defined as 'enabling us to cope more successfully with the physical environment and each other'(1991: 27). This 'coping' is , indeed, a characteristic of training. In this chapter I have presented 'coping' as theory formation of a personal kind. Popper writes that theory is in some ways an objective state, a World 3 piece of knowledge: but acquiring it involves intense subjective experience:

> We are often in an intensely active mental state and, at the same time completely forgetful of ourselves at a moment's notice. This state of intense mental activity...is an attempt to grasp a world 3 object.
>
> (Popper 1976: 191)

Such would seem to be the case as students try to make sense of what to teach, how, and reflect on the consequences of the application of theories (in their multifaceted forms) to practice. However, I have suggested that such a process is never linear, involves disruption and disturbance. For Popper there is a requirement here akin to the giving up of dogma:

> Most learning processes consist in theory formation; that is, in the formation of expectations. (It) has always a 'dogmatic' and a critical phase...The

critical phase consists in giving up the dogmatic
theory under the pressure of disappointed
expectations or refutations, and in trying out other
dogmas.

<div align="right">(Popper 1976: 45)</div>

The data about the students presented here is full of
such disappointment and refutations, yet this giving up
of 'dogma' in the light of them seems to be often partial
and fragmentary. In some cases, no amount of
disappointment would seem to shake a particular personal
theory. In this case, any dogma may be better than no
dogma at all; or alternatives are indeed themselves
viewed as dogmatic.

The problem with the images taken from Popper is that
they are based on views of knowledge as being ultimately
objective and scientific. This approach offers
alternative dogmas as either/or scenarios; as involving a
process that is leading towards ideals of theory in a
Platonic sense. What my discussion has shown is that this
level of clarification of theory is rarely clear-cut in a
field of knowledge such as teacher training. Here, theory
needs to be understood as dynamic, contextualised and
individually constituted; as subject to a continual
dialectic between fields of knowledge and their formal
and practical representations. This process is contingent
in the sense that Rorty uses the term; as open to
pragmatic and piecemeal reform. However, such alternative
dogmas need to be understood as more than relative and
utilitarian: they do posses a formal logic that is
analyzable, I have suggested, in terms of 'discourse'.

Both theory and practice in language teacher training
might be viewed in terms of discursive practices or
space, as: 'not purely and simply ways of producing
discourse (but) embodied in technical processes, in

institutions, in patterns of general behaviour, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which at once impose and maintain them' (Foucault 1977: 200).

Understood in this discursive way, theory, practice and training must be considered as potentially conflictual and confrontational fields since there is no symmetry between them. Indeed, it may be that it is out of asymmetries and the differentially valued consequences they imply that we construct ourselves and explain our thoughts and action: what Smith calls the 'scrappy interactions of scrappy elements' (1988: 148). I have argued that students in training distinguish themselves to the extent that they are able to construct a pedagogic personality out of such scrappiness. Such a construction emerges from the interaction of theory and practice in the sites of training:

> The relationships between theory and practice are far more partial and fragmentary. On the one side, theory is always local and related to a limited field, and it is applied in another sphere, more or less distant from it. The relationship which holds in the application of a theory is never one of resemblance. Moreover, from the moment a theory moves into its proper domain, it begins to encounter obstacles, walls and blockages which require its relay by another type of discourse (it is through this other discourse that it eventually passes to a different domain). Practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another. No theory can develop without eventually encountering a wall, and practice is necessary for piercing this wall.
>
> (Deleuze 1977: 206)

This piercing of a theoretical wall, however, does not only come from concrete practice but the practical activity of engaging with one type of theory or another: for example, 'Fundamental Educational Theory', 'Justifying Educational Principles'. To, paraphrase and extend Frawley on writing and composition (1987:180): students who train to teach have to ultimately unlearn the teaching discourse and pedagogic mind they have from their own habitus in order to participate adequately in the new discursive space as teacher. It is clear that this unlearning is not an easy experience. Moreover, to what extent it is or is not achieved is dependent not only on the make-up of the discursive field of training but on the students' own selves in interaction with it.

6.9.2 The Processes of Training

In the following few pages I use a diagram of the processes of training in modern language teaching to indicate the way this thesis has sought to present the field of professional knowledge formation for students. Following the diagram I indicate where in the thesis are to be found the various data components and methodological discussions. The whole is an attempt to sum up the processes of teacher training at this level 3 discussion.

Fields of Knowledge   Parameters: Place, Time,
                                                             Pedagogic Habitus, Field

Pedagogic Practice (1)
(including Materials,
relations with pupils)

Personal Tacit Knowledge (2)

Communicative Language Teaching (5) ————————▶ Articulation about Practice (3)
Current methods/ approaches   ◀————————— : drawing on present and past
techniques in literature   experience and formal theories
and course principles.   of language learning.

Related Research Fields (6)   Appropriate Philosophies (4)
- Second Language Acquisition   of Experience
- Language Learning Research   - Discourse
- Philosophies of language

Arrows represent routes of engagement within which individual students locate themselves at any one place and time according to individual dispositions towards teaching and learning (Pedagogic Habitus) and the context within which they are realised and brings them into being (Field).

Figure 10: The Processes of Training

(1) Pedagogic Practice

Present through student notes and classroom observation.

(2) Personal Tacit Knowledge

By definition this is not observable; although the product of it is.
Also analysed in terms of students' implicit response to the field of knowledge of training in the light of classroom experience.

(3) Articulation about Practice

Present through diary notes, interview data and discussion with students in school.

(4) Appropriate Philosophies of Experience

Present through a discussion of methodological concerns in terms of epistemology: phenomenology, social theory and related philosophies. Also present in discussions on 'discourse' and its use as a metaphoric tool of analysis to understand knowledge development as a socio-cognitive act.

(5) Communicative Language Teaching

Details of principal characteristics of CLT.

(6) Related Research Fields

Reference to salient theories of second language acquisition, cognitive theory, etc.

I have presented each point on the diagram as an area of activity and fields of consequent knowledge - located and involving materials, concrete surroundings, and personal relationships - but 'communicating' with each other. This communication is dependent on individuals' dispositions (pedagogic habitus) and the realisation of these dispositions in and on practice as located within the fields of professional development. I have argued that the fields of knowledge inherent in the field of training connect with each other in individual interpretations and responses in action; and that this interpretation depends on factors within student pedagogic habitus and specific points in place and time. In making these connections and in drawing up an 'ideational' map of the field of training, I have used 'discourse' theory and other notions derived from philosophical and socio-cognitive theories of language in order to present how we might understand the operation of this knowledge field.

I am not doing this as a bi-product of my other level of analysis. Neither am I claiming excessive idealism in the operation of training. I understand the three levels to be co-terminus. I have located my discussion at an abstract, theoretical level within the mundane and particular. I have given details of the everyday experiences of students and the patterns that I, as a teacher trainer, see in them. I have then given a separate reading of these events in terms of the morphology of the field and suggested how it is that students respond in terms of the epistemological approach I have adopted. Finally, in this chapter, I have discussed how we might understand the field of professional training in terms of the ideas and theories located there; how it is that students are situated within these 'theories'; and the processes immanent in such an interaction. I have drawn on 'what we know' about the operation of a knowledge field, derived from social

and philosophical theory to suggest the way in which we might understand the processes of training.

<u>Synopsis</u>

<u>Chapter 7: Concluding Remarks and Practical Implications</u>

This chapter sums up the thesis and its main conclusions. It addresses the research approach adopted and discusses its relevancy and appropriacy. This discussion is shaped by the salient philosophic terms that have guided the research and reconsiders principal research paradigms. The essential features of training are summarised, including their mode of operation, and some comments are given on what it is to 'become' a teacher. Brief consideration is given to the major implications we might draw from this study for policy and practice in initial teacher training.

Chapter 7

Concluding Remarks and Practical Implications

Chapter 7: Content

Chapter 7

Concluding Remarks and Practical Implications

> 'If you want to study a certain phenomenon, you must
> first determine in what context this phenomenon
> exists; after that you can investigate whether this
> context belongs to some already developed science.
> But there is a great chance that the context belongs
> to no existing science, and then you will have to
> develop a science for yourself. After you have
> finished, you can see if it is possible to place
> your theory in some existing science'.
>
> (Van Hiele 1986: 232)

7. Introduction

My main aim in this thesis has been to explore the
processes of teacher training. Its principal focus has
been modern language students; a group who have received
scant attention in the research literature. In this
chapter, I want to sum up the various sections of the
thesis and my main research findings. The conclusions I
have drawn derive from the relationship between my
critical readings of the research literature,
consideration of social theory in terms of epistemology
and a quasi-phenomenological working with data collected
in the course of conducting the research. I have
highlighted my position and relationship to the data and
have characterised the way I worked with it. This chapter
continues this preoccupation by beginning with a
discussion of how to read the thesis. I then make some
concluding comments concerning key issues running through
the thesis: the reflective practitioner, theory and
practice, professional knowledge. Finally, I offer main
conclusions drawn from the research along with comments
on practical implications.

7.2 <u>Thesis Summary</u>

Chapter 1 considered the predominant research traditions in teacher education and related these issues to the context of initial teacher training. Teacher professionalization, understood as socialization, was presented, along with the salient, theoretical approaches underpinning it. Key concepts in 'teacher thinking' were also discussed. I suggested that the former of these two traditions suffered from the same weakness as the major methodological frameworks in which they located themselves; in particular, the tension between micro studies of certain situations or contexts, and preoccupations with macro-structural themes of authority and class reproduction, often expressed in ideological terms. I referred to the way that these research traditions might be understood as themselves 'discourses' through which voices such as class, gender and race spoke, and that there was a preoccupation with what was produced in knowledge fields rather than the medium of its production. Researchers on teacher thinking provide a series of concepts - the reflective practitioner, craft knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge (amongst many others) - which are often developed for pragmatic reasons: to guide training and in-service education. However, these concepts rarely connect with the macro: the structural contexts and processes which produce such professional knowledge and which are its product. In short, both the socialization and teacher thinking traditions suffered from the endemic 'epistemological confusion ' (Phillips 1987: 80) which has plagued contemporary social science research.

This concern for greater epistemological clarity formed the core of chapters 2 and 3; which considered educational theory, underpinning philosophies, and discussed methodological implications. The case for a

social theoretical approach was mounted and argued for in terms of the issues raised.

The following three chapters dealt with data analysis. Firstly, critical consideration was given to individual student case studies: the experiences, practice and outcome of training for each. Secondly, salient features of each case were taken and re-expressed in terms of the analytic concepts raised in the methodology chapters; namely, field and pedagogic habitus. Structure had been a central principle to such concepts but this was interpreted in various ways; phenomenological, relational, organisational. Chapter 5 was presented as a morphological 'mapping' of the field of training. Thirdly, I discussed the nature of the field operations in terms of 'discourse' and suggested this latter concept was useful in understanding training as a communicating field in which students are located. The outcome of training depended on how students interacted with the discourse at certain key points, which also highlighted the particularities of their pedagogic habitus. The processes of training are to be understood, it has been argued, as immanent within the network of relations, both concrete and ideational.

There are then three places in this thesis where outcomes are offered by way of conclusion:

1) The presentation of five longitudinal case studies of a group of students training together to teach modern languages.

2) An analysis of the field of training in terms of <u>site</u>, <u>time</u> and <u>agency</u>. This also gave rise to illustrations of the characteristics of training; features that are especially significant and identifiable within the field.

3) A discussion of training in terms of fields of knowledge; in particular, the relationship between theory and practice, and how theories are operationalized by students according to their particular individual differences. The diagram derived from Vandenberg was adapted to offer a schematic explication of the discourse processes of training.

Each of these three points offer conclusions, different types of conclusion, rather than a final totality presented in a neo-positivist way. I have not, therefore, proceeded from analysis to findings in a linear way, but have conducted the research in a process-orientated fashion that allows me to work on distinct forms of research knowledge concurrently, although inevitably these have to be presented and discussed separately.

7.3 Reading the Thesis (New Paradigms of Knowledge)

At certain points in the thesis, I have emphasised that
working with the research data should be understood as a
phenomenological event or events. Furthermore, I have
argued that the process of carrying out the research was
in some ways homomorphic with the processes of training
themselves. It follows that the thesis is now an object,
an entity, and the process of reading it should be
considered as an event that entails an interaction
between its content and the schemes of thought the reader
brings to it.

I am aware that, in seeking to bring dynamic theories to
the practice of conducting the research and dynamic
practice to account for the processes that need to be
generalised in some theoretical way, I have drawn on a
number of sources and made use of them in often
unorthodox ways. Moreover, I have frequently sought to
utilise such while retaining an ironic stance that
recognises limits, contingency and the pragmatic
requirements necessitated by the questions raised. In
fact, the thesis could be read as containing a number of
'voices', what Bakhtin might refer to as 'heteroglossia',
each of which representing academic fields; which
themselves need to be understood as 'socio-ideological
groups'. Such are the 'bodily forms' from which languages
emanate: languages that 'intersect each other in a
variety of ways, forming new, socially typified
languages' (Bakhtin 1981: 291). I have attempted to
synthesise these voices in constructing my own. Such a
synthesis has been necessary in order to respond to the
practical and pragmatic demands, both methodological and
analytic, entailed in carrying out the research. My main
aim has been to give as full an account as is possible to
my research question, not to delimit this process by
remaining exclusively within any single field. To do

this, I have had recourse to what is available to me.
However, I recognise that I have drawn on disciplines
that often co-exist in uneasy relation, and whose claims
can appear to mutually contradict each other. This
synthesis of voices itself creates a discursive space,
with precarious positions to occupy.

I recognise that some readers coming from one of the
diverse disciplines I have utilised, with purer voices
than my own, may find much with which to take exception
in this thesis. Social theorists may object to my lack of
explicit coverage of issues of authority, power and
ideology. Post-modernists may deconstruct my
constructivism and schematic concepts. Neo-positivists
may not appreciate the developmental, process-based
character of the thesis and its lack of totalising
categories to which data can be reduced.

The notion that there are different 'voices' in this
thesis is pertinent to the issue of the conclusions to be
drawn from it, and how. In chapter 2 I raised my
methodological concerns and discussed the tripartite
scheme developed by Habermas in focusing on different
forms of knowledge and the interests that these each
represent: the hermeneutic with intersubjective
understanding; the nomological with technical
rationality; the critical with emancipatory interest. The
nomological is often associated with the discovery of
universal laws, yet I have argued that predictive
theories raised to 'supreme' scientific status, as
proposed by such philosophers as Popper, are
inappropriate since they imply levels of falsification
and repeatability that are not achievable in social
contexts. In fact, the degree of lawfulness depends on
analytic generalizability and the strength of
epistemological foundations. The conclusions of this
thesis relate to the latter in terms of the philosophical

grounding given to the research and the claims to
validity made on the basis of it; the inferential
validity of the conceptual tools of analysis employed.

The hermeneutic is often associated with understanding in
the sense of 'verstehen', of an empathetic grasp of the
research topic through entering into it and re-living it.
Such a grasp of the processes was obviously involved as
part of my own experience of conducting the research;
both in terms of my presence in the object of study and
the need I expressed to relive my students experiences in
their own words. This aspect is also important in
reaching an understanding of the processes of teacher
training in reading this thesis. Yet, such an
understanding need not simply be an evocation in the mind
of the reader as some post-modernist researchers (cf.
Tyler 1985. 1986) have urged, but might be attached to
language in its intersubjective function; as a discourse,
as what Giddens (1977: 56), recalling the work of Gadamer
and Wittgenstein, refers to as a 'form of life'. This
thesis has aimed to present the form of life that gives
training meaning; demonstrated how this meaning is
constituted and indicated its significant components.

The theoretical approach of this thesis has, however,
been mostly framed with respect to the third paradigm of
Habermas' tripartite model: the critical. I have related
this form of knowledge less to the socio-political,
emancipatory interest it was originally intended to
express than to focus on the structures of training in
terms of theory and practice, the concrete and
ideational, the phenomenological as well as the
organisational. Above all, I have wanted to express these
in terms of relations. Structure is a useful term because
it can be objectified analytically in different contexts.
Such objectifications in language allow for the different
forms of communication that Habermas writes of as ways

for expressing experience and understanding it.

Perhaps this thesis may best be read with this communicative goal in mind through active engagement with it at these various levels. To classify it as any single one of these, <u>or</u> as constructivist, <u>or</u> as post-modernist, would be apply a classifier derived from the outside in *a posteriori* manner, and be led into the foundationalist trap that much of Rorty's work warns against. Rather, what if it is all these things at the same time?

7.4 Theory and Practice (6)

Of course, one way of reading this thesis is as a kind of
meditation on theory and practice; both on research
knowledge, the activity of conducting research, and the
processes of the object of study. Indeed, I have returned
to the issues of theory and practice throughout my work
here as a series of epistemological signposts. Yet, I
have come to regard them as a binary pair or opposites
that set up their own discourse, the outcome of which is
more destructive than productive. In chapter 1 (1.4.2) I
discussed how the two had been represented and how
different researchers had attempted to reconcile them
(cf. Griffin and Tann 1992, Elliott 1993(a),
Fenstermacher 1988). Moreover, the two are even more
acutely expressed in initial teacher training in terms of
the form of theory, its relationship to practice, and the
organisational issues implicit in these (cf. Fuller and
Bown 1975, Carter and Doyle 1987, Kagan 1992, Berlinner
1987).

Hirst's work in the 1960s laid the foundations for the
theory/practice debate by defining educational theory in
terms of supplying the principles for practice of
education. But the grounding disciplines of educational
theory for him were not the applied sciences related to
particular subject areas - for example, research in
applied linguistics to modern language teaching - but the
foundational subjects of a socio-cultural view of what it
is to be a teacher; sociology, psychology, philosophy and
history. The outcome of this view for teacher training
was that these disciplines were often taught as 'pure'
subjects, leaving students to make their own connections.
This approach continued well into the 1980s in some
training establishments. Theory, ever since, has been
associated with this approach, which has repeatedly been
attacked. Major surveys of teacher training in the 1980s

reported students as being consistently negative about the amount of educational 'theory' included in their courses (DES 1982, 1988) and hungry for maximum practical experience. If the issue of organising training is framed in such terms, theory and/or practice, it is not surprising perhaps that general trends have moved in the opposite direction, to the other of the binary pair: practice. This is true in terms of academic discussion and national policy. Hirst reverses his previously held view: 'it now seem to me we must start from a consideration of current practice (in) deciding what ought to be done' (1983: 16). And another writer such as Walker, who claims to have considered the philosophical relationship between theory and practice in training, concludes that practice must be the 'grounding' for theory, which henceforth should 'be presented in school' (1985: 185). As set out in chapter 1 (1.4.4), ignoring the political agenda that appears to be present in policy reforms on training (DES 1992), the trend in organising courses has been to increase the participation of schools in administering training and the amount of time students are based in schools (cf. Shaw 1992). It is as if the binary pair of theory and practice, having captured the discourse on training continue, by implication, to set the parameters of the debate. For example, Walsh (1993) takes up the argument of the characteristics and role of educational theory in education, as if theory has an ontologic status independent of the contexts within which it operates and the people involved. He actually employs phrases such as 'the different discourses of theory' and 'maps for ordering cultural capital' without reference to such writers as Foucault and Bourdieu, and the form that social exegesis of theory in practice might take.

I have tended to regard theory and practice as mutually expressive; that theory is a practical activity and practice is inherently theoretical. The phenomenological

approach of Vandenberg would seem to suggest such a
perspective. The strength of his work lies in the
interconnections he posits for different forms of theory
and the way these are mutually constituted. Concrete
practice is constantly feeding and is fed by knowledge
deriving from self-reflections on practice and objective
principles, which also interpenetrate and are grounded in
philosophical and applied scientific sources. A
particular feature of Vandenberg's approach is that
educational theory does not simply supply the principles
of practice as if in some Platonic, autonomous realm, but
only affects practice by '<u>going through</u>' someone, by
interacting with an individual's 'Pre-theoretical
Knowledge': that tacit horse-sense that is 'essentially'
personal, unselfconscious, uncritical and contextually
bound. It is this understanding with respect to practice
that provides the criteria of coherence which Vandenberg
believes Hirst's scheme lacks in unifying educational
principles.

The data and discussion I have presented here suggests
that it is possible to understand theory in terms other
than Hirst's foundational disciplines; in this case,
language teaching. The various forms of theory -
fundamental, pre-theoretical, justifying educational -
are <u>distributed</u> across the field of training; as immanent
in certain times and places and individuals located
there. Indeed, theory and practice should not be regarded
as fundamental entities, the precise mixture of which can
be ascertained, but rather as distributed forms of
knowledge constituent of the field of training. What the
data analysis suggests, however, is that the 'criteria
for coherence' for practice are not simply located in the
nature of practice itself but are highly conditional on
individual students' characteristics; what I have called
pedagogic habitus.. Indeed, finally, it is habitus that
constrains and delimits practice by setting what is and

is not possible at any one time and place and for any one student. Theory, whatever its form, will always be a personal relationship with pedagogic knowledge in its various forms and is the effects this has on practice. At these initial stages of a teacher's professional development, I have shown that this relationship is fraught with contradictions and dilemmas that students work 'through'. Indeed, their development literally comes about through these.

7.5 Professional Knowledge

In chapter 1 I raised a number of conceptual metaphors -
reflective practitioner, craft knowledge, socialization -
that can be found in the research literature on teacher
education. To these I could add numerous others:
speculative theory, stabilisation, disengagement,
theoretical adequacy, practical knowledge, goal
orientation, etc. Yet, it is very difficult to know what
to make of these. They represent a very diverse and
eclectic field with various researchers systematizing
their thoughts from observation and personal experience
and creating analytic terms to highlight their own
conceptual picture of teacher education. Many of these
concepts are created for a particular academic field, or
with the goal of justifying proposals for training and
INSET. For example, Brown and McIntyre (1993) create the
concept of teachers' 'normal desirable state', which, if
they can catalogue accurately will, they believe, provide
a useful source of reflection for student teachers in
training. Yet, such terms are almost too real, and are
presented as concrete, idealised entities; sometimes more
real than the subjects and processes they claim to
represent. As a concept, 'normal desirable state' seems
only to have been produced by ignoring all kinds of
differences and contradictions. The same authors have
made a major contribution to the 'teacher thinking'
research field but admit: 'Although we started from the
assumption that there is such a thing as teacher's
professional craft knowledge, we knew that for the most
part this knowledge is not articulated' (1986: 38). I
would argue that such concepts will only ever be naively
utilitarian unless linked to some epistemological
understanding, to a theory of practice. I would argue
that the diffuseness of such terms as craft knowledge in
the research field is unhelpful and has amplified
'misunderstandings' of theory and practice and their role

in training.

Those involved in research on teachers'
professionalization as socialization make a different set
of assumptions. True, the work of Lacey (1977) does not
present teachers' socialization as linear; it is always
incomplete and involves 'self-socialization'. However,
the 'strategies' presented as the means to accomplishing
the latter are offered in a way that gives them a reality
that is transcendant of the processes they claim to
represent. At one and the same time, they seem to signify
social and mental categories that individuals draw upon
in the course of their professionalization. Incomplete
socialization is seen in terms of strategy configurations
rather than the actualities of practice underlying them.
Teachers' knowledge is diffuse; practical competence is
ignored. In fact, knowledge is treated as weakly
ideological, as somehow the most significant form of
teacher thinking. But, teacher knowledge is dealt with in
this way because, a *priori*, there is a social construct
called a teacher that is defined in social functional
terms such as class, effect, role, etc. Even if becoming
a teacher is not considered to be a linear movement, they
are presented as having an ontologic status that assumes
a whole set of concrete realities and practicalities
rather than the interaction of these at an
epistemological level.

It is not surprising that some writers believe that
teachers, even training teachers, can be inducted into
the content of such constructs in a way that will make
sense to them (cf. Zeichner and Teitelbaum 1982, Beyer
and Zeichner 1987, Van Manen 1977). The link with the
social and historical is offered by these writers as a
way of transcending the immediate exigences of practical
contexts. However, such reflection is often outside of
the training discourse; it does not have the space to

happen. The students presented in this thesis each
indicate the limited amount of attention that is given to
such socio-historical features of teaching when confronted
with initial experiences of theory and practice. The
training field, their pedagogic habitus, does not allow
this socio-historic 'voice' to be articulated at this
stage.

Both the teacher thinking and socialization traditions
see reflection as a way of developing greater awareness,
and, through this, professional knowledge. The term
'reflective practitioner' is a powerful enough metaphor
to offer mediation between theory and practice, which is
an attractive proposition itself when the thrust of
academic and policy innovation in teacher education has
been to stress the latter. This is perhaps why the
majority of training institutions in the recent survey
(Barrett et al. 1992) described their courses in terms of
the reflective practitioner. Yet, I conclude that the
term is a misnomer. Reflection for the students in this
thesis is highly context and person dependent. Moreover,
it involves links with various forms of theory, and their
relationship with practice, that are often highly
problematic, contradictory, partial, and connected rather
more with, and by, all sorts of mundane particulars than
with idealized conceptual metaphors and grand narratives.
Furthermore, there is the issue of appropriateness.
Reflection, for these students, meant not only thinking
about practice but involved holding onto beliefs, often
in the face of severely disrupting influences. Reflection
is not, therefore, a utilitarian induction or deduction
of effective practice, but includes a degree of
pragmatism on the part of the trainee involving their
whole selves, not simply what they are or are not doing
in teaching situations.

7.6 Managing Disruption

Much of what I have described in the analysis indicates the extent to which the forms of life that make up training disrupt and destabilise students: their thoughts and action. I have argued that there are structured incongruities, both relational and ideational, between the students themselves and the field of training, and the two principles sites of the latter.

What I did with the students in terms of theory and practice at the university and what they did in schools were two separated things. On the surface, students see only different people saying different things and the immediate exigences of practice, of being in schools and teaching classes. The students do try to reconcile these incongruities. It is appropriate that the school and the university should be distinct, however. Schools take care of getting things done from their own perspectives, as do teachers. This is a proper and efficient strategy, as there are particular context issues that characterise the form of response. But to claim that the school site is authentic, and therefore the place where students should be trained, is to claim that induction into a particular context is the basis for developing generalised skills and knowledge necessary to professional competence. In an extreme case, such an approach would require teachers to be retrained each time they went to another school; and, in some ways this already occurs as a self-managed induction into a new framework, structures and organising routines. The point of training, however, particularly in terms of in- and pre-service, is to develop general pedagogic skills and knowledge that are applicable to any teaching context; involves acquiring the cognitive means of working with the processes of education across sites. The surface forms of teaching may be context dependent, but the generative schemes of thought and action are the

same. In the initial stages of training, it is the tutor and the university-based training course that represents such a holistic view in lieu of students having it themselves. This relationship is characteristically structured; is differential by nature in experiential terms. Students will always react to the experiences they see; indeed, schools will always say different things to the university; and the consequent interpretations imply contradictions. This structural, 'discursive' space is the very location in which the process of training takes place. Students react in this space, and, by reacting, knowledge develops. By having school and university as two, structurally positioned, distinct sites, two different purposes are served. Students engage in the training process by experiencing these sites, and the different issues that arise within them, and make choices about where they stand with regard to the various theoretical and practical questions involved. The word 'choice' needs to be treated with some caution, as issues rarely express themselves in an either/or form; but through working with the range of dilemmas I described earlier in the thesis.

By operating a <u>double structure</u> in terms of site in training, students are structurally located between the two. I earlier called this 'nowhere'; but it is also a space that avoids overt induction into one system or the other. If what happened at the university exactly mirrored what is happening in schools, and *vice versa*, their views on language teaching would be identical. This lack of identity has been used in recent times to argue for a school-based approach to training, competency-based teacher education and the authenticity of practice over theory. These trends are apparent in both policy innovation and research (see previous sections of this thesis: 1.4.2, 1.4.3, 1.4.4, 1.5). Yet, faced with only school training or synchronicity between schools and

universities, all that students would be able to do is to agree or disagree. By having both schools and institutions of higher education involved in training, there is a space called 'nowhere' where students have to decide <u>for themselves</u>. Moreover, this space is located at a crucial position at the interface where classroom action and research, both theoretical and empirical, meet and thus interact. Recent reform (DES 1992) towards school-based training in the U.K. has radically changed the structural form of this space: relationaly and thus experientially. The nature of this autonomous space that is 'nowhere' has hence been altered. In the U.K., schools take on a closer inductive role into their form of teaching, and institutions attempt to mirror this as a claim to authenticity. This symmetrical relationship has now become an inspected necessity. Moreover, what schools and modern language departments are engaged in, in terms of curriculum and thus classroom practice, is also inspected according to the implementation of the statutory orders of the National Curriculum (DES 1991). Such an organisational set-up leaves the motor force for language teaching located in the processes of drafting and implementation of the National Curriculum, and relegates the place of educational and applied linguistic research to a peripheral position; one where its influence is vastly attenuated. The advantage of the system of training represented in the present research was that it protected the autonomous space of professionalism within which students operated in these early months. It was a space that offered a certain amount of care and protection, and a discourse structure that enabled students to be mediated into an induction into becoming a teacher. It did this, not by telling students what to do and what not to do, and how it should be done, but by providing areas in which they could engage with the contradictory elements of teaching – specifically language teaching in this case – and make

their own 'choices' about how to respond. In one sense, it did not matter what answers they came up with; these were mostly partial and temporary, anyway. As long as they were reacting, however, they were moving forward. Failure to develop pedagogic competence was less about success or failure in adopting the communicative approach, or any other method, than failing to react in a pedagogic context. It is noticeable that the one student in the group that 'failed' in training (Janet), or at least training failed her in the sense that she chose not to go into teaching, already had developed views on teaching when she started the course: but these did not progress. There were a number of reasons for this, as the analysis from her case study demonstrates, but the contradictions she saw and experienced led to her placing herself outside of the discourse of language teaching (with all its intertextual elements) and thus ceasing to engage in it. Once this had happened, and the evidence suggests that it can happen very quickly and once and for all, the rest of her training amounted to a 'going-through-the-motions': a formulaic response to the various demands the course put upon her. The other students did engage, each in their own ways.

Marie's collapse, her 'becoming like all the rest', allowed her to reassess what was possible for her and to re-formulate a different, more balanced view of modern trends in language teaching. Jackie held onto a strong view of herself as language teacher and what the methodology was meant to be, but, once removed from school, was able to modify her evaluation of methodological objectives and her role in the classroom. Both Carol and Jill held strong views about language teaching and suffered the consequences of these; both theoretically and practically. However, Jill began to question these views in the light of experience that in many ways might have confirmed them. She also developed a

different balance of methods as a consequence, and gained some insight into her own personality and the implications it had for her practical approach.

On the basis of their case studies, after Janet, Carol was the most problematic student. She experienced similar theoretical preoccupations and methodological reservations as Jill but seems less able to engage with them in practice. In fact, her lessons were characterised by their amorphous nature: neither traditional nor modern. Her weakness in linguistic ability was a significant component in this aspect of her work. Her difficulty in adopting a 'teacher approach' was another. Both effected her engaging in the structured space between theory and practice, with their different 'voices', and the links between school and university. The inhibition in involving herself resulted in her not developing as a teacher during the course; indeed, she explicitly saw 'teacher behaviour' as something to be avoided. When she was forced to adopt a more traditionally teacher role, she felt disappointed.

7.7 <u>Being a Teacher</u>

In one crucial sense, this thesis represents a call for a greater concern for an epistemological grounding of the conceptual terms used in discussing teacher education. My own concern in this direction has been evident in the way I have worked through the data in terms of pedagogic habitus and field: two concepts for which I went to great lengths to set out their epistemological sense and methodological value. The question of theory, its representation and effect, has been prominent throughout my discussions. The critical theoretical approach attributed to Habermas posits a 'practical rationality' in human action that is developed through grasping, internalising and acting upon successive levels of meaning which are generalised into principles. I have suggested that these principles can be objectified, but they also need to be proceduralised, brought under personal control, as a socio-cognitive act, in the development of a pedagogic personality that can 'act' in schools and classroom practice. The various forms of theory, and their interrelationships, can be understood as ways of dealing with practical contexts. These would form part of what Habermas would call 'communicative action' or competence; as ways of clarifying practical questions. De Castell sums up:

> Interpretations which can be gained within the framework of such theories do not have direct and immediate implications for practice; their real value lies in their ability to transform us, human beings, into people – who can identify a right course of action and have the good sense and will to follow it.
> (De Castell 1989: 46)

427

This thesis has taken such an approach to theory and practice out of a Platonic realm of independent categories and explored what this relationship, this 'good sense and will' looks like in reality. In terms of Bourdieu's epistemology, this identification of a right course of action needs to be understood as students subjectifying the objective: making theories their own in a transformative, often tacit sense. This will involve a 'restructuring' of their 'pedagogic habitus'. It is this subjectification that I have sought to objectify in the course of carrying out the research. This objectifying the subjective reveals the processes of the transformation that takes place in the course of training to teach. As such, the epistemological approach has had methodological and ontologic implications in that the formulation of research knowledge corresponds to the same theory of practice explicit in the development of professional knowledge competencies, which is its object. The use of analytic terms such as field and pedagogic habitus has shown not only how the organisation of training constitutes teachers, but how the latter are 'totally' implicated in this constitution.

It is a common statement that someone 'is' or 'is not' born a teacher; as if the development of a pedagogic competency was ontologically determined; as if there was a quality of personality necessary to the successful outcome of training. This view recalls the <u>trait theory</u> of professionalization I refereed to in chapter 1. In that chapter, I criticized theories that saw successful professionals in terms of innate personality traits or characteristics. Yet, much of what I have concluded could be read as suggesting that there are indeed traits which facilitate or mitigate against the development of pedagogic competence in training; for example, linguistic ability, strength and openness of personality, previous professional experience, adaptability. However, trait

428

theory is a static construct: the application of innate characteristics to practice. My own approach tries to offer a dynamic process based on the notion of pedagogic (habitus) personality, which is continually created and modified by a dialectic between pedagogic understanding (theory) and classroom action (practice). In the terms I derived from Bourdieu, both of these would be understood as structured and structuring structures, In other words, theory is structured and structures practice, which is itself structurally constituted by the material field within which it occurs.

I have 'read' many of these concepts in terms of hypothetical boundaries within the discourse of training; their relative strength and consequent transferability. Discourse theory emphasises the way in which individuals are created. But teachers also create themselves, and they do so on the basis of what is and is not possible when they are located at specific points in relation to the field of training. What and how students create themselves as teachers depends not only on the structural elements of the field but who they are and what they bring into it. This is an act of condition, not volition. Students are 'interpellated' to a greater of lesser extent into the discursive spaces of training; for example, dilemma continua. Students face and work with these existentially, according to who they are, not simply in terms of utilitarian outcomes. The processes of training are to be understood as such an engagement, including the mundane and the particular, not simply the desired product of teaching. These are concrete events; specific ideas. Students come to them as themselves, as potential pedagogic selves, and go away altered by them: altered by the way and in the process of developing what I have referred to as 'Pre-theoretical Knowledge' and 'Fundamental Educational Principles'.

These processes of training are not then idealistic
entities produced by yet another academic research field,
but should be understood as in-corporated into physical
bodies. They do not take place in a semi-autonomous realm
between individual students and the field. They exist as
a physical presence. Such physicality implies not only
pedagogic habitus in terms of students' individual
characteristics but sensual features. For example,
personal security, physique, fatigue, vulnerability are
often as determinant of the outcome of the 'discursive
space' as the ideational or organisational structures of
the space itself.

A Final Word

The majority of debates in teacher education take place
in terms of a kind of struggle for the terms of analysis,
as do policy discussion on teacher training. The
parameters of the discourse are contested; claims and
counter claims for legitimacy and authenticity are made.
What these disputations rarely achieve is the placing of
students in training in terms of their existential
condition. This thesis has developed a methodological
approach of existential analytics to present this lived
experience as it occurs for a group of students and has
explored the underlying processes such lives hold. It has
argued that in order to understand the processes of
training, it is necessary to go outside the normal range
of its discourse to other terms of reference of a socio-
philosophical nature. Such an approach is better
understood as a kind of 'epistemological experiment'.
Knowledge formation needs to be thought of in more than
the normal classificatory schemes of social theory:
class, gender, ethnicity, etc. Indeed, I have wanted to
'blanch' social theory of domination by these terms in
order to highlight its epistemological and thus
methodological implications. By employing this
methodological approach I have 'found out' what happened
to a group of students training to teach modern
languages. I have offered my conclusions at various
levels and presented both particular and general
accounts, in theory and practice, of the processes
involved in initial teacher education.

For me, one of the most interesting aspects of the
research has been the way I have been able to engaged
with the data, in collecting and analyzing it, and
exploring the application of the epistemological ideas I
have been developing throughout the project in the
process of that engagement. In a way, what I have offered

431

is a 'new' research approach; not only to the study of
teacher education but to educational research in general.
I have called this approach 'structural
phenomenological', and expressed it as a kind of 'post-
modernist/ post-positivist' method. This thesis offers an
initial picture of this methodology in use, has seen its
coming into being. Any claim to generality, to a
potential wider applicability, can only be properly
justified by further work; amplifying and testing the
methodology through practical use.

Recently however, a colleague spoke to me of her research
into bilingualism in a local state school. How, I
wondered, could the method I have employed here be
adapted and applied to such a context.

Firstly, it would investigate the cultural backgrounds
and the predominant cultural values of several pupils,
through interview, questionnaire and analysis of work
completed at school in order to produce case studies of
how bilingualism occurs for particular individuals.

Secondly, individual pupils would be located within an
analysis of place, time and agency, e.g. between school
and home. Salient sociolinguistic differences and the
extent to which these were expressible in terms of
habitus and field, modified appropriately, would be
investigated. Pupils would also be located with respect
to the curriculum; the subjects studied and the congruity
these had with their culturally specific values.

Thirdly, the way the two cultures of bilingual pupils
interacted institutionally would be examined. This would
offer more than an ethnographic mapping of the two and a
study of the salient organisational strategies within and
between them. The fields of linguistic knowledge
implicated in this relationship would be expressed in

terms of 'discourse'. Such discursive mechanisms would be the ways by which individuals are subjectified through their location in the linguistic fields of knowledge and how pupils' own differential nature reproduces these processes in practice.

Each of these levels could be mapped onto empirical data by way of exemplification. The outcome of such a study would offer sociolinguistic and social psychological data in terms of individual subjectivities; their locations in school sites over time and involving interactions with teachers and fellow pupils; and an objectified account of the relationship between the two cultures, the points of congruities and incongruities. Such a study would lead to a rich understanding, not only of what was happening in practice, but the reasons why, and how, this occurred, and the value structures on which they were based and expressed through language. To offer conclusions in such a manner is not conventionally positivist, but the acid test is whether, at the end of such a research undertaking, we better understand the processes of bilingualism in schools. I believe the answer would be affirmative, but proof of this could only be gained from practice.

However, for such a perspective to be communicable, it is first necessary for researchers to 'think in these terms', think dialectically and relationaly. It is through such a readiness to engage in this way that the common terms of reference can be clarified through consensus. The whole point of the 'pragmatist' philosophy of Richard Rorty that I discussed earlier seems to be a call to avoid dogmatism. In research terms, such dogmatism is often present in the need to establish 'objectivity'. Yet Rorty is quite familiar with post-modernist philosophy and what it does to claims for 'objective knowledge'. At the same time, there is a need

to avoid the ultra-subjectivity that has characterised much post-modernist research, with its explorations in evoking knowledge. I concur with Rorty in wanting to replace objectivity by 'solidarity'. The latter is achieved through language, through consensus over epistemological limits, terms of analysis and the way they are to be deployed. Such a process is a social process between researchers debating the terms of their activity. As such, social theory will be required to highlight the dynamic of the undertaking. The potential rewards are, however, enormous. Firstly, there could be less of a tendency towards continual fragmentation of analytic terms. Secondly, this reduction in fragmentation could allow policy reform to take place against a background of consensus over, in this case, the essential features of training. Thirdly, it will lead to a more epistemologically informed research practice. Engaging in such activity will itself transform the processes of the research field.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The Questionnaires

As stated in chapter 3, questionnaires were administered
to the full cohort or 26 students twice during the year:
firstly, just before the course started; secondly, at the
end of their teaching practice term. The questions for
each are set out in chapter 3. Both these questionnaires
were analyzed during the summer following the PGCE. The
purpose of the questionnaires was to open up issues and
to supply me with general trends within the group.
Although each questionnaire was analyzed in some depth, I
have not included the findings in the main body of this
thesis, since I chose to base chapters on individual case
studies. The full results from the questionnaires are
available elsewhere (Grenfell 1994). I did draw on the
individual replies of the case study students in
constructing their studies. I also briefly refer to the
general trends found within the group at particular
points in the thesis. To include the full questionnaire
analyses would be rather lengthy, and, since I have used
them only in a complementary fashion, I have decided not
to do this. However, it is important, for methodological
reasons, for me to demonstrate what I did, why, and what
I discovered from the techniques employed. This appendix
is to demonstrate the kind of information I obtained from
the questionnaires. It is made up of examples from my
analyses of both the pre-course (questions 4 and 5) and
post-teaching practice questionnaires (question 2).

Pre-Course Questionnaire

A Sample Analysis: Questions 4 and 5

4) What makes a 'good' language learner?

Affective factors such as motivation (9), confidence (5) and enthusiasm/ enjoyment in language learning (7) form a major focus for the replies to this question. Other students refer to the 'necessity of success' (2):

> 'Early success leads to interest and motivation to learn/ study. Willingness to apply oneself - confidence to make mistakes and profit from them'.

This is also related to involvement and interest in a country, or desire to speak to foreign nationals:

> 'Someone prepared to get involved in a way of life of the foreign country - take an interest in food, music, dance. Someone with a desire to communicate with people of the foreign country'.

A expansion of this idea relates the learning experience to the ability to be 'open' to new ideas, to have an 'open mind (4): Some students (5) underline the social aspect of learning the language by insisting that individuals need to 'have a go' or 'feel uninhibited'.

A second major focus for replies deals with learning aptitude. Only one student writes of innate ability but others refer to factors which may be included in it: Memory (5), Knowledge of Structures of one's own language (4), mimic (4), learn vocabulary and grammar (1), have a 'good ear' for sounds (5), and perceive structures and patterns in words (1). One student comments:

'One who like music and may be good at it'.

This comment connects with that of another student who writes of:

'The difficulty of learning a new language "melody"'.

Actual features of learning are hardly referred to. Some students mention the need to practice (4), or to be patient (1). Another links the learning experiences to study skills. One only notes that the 'teacher' makes a good learner.

Comments

The objective of this question was to try to create a 'communal' stereotype of a 'good' language learner. This has partially been successful. The image is of a learner with a number of motivational and confidence boosting attributes. They are open, sociable and interested in the foreign culture and its people. Not only that, but they have an aptitude for learning, both in terms of attitude and psychological characteristics. Students clearly see the relationship between experience and the language. However, this is expressed at a fairly high level of abstraction or conceptualisation. Despite these two major factors only one student connects them explicitly:

'Someone who can relate his/ her learning to real situations'.

The good language learner is perhaps seen as a structural opposite to the difficulties question (Question 3). Such factors as the cultural, social, aptitudes, etc. are singularly and jointly present in their separate replies. There is, however, little expression given to ideas of

creating sense and meaning itself.

5. What makes a 'good' language teacher ?

The personality of the teacher receives the highest
number of references in reply to this question:
enthusiasm (12), patience (8), sense of humour (2),
confidence (2), positive and optimistic (4) and having
life and energy (2). These personality traits refer to
the inherent character of the teacher, irrespective of
pupils. Other comments relate specifically to the impact
of these on the pupils. There is mention of sensitivity
or concern for pupils (5), or awareness of pupils'
problems (2).

Some students also refer more explicitly to the actual
teacher/ pupil relationship; i.e., the learning process.
Thus, the ability 'to explain or communicate ideas' (7),
or to be interesting (8) are noted. How this latter is to
be achieved is less clear. Only one student comments on
the necessity for a teacher to be interested themselves
in their subject, rather than to be interesting. There is
some comment on the teachers' own knowledge of the
language and country (5), but the next focus for a
definition of a 'good' teacher involves more specific
methodology. There is a range of comments referring to
pupil centred/ group work activity (3), or getting pupils
to think in the language (2), the necessity of
communication rather than accuracy (1), or the general
need to create a good atmosphere (1), to be creative and
imaginative (3), and make repetition interesting (1).

There is some awareness of individual pupil differences
(5) but only one student emphasises the need to set
realistic goals. Generally, the formal aspects of
teaching are dealt with scantily; practicality (1),
organisation (1), well planned lessons (1). Only one

439

student refers to the need for self-evaluation as part of being a good teacher.

Comments

The stereotype of a 'good' language teacher is therefore one who has the personality first and foremost, to engage pupils in a positive pedagogic relationship. Most aspects of learning and teaching seem secondary to this. A positive, energetic outlook would appear to cover other uncertainties. The formal aspect of teaching is also seen as clearly definable both in terms of knowledge and conveyance of subject that is itself 'known' well by the teacher.

It is again interesting how some students mix the respective features of being a teacher. Thus, one student's entire reply is the succinct:

> 'Good language teachers understand that pupils can only learn at their own pace and need patience coupled with an ability to make repetition interesting'.

Another expands at length on 'enthusiasm', 'langauge appeal', 'resources', 'relevance', 'communication', 'accuracy versus fluency', 'motivation', 'confidence', 'setting goals', 'pupil centred activities', and 'personal experience'.

Aspects of organisation and specific methodology are referred to less at this stage. This could be because of lack of knowledge or experience - the reason for attending the PGCE course - or the perceived usefulness of it. This is ironic as the formal aspects of the course concentrate on a formal set of procedures for students to adopt.

2. Teaching Practice

i)   What were you happiest with during teaching practice?

ii) What was the most difficult part of being a student teacher doing teaching practice?

iii) How do you feel you changed over the term?

iv) What were your thoughts and feelings about tutor visits?

v)   Any other comments?

Comments on what students were happiest with during teaching practice are relatively brief and cover a fairly narrow field of issues. By far the most outstanding source of satisfaction could be referred to generally as the 'relationship with pupils' (10). One student refers to relating to pupils in a 'professional and caring' way; whilst for another it is enough to 'be' with children and adolescents. The relationship with the classes as a whole is also cited.

Similarly, students were not particularly unhappy with their work with groups during teaching practice. Only one cites discipline as a major problem. The main concern seems to be simply 'fitting in'. So, some 17 comments relate to a feeling of not being treated as a 'real' teacher; as feeling out of place, and thus not taken seriously by teachers or pupils:

> 'Being a 'student-teacher' is an artificial
> position; the pupils know that their "own" teacher
> will return at the end of the term, and I feel this
> can detract from the student's authority. You feel

like a sort of "non-person", as you are not
officially on the staff'.

It is clear that this feeling of low status or non-
identity comes from pupils <u>and</u> teachers; indeed, they
almost seem to feed off of each other:

> 'It often feels that you are neither one thing or
> the other. As you are only a student and only in
> school for one term, the pupils try to take
> advantage of your lowly status as much as possible
> and the other members of staff don't take you
> seriously. You get the impression that they think
> that you are just playing at being a teacher and it
> seems that your problems do not really count, and
> you are patronised slightly'.

This sense of unease is also expressed in the mismatch
felt between what the school is demanding of students and
what the University requires: doing what the classes'
normal teachers want the students to do (2) or being tied
to standard tests (4). Two comments also relate to
fitting in with the school, knowing the rules, etc. Lack
of such experience is implicit in many comments and
explicit in others (4). As one student writes:

> Since I had had so little previous experience,
> actually finding out how I was with a class, and
> children in general, meant that I didn't start on
> the best footing. Had I been able to establish my
> own view of myself in class beforehand, then I would
> have been more confident as a teacher from the
> beginning.

There are a few comments on the particular activities and
resources used in lessons. Some students were happy with
pairwork (1), presenting vocabulary (2), using the target

language (2) and active exercises (1); although
generally, a few more expressed contentment with good
lessons and keeping pupils' interest and attention (5).
It is clearly true that in order to achieve this,
preparation and planning is required. A few comments
relate to the burden of this (5), and others to the
limiting effect of lack of resources, use of photocopier,
etc. (5). Virtually no student cites actual classroom
activity as problematic, although one does raise the
question of 'teaching patterns as part of topics'. There
are also comments on problems of assessment: marking, the
amount of time taken on it, and the boredom it can lead
to.

Two comments refer to being watched and judged, and tutor
visits being an aspect of the teaching practice with
which they were not happy. Another student reports that
the classes' normal teacher was in the room all of the
time. In response to the explicit question about tutor
visits, however, most students seemed to be reasonably
satisfied with the experience. Some students were clearly
nervous or felt inhibited and insecure during a visit
(7), but others found them 'no problem' (6). There are
many positive comments (14) concerning the beneficial
effect of the visits: 'reassuring, encouraging,
supportive, helpful and exciting'. Still, there were also
some negative comments. One refers to the bad timing of
visits; another two that they were not long enough. Still
another thought that the lessons observed were not
representative, and others (3) wanted more. One students
summed up the complex issue of tutor visits:

> I felt in between. I always felt that I had to
> compromise between four parameters;
> a) I knew my tutor wanted something communicative.
> b) I knew that I had to follow departmental and
> school objectives in order to demonstrate my

integration within the establishment.

c) I was also aware that children had to bear all this process.

d) I knew that I had to develop my own style.

I was aware of all this when I prepared my lessons. I only wished that I had more time and stamina.

When they were asked how they felt they had changed, the most popular comment referred to personal factors such as confidence (10) and feeling more relaxed (5). Other felt they were more responsible (1), less self-conscious (1) and more able to cope with difficulties (2). Certainly, these affective attitudes must link with greater fluency in teaching. Some students (4) generally refer to the ease they felt they increasingly had in planning lessons. Others felt more organised (2), assured in lesson planning (1); another 'less attached to the prescriptive guide'. Some students (4) cited improved discipline as a major factor in their improvement over the term. Other were obviously more confident about using materials (3), had improved timing (2), or were more aware of difficulties in activities.

Very few students add further comments. One or two particular points were made concerning problems with differentiation, the helpfulness, or not, of school colleagues, and the suggestion of more meetings at the University. There were other comments (2) that the students had been reluctant to leave and how very hard the experience had been (4).

Comments

These questions were designed to ascertain the range of student experience during teaching practice, and to identify negative and positive responses to these. There are areas of activity for students: student, teacher,

individual personalities, work with colleagues and co-
professionals, pupils as general tutees, language
learners, or co-participants in the institution of
school. Each of these activities entails a level of
experience. Some activities - for example, classroom
teaching methodology - are prepared for intensely during
the term prior to teaching practice. Others - for
example, what it is to become part of a school - are only
given implicit coverage for the most part, and the
process of adapting to this is seen as a personal
adaptation to school life as part of initial school
experience.

If there is a spirit in the student questionnaire
replies, it is surely the struggle of identity and non-
identity. It may be surprising that in a course designed
by me that stresses classroom activity and language
learning in practice, that explicit methodological
concerns seem to be cited so little; whether these were
problematic or not during the experience of teaching
practice. What may be the reason for this? It could be,
for example, that this aspect of teacher training was
covered so successfully that it was not an issue during
the term; or because it saturates their activity,
everything else is seen as contrasting with it.
Methodology is the baseline for all other experiences;
and being seen through these eyes goes misrecognised. It
may be that where students were placed enabled them to
successfully use the methodology and thus it became
automatic. Or, it could be that methodology provided only
a base structure for students; it legitimised their
presence in schools. It is that very presence, or lack of
it in a stable form, that seems most significant for
students. In many cases, the notion of fitting in,
finding an identity and doing what is wanted of them
seems most pressing. In other words, the importance of
social relationships. This might be explained in terms of

a simple socialization model, but the phrase underemphasises the complexity of process involved. Many students seem to be re-affirmed by their pupils, and take this as a measure of their effectiveness. It is clearly important to experience such feedback from their activity as a way of legitimising their position in the school. The whole is an experience full of emotion for the student; this is clear from their comments on the areas in which they feel they changed most during the term. The most problematic areas are rarely resources or particular classroom practice, but trying to be taken seriously, trying to please themselves, Heads of Department, Schools, Tutors and pupils. Within this, clashes and tensions invariably exist.

It could be that methodology is not yet an issue, that a limited competence in this - to 'get by' - is a base structure for other affective, social adaptations, based more on becoming a teacher than a real critical exploration of language learning and teaching per se. If this is the case, although the two need not be mutually exclusive, then it is unsurprising that methodological issues and resources are not overtly cited in student responses. It also implies that training and tutor support is more about managing the nascent teacher identity of students through the medium of approaches to methodology.

Appendix 2

Student Diary - Janet

The details of how students were requested to complete
diaries during the autumn and spring terms are set out in
chapter 3. For the five students, the diaries were
firstly re-written by me in order to become familiar with
their content. This process also allowed me to develop a
number of rubrics concerning the areas, issues and themes
covered. Grid table were then completed using these
titles and making entries according to the specific week
in which the comment was made by the student. The box
title were as follows:

Classes/ Pupils
CLT/ Method
Lesson Planning
Materials
Management
Personal
Teacher Identity
Past Experience
Tutor
School/ Department

Clearly, entries under these headings varied from week to
week, and from student to student. What follows are some
examples from Janet's teaching practice term diary. I
have selected six out of the ten weeks, and six out of
the ten headings. It is noticeable that certain weeks and
certain themes do not always contain comments. The grids
did, however, allow me to see a range of comments
concerning specific issues over time, and thus gain some
understanding of how a particular theme developed for the
students during the course. I have used Janet's grid
since this will correspond to the non-critical and

447

critical case studies and thus offer a more complete
picture of the processes of research technique and case
study construction carried out on one student. By
demonstrating this for one student, I am indicating the
processes undertaken for all four.

Week	Classes/ Pupils	CLT/Method	Materials
1	- Mostly observing. - Quite keen to get going but pleased I had a chance to observe as I wasn't sure how to teach the material the children are supposed to be working on.	- Not much evidence of communicative approach.	
2	- I find the pupils are a little wary of their new/ strange activities.	- I'm just about teaching them. Getting a balance between the style they've used and the communicative method.	
5	- Special education lessons make me realise that some year 8 and 9 have problems in English in understanding simple commands, etc.		- Lesson of French breakfast with difficult year 10 went well and felt I was building up a good relationship with them. Cheered me up.
6	- Clearer about what I want from pupils and course book. - Friday enjoyable as I was able to challenge the excitement into activities I had proposed.		- Don't like 'French for You' and 'J'aime écouter': both used in year 10. - Pupils enjoyed using computers.
9	- Children pleased to see me which made me pleased.		
10	- Had party with one group. Plenty of games.		- Enjoyed preparing the lessons for this last week.

Week	Personal	Tutor	School/ Department
1			- Do I carry on simulating their style or do it my way? Will this disrupt the learning of the pupils?
2	- I feel that I am unorganised and the department is unorganised too. - Finding it hard, challenging work.		- Had a chance for someone to observe me, but I want them on my own 'till I get more confident.
5	- One good lesson - cheered me up.		- An INSET day to look forward to - no children.
6	- Felt more relaxed. Not pressured. - Off for funeral.		
9	- Off ill 'till Friday.		- Came in to pick up where groups were. Inspector had been. Department has to lose two members who cannot teach German. Very down feeling.
10	- Quite sad having last lessons with groups. - Felt relaxed and lessons went well. - So glad when Friday afternoon came though.		

Appendix 3

Example of Non-critical Case Study: Janet

Case studies were constructed on five students using a
range of source data. For the most part these were 'non-
critical'; that is a true and representational account
was aimed for without critical comment or analysis. For
the most part, events were reported and salient comments
by students noted. Conclusions were limited to simple
inference. These non-critical case studies were also
complemented by a series of notes taken during lesson
observations.

Appendix 3 is an example of one of these 'non-critical'
studies. My own reflective comments in constructing the
study are recorded in the upper case to signify their
place of emergence. The study concludes with the set of
lesson notes taken during observation visits. A 'non-
critical' case study was produced for each student in
order to offer a representation of each student's
experiences and, as far as possible, the student's
distinct voice.

These non-critical studies were then used as an object of
analysis. This entailed a critical reading of the content
of the study in terms of observable trends and likely
explanations for these. The move from non-critical to
critical version altered the relationship of the
researcher with the research; from that of a trainer
recording the events of a group of students training to
teach to that of a researcher looking for salient
features in the way students were responding to the
course of training and why.

Critical case studies were constructed for each of the
non-critical versions. Janet's studies are given in both

forms to demonstrate the change of content and style in
reporting and analysis. The five critical forms are
included in the main body of the thesis in order to offer
a narrative core and exemplify the empirical heart of the
study. However, a synopsis of each has also been supplied
and the case studies printed on coloured paper in order
to mark them out as distinct. It has not been practical
to include all five critical _and_ non critical versions,
since the latter alone amount to some 40,000 words. These
studies were themselves 'reduced' from an original data
bank of 250,000 words. The guiding intention has been to
make the data here presented as readable, thorough and
concise as possible; but to do so without loosing a sense
of the large amount of data and the meticulous processes
involved in working with it.

The 'non-critical' case studies were structured around
the source of data collected, which itself means that
they present a chronological narrative of the student in
training. The following study contains these headings:

   (i)   Application and Interview.
   (ii)   Questionnaire 1.
   (iii) Autumn Term.
   (iv)   Autumn Term Diary
   (v)   End of Autumn Term Interview (Taped).
   (vi)   Teaching Practice.
   (viii) Lesson Visits.
   (viii) End of Teaching Practice Questionnaire.
   (ix)   End of Year Interview (Taped).
   (x)   Lesson Observations.

JANET

APPLICATION AND INTERVIEW

Janet was 23 years old when she joined the course. She had a degree (III class honours in P.E. and French combined studies) from a college of H.E. As she had done a combined honours course, she had not spent a year in France. Her education in P.E. was clearly allied to an involvement in general 'activity' pastimes. She had been a teacher in a children's holiday centre, and had also been an officer cadet in a university Officer training corp. At school she had assisted physically handicapped pupils in free periods.
THIS INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM HER CV APPLICATION FORM. IN THIS RESPECT WHAT SHE CHOSE TO HIGHLIGHT IN HER APPLICATION 'ESSAY' IS PERTINENT.
Janet did not join the course immediately after graduating but had been working as an occupational assistant in a city hospital. This involved care, therapy and exercises for elderly patients. She did not apply for the course early - mid-July to start in September.

In her application, she claimed that her experience in teaching EFL students had persuaded her to go into education. She found this her most valued work experience as it had involved gaining the trust and confidence of the students. She had pursued this by following a TEFL diploma correspondence course which she had passed with an A grade. She also wrote of the importance of Europe, 1992 and thus helping pupils to communicate in another language. She spoke of her hope to combine language teaching with PE, and of the value of good education - both educationally and academically, which she felt she could convey to pupils. Her reference spoke of her likeable, sociable manner. She had been successful in work experience and had dealt with individuals with tact

and politeness. She had made progress but had found French 'a not particularly easy subject. Finally, her reference had concluded 'she has expressed a certain enthusiasm for teaching, has made a rather average performance in academic studies, and would have something to contribute to the profession. On the basis of this and her interview she was offered a place on the course.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Janet's replies to her first questionnaire were brief and note like. Language was 'a means to communicate a message.' From her own language studies she had gained the confidence to communicate, but also enjoyed the literature. The problem with language learning was 'coming to grips with the grammatical terminology.'

A good langauge learner was someone who made 'every effort to practise what had been learnt.' A good teacher was one who 'makes learners want to know more.' Janet advised someone who wanted to learn a language to 'use it functionally as soon as possible, to read a foreign magazine and write to a pen-pal.'

For her, languages were important for learning about the culture of a country with a view to living and working in it. She regretted that languages were not really used in this country, so pupils did not have the opportunity to express themselves.

She was looking for 'favourable responses from enthusiastic pupils' from her experiences as a language teacher. Her concern was that languages should have a high profile in and out of school and be accessible to all students; that an interest should be sustained by students even after they had left school.

AUTUMN TERM

Janet did little to distinguish herself in the autumn
term. She was fairly punctual in attendance, and
generally her manner was conscientious and sincere. She
certainly got on well with her fellow students: was
sociable and likeable. She also completed all her work,
although this was rather superficial and not particularly
well presented.

She gave the impression of being well meaning. Yet Janet
often also appeared distracted and preoccupied. For
whatever reason - limited competence, for example - her
contribution to sessions were infrequent, and mostly she
was content to sit through discussions in a passive way.
She engaged in group work well enough but she never
really seemed to settle and push herself into materials
design and production. I did consider her to be a solid
student, and felt quite confident about putting her into
a 'difficult' school for her spring term teaching
practice.

ALTHOUGH THE SCHOOL WAS DIFFICULT, IT WAS ONE WE HAD USED
SUCCESSFULLY BEFORE. THERE WAS CERTAINLY SUPPORT IN THE
SCHOOL AND OPPORTUNITIES TO TEACH GOOD CLASSES. THE
DIFFICULTIES CAME FROM A RATHER DISPIRITED STAFF, A NOT
ALTOGETHER UNIFIED MODERN LANGUAGES DEPARTMENT AND SOME
CONFLICTS OVER TEACHING METHODOLOGY. NOT PERFECT, BUT NOT
UNREPRESENTATIVE OF LOCAL SCHOOLS.
I do feel that some of the group discussion was above
her. This may explain her rather diffident manner in the
group. Still, she was sociable and I felt this would
enable her to settle well into the school. She also
seemed well intentioned; there was therefore no reason to
believe she would not perform well in teaching practice.

I AM AWARE THAT THIS WAS WRITTEN WITH THE HINDSIGHT OF
EXPERIENCE OF WORKING WITH HER. HERE IS THE HINT OF
DETERMINISM IN THAT I AM STARTING TO CONSTRUCT A
NARRATIVE USING INFORMATION THAT WAS NOT CLEAR TO ME AT
THE TIME.

AUTUMN TERM DIARY

Janet starts her diary with some personal notes
concerning the experience of the first impact of the
course:

> try to get to grips with everything, who are
> all these people, why are they all here, is
> anyone in the same boat as me? Gardening in a
> gale is an excellent image. Interesting to hear
> the diversity of opinions and views. Mandarin
> lesson was excellent. Try 100%. easy to feel
> swamped. Felt overwhelmed yesterday with move,
> new people, etc.

There is then an opening dialogue with the communicative
approach (CA):

> Need to communicate to use the language.
> Need to communicate.
> When young, acquisition - grammar comes later.
> Teach words, phrases, then later teach why, tools
> for communication.
> Traditional method was stereotypical.
> Start with structure - avoir/être - get to grips so
> can say something about yourself.

NOT REALLY THE ESSENCE OF THE CA

> CA may not be compatible with teacher _and_ pupil

There follows a good deal of straight accounting of what
is taking place in lessons; for example, 'Flashcards - I
didn't realise you could get so much from just a few
cards.' There is also some comment on the course: 'at
present everything is simulation - no disruptive
behaviour, etc. Hopefully, observation in school will
give insight,' and 'Looking at video -greatly criticised
but proved useful when I went to Oaklands'.
THIS LAST COMMENT SHOWS HOW THE DIARY WAS ALREADY BEING
WRITTEN WITH A GOOD DEAL OF RETROSPECTION, AS THEY DID
NOT GO INTO SCHOOLS FOR EXPERIENCE FOR ANOTHER WEEK.
After having visited schools for the first time in week 3
Janet comments how she is shocked by the low level of the
pupils. The lessons she sees are 'sloppy'; she is
impressed by the pupil/teacher relationship but asks what
the pupils have learnt in the lesson. She feels that too
much English was being used and comments that no setting
had been provided, which she feels was unfair on either
the CA or the traditional approach. She also raises the
question of her position in the group:

> Discussion back in the University. Our's was in
> French - gulp - not used to speaking it so much.
> Then a big circle for all of us - feeling much more
> confident to speak.

Week 4 is the first point of crisis for Janet as she is
ill. When she does attend a session she describes herself
as 'sitting back and listening, not feeling like
participating and questioning.'

In week 5 she is having problems with University
sessions:

> Our group's lesson plans not clear to me.
> Don't really get much out of group discussions - no
> clear points emerge.

457

Good working group but I had switched off.
GOOD COMMENTS ON FAILURE TO MAKE POINTS SPECIFIC. COMMON
EXPERIENCE DOES NOT EQUAL INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE
Her school observation she finds 'depressing' but then
there is a breath of fresh air:

> Tree on board with drawings on card of members of
> family to swap and change when family were divorced
> and remarried. Use of German for first ten minutes -
> reproduced by children, repetition, 3-stage
> questioning. Very clear plan. Allowance for brighter
> children.

She also comments on suggestopaedia - topic that had
casually arisen on the course, but with which she is
obviously taken:

> Good idea. Hope to use it. Are children becoming
> walking phrase books as one member of the group said
> re. the CA. Children no longer have framework now
> they have set sentences.

AGAIN, THE ONE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF CA THAT I HAVE TAUGHT
THEM IS BECOMING PROBLEMATIC. BUT THEIR INTERPRETATION IS
NOT MY INTERPRETATION OF IT. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THEY
REJECT IT AND RETURN TO GRAMMAR-TRANSLATION RATHER THAN
GO FORWARD WITH IT. I AM URGING THEM FORWARD, THEY CAN
ONLY SEE THE PROBLEMS.

At this point, I believe Janet's diary stops; i.e. at
week 6. What follows is the briefest account of the rest
of the term. It is in rushed handwriting - all the same
colour ink, style, etc. as if written at one sitting in
order to complete the task. The possible reasons, and
interpretations, of this are many and varied:
- overwhelmed by work.
- diary not useful.
- diary too time consuming

- disaffection with the course
- problematisation becoming critical
- experience too immediate. Cannot be reflected
  upon.

Most of the inserts simply list what was covered - aims
and objectives, book evaluation - although there is also
occasional comment - 'HMLSDP. Not overwhelmed by it;
Target language. Fine if children understand it;
Microteaching. What's the point?' Some are fuller as when
she teaches for the first time:

> Worked great. Well received. Felt good afterwards.
> taught a mistake - une souris. I know that my French
> isn't nearly half as good as it should be. I want to
> spend time helping every pupil but system doesn't
> allow for this. Now understand why teacher does not
> use target language - far too impossible.

Details of the later weeks of the course become thinner
and thinner, eventually petering out. There is no sense
of conclusion. I noted this and:

> I FEEL THAT AT THIS STAGE THERE ARE PROBLEM AREAS.
> CLEARLY UNHAPPY ABOUT WHAT IS AND IS NOT POSSIBLE
> FOR HER IN TEACHING. SEE PROBLEM AREAS: - SCHOOLS
>   - METHOD
>   - INDIVIDUAL ATTENTION
> COURSE HAS BECOME PROBLEMATIC. HAS NOT ARTICULATED
> PROCESS. PICKS AND DECIDES WHAT IS GOOD AND NOT OF
> USE. EG. GOT NOTHING OUT OF IT. WHOSE FAULT IS THAT/
> WHERE IS THE LACK OF CAPACITY TO REFLECT AND LEARN?
> WHAT ARE HER MAIN INADEQUACIES? CERTAINLY
> OVERWHELMED BY
>   - EXPERIENCE
>   - PROBLEMS
>   - OWN LACK OF ABILITY IN CERTAIN

END OF AUTUMN TERM INTERVIEW

The end of term interview covered some of these points
with Janet. She expressed some dissatisfaction with her
experience on the course:

> Nothing has been extremely useful. A mixture of
> everything I suppose. I find it very difficult and I
> know that it is not really practical but I find it
> really difficult to teach your peer group instead of
> children. You cannot expect a group of kids to come
> in and be guinea pigs for us all but I found those
> (microteaching) activities that we have done not
> particularly useful.

Actual teaching went better for Janet:

> I enjoyed the teaching in schools, but they only
> really let us do full lessons on the last Tuesday of
> term. You can really tell when children find it
> interesting and when they don't. They let you know
> straight away.

When asked if anything went disastrously wrong, Janet
related a personal incident where she had done her bronze
medallion the day before teaching and felt shattered as a
consequence: 'I had all my notes and everything but I was
shattered'. When asked about the approach that we had
adopted - the communicative approach, Janet showed
appreciation of the different dimensions of language
teaching:

> When I started doing the essay, I started to read a
> bit more around the subject and you realise why it

has come about. It's not perfect and it's not
brilliant but it's on the right track. The way I
learnt it was a nice balance of both which worked
well for teacher and pupil. So that is what I am
going to do eventually - a bit of the traditional
side, give them the reason behind the language.

Janet stressed the importance of adapting course book
material to particular needs and expressed an interest in
the background books she had read:

I enjoyed reading and finding out the history of the
CA and how it built up to this stage. And when I
look in the classes, I think how they haven't read
these books.

Janet told the story of how she had taught some French
the previous year to a couple of people who were going on
holiday and needed some phrases:

J: So I appreciate what you have been trying to
teach us.
M: So you have been doing it naturally yourself?
J: Yes and I didn't realise. I geared it around
communication but I do see the importance of going
back, once you've got the grips of it, and saying
this is how you build on it, otherwise they just get
a phrase and they can't build it into anything else.
M: Yes, that message is a subtle one - not always
heard. People say that the CA is about .... no-one
learns anything, and it's not really. That statement
is important as well, that you do that.

IRONICALLY THIS IS A POINT THAT HAS BEEN MADE AGAIN AND
AGAIN TO THE STUDENTS BUT I DO NOT THINK THAT THEY 'HEAR'
IT.

Janet was placed in an inner city school for her teaching practice term. It was not known as an easy school, and certainly there was a large element of 'difficult' classes. More importantly, perhaps, from my perspective was that the department itself was problematic. The Head of Department seemed to have taken on a caretaker role, assuming the responsibilities of the department without adequate remuneration or status. He was welcoming and conscientious but clearly resented the fact that he was not valued. A year after Janet's placement there he went to work in another school. It was certainly not a school where I expected a model of language teaching to be presented to Janet. The staff room itself also always seems dispirited. Janet had visited the school and noted that 'one person does not seem overjoyed at the thought of me taking over his classes'. Significantly, she showed most enthusiasm for the PE side: 'the PE department is lovely'. She also commented on the layout of the rooms which she did not like as they were in rows: 'I'll try to change that'.

TEACHING PRACTICE

In Janet's first week she spent most of the time observing and notes; 'not much evidence of the communicative approach', and sees the potential problem of this: 'do I carry on simulating their style or do it my way/ Will this disrupt the learning of the pupils?' DOUBT HERE ABOUT HER OWN COMPETENCE WITH GIVEN MATERIAL. IMMEDIATE CLASH OF METHODOLOGY LEADING TO AN UNDERMINING OF CONFIDENCE IN CA. By week 2 she states that the work is hard and challenging and that some classes are rather draining. She does feel that she is just about getting the right balance between the style of language teaching the pupils are used to and the communicative method, although the pupils are wary of the new activities. She feels that she is disorganised, as is the department she

is working in. LACKS CONFIDENCE AND ORGANISATION.
SUFFERING THE CLASH WITHIN DEPARTMENT. In week 3 she is
ill and off school, but comments: 'can't decide if I have
made myself ill or really am ill'. She notes that she is
not enjoying it and that it is difficult for her. The day
back at the University is interesting but 'as I am not
enjoying myself I found it difficult to talk about my
experience so far'. CRISIS HAS COME EARLY. ILL OR MADE
HERSELF ILL. FELT ALIENATED BECAUSE SHE COULD NOT TALK
FREELY ABOUT PROBLEMS. By week 4 she is reluctant to go
into school but notes that things go quite well: her
lesson planning is coming together and she is starting to
become stricter with some pupils. She feels that it is
possible to approach year 8 with 'fun' activities but not
year 9. This was the week when she had a 'heart to heart'
with the Head of Department after bursting into tears.
One outcome was that she started going into classes for
pupils with special needs. IN MANY WAYS SHE IS VERY OPEN
AND FRANK ABOUT HER THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS BUT RELUCTANT
AND NOT REALLY CLEAR WHAT SHE IS PLANNING TO DO. An INSET
day in week 5 is looked forward to as a day without
pupils. Even so, things are improving: she has a clearer
strategies for discipline after a talk with the Head of
Department ('give homework well before the end of the
lesson'); a lesson with a year 10 goes really well which
cheers her up; and she understands from involvement with
special needs pupils how much year 8 and 9 need help with
English. A MORE POSITIVE ENTRY. CLEARLY CONCERNED ABOUT
THE 'SPECIAL EDUCATIONALS'. BUT CHEERED UP ABOUT
RELATIONSHIP WITH PUPILS. In week 6 she comments on her
continued disorganisation with regard to homework and
filling in course book but states that she is feeling
more relaxed. Another crisis hits Janet as her uncle dies
and she has to attend the funeral. Yet this seems a
peaceful experience for her. She is clearly not happy
with the books provided for year 10, and sees that pupils
like using computers. She can say that she is sometimes

inspired in lesson planning, but when she is not, it is reflected in her classes. Still, she is now able to plan more than one day in advance; she can ad lib; and generally she has a clearer picture about what she wants from pupils and the course book: 'Friday - enjoyable as able to channel excitement of the children into the activities I had prepared'. There is then a break for half-term. In week 7 that follows Janet's spirit is again flagging: 'I'm in a so-what mood. I'll do it; get on with it; get these 4 weeks over without getting moved.' Classes are clearly again very demanding, and, as well as needing a lot of time to rest, she resents this: 'I don't see why I should try hard for a class that is disruptive and reluctant to participate'; although she does feel that it would be a good idea to look up some activities in her course file. SHE SEEMS CAUGHT IN A VICIOUS CIRCLE. LESS EFFORT IN LESSONS - FINDING ACTIVITIES, ETC. - MEANS DIFFICULT LESSONS WHICH AGAIN SAPS HER ENERGY. MOTIVATION AND FATIGUE ARE CLEARLY LINKED. By week 8 she is eagerly looking forward to the end of her teaching practice. In week 9 she is off ill again until Friday, but is happy when she sees that the pupils are pleased to see her back. While she has been out, the department had been inspected, and had received a poor report. There is a down feeling because two members of staff must go. A MEASURE OF THE DEPARTMENT. NOT THE BEST FOR HER. I GET THE FEELING SHE CAN'T WAIT FOR IT TO END. For the last week she is relaxed and her lessons go well, even 'partying' with one group. She is sad at having her last lessons with groups but pleased when the eventual end comes. THE CATHARSIS IS STRONG. RELAXED AT LAST SHE IS ABLE TO ENJOY HERSELF; AND WORK BETTER WITH GROUPS.

POINTS :

    SHE SEEMS TO NEED HUMAN CONTACT. AT THE MOMENT THERE
    IS A LACK OF:
        - MOTIVATION

- ORGANISATION

                    - AMBITION

        OTHER IMPORTANT FEATURES:

                    - ILL

                    - CRITICAL IN AN IMPLICIT WAY OF SCHOOL,

            DEPARTMENT AND MATERIAL

                    - DOES NOT FEEL SETTLED IN THIS DEPARTMENT

HER DISCOMFORT IS QUITE EVIDENT IN TEACHING LANGUAGES.

WHAT DOES 'NOT FOR HER' MEAN ?

VISITS AND LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Janet was visited five times during her teaching
practice. Examples of the notes taken during three of
these lesson observations are given at the end of this
case study to keep them as a unit.

In between the lessons I was able to have informal chats
with her which I noted. What follows are a selection of
my notes together with some comments by Janet on various
topics:

Break. Break was a fairly isolated experience. Janet sat
and drank coffee almost in a dream. She had very little
contact with other teachers. Many of them seemed
similarly isolated; a norm of the school.
Year 9 pupils. "They were O.K. today because you were
there but normally they're really bad. I went up there
one day and I was a little bit late and they were hanging
out of the window.
I kept thinking what to do in that lesson (the one I had
just I observed) but I just couldn't come up with
anything. I'm getting so tired, I can't think of
anything; keep coming up with the ideas."
Teaching/ modern languages. Well I'm really enjoying my

work with the vocats. and the special needs because you
have more of a physical progression. And they're not as
confident as this lot. So you teach them a few life
skills and that's good. With modern language teaching it
just does not seem to have much to do with them and they
get bored. I spend all my time, till 9 o clock at night,
trying to think of ideas to interest them but it's really
difficult.

If I want to use an OHP, I have to book it the day
before; and most of the rooms do not have a screen
anyway. So I go in and write on the board. And the rooms
are so small. Even if you are half way down the room, you
seem to be nearer the back. I feel confined to one room -
anchored on the spot, but really I like to get out and
about. That's where the Special needs are really good,
because you get to move around. I can do that more then.

I really liked my work with handicapped children and I
think that's more what I would like to do. I just don't
know if there is the kind of job I'm looking for out
there.

Modern Language teaching: happy? Not much. Like it's
better this term than last but I still find that I do not
have the motivation. And it does not help not being paid.
I wonder if it would make a difference. At the moment,
I'm wondering why I'm working so much for nothing?

Worst problem? The discipline. I plan some things but
then abandon them because I know there would be a riot.
The year 9 were o.k when we had a French breakfast. I
brought in all the food and drink. And I kept coming out
for hot water and wondering what they would do. But they
were o.k. because there was so much food about.

<u>Vocats.</u> Some of them have real learning problems and one in particular is really rough. But they've got jobs, and his job is down at the local nursery, and apparently he's really good with the little ones. Like really gentle. And when I go up there, they say: Do you want a cup of coffee, Miss? They've got all the equipment. It's like a little suite up there, and all these kids that normally mess about have really decorated it well and made it comfortable. And they are really nice, making me coffee and things.

<u>Talk with two older departmental teachers.</u>
T: Fundamentally, it's all very well for people to say that you can do this or that active participatory type of lesson, but you don't stand a chance unless you have discipline. What can you do if the pupils are crawling up the wall and don't want to learn? So, as a student you try something active and it doesn't work because the kids misbehave and you feel bad. So you try something more traditional but they get bored and they don't work either. So you still feel bad. You try to do something more active for your tutor to see to get a good mark. But it's bad when it doesn't work. It does get easier - but not much (laughter)
Janet: Yes, that is where I am at.

<u>END OF TEACHING PRACTICE QUESTIONNAIRE</u>

Looking back at the autumn term course Janet noted doing lessons for the group and video, Mandarin lesson, some watching of communicative lessons, HMLSDP and the Nelson publisher visit as being most useful. THERE ARE CONTRADICTIONS HERE. IF THE FIRST RELATES TO MICRO TEACHING, SHE WAS PREVIOUSLY CRITICAL OF THIS. OBVIOUSLY, VISITORS ARE HIGHLIGHTED. WHY? BREAK THE MONOTONY OF GROUP SESSIONS? SHE WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF HMLSDP BEFORE.

HER COMMENTS ARE VAGUE AND NON-INVOLVED. In response to
which components on the course she found least useful she
notes: 'some lectures (REFERRING TO GENERAL EDUCATIONAL
STUDIES NOT MODERN LANGUAGES) which I can't remember now
so they could not have been too memorable.' There are no
other comments in this section.

She cited the relationship with the groups that she had
built up as the aspect of her work she was happiest with
during Teaching Practice. SHE NOTES THIS NOT JUST IN
FRENCH BUT ALSO IN PE AND SPECIAL NEEDS. FRENCH LESSONS
SEEM TO HAVE INHIBITED HER. There was a long list of
difficult aspects about being a student teacher: lesson
plans, diary, marking, assessing, having tutors in,
lessons observed, not using photocopier, children not
wanting you to leave, no OHP, projector screens. A LOT OF
POINTS CONNECT WITH HER RESPONSIBILITIES AND PRACTICAL
ACTION. CAN SHE COPE? SOME RELY ON HER, OTHERS ON THE
SCHOOL. SHE DOES NOT SEEM ABLE TO ADAPT. She did feel
that she became slightly more organised over the term and
understood what was expected of her. She felt that tutor
visits kept 'you on your toes' and the feedback was
relevant, helpful and necessary. She did, however,
calculate that she was observed for 5 lessons out of 180,
so if it was a bad day/bad class, it reflected negatively
on you. There were no further comments.

Pupils paying attention, understanding what they should
do and producing 'any' language are the points she noted
against the difficulties pupils have in language
learning. As for mistakes, she supposed that if pupils
are coming out with anything vaguely French, it is a step
in the right direction. NOT AN OPTIMISTIC PICTURE BASED
ON HER EXPERIENCE.

She felt that the communicative approach has worked with
year 8 top set and year 10 top set but she had used a

watered down version with everyone else. Some didn't
understand grammar explanations either; some needed a
logical framework as base, some didn't. Similarly, use of
target language worked with top set year 8 and 10 but
others needed to know what was being said no matter how
clear it was made with actions, etc. She blames the
previous teachers' approach for this and says that she
eventually used a mixture of French, English and
translation. She explains how the department had been
inspected and put down on every count; most of these had
included the very things they had said to her would not
work - target language, information gap, etc. The
department was obviously divided; some subsequently
helped her, others got on with their own 'bit'. She found
preparing and planning materials shattering. She seemed
to put more in than she got out. She did find the
published materials helpful but stressed that the teacher
needed to put work across and make it relevant and
comprehensible.

In her questionnaire, the spaces for 'advice to a student
approaching teaching practice' and 'comments on what
makes a successful language teacher' were left blank. IS
THIS BECAUSE SHE HAD NOTHING TO SAY OR TOO MUCH?

END OF YEAR INTERVIEW (taped)

Obviously, many of the points raised in the above also
come through in the end of year interview with Janet. By
this stage Janet had decided not to apply for a job in
teaching. It is possible to describe now in more detail
some of the thoughts and feelings she has already
expressed. A substratum to what she has to say is my
position in the conversation. I include more of my
interjections and subsequent comments on them to offer
some picture of my role in the developing discourse of

ideas:

> M: So how would you describe your state vis-a-vis modern languages teaching?
>
> J: Give me a clue what you want me to say? NOT EXACTLY REFLECTIVE.
>
> M: I don't want you to say anything. I gather from what you are saying that you don't want to be a modern language teacher.
>
> J: No I don't. I've lost interest in that through teaching. I think I shouldn't gone to that particular school. It didn't help. It just does not appeal to me any more.

She went on to again explain that it is just not her:

> I didn't get much out of it. I don't think I put much into it either.' PENETRATION. DO IDEAS COME FROM DIFFERENT CLASSIFICATORY SCHEMES?

I asked Janet if she could tell me what someone who is really made for it would be like:

> Someone who still has links with the country, which I haven't. Someone who is interested and organised enough to get the authentic materials, which I am not.

Later, she contrasted her own position that of with her flatmate, Karen, a wholly successful student:

> The people I know like Karen are always on the phone speaking Spanish all the time. She sees Spanish in a daily situation. She loves the language. And if anyone can speak it and she can help them, she gets a real buzz out of it. So for her teaching Spanish is great and puts her on a high. But for me, I

enjoyed the literature and didn't spend a year
abroad and so didn't get anything. I don't know
anything about French culture because I got it all
through the literature. THIS ALSO PARTLY EXPLAINS
THE WEAKNESS OF HER FRENCH: BOTH MYSELF AND HER TP
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT NOTICED MANY FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS
WHEN SHE WAS TEACHING.

This led onto a discussion about methodology, which
brought out her interpretation of it and some comments
with regard to my position in passing on methodology to
the students:

> Well I know what different people have said along
> the way, and there was a bit of a debate last week
> apparently. The debate was about someone
> misinterpreting you. That you say everyone should do
> this method or they won't make a decent teacher.
> Whereas, what I think your saying is that this is a
> method that is geared to the GCSE and you've got to
> employ it in a way that suits you, the class and the
> school. STRANGE WHERE THESE NARRATIVES COME FROM! If
> you gave someone a set of lesson plans and told them
> to teach it, their personalities would still come
> through - and so you would still get different
> lessons.

Janet went on to describe the method as giving language
more meaning and context than ten years ago, and said:
  'it is still not quite right but it is in the right
direction.'

An Austrian student had explained to her how in Austria
they had gone from grammar methods to the CA, but now
they were moving back to slightly more grammar, and that
was the way she could see it going in this country. QUITE
PERCEPTIVE AND TRUE.

Later Janet again took up the issue of exactly what my role was and how this may clash with what was going on in school and thus students' experience:

> J: People on this course are learning how schools want you to teach, and you are trying to tell us that not because it's the way you want us to teach but how someone higher up is thinking. Some people, I think, cannot see that. People think that you're telling us this because you're a dictator.STRANGE INTERPRETATION.
>
> M: When I talk about it, I have behind me discussions, readings, research in linguistics, National Curriculum, DES, etc. And I synthesise that. It's my interpretation, a state-of-the-art, unbiased view. And it's odd the way people react to it when I've given an unbiased view. I am trying to say this is where things are at and teach you that. But some take it personally: you're imposing a method on us.
>
> J: You've got to otherwise children have no chance of passing an exam at the end. NOT REALLY THE POINT I AM MAKING
>
> M: I don't mean an exam, I mean just the approach. The approach that people are using. When you go into schools, some people have been there for 20 -30 years and have got lazy with their methodology. I try to offer the current views on language teaching. Where we are aiming at? People use it as a justification: well they're teaching grammar, why can't I?
>
> J: You can see that the lessons that go well have lots of activities and are communicative - games and things.

Janet again raised the question of needing a little grammar to avoid producing walking phrase books, which

she tried to do (and managed with some classes), but
thought that 'old' teachers would never be able to do it
because they cannot cope with it. This was a problem in
taking classes over who were used to more formal methods.
On target language use:

> Some occasions it just does not work, but I found
> that with one year 8 class it worked very well
> because they were bright anyway. The Head of
> Department took them and kept trying to do a lot of
> target language with them so they were not panicked
> by it. But others, a year 9 for example, it was very
> difficult and I had to revert back to English,
> otherwise we would not get anywhere. They were very
> badly behaved. Like you enter the room and there is
> one lad hanging out of the window, one lad being
> stabbed with a compass, the roof is leaking and a
> blind is coming down. You walk into a classroom like
> that and say 'Bonjour, asseyez-vous' and it does not
> work.

We returned to discussion of my position in training.
Janet concedes that it is difficult but points out that
five lessons observed by me in the term is not enough.
She expresses satisfaction with the course. The summer
term was me trying to keep things going because people
had a 'I've got a job, I don't want to be here' attitude.
She talked about the computer day which she had found
useful. This brought out some interesting dimensions to
what was covered on the course and how it might be
applied or made use of:

> J: I enjoyed the computers the other day because I
> could see their use for pupils of low
> ability...(but) playing with Granville wasn't
> particularly helpful without pointing out how I was
> going to teach with it. Problems, how to use it,

etc. You have to understand why you are doing this -
having a go IMPORTANT PHILOSOPHICAL POINT rather
than someone standing there teaching you and talking
to you.

M: Some students want to be told everything all the
time. So if you do something like Granville, you
should be thinking well how am I going to use it?
RATHER A DIRECT CRITICISM OF HER AND WHAT SHE HAS
JUST SAID. But when people were asked how you might
use it, it was done quite poorly. But if I produce a
handout, they want a copy. A feeling of tell me how
to do it rather than I have the basics, how am I
going to use it.

J: ... Yeah ... Thinking for yourself. How, why and
what? All these sorts of things. And having a backup
resource of ... what you've given us are almost
dictionary definitions. And you take them out and
use them as when. Taking out activities and using
them:. that is what I tried to do.

M: I suppose that in the end I cannot make your
lessons for you. Like painting a picture.A POPULAR
ANALOGY FOR ME Something is indefinable.

J: Something like that.

Janet clearly has many perceptive points about teaching
training and communicative techniques. Still, her
disaffection overrode an active engagement with the
professional concerns of becoming a langauge teacher. She
went back to her previous job as an occupational
therapist, which she stated 'seemed to be connected with
real life'. Her disaffection matched that of her pupils
who were obliged to learn French when 'really they wanted
to be a bricklayer.' She connected the environment of the
school and language teaching as somehow unreal, or at
least for her:

J: I liked the children, but it was being stuck to
   four walls and a bell. And that was not for me. HERE
   Janet SEEMS TO COLLUDE WITH THE POSITION OF MANY OF
   HER PUPILS
M: You enjoyed the special needs work?
J: I enjoyed that and the vocational studies.
M: Was that locating with the real world?
J: For me Language teaching was detached from the
   real world. For me, I can understand others' way of
   thinking, but I can't adopt it.

She bemoaned the influence of the school she was at and
contrasts it with the experience of other students who
were 'having a whale of a time, being given a constant
supply of materials, etc.' She re-emphasised the physical
condition of teaching:

   I could teach PE in schools, but not French. It's
   too square: the classroom, the bell, the timetable
   and assessment. It's just not me.

I wondered why she did not go for PE teaching initially:

   Both my sisters have done it. Most of the people I
   know have done languages and have come out with the
   reasons of why and what they have gained. I see the
   relevance and the importance but I don't feel my
   skills and qualities go in that direction.

It is clear from this interview that on many fronts Janet
had not 'become a teacher'. It is therefore unsurprising
that she did not apply for teaching jobs but instead
decided to take up part-time psychiatric support work.

<u>**LESSON OBSERVATIONS**</u>

<u>Lesson 1</u>

The first lesson observed was a year 10 French group.
Janet started by calling the roll in French, to which the
pupils answered 'Miss or Yes Miss' in English.   She then
launched into:

<u>10.40</u>
'Quelle est la date aujourd'hui?', to which one pupil
replied:
'Jeudi le 17 Janvier', which Janet wrote on the board.

Janet then said:

'Aujourd'hui, nous sommes à Southampton' and showed a
flashcard for 'tourist information'.

T: Où sommes-nous? (For ease, I shall use T and P
throughout to signify Teacher and Pupil.)
P: l'information

Janet fixed the flashcard to the board and wrote
 'l'information' under it.

She then did the same thing with 'la gare', 'le
football', 'l'aéroport', 'les magasins', 'le jardin
public' and 'le musée'.

She said: 'Levez la main' but pupils shouted out for
each one.

There then followed a sequence based on:

T: Est ce qu'il y a un musée ?
P: Tudor House

```
T:          Est ce qu'il y a un jardin ?
P:          En centre ville
```

IN MANY CASES EST-CE QU'IL Y A WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN
ANSWER THAT GAVE THE ACTUAL NAME OF THE PLACE IN
SOUTHAMPTON.

```
T:          Est ce qu'il y a la gare ?
P:          Oui
```
THE USE OF THE ARTICLE IS ODD. IS THIS ONE OF Janet's
ERRORS? THE ANSWERS ARE MONOSYLLABIC

This sequence concluded with 'Il y a beaucoup à
Southampton'.   Janet then gave out brochures of
Southampton and explained in French that they were
tourists and had £50 to spend.

```
T:          Vous êtes ici au bureau d'information.
Maintenant décrivez votre journée.  Je veux visiter le
cinéma (written on board) pour voir 'Anarchophonie'.
Je veux aller aux magasins.
Après, je veux manger.
```

This continued with checks in English and Janet described
a range of events. She asked about Ocean Village.

```
T:          Qu-est-ce qu'il y a faire ?
P:          Le cinèma, les magasins.
```

Janet then asked pupils, in French, to turn to page 15
and read:

```
T:          The Anchor. The Anchor est situé au centre
            ville.   The Red Lion, c'est assez célèbre.
            Pourquoi? It's quite famous. C'est un pub
            historique (writes and reads)
```

Janet asked pupils to turn to page 25 where there were
hotels and pointed out:

T: Voilà les hotels mais j'ai seulement £50.
            Maintenant écoutez, décrivez votre journée.
            Qu'est ce que est en anglais?
Ps: (No response)
T: Right, I want you to describe your day in
            Southampton the way I just have. But don't
            forget you only have £50 OK. Voilà les
            dépliants. Décrivez votre journée.

11.19
There was then a general discussion with Janet going
around and dealing with individuals and small groups.
Various points of vocabulary were written on the board.
At one point she asked:

T: Qui veut plus d'argent ?

Janet negotiated, her in French, pupils in English, more
money.

The activity started well with all but 4-5 pupils engaged
in writing.

11.25
However, the activity quickly broke down with most pupils
generally chatting about what they did in Southampton in
English.

AT THIS POINT I NOTED THAT THE STUDENT GENERALLY DID NOT
PROVIDE ENOUGH SUPPORT STRUCTURE. I INTENDED TO SUGGEST A
MORE SUBSTANTIAL PRACTICE STAGE: ORAL PRACTICE -
READING, LISTENING.

The lesson continued with Janet trouble shooting and getting pupils working. Many questions 'what's left?' or 'how do you say 'one night'' were shouted out by pupils. Some were heard and then answered by Janet. Other were answered by another pupil shouting out.

<u>11.40</u>
More and more pupils finish off and get impatient. Now what?

I LOOKED AT SOME PUPILS WORK. THEY HAD COPIED 'JE VEUX VISITE' AND SOME PLACE VOCABULARY PLUS PHRASES LIKE - JE REGARDEZ - JE VISITÉ.

Janet kept the pupils going with encouragement.

<u>11.50 (Bell)</u>
T: Those of you who have finished the work bring it to the front and pin it up. Those of you that have not, take it home. I want about 100 words you can take the brochures with you.

<u>Post-lesson comments</u>

I felt this was a pretty good 1st lesson for a student. I noticed the basic outline was OK:
1)   Introduce context
2)   Revise vocabulary
3)   Give out brochures
4)   Teach in French what to do
5)   Pupils write

I noted problems in links between presentation and production. No real practice stage. Still a useful concept.

PRESENTATION, PRACTICE PRODUCTION HAS BEEN CRITICISED BUT
IT DOES PROVIDE 'SCAFFOLDING STRUCTURES'.

Pupils were asked to write without really using the
language themselves.

No real context for their writing.   Why not plan a day
and discuss it with a neighbour?

Janet felt they were a disruptive group. She also felt
the negative influence of their previous teacher.

I noted how Janet persevered with French even so the
dynamic of replies was lost.

I WAS STRUCK BY MY OWN ROLE AS OBSERVER AND THE INPUT ON
A LESSON. Janet TOLD ME SHE HAD PLANNED IT WELL BECAUSE
I WAS COMING.

Janet was diplomatic at this point: 'We are aware that
the C.A. represents an ideal towards something we may not
reach'. NOT REALLY REFLECTED IN HER OWN PERSONAL NOTES.

'It's a question of sorting out where we are at and then
working towards it. I hope I can do this in the future.'

I NOTED HOW WHAT I PRESENT TO THE STUDENTS AS A MODEL
DOES NOT FIT IN EASILY WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE. SHE ACCEPTS
IT ALL IN THEORY BUT FEELS THE PRACTICE IS MUCH HARDER TO
ACCOMPLISH.

Did she use writing as a means of personal control?

I noted how 'real' communication was missing in these
lessons as a technique ?

<u>Lesson 2</u>

The second lesson of observation took place about 2 weeks after the first.   It was with a year 8 French.

<u>9.09</u>
Janet started with asking for the date in French, to which one pupil put a hand up and answered.

T: (Showing flashcard).   Où sommes nous ?
P: (No Response)
T: Nous sommes dans la chambre ? (writes on board).

Janet then presented some pieces of furniture on flashcard which she attached to the board. She then asked questions about the location of the various furniture:

T: Où se trouve la chaise ?
P: La chaise est sous la table
    (repeated with all pieces of furniture)

<u>9.15</u>
T: Ouvrez vos livres, page 104, numero 11.   Vous
            avez déjà fait, n'est-ce pas ?
P: (No Response)
T: OK you've already done this - haven't you?
            OK listen to it again.

Janet played a tape.

- il y a un T-shirt sur la chaise, il y a un pullover sur le lit, etc. She then got a pupil to come to the front of the class stick a bed flashcard on the board and asked:

```
T:          Où se trouvre la chemise ?
```

The class wrote this in their books. She then repeated
the exercise with 'une chaise', 'un pantalon', 'les
chaussettes', etc.   One pupil read out:

```
P:          le slip dans la commode
            la veste dans l'armoire
```

THERE WAS NO VERB IN ANY OF THESE

Pupils wrote them in their books. Janet asked in French,
how many they had correct:

```
T:          Qui a 11 point ?
            10 points ?
```

9.29
```
T:          Est-ce qu'il y a une armoire dans ta chambre ?
P:          (No Response)
T:          Repeats
P:          (No Response)
T:          Oui ou non ?
P:          Oui
T:          il y a une armoire dans ma chambre
P:          il y a une armoire dans ma chambre
```

Janet REPEATED THIS WITH EMPHASIS ON THE TA/MA
DISTINCTION FOR VARIOUS OBJECTS.

Most pupils did this quite well with the un/e given
correctly.

9.40
Janet then asked the class to write the various words in
their books and ask their partners if they had these
objects in their bedrooms. All in French.

Pupils did this: then 2s -> 4s.

<u>9.46</u>

T: Quelle est le plus populaire ?
P: L'armoire et le lit

Janet wrote this on the board. There then followed some
discussion about the most popular, the next, the next,
etc.

<u>9.54</u>

T: OK écoutez la bande et regardez la page 105.

This tape was based on someone describing her bedroom
except that it had lots of animals in it. It was
followed up with questions.

T: Est-ce qu'il y a des souris ?
P: Oui

Pupils did not really get beyond 'oui' and 'non' answers
to these.

<u>9.55</u>   Bell

<u>Post-lesson Comments</u>

I felt the lesson was OK. The main problem was Janet's
crisis. She had spoke to HOD the previous day and had
ended up in tears.

She says: 'I enjoy the teaching, it's all the rest I
can't stand. The atmosphere in the staff room is really
weird, even the HOD says he hates the politics and just
gets satisfaction from the kids'.

YET HER OTHER NOTES (COMMENTS) SUGGEST THE TEACHING IS

PROBLEMATIC FOR HER AS WELL.

'Last Friday we talked about it at the University. And it
was really useful to exchange ideas and that but then a
group of us came back to the house for coffee and it was
more of the same things. Its just a bit off if you're not
having such a marvellous time. It's not that I'm having
problems with the kids, I just don't want to be talking
about it all the time. At the moment it's 7.30 in the
morning until 9.30 at night.'

At this point Janet said she was having real doubts about
being a language teacher.

'The problem with language teaching is that it is all
about preparing materials and giving to the pupils
without getting anything back.'

WHAT DOES SHE GET FROM SPECIAL NEEDS PUPILS THAT SHE
DOESN'T GET FROM LANGUAGE LEARNING PUPILS?

The lesson was really pattern practice.

Lesson 3

The final lesson took place approximately 5 weeks after
lesson 2.   It was with another year 8 French class.

9.06

T: Asseyez-vous.   (Calls roll)
Ps: Yes Miss

Janet then asked for and obtained the date which she
wrote on the board.

Janet drew a square on the board:

T: Bon encore nous sommes dans mon frigo.

She also wrote 'Dans mon frigo' on the board.

Janet then asked certain pupils to come down and select
items from a series of flashcards.

T: Choisis quelque chose
            Qu'est ce qu'il y a ?
            Qu'est ce que c'est ?
P: Du lait.

Janet then stuck the cards on the board. She repeated
this with:

T: du chocolat
            du jus d'orange
            du café
            du fromage
            du thé
            du sucre
            du pain
            des biscottes

485

des croissants

(and concluded)

Bon, voilà les choses dans mon frigo.

Janet made an effort to explain the next sequence in French.

9.16

T: Maintenant, tombez sur la page 110

            Il y a les 7 frigos et les sept hommes.

            Maintenant exercise 9.

            Choisis un de ces frigo

            Fais exercise 9

            OK exercise 9 You're working with a partner.

            One of you choses the fridge and the other

            guesses which one it is.

Pupils were unclear of this

T: Well, for example, you have to ask 'Est-qu il y

            a de la bière dans ton frigo?' and your partner

            says either yes there is or no there isn't.

Pupils work in pairs.

9.23

T: Maintenant je vais vous donner une feuille de

            papier avec 3 choses dans le frigo.

            Alors maintenant écoutez.

            Il faut trouver votre partenaire.

            Parce qu'il y a deux feuilles comme ça.

            Demandez aux autres

            Est-ce qu'il y a du thé, le café, etc.

Pupils move around the classroom and do this actively.

<u>9.29</u>

T: Encore une fois, oui ou non ?

(Pupils nonplussed)

Janet collects in the cards and redistributes them. The
activity is repeated.

<u>9.34</u>

Janet explained in French that there were 4 people to
listen to on the tape who are talking about what they eat
and drink.

T: Ouvrez vos cahiers
(draws grid on board)
Ps: Have we got a copy of this?
T: Oui, écrivez les quatre personnes.
            Bon, vous êtes comme serveur et serveuse.
            Qu'est ce que c'est ?
P: Waiter or waitress
T: Bon il vous faut écouter la bande et vous
            écrivez ce que Sophia mange et boit.

The tape was played with delays and repeats.

I GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THIS IS A SERIES OF ACTIVITIES
WITH HIGH CA VALUE.

SHE IS MIMICKING APPROACH WITHOUT REALLY MEANING IT.

HOW DO I KNOW?

HER FRENCH IS ALSO WEAK.

<u>9.45</u>

<u>Example</u>

T:	Patrick, qu'est ce qu'il y a manger ?
P:	la soupe.
T:	Et aussi ?
P:	les frites.
T:	Qu'est ce qu'il y a à boire ?
P:	Coca cola.

There are then 4 conversations which vary each of six things - soupe, poulet, petits pois, tarte, vin - with members of the family - Patrick, Sophie, Grandmère, Grandpère.

Janet then went through and asked who had 24, 23, 22 etc. in French.

<u>9.52</u>

T:	Maintenant pour les devoirs (writes 'homework') OK page 107, you're going to write a little scene like that. Have a little discussion of what is going to happen at breakfast time. You're making a little scene - a little dialogue.
P:	When is it for?
T:	Next week - next Tuesday

<u>9.55</u>   Bell

<u>Post-lesson Comments</u>

Janet: 'Well, I'm really enjoying my work with the vocats and the Special Needs because you have more of a physical progression, but they are not as confident as

this lot. So you teach them a few of the life skills and that is good. With modern languages, it just doesn't seem to have much to do with them and they get bored. Like I spend all my time till 9 o'clock each night trying to think of ideas to interest them, but then it's really difficult.

If I want to use an OHP I have to book it the day before and most of the rooms don't have screens anyway, so I go and write on the board. And the rooms are so small. Even if you're half way down the room you seem to be nearer the back. I feel confined to one room. Anchored on the spot, but really I like to get out and about. That's where the special needs is really good because you get to move around. I can do that more then.

I really liked my work with handicapped children and I think that's more what I would like to do. I just don't know if there is the kind of job I'm looking for out there?!

Me: What are you happiest with in your teaching of modern languages?

Janet: Not much. Like it's better this term than last but I still find I don't have the motivation. And it doesn't help not being paid. I wonder if it would make a difference. At the moment I'm wondering why I'm working so much for nothing.

Me: What's worst

Janet: The discipline. Like I plan some things and then abandon them because I know there would be a riot.
           The 2rd year were OK when we had a French breakfast. I brought in all the food and drink and I kept going out for hot water and worrying what they would do. But they were OK cos' there was so much food about.

```
Me:        What are you doing this afternoon.
Janet:     Working with the vocats. That's great. Some of
           them have real learning problems and one in
           particular is really rough. But they've got
           jobs and his job is down at a local nursery and
           apparently he's really good with the little
           ones. Like really gentle. And when I go up
           there they say:  'do you want a cup of coffee
           Miss?' They've got all the equipment.
           It's like a little suite up there and these
           kids that normally just mess about have really
           decorated it well and made it comfortable. And
           they are really nice making me coffee and
           things.
```

This seems to contrast well with the previous discussion
on discipline. When asked, this student named discipline
as her biggest problem and readily agreed with teachers
on the need to give it top priority. In some ways this
seems to conflict with her liking for what would be
considered as difficult pupils. But the set up there is
changed - environmentally - organisationally.

Does this again have anything to do with her reaction to
preparation and her sense of detachment/non-involvement
from it. Materials?: Lack of them?! Language/Materials.
Her lessons seem to be based on the same basic
formula/structure.

The following page sets out the autumn term modern language training programme for the student cohort in this study. It is presented with very little comment. The course took place over three separate days. Half-day school visits began in week 3, building up to full days in week 9. Early discussion on principles of 'communicative' language teaching, contrasted with previous approaches, were used as a basis on which to cover a number of skill, techniques and lesson planning procedures. One visit was made for a talk at the German Goethe Institute in London. Three sessions were taken by visitors to the university: firstly, an early lesson in Mandarin, as a new language learning experience for students; secondly, a presentation of materials from a leading publisher in modern languages; thirdly, a presentation and discussion of the Hampshire Modern Languages Skills Development Project led by two modern language advisers in the county. The materials from the project were being used in a number of local schools at the time.

P.G.C.E.

Week	Mon 2-4	Tues 9-12	Tues 2-4	Thurs 9-11	Thurs 11-1
Oct 1	Welcome	Ice-breaker Why learn a F L	Mandarin Lesson	Previous Approaches	Communi-cative Classroom Unit 1
Oct 8	Principles Discussion	Lesson Plan	Flash Cards	Presentation & Practice	Information Gap
Oct 15	Info. Gap based on book & T.P. preparation	School Teaching Practice	Debrief	Communi-cative Classroom Unit 3	O H P
Oct 22	Lesson Planning	Language Awareness	Audio Equipment	Goethe Institute	
Oct 29	Pattern Practice	School Teaching Practice	Feedback	Grammar Teaching	Listening
Nov 5	1st Micro Teaching	School Teaching Practice	Feedback Education Course Book	Visit from Publishers : Nelson	
Nov 12	Micro-teaching 2	School Teaching Practice	Feedback	Writing	Reading
Nov 19 *H/T Week*	Micro-teaching 3	School Teaching Practice	Feedback	H M L S D P : Hampshire Advisers	
Nov 26	Micro-teaching 4	**FULL DAY**		**G C S E**	
Dec 3	Micro-teaching 5	**SCHOOL**		G C S E : teaching lesson	Assessment
Dec 10	Management/ Monolingual Classroom	**EXPERIENCE**		Language Games	

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504

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