LIVING TOGETHER IN THE CLASSROOM: THE COPARTICIPATORY CONSTRUCTION OF PRESERVICE TEACHER AND NOVICE STUDENT IDENTITIES

by

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(ABSTRACT)

Designed as a qualitative investigation, this study focused on the coparticipatory interactive processes of identity construction for preservice teachers and novice students in a university child development school classroom. The theoretical perspective of the study is grounded in interactionist and social constructivist theories on the genesis of the self and in socialization theory (Baldwin, 1906; Cooley, 1902; Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988; Engeström, 1987; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Mead, 1934; Nias, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978).

Following an ethnograghic framework, data were collected in two phases. Specific data sources included participant observation, formal and informal interviews, audio and video taping of classroom interactions, and written documents (e.g., activity plans). Inductive qualitative analysis procedures were used to develop a categorical analysis of the data and to identify major themes (eg., Spradley, 1980). Four major themes were

constructed from the analysis of the Phase I data:

(1) Changes in interaction patterns occur as the preservice teachers assume more responsibility in the teacher role.

(2) Preservice teachers' primary focus is on self as a student, but as responsibility increases feelings about self as teacher begin to be constructed.

(3) In this setting, three year-old children view school as play and themselves in the student role as "kids" who play.

(4) Interactions through play enable children to experiment with the role of self and other.

Four refined themes were generated in the Phase II analysis.

(1) Three year-old children use physical characteristics in order to construct and classify aspects of self and other.

(2) The assumption of responsibility in the teacher "position" is part of being willing to take a risk to make decisions.

(3) Preservice teachers make a distinction between becoming "the" teacher and becoming "a" teacher.

(4) Within the coparticipatory processes of living together in this three year-old classroom the boundaries between student and teacher often blurred in the doing.

Narrative case studies are presented to illustrate the processes of constructing identity. Results are discussed in terms of the concept of bidirectional learning within Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development and the

tensions of the double bind (Engeström, 1978). The findings indicate that when teachers and students coparticipate in communication and activity to successfully resolve the tensions of the double bind, learning is bidirectional and the line between teacher and student blurs in the doing. Within these coparticipatory structures individuals open spaces to become democratic communities of learners who are constructing meaning about self and other.

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Lave and Wenger (1991) indicate that learning is a special type of social practice in which coparticipatory interactions have the potential to transform the participants. During the past three years I have had the privilege to be involved in a very special community of practice and thus have been enabled to bring new meanings into existence transforming both mind and self. In this process many individuals deserve recognition and my appreciation. Susan G. Magliaro has been my professor, my advisor, my mentor, and my friend. She has my deep admiration and appreciation for the manner in which she has enacted each of these roles. As an advocate of mentoring processes for all educators, she not only "talks the talk, but she walks the walk." She has enriched my understandings of myself, my profession, and my future. Words can not begin to express my thanks for her role in this developmental process.

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important to me. This dissertation deals with the construction of identities, therefore it is dedicated to the two individuals who have enabled me to construct the most rewarding and important aspect of my own identity - my identity as their mother. To Brian and Beth with all my love, appreciation, and support as you also follow your dreams.

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PROLOGUE

Kaleidoscopes, Identities, and Classrooms

Red, yellow, green, blue...colors and shapes becoming a myriad of patterns, intertwining, ever changing. With each turn of the kaleidoscope dial the light is filtered, the colors blend, the patterns change and endless new possibilities are waiting to emerge. In our lives, both personally and professionally, the patterns of the past blend to shape the designs of the future. Nothing is static. Beginnings and endings are arbitrary and fluid points of social construction used to "freeze frame" time in order to create shared meanings. The changing light, the filtering shapes, the imperceptible motions all are perpetually interacting to create new patterns and new understandings. Therefore, even when we are not consciously turning the kaleidoscope dial our experiences are constantly changing the patterns of our lives, defining our sense of self, shaping who we are and what we become.

With each turn of the dial, as with each interaction, the possibilities for new beginnings, new constructions, and new understandings of "self" and "other" continually emerge. Yellow meets blue, the pieces touch, they overlap, and the boundaries blur as new aspects of both colors are created in the shades of green which unfold. Teachers and students are

like the multifaceted, multicolored pieces of glass within the kaleidoscope. Each is a different shape and a different color. As the pieces intersect the boundaries between teacher and student blur and a dialectic occurs: they remain the same, yet they change.

Classrooms also are like kaleidoscopes. At first glance each one could be considered as a closed system, yet both classrooms and kaleidoscopes are influenced by unseen factors beyond the range of any one particular viewpoint. For a kaleidoscope the factors include the shifting of the light and shadows, the imperceptible movements of the pieces, and the unseen positioning of the mirrors. For a classroom the factors include families, communities, and cultures. Each factor can filter into the seemingly bounded space creating unseen influences which affect the pictures under construction. Just as the pieces in a kaleidoscope are incessantly spiraling in a journey to construct new images in time and space, so too are we constantly involved in a human journey of constructing images of self in relation to others.

In order to understand who we are at different points in our journey we must remember as Eudora Welty (1984) states in <u>One Writer's Beginnings</u>:

> Each of us is moving, changing, with respect to others. As we discover, we remember, remembering,

> we discover; and most intensely do we experience this when our separate journeys converge. (p. 102)

To share the meanings of our separate journeys there are times when it is necessary to "freeze frame" the movement of the kaleidoscope. We hold the lens still, we focus on our separate moments in time, and then we focus on the points where our separate journeys converge in order to construct new stories, new meanings, and new understandings of self and other. In the focusing, in the telling of the stories, we must constantly be aware that the dial never ceases to turn. The movement does not stop. Even during the process of telling the stories, the constructions again are changing as well as remaining the same. The dial turns. The light filters. Red meets blue...the shapes intersect...the colors blend...purple is constructed...and we arbitrarily begin....

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> We have approached the social world of the classroom believing that what goes on there is teaching and learning. In fact, what goes on there is living. For many hours each week, this large group of people finds ways to live together in reasonable harmony. What happens there some of that time, is what we know conventionally as teaching and learning. (McLean, 1989, p. 10)

Introduction

Becoming a teacher and becoming a student are coparticipatory processes of communication and interaction (Mead, 1934). Within these processes mind and self emerge through the manipulation of activities which enable individuals to become conscious of one's self. Mead defines self as a structure in experience which emerges when social acts become part of individual behavior in such a way that the person can incorporate the attitude of the group and thus, view self in the same manner as the group (Miller, 1982). Constructing aspects of one's self-identity involves the extended living relationships between individuals and their place and participation in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

As teachers and students live together in classroom communities they are involved in a complex web of interaction which binds them together on a journey of becoming "what one not yet is" (Wertsch, 1985, p. 67). This journey is a life-long process. Yet, within the process there are certain episodes which stand out as important points in an individual's development of self-identity. For beginning students and beginning teachers, such a point in the journey is the initial experience in the role of teacher and the role of student. In order to better understand the processes of becoming a teacher and becoming a student, one must find a point where the two processes converge. It is in the intersection, in the point of contact with others in the social world, that the meanings of "self" and "other" are constructed (McLean, 1991). One such place is the point of contact where beginning teachers and novice students first begin to construct teacher and student identities. This qualitative study investigated such a point of convergence for preservice teachers and novice students as they were involved in the coparticipatory processes of constructing teacher and student identities in a three year-old laboratory school classroom.

Teachers and Students

Who are the individuals we call teacher and student?

In our society, we think of a teacher as a person who provides instruction in an institution for learning which we label as a school, a college, or a university. Individuals who are enrolled for study in institutions for learning are usually defined as students. Typically, teachers are viewed as instructors and students are seen as either passive receptors of knowledge or as active investigators. Yet, in determining who teachers and students are, we must go beyond the typical surface definitions. We need to focus on teachers and students as human beings "with all the joy and wonder, inconsistency and uncertainty that being human entails" (McLean, 1991, p. 1). We need to look beyond the socially constructed idealized images which view a teacher as someone who is charged with the survival and development of a group of children and a student as someone who sits in a classroom in order to gain the skills and knowledge needed to perpetuate society. In order to understand the complex relationships which exist between teachers and students, we must realize that each is a social being involved in the processes of teaching and learning as they live together in the classroom.

Teachers. Rogers (1969) asserts that the teacher is a major component in the educative process. A teacher is a person, "not a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement, nor a sterile tube through which knowledge is

passed from one generation to the next" (Rogers, 1969, p. 106). Teachers are persons who interpret classroom events, make sense of what is occurring, and make decisions about their own actions (McLean, 1991).

McKeachie (1986) indicates that the teacher's role varies, depending upon the model of instruction as either teacher-centered (i.e., transmissional) or student-centered (i.e., acquisitional). McKeachie categorizes the teacher's role as: expert, formal authority, socializing agent, facilitator, ego ideal, and person. As an expert a teacher transmits information, perspectives, and viewpoints. The teacher as formal authority is not only an agent of instruction, but also of evaluation and control. In the role of formal authority the teacher maintains the control of the classroom. The teacher defines which issues will be discussed, when one discusses the issues, and the types of behavior which are acceptable or unacceptable.

In the role of a socializing agent the teacher becomes "in some sense the gatekeeper, the one who does or does not pass the individual student along to the next plateau or the next screening process" (McKeachie, 1986, p. 57). A teacher, as a socializing agent is concerned with preparing students for their future roles in society. As a facilitator, a teacher attempts to respond to the students' goals. The teacher recognizes that in order to facilitate

the students' growth and development he/she must recognize individual differences and allow the student to develop questions and answers which are important to the student. In the role of a facilitator the teacher encourages the student's own creativity and independence.

The role of teacher as ego ideal often overlaps with other teacher roles. The main components of the ego ideal role are enthusiasm and commitment. When a student views a teacher from the perspective of ego ideal, he/she denotes the teacher's enjoyment of teaching and the value of intellectual inquiry. McKeachie (1986), like Rogers (1969), views teaching as an essentially human endeavor. In the role of teacher as person, the teacher attempts to establish mutually validating relationships which address the full range of human emotions within the classroom.

In the process of constructing classroom relationships, preservice teachers and novice students bring to the setting prior beliefs, past experiences, and an awareness of themselves in the world (Ball & Goodson, 1985; McLean, 1991). As neophyte teachers experiment with the many combinations of the teacher's role, they begin to construct their own sense of teacher identity. Novice students also experiment with various interpretations of the student role as they begin to construct student identity.

Students. When children enter school they begin to

learn about such school norms as completing teacher imposed tasks, conforming to authority, developing impulse control, and defining acceptable/unacceptable behavior during classroom activities (Klein, 1988; LeCompte, 1979; McLean, 1991). Recent child socialization research indicates that young children are more sophisticated social beings than previously imagined (Corsaro, 1988; Harter, 1983). When young children enter school for the first time they are faced with learning to get along with others in a group situation. For the majority of three or four year-olds entering school represents a major change in social existence and is a major point in social development (Moore, 1981).

In their first school experiences young children are faced with major developmental tasks. They must learn to join in play activities with other children, share, take turns, and take some responsibility for their own actions (McLean, 1991). In the school setting students are also expected to begin to recognize and verbalize feelings, substitute verbalization for behaviors, physically control feelings and emotions, find alternatives to certain behaviors, enter new situations, obtain and accept help, and recognize the rights and feelings of others (LeCompte & Stewart, 1979; McLean, 1991). The messages about becoming a student are sent to young children in a variety of ways

(Klein, 1988). These messages about becoming a student are transmitted in the physical structure of the classroom, the curriculum, and the roles of other individuals in the setting. In many classrooms children are socialized to believe that school is a place where the teacher is the leader and they are the followers (i.e., school is teacher-centered). In other settings children learn that becoming a student entails becoming an active explorer of the social world (Klein, 1988).

Although young children may have prior conceptions of teachers and students based on interactions with parents, older siblings, and the world of books and television, these conceptions begin to be more defined within the classroom. The roles of teacher and student are socially constructed based on the child's interactions with other individuals in the social world of the school (Klein, 1988; McLean, 1991). Young children are more clearly able to articulate what teachers do in school than they are to verbalize their own roles as students (LeCompte, 1979). Social interactions with teachers enable young children to begin to construct an identity in the student role (Bae, 1988, 1992; Klein, 1988; McLean, 1991).

Different teacher roles create corresponding differences in the roles of students (Klein, 1988; McKeachie, 1986). In response to the six teacher roles

articulated by McKeachie, there are also six corresponding student reactions. In reacting to the teacher as formal authority students seek definitions of teacher structured tasks, clarity of activities, and acceptance or nonacceptance of the teacher's control. When teachers enact the role of socializing agent, students may respond with mixed emotions. In some cases the student conforms to the socialized norms which perpetuate society, yet in other instances students rebel against these societal norms.

As teachers enact the role of facilitator, students are able to discover information about their own interests and capabilities as well as about themselves. Students respond to the teacher as ego ideal in terms of responding to the enthusiasm, support, and interest of the teacher. Traditionally early childhood education programs have emphasized that the teacher as a person is the most important aspect of the young child's school experience (McLean, 1991; Montessori, 1974; Yardley, 1971). In responding to the role of teacher as person, students are responding to human and interpersonal issues (McKeachie, 1986). Response to the teacher as person also involves issues of moral development, social competence, group control, and person-to-person relationships (McLean, 1991).

The processes of becoming a student and becoming a teacher are complex and multifarious. Traditionally, these

difficult and complex processes involve inconsistencies, disequilibrium, uncertainty, and ambiguity (Clandinin, 1989; Klein, 1988; LeCompte & Stewart, 1979; McLean, 1991). Traditionally, in schools we have viewed the teaching learning process as either transmissional or acquisitional (Rogoff, 1994). However, if we accept the concept that teachers and students are both involved in processes of learning to live together in the classroom, the concept of socialization as enculturation of the younger by the older is an inadequate description of the processes of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

> Interactions between adult and child cannot be understood simply as the unidirectional transmission of information from s/he-who-has arrived to s/he-who-is-still-travelling. All are engaged on the same journey, and the complex web of interaction that binds the person we call 'teacher' with those we call 'learners' [students] may be important to both in their developing human-ness. (McLean, 1991, p. 2)

Thus, as we look at the processes of becoming a teacher and becoming a student, it is necessary to investigate the coparticipatory interactions which occur as individuals live together in the classroom.

Rationale

Research studies have explored teacher and student identity and self-concept, as well as the socialization processes of teachers and students. Yet, not much emphasis has been placed on studying the interactional processes which occur between beginning teachers and beginning students as each attempts to construct new aspects of self-identity.

Although children's perceptions of life in school can provide valuable insights into the process of becoming a student, little is known about the young child's socialization to school, including the relationship between teacher and child. Even though methodological concerns are often a problem when conducting research into the life world of young children, some studies have focused on children's socialization to school (Bae, 1992; Klein, 1988; Klein, Kantor, & Fernie, 1988). Researchers have also investigated teacher socialization. Many of the studies which focused on teacher socialization indicated the importance of the "self" in the process of becoming a teacher (Britzman, 1991; Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1989; Kagan, 1992; Katz, 1972; Lacey, 1986; Lortie, 1975; Nias, 1986, 1989; Woods, 1986). Researchers have investigated the process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student, however, the focus of these studies has been to examine the process from either the

perspective of the teacher or the student. Few researchers have specifically investigated the coparticipatory process of constructing teacher and student identities.

Bae (1988a, 1992) and McLean (1989, 1991) employed an interactional framework to study teacher and student self-identity. However, while the focus was on interactional effects, the researchers highlighted different viewpoints. McLean examined the effects of the interaction on the formation of the teacher's self-image, but did not extend her study to describe the effects on the child. Although Bae reported on how the teacher/student interaction influenced the adult and the child, her main focus was on how the interaction affected the child's self-identity. Consequently, while McLean and Bae provided insights about the coparticipatory journey which binds teacher and students together in living relationships, their studies did not focus on the ways in which neophyte teachers and novice students negotiate meanings about self and other in coparticipatory processes of identity construction.

Phase I of this study was initiated in order to investigate how preservice teachers and young children in a specific community of practice began the process of constructing teacher and student identities. The analysis of Phase I data indicated that the assumption of responsibility and the role of play were factors which

influenced the construction of teacher and student identities for the members of this specific community of practice. Phase II was initiated in order to test these assertions (Erickson, 1986). Specifically, Phase II investigated how play and responsibility contributed to the processes of construction of identity as teacher and as student.

Theoretical Perspective

> ...the self is not something ready-made, but something in continuous formation through choice of action... (Dewey, 1916;1985, p. 361).

The theoretical perspective of this study was grounded in interactionist and social constructivist theories on the genesis of the self, and in socialization theory. The symbolic interactionist theories of Mead (1934), Cooley (1902), and Baldwin (1906) emphasized the development of self as a social process and recognized the role of the significant other in the formation of self-concept. Dewey (1916;1985) viewed participation in the social environment as a joint activity which involves an active connection between individuals. According to Dewey, individuals construct similar ideas or meanings because they are involved in dependent partnerships. The actions of one individual depend upon and influence the actions of others.

As individuals interact in these partnerships, language and self become tools which are used to conjointly construct meaning (Garrison, 1993).

Within these processes of communication, individuals seek to formulate common understandings and meanings which reciprocally influence each other and establish membership in a social group. The processes of childhood socialization are also both social and collective (Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988). In this process it is important for children to make knowledge personal within the context of a community of people who share a sense of being a part of the same culture.

In looking at teacher socialization, Britzman (1991) posited that culture emerges at the intersection of the point in which identities, desires and investments are mobilized, constructed, and reworked. In this view of culture, the process of becoming is not limited to what happens to people, but instead it is concerned with understanding what people make happen because of their life experience and how these experiences structure their practices. The socialization of teachers is an active process in which individuals seek to preserve a sense of personal identity (Nias, 1984; 1989).

From a social constructivist viewpoint, Lave and Wenger (1991) postulate that identity and learning are part of the

same phenomena and occur as newcomers participate in a community of practitioners. In their discussion of situated learning, Lave and Wenger (1991) provide three interpretations of Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development (i.e., ZPD). Lave and Wenger's (1991) first and third interpretations are important to the theoretical basis of this research. The most widely accepted interpretation of Vygotsky's ZPD asserts that the zone works in a "scaffolding" manner. The ZPD is seen as the difference between the child's ability to solve problems alone or to conjointly discover solutions with the aid of more experienced peers or with adults. One criticism of the scaffolding interpretation is that the viewpoint does not situate learning in the larger context of the social world (Garrison, 1993).

Lave and Wenger (1991) presented yet another view of Vygotskian theory which was based on Engeström's "societal" or "collectivist" (p. 49) interpretation. Engeström (1987) defined the zone of proximal development as the "distance between the everyday actions of individuals and the historically new form of the societal activity that can be collectively generated as a solution to the double bind potentially embedded in...everyday actions"(p. 17). A double bind is a social, societal, and essential dilemma. Solutions to double bind situations are constructed in joint

actions which inspire the emergence of new forms of activity (Engeström, 1987). Engeström's interpretation of the ZPD emphasizes the process of social transformation. Social transformations occur as newcomers increase participation within communities of practice and embark on a process of becoming "what one not yet is" (Wertsch, 1985, p. 67). In this process of bringing something new into existence, cognition is distributed among mind, body, activity and culturally organized settings (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985).

According to Mead, mind is an indication of attitudes and substance to others and to self (Miller, 1982). When the mind elicits in the self the attitudes of the other, the result is an individual who can speak to himself/herself in terms of the group. Thinking is internal in that it cannot occur without the physical processes of the human brain, but thinking includes the complete social organization. Greene (1984) postulates:

> Mind is involved with experience and lived situations. It has to do with the findings of meanings, or the sedimentation of meanings, all sorts of meanings. These become part of and indeed constitute the self; they compose the background against which new encounters and experiences are projected. (p. 287)

Thus, the whole person is involved as a member of a sociocultural community in which knowing is viewed as an enterprise of specific people engaged in specific circumstances (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 52). The newcomer is involved in a process of constructing mind and self. The possibilities of these systems of relationships enable individuals to become different persons. Learning is not located in the heads of individuals, but is a process of coparticipation which involves the construction of identities (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

As teachers and students interact in classroom communities they are involved in processes of identity construction. In such processes, points which are chosen as beginnings and endings are arbitrary and fluid. There are events which came before and events that will follow. Yet, within the process there are certain episodes which stand out as important points in an individual's development of self-identity. In order to construct a textual analysis of our knowledge of self and other within a community of practice, we must explore these social relationships from a particular experience of that process (Smith, 1987). Ways to explore the social relationships within a community of practice include seeking answers to questions and telling the stories of various participants. Witherel and Noddings (1991) assert that "stories call us to consider what we

know" (p. 13). Telling the stories of the participants as we lived together in the classroom will enable us to consider what we know about the construction of our identities. Therefore, it is time to focus on specific questions, to seek the answers, and to tell the stories.

Research Questions

The primary questions guiding this research were:

(1) How do preservice teachers begin to construct an identity as a teacher?

(2) How do three-year-old children begin to construct an identity as a student?

(3) In what ways does coparticipation in the process of social interaction and the negotiation of meaning in the classroom contribute to the preservice teachers' and the three-year-old children's construction of identity as a teacher and as a student?

It is time to describe the kaleidoscope, the pieces and the colors, to turn the dial and watch the colors and patterns merge and change. It is time to describe the method used to "freeze frame" episodic moments in time in order to better understand how individuals in a specific

community of practice constructed meanings about self and other.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

> Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it not to be an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning.
> (Geertz, 1973, p. 5)

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate the coparticipatory processes of identity construction for preservice teachers and novice students. In the study, I sought to understand "the webs of significance" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5), which were spun as beginning teachers and students reciprocally negotiated and constructed meanings about "self" and "other" as they lived together in the classroom. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), posit that ethnographic methods allow researchers to participate in people's daily lives, to watch what happens, listen to what is said, ask questions, and collect data to illuminate the issue under study. I used ethnographic methods in order to investigate how preservice teachers and three year-old students coparticipate in processes of identity construction.

Time Frame

The study occurred in two phases and was conducted over a period of two school years. Phase I was conducted during

the Fall semester of the 1992-93 school year and Phase II occurred during the same time frame of the 1993-94 school year. The decision to continue the research into a second phase was based on the need to check the validity and reliability of the Phase I findings. The Fall semesters were appropriate time frames for this investigation because these semesters represented the only points in time during the school year when both preservice teachers and three year-old children were beginning initial experiences in the roles of teacher and student. These initial experiences represented "critical incidents" in the construction of identity. Measor (1985) described a critical incident as a point in time when people either individually or collectively construct new activity and bring into existence new aspects of the self. These critical incidents can be provoked by a variety of forces in people's lives, such as the first teaching practice in a teacher's career.

Critical incidents also occur when conditions force actions and decisions upon people. Research indicates that the beginning months of school are the most important in a young child's socialization to school (Amunds, 1989). As a beginning student, a child entering a classroom for the first time is also engaging in a critical interactive episode.

An on-going data analysis was conducted throughout the

fieldwork experience and during the Spring semesters of the two school years. The Spring semesters were used for analysis, verifications of the data with the participants, and rechecking of the themes as well as for writing and completing reports of the research findings.

Setting

Child Development Laboratory

The three year-old classroom of a university Child Development Laboratory School was the setting for both phases of this investigation. The Child Development Laboratory is a research and teaching center which operates six different programs: Infants (2-18 months); Toddlers (18-36 months); Three year-olds; Four year-olds; Extended day for three and four year-olds (two days per week); and an afternoon program for three and four year-olds (three days per week).

The facility also provides a site for college students, who are participating in child development classes, to observe young children as well as to engage in practicum teaching experiences. For the purposes of the research study, this setting provided access to a classroom situation in which both preservice teachers and three year-old children were participating in an initial experience in the roles of teacher and student.

In line with the philosophy of the Laboratory School, the physical setting of the classroom is flexible and is changed based on the "props" used to encourage children to construct their own knowledge through play (diagrams of the setting are included in Appendix B). The centers and table arrangements are changed daily to accommodate the learning activities. For example, the drama area can be changed to resemble a beauty shop, a fire station, a hospital, a grocery store, or other representations which encourage children's symbolic/dramatic play. An outdoor fenced play area also provides the children with many opportunities to engage in play interactions with both adults and peers. Each Lab School classroom has a one-way glass observation area which provides for unobtrusive classroom observations. The daily schedule includes both small and large group activities (see Appendix C for sample schedules and lesson plans).

Participants

Primary participants in this study were three year-old children, preservice teachers, and the researcher. Secondary participants were the head teachers and the other laboratory school staff who were involved in interactions with the children. Human Subjects regulations were employed

to protect the rights and the identities of the participants. Pseudonyms have been used in order to attempt to provide anonymity to the participants. An individual's unique participation in specific classroom activities may at times make complete anonymity impossible (e.g., head teachers). These situations were discussed with the adult participants and each was made aware that complete anonymity could not be guaranteed.

Children

Thirty-two children enrolled in a university laboratory school's three year-old classroom during two different school years were participants in this study. These children attended the Lab School Monday through Friday from 8:30 am until 12:00 noon. In both phases of the study, parents or guardians were contacted by letter to explain the research study and to request permission for their child to participate (Appendix D). The study focused on the children who were entering school for the first time. However, by virtue of their membership in the class group, children who had previously been enrolled in other school settings and had already begun to construct their identities as a student were also included.

Different groups of children participated in the two phases of the study. In both Phase I and Phase II all

sixteen children, eight males and eight females, enrolled in the three year-old class were participants. The children were from middle class and upper middle class backgrounds and the majority of their parents were employed in professional occupations. During both phases, four children also attended the extended day classes, but no observations were made of the children during the extended day program.

Phase I. In age the children in Phase I ranged from two years and eleven months to three years and eight months. Seven of the children had been enrolled in the Child Development Laboratory Toddler class and nine children were newly enrolled students in the three year-old class. These nine children had either been in daycare or home care settings. Two of the children had lived outside the United States and one child was bilingual. Two children were not toilet trained at the onset of the school year.

Phase II. The children in Phase II ranged in age from three years to three years 10 months of age. Eight of these children had attended the Laboratory School's Toddler program, two had been enrolled in local daycare facilities and six were entering a school setting for the first time. One child was bilingual. All the children were toilet trained when school opened in the fall.

Teachers tend to think of children in terms of being both individuals and as a group (Bullough, et al., 1989,

McLean; 1991). During Phase I, the preservice teachers often referred to the actions of individual children, but they also made comments about "the kids" in terms of group identity. The preservice teachers interacted with the children in one to one situations and in group activities. During preliminary analysis of Phase I data, I realized that it would be necessary to include descriptions of interactions for both the novice students as well as students who had previously been enrolled in classroom situations. Each child is an individual and brings to the setting different experiences, but each child is also a member of the classroom group and there are both individual and collective factors which impact the processes of identity construction (Bullough, et al., 1989).

I collected data on all the children participating in the study. Since, Phase I preservice teachers viewed the children as individuals and as members of a group, Phase II data collection focused on both general and specific descriptions of group and individual interactions. Data analysis indicated that Phase II assistant teachers also viewed the children as individuals and as members of a group. As I conducted an on-going analysis of the data, I chose to include the interactions of specific children in Phase I in a group case study. These children were selected based on their personal choices to incorporate me into their

play activities, thus making it possible for me to engage them in more frequent and longer informal interviews. Although I had difficulties entering the play frames of some of the children in Phase II, the group case study includes all the children who participated in the study.

Since it is very difficult to access a three year-old's meanings of everyday situations (McLean, 1991), I encountered some methodological difficulties with the triangulation of the data collected on the children. The primary data sources for information on the children included my observations of their behavior, video sequences of classroom interactions and informal interviews. I found it problematic to collect sufficient data on individual children to triangulate the various data sources. When the data sources were analyzed from the perspective of a collective group, triangulation of a sufficient amount of data was possible, especially when comparisons were made between Phases I and II of the study.

Preservice Teachers

As part of a practicum experience for certification in elementary education preservice teachers[1] are required to take the courses, FCD 3204, "Principles of Working with Children and Parents" (i.e. Principles Class), and FCD 4214 "Curriculum and Program Planning in Child Development"

(i.e., Curriculum Class). The Principles Class is a prerequisite to the Curriculum Class. Requirements for the Principles Class included three hours per week in laboratory fieldwork and Curriculum students were assigned six hours per week in a fieldwork setting. The Student Assistant Handbook states that Principles students "participate in the classroom assisting with routines and classroom behavior management" and that Curriculum students "continue their training by planning, implementing and evaluating activities for children" (p.1). Principles assistants were required to keep observational logs describing their observations, feelings and interpretations about their experiences in the classroom. The professor encouraged the Principles assistants to reflect on their experiences as they engaged in activities with the children. Due to the nature of the Principles experience, the assistants were not required to provide self-evaluations of their classroom participation. Curriculum assistants were in charge of planning and implementing three center activities and one circle activity during the semester as well as for two days of planning and implementing the duties of the head teacher. As a part of the curriculum experience preservice teachers were required to self-evaluate the implementation of their plans. Copies of the course syllabi for both the Principles and Curriculum Classes are included in Appendix E.

Phase I. During the Fall semester of the 1992-93 school year ten of the preservice teachers, enrolled in FCD 3204 and FCD 4214 and assigned to complete a field experience in the Lab School's three year-old classroom, agreed to participate in the study. After I met with the preservice teachers in order to describe the study, they completed and returned the consent forms (see Appendix D). The preservice teachers were all female. Three preservice teachers were enrolled in the Curriculum Class and seven were enrolled in the Principles Class. I collected data on all the participants. In a reporting the data (Walker, 1993), I developed in depth case studies for two of the preservice teachers. One was a member of the Principles Class and one was a member of the Curriculum Class. These two case studies illustrated the differences in the interaction patterns of the two preservice teachers and are presented in detail in Chapter 3.

Phase II. At the beginning of the 1993-1994 school year I contacted the professors of the Principles and Curriculum Classes. At this time I asked to attend occasional class meetings as well as for class time to briefly describe the study and to invite the preservice teachers assigned to the three year-old classroom to participate. Consent forms were distributed and the preservice teachers were asked to return the forms during the first week of the Laboratory School

classes (see Appendix D).

I collected data on all the preservice teachers participating in Phase II. Originally three Principles assistants, who were all in their sophomore year at the university, agreed to participate. After the first three weeks of the study, one of the assistant teachers cited personal reasons and decided not to continue her participation. As the study progressed it became apparent that another Principles assistant was also dealing with a myriad of personal problems. After discussing the issues the individual elected to continue her participation in the study. However, I feel that for reasons of confidentiality the information collected can not ethically be included as a part of this research study. Therefore, technically the data collected during Phase II included information on only one Principles assistant.

Four Curriculum assistants in their junior year of university classes volunteered to participate. One of these individuals had also been assigned to the three year-old class during her Principles experience and had participated in Phase I of the study. Her participation provided a longitudinal aspect to the study which I had not previously anticipated. Although I collected and analyzed data on all the participants in Phase II, I decided to use the longitudinal data in order to develop an in depth case

study of the processes of identity construction for a participant in both Phases of the study. The longitudinal case study is representative of and illustrates the themes which were constructed about all the preservice teachers and is presented in Chapter 3.

Staff

During both Phases of the study, the Laboratory School staff included a director, an assistant director, a cook, and eight head teachers. The director, assistant director and cook are all full-time employees of the university. The director and assistant director also teach university classes in child development and childcare administration. The head teachers were all graduate teaching assistants enrolled in either masters or doctoral programs. These head teachers were employed for either ten or twenty hours per week and their backgrounds included teaching experience or experience in childcare centers.

Phase I. In the three-year-old classroom during Phase I, one head teacher (Paula) taught Monday through Thursday and the other head teacher (Joyce) taught on Friday. Joyce was also the backup teacher for the four-year-old class. Paula is pursuing a master's degree in family and child development. Her undergraduate degree is in business administration with a minor in psychology. Although she had previous experience in operating her own child care center,

her background did not include any formal educational classes. Upon graduation Paula is not planning to enter the teaching profession. Joyce, a doctoral student, has an undergraduate degree in psychology and a master's degree in child development. Joyce's academic background and past experiences with children and student teachers in educational settings has been in another country and culture. Joyce had experience teaching young children in a school setting. In Phase II, I asked the head teachers to define themselves by completing the phrase "I am _____." This information was not obtained in Phase I.

Phase II. Respectively, neither Joyce nor Paula returned to this classroom as head teachers due to a different graduate teaching assistantship assignment and to illness. The two head teachers assigned to the three year-old classroom for Phase II concurrently pursued their masters degrees. Andrea, who taught Tuesday through Friday, is pursing a degree in Child Development. James, who taught on Monday, is pursuing a degree in Family Studies. Andrea's undergraduate degree was obtained in the field of Human Development and Family Services. Her area of concentration was child and adolescent development. Andrea taught for one semester and one summer in a Learning Center Preschool at another university before beginning her teaching assignment in the Lab School. James had previous experience as a

substitute teacher, a youth minister, and a children's coordinator for youth activities. James obtained an undergraduate degree in psychology with a minor in theater. Neither Andrea nor James is planning to pursue a career in the teaching profession after graduation, yet in this setting both defined self as teacher. Andrea defined herself as a daughter, a student, a girlfriend, and a teacher. She stated, "I guess I am a teacher. That's not something I typically define myself as, but in this context I have to." James described himself as a student, a Christian, and as "a teacher of three and four year-olds." Both Andrea and James viewed being a teacher as a current aspect of their identity in this community of practice.

Researcher

As a participant observer, my presence in the classroom had an effect on the interactions which occurred. Currently, I am a third year doctoral student in Curriculum and Instruction. My educational background includes a bachelor's degree in elementary education, a master's degree in primary education, and an educational specialist degree in instructional leadership. I was a classroom teacher for twenty years and I have teaching experience in kindergarten, first, and second grades. During the first year of my doctoral program, I had experience supervising student

teachers in placements from kindergarten through fifth grade.

As a classroom teacher, I was cognizant of how my students' personal concepts of "self" seemed to affect their classroom interactions. My own struggles with constructing and reconstructing my teaching identity (Walker, 1992) had created an interest in research about self-identity. My past experiences were not only a factor in the selection of the research project but these experiences were also factors which influenced my interactions with the participants in the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

Determining My Stance

> The self is not a contaminant, but ...it is key to what we know,... The self is not something that can be disengaged from knowledge or from research processes. Rather we need to understand the nature of our own participation in what we know.
> (Krieger, 1991, p. 30)

No research is completely value free. The researcher brings to the situation his/her own prior experiences, beliefs, values and sense of self-identity. Thus, at the beginning of the research process, it is important for the researcher to self-reflect and ask "Who am I?", "what are my own personal reasons for conducting this research?", "What personal biases do I bring to this situation?", and "What

role will I perform in this setting?".

Phase I. As a novice researcher, I began Phase I of this project before I had fully articulated the answers to the above questions. As I immersed myself in the field, the importance of determining my stance as a researcher rapidly became apparent. Paula, one of the head teachers in Phase I, had been a fellow classmate and is my friend. In the past we had worked as colleagues on several class projects. Paula entered this teaching experience with a background in childcare, but she had not been enrolled in any formal educational coursework nor did she have any former teaching experience. As a result, she was dealing with problems experienced by student teachers and other first year teachers: classroom management, establishing classroom routines, and developing teaching strategies (cf. Veeman, 1984).

Paula was very concerned about her teaching role and stated that "I'm not sure I know what to do. These kids aren't getting what they need. How can I make this go smoother?" Because of her uncertainties and concerns for the welfare of the children and the preservice teachers, Paula asked for my suggestions and input. Since I had not previously formulated my stance, her questions created tensions for me as a researcher. A reflective entry written in my fieldnotes on September 8, 1992, illustrates my

struggle with this issue.

> As I look at my research, I know that my presence changes the situation from the events which might happen if I were not present. I am a participant observer in this situation. I cannot just sit back and take a "God's eye view" when Paula, who is also my friend, is saying "I need help." When my observations can help her improve and inform her practice, how can I not participate in brainstorming ideas and by asking questions which help her to reflect on the classroom events?

My Identity. It was at this point that I realized that I first had to determine my own identity and role in this classroom before I could describe the processes of identity construction which were occurring for others. Therefore in articulating my stance, I must first answer the question "Who am I?"

There are many answers to this question. A variety of situational identities (Nias, 1986; 1989) compose my sense of self-identity. I am a woman, a mother, a daughter, a sister, a friend, a teacher, a doctoral student, and most recently I am in the process of becoming a researcher. Each of these situational identities contributes to how I see myself as a person and will in some way become a part of the

lens through which I view not only the research processes, but also the world. I bring to the research situation all my own past history, values, and beliefs. It is important to articulate these aspects of my self-identity in order for the reader to determine the impact of these factors on the research process.

One aspect of my identity which plays a major role in this research is my identity as a teacher. My teaching experiences, my past struggles to construct and maintain a positive view of myself as a teacher, and my interest in the role of self-concept in the educative process are factors which influenced my choice to investigate the processes of identity construction for preservice teachers and young children. As a teacher, I view my role primarily in McKeachie's (1986) descriptions of the teacher as a person, combined with the roles of teacher as expert and facilitator. My philosophy of education is based on a belief that all individuals possess unlimited potential and should be treated as capable, valuable, and responsible. I also believe that teaching is a cooperative activity in which both teacher and student bring a rich base of prior knowledge and experience to the classroom setting. For me, teaching is a process of being involved with students and is a matter of "doing with" not "doing to" (Purkey & Novak, 1984).

These beliefs about myself as a teacher undoubtedly influenced the types of interactions I chose to focus on and record as I spent time observing in this classroom. My views about teaching and the educative process were also revealed in conversations and interactions with the head teachers, the preservice teachers and the children. These interactions were a part of the coparticipatory processes of identity construction which occurred within this setting.

My views of self as teacher also played a role in the construction of my view of self as a researcher, as illustrated in the following reflective field note entry.

> In terms of my stance, I have come to the decision that, if in reflective conversations with Paula, she asks for my opinions and suggestions, I will offer a number of different teaching ideas. If she wants to incorporate any [of these ideas] that is her choice. I made this choice because for me this research, just like my teaching, must be a process of "doing with" not "doing to." I have to be true to my identity and to my own personal philosophies. People, to me, are the most important part of any process. I will have to be descriptive of my role in the process and show how it plays a part.

Trustworthiness. Being descriptive of my role requires me to be self-reflective about the research. I attempted to establish a trusting and acknowledging relationship with the participants in the study. Trustworthiness indicates that the research has been conducted fairly and represents as closely as possible the perceptions of the individuals who participated in the research process (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991). To be trustworthy the research must be "grounded in ethical principles about how the data are collected and analyzed, how one's own assumptions and conclusions are checked, how participants are involved, and how results are communicated" (Ely, et al., 1991, p. 93).

Issues of trustworthiness include matters and problems of reliability and validity. However the use of terminology indicates the differences in viewpoints between positivistic and naturalistic researchers (Ely, et al., 1991). The task of the qualitative researcher is to perform a credible research job which is believable to both the reader and to the individuals who were studied. Throughout the research process I have attempted to engage in actions which establish the trustworthiness of this research project. During Phase I, I spent extensive prolonged times in the field becoming familiar with the research setting. I extended the research into a second phase in order to extend my engagement in the field. I also wanted to determine if

issues and themes from the Phase I research were issues and themes when different individuals were involved in similar processes. In Phase II, I also spent an extensive amount of time engaged in observation and participation in the setting. Specific time and activities in which I engaged will be elaborated later.

In order to aid the establishment of trustworthiness, I attempted to obtain data from a variety of sources (e.g., participant observations, audio and video recordings, formal and informal interviews, assistant teachers lab observations and activity plans, etc.). In the analysis of the data triangulation was obtained from various sources and over time. For example, assistant teachers' comments about self were obtained and compared across interviews, classroom logs, and self-evaluations. The data obtained from a variety of written sources were compared with data obtained in observations and in audio and video recordings. Data from Phase I were compared with the data collected in Phase II. The comparisons often resulted in the collection of similar statements by different individuals at different periods in time (e.g., children in both phases of the research stating, "I'm a kid," and "You can pretend to be a teacher.").

Insights, results and conclusions were checked with the participants. The adults in the study were given

opportunities to read and respond to interview transcripts and to written analyses. When questions arose in the analysis process, verification was attempted in follow-up telephone questioning and in continued observations. Attempts were made to follow-up information with the children, but these attempts were problematic based on the lapses in time between incidents and a three year-old child's concrete rather than abstract thinking processes.

A copy of the Phase I results was made available to the children's parents for information and feedback purposes. Copies of written reports on the study have been reviewed by the Lab School Director and by assistant teachers. After reading a draft of a paper I had written about her processes of constructing teacher identity, Kay commented that it "Sounds great! It seems like you truly captured my experiences!" Participants will also be given an opportunity to read and comment on a draft of the dissertation before its final submission to the Graduate School. Throughout the research process I have attempted to engage in activities which will contribute to making the research credible, trustworthy and "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290).

It is important to me that this research does not impose my meaning and interpretation on the research participants, but that the construction of meaning occurs

through negotiation with the participants. In order to pursue this goal, the adult participants were invited to read and respond to transcripts of interviews and written reports of the analysis of the data. Methodologically, establishing this type of reciprocity with three year-old children was problematic. I used pictures of classroom interactions and oral discussions with groups of children to provide them with chances to participate in the construction of meaning about their lives. The age, maturity level, and verbal abilities of the children made this task difficult, yet I believe that it was important to attempt to allow the children a chance to participate in the interpretation of their daily lives.

Bae (1988b) and Corsaro (1981) both postulated that the methodologies used in studying young children tend to be reductionistic. The problem is that researchers tend to automatically impose adult interpretations on the child's world. In order for research with young children to be valid, it is necessary to try to adjust the methodology to the child's world and to try to account for the ways in which the interactions are experienced by the child (Bae, 1988b). With older children who are able to read, it would be possible to verify the written reports of the interactions. With three year-old children this approach was not possible. In order to keep from presenting a

reified and reductionist view, I had to be engaged in the process of reflection in order to ascertain the child's view of the world. I attempted to prevent reification and reductionism of the children's world by modifying the research methods to accommodate to a child's way of thinking (Bae, 1988b). In order to accommodate to the child's way of thinking I asked probing questions at times of confusion. These probing questions often helped to clarify the children's view of their world and prevented me from placing my adult interpretation to their verbalizations. There were times that even with extended questioning I was unable to ascertain the meaning from the viewpoint of the children involved in the study. The participant observer role which I assumed in this classroom was another method of accommodating to the child's way of thinking.

Stance. During Phase I, in my role as a participant observer, I initially tried to follow a reactive entry strategy (Corsaro, 1981), in which I attempted to participate in the play as a child. I watched the children's play and did not make an attempt to talk to them or join in the play unless they approached me.

I found this strategy to be extremely difficult. As I attempted to interact in the way I thought a child would interact and respond in play situations, I discovered that my conversations with the children were stilted and my

interactions were very short in duration. I also felt that my body language and unconscious behaviors from twenty years teaching experience were sending nonverbal messages of which I was unaware. After a few weeks, I decided to modify this strategy and to interact as a playmate, as naturally as possible, without trying to concentrate on how I thought a child would respond or react. At times in recognition of my size and in situations where the children's safety was an issue I found that I had to interact with the children in an adult supervisory role. For the most part I tried to refrain from directing or monitoring the children's play or intervening in situations regarding behavior. In short, I tried to be a playmate in order to determine if the children would perceive my interactions and role differently than they perceived the role of the teachers.

In modifying my original strategy, I did not enter the classroom action in the role of an adult, but I tried to play with the children and to interact as closely as possible in the role of a fellow student. I did not conduct formal interviews with the children, but attempted to structure informal interviews using puppets, pictures, and general conversation. I used a small tape recorder to audio record the interactions and informal interviews with the children. I also gathered data which described the adult/child interactions at different times during the

school day (i.e. circle times, center times, outside play, meal times). In this way I hoped to avoid describing a simplified version of the adult/child interaction.

Phase II. Based on Phase I experiences, I modified aspects of implementation in Phase II. I spent the first two weeks of school in observation via the laboratory school observation booth and as a participant observer on the playground. In Phase I, I spent a longer period of time in initial observations via the observation booth. I changed this time frame for two reasons. First, in Phase I, I was not familiar with the program, philosophy, daily schedule and other intricacies of the Lab School program. Observations during Phase I, not only included collecting data on the children and preservice teachers, but also included learning about the classroom routines. At the inception of Phase II, it did not take as long to determine the basic flow of classroom life and I was able to focus more on the interactions between preservice teachers and students. Second, when observing via the observation booth, the only data source concerning the children was my observation of their behavior. In order to more quickly broaden the data base to include informal interviews with the children, I entered the setting as a participant observer at an earlier point in time.

As a participant observer, I again used a modified

version of Corsaro's (1981) reactive entry strategy. I structured my first interactions with each child in the form of parallel play. I did not make an attempt to enter the children's play, but I initiated interactions with a smile or comment. I did not enter into a play situation until the child initiated some type of verbal or nonverbal indication for me to become a playmate. The teachers and preservice teachers were again asked to treat me as they would one of the children. For example, if the class went on a walk, I had to hold hands in a group with a teacher, and during show and share, I was given a turn just like one of the children. I participated in the classroom in the role of a playmate rather than the role of a teacher. I refrained from performing activities which the adults and the children in Phase I perceived to be a part of the teacher's role. For example, I did not sit in the teacher chair (a larger different colored chair); I did not serve the food at snack or lunch times; I did not lead circle or group activities; I did not allow the children to sit in my lap; and I did not intervene in situations regarding behavior. Occasionally an issue concerning a child's safety arose and I found it necessary to intervene in an adult supervisory role, but these instances were rare. My stance was that of a participant observer who interacted within the classroom as the children's playmate and friend.

Data Collection Procedures

Specific Tools/Techniques

Phase I. After the first month of the 1992 Fall semester, periodic participant observations were conducted both in the classroom and on the playground. During this time audio recordings and fieldnotes were used to document the interactions between the various actors in the setting. Fieldnotes were not made during the on-going activities of the classroom, but were written as soon after the observations as possible. Informal conversational interviews also occurred during center times, outside play, snack and lunch periods. These informal conversations with the children were audio recorded.

Formal interviews with the preservice teachers were another major part of the data collection process. Assistant teachers were offered the opportunity to read and review the transcripts. Some classroom interactions were also videotaped. The preservice teachers were also asked to provide copies of their lab observations, self-evaluations of teaching activities, and a one-page written description of their ideal teacher. Some of the participants did not choose to provide these items.

Mid-term and final head teacher evaluations of the preservice teachers were also included in the data

collection process.

Phase II. The data collected during Phase II included observations of classroom interactions, two formal interviews with preservice teachers, a formal interview with one of the head teachers, informal interviews with the children, audio and video recordings of classroom events, and written documents (e.g. midterm and final preservice teacher evaluations, observational logs, self-evaluations of teaching activities, and descriptions of an "ideal" teacher). In Phase I, obtaining some of the written data sources was problematic. In order to address these problems I employed the following techniques:

(1) I set up a distribution box in the same area where the head teachers had their boxes.

(2) I asked the Principles assistants to write ideal teacher descriptions which I collected after the initial meeting. Descriptions of teachers were included as a part of the Curriculum assistants' first assignment and were collected from the professor. In using descriptions obtained as part of a class assignment, there was the possibility that the descriptions might be written differently than for a research project. However, a comparison of Kay's descriptions from both phases of the research did not reveal significant differences.

(3) I requested permission to make copies of the

observation logs and plans before the professors returned them to the students.

These techniques helped in addressing the problems of collecting the written documentation. I found that it was not possible to copy materials before the professors returned the assignments to the students, but this was not a problem. Both professors were extremely cooperative in helping me to obtain the necessary written materials. With one exception, the participants were also cooperative and efficient in providing me with copies of their class assignments, observation logs, and self-evaluations.

Observations

The major data source was observation of the children's and preservice teachers' natural behavior, dialogue, and interaction. Observation of the classroom interactions allowed me to learn about individual behaviors and the meanings people attached to these behaviors. I assumed, as do Marshall and Rossman (1989), that a person's behavior is purposive and expressive of deep values. Observations of naturally occurring behaviors and interactions in the classroom provided insights into how the preservice teachers and students began to construct a new aspect of self-identity as teacher and as student. Phase I data indicated

that the negotiation and assumption of responsibility was a factor in the construction of identity as a teacher and as a student in this classroom. In Phase II, I further investigated this aspect and emphasized the recording of interactions which illustrated how either the preservice teacher and/or the children involved in the interaction dealt with the assumption of responsibility.

In order to observe the normal flow of events in this classroom, I spent the first two weeks of school conducting observations via the Lab School observation booth and as a participant observer on the playground. During these first two weeks daily observations were necessary in order to determine how the children adjusted to the classroom. Daily observations were also necessary in order to observe each preservice teacher's initial encounters with the children. After the first two weeks, observations were structured based on the schedules of the preservice teachers who volunteered to participate in the study. Observations were conducted two to three times each week. I tried to spend at least one full day each week in the classroom and established other observation times to match the schedules of the assistant teachers. Based on my experiences during Phase I, I felt that at least two observations per week were necessary in order to build and maintain a level of consistency, trust, and rapport with the three year-old

children, the assistant teachers, and the head teacher. Some of these observations were conducted via the observation booth, but the majority were conducted as a participant observer within the classroom.

In terms of the process of identity formation, it was necessary to record both verbal and nonverbal behaviors of the preservice teachers and the children. Woolfolk and Brooks (1983) postulated that the messages communicated through nonverbal behavior are as significant as the messages communicated verbally. In order to record verbal interactions I used a small tape recorder which I wore at all times in an unobtrusive "fanny pack". Nonverbal interactions were not recorded during the ongoing classroom events, but were included in fieldnotes which were written as soon after the events as possible. Participant observation provided a technique for listening to and watching people in order to gather perceptions of lived experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). An advantage of participant observation was that this technique allowed for observations of how people acted and provided information about how they understood and experienced their actions (Buroway, et al., 1991).

Interviews

Successful qualitative research is dependent upon the

researcher's ability to obtain "clear understandings of the knowledge that 'insiders' use to make sense of their world" (Hatch, 1990, p. 252). The meanings of certain actions and events are often taken for granted by the participants. The researcher is often not able to ascertain the meanings of these events and actions from direct observation of the research setting. One technique which can be used to discover these meanings is informant interviewing (Hatch, 1990). In qualitative research, interviews are considered to be purposeful conversations (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1993), ethnographic interviews are social events in which the interviewer and the interviewee are both participant observers. Ethnographic interviews are both structured by the interviewer and the interviewee. Questioning may be both directive and non-directive. The ethnographic interview is a source of data which can be combined with other sources and thus, elicit understandings of social interactions which are observed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Head Teachers and Assistant Teachers. During the study, both formal and informal interviews were conducted (see Appendix F for quideline interview questions). The questions for the first interview were based on my readings of the literature about the construction of teacher self-identity. In Phase I, one formal interview with each of the

assistant teachers and with the head teachers was conducted. Throughout the semester several informal conversations with the head teachers were recorded and transcribed. The formal interviews during Phase I occurred near the end of the school semester.

In Phase II, one formal interview and several informal conversations with Andrea, the head teacher, transpired during the semester. Based on Phase I, some additional guideline questions were added in the Phase II interviews (Appendix F). The formal interview focused on Andrea's perceptions of classroom events and the interactions between the preservice teachers and the children. Due to the scheduling assignments of the preservice teachers, I did not conduct a formal interview with James, the other head teacher. James was included in informal conversations about the children and the classroom as well as in an informal session to discuss his background and educational experiences. These informal conversations were not audio recorded, but were described in the fieldnote journal.

Two formal interviews with the assistant teachers were conducted. The first interviews occurred at the end of September or the beginning of October. I did not follow a set pattern of interview questions in each interview, but I tried to structure the interview as a conversation. A set of guideline questions was used to help gain an

understanding of the preservice teachers' perceptions of self, teaching, and students (Appendix F). Some questions (e.g. How do you see yourself as a teacher?) were consistent across interviews, but all the questions on the guideline list were not asked. My decisions about which questions to include in the interview session were based on each participants responses and the experiences discussed in the flow of the conversation.

The second interviews were conducted in December after the Curriculum assistants had completed their two days of full time teaching. Guideline questions for the second interview were developed based on the preservice teachers' interactions with the children, their questions about these interactions, and from topics and issues discussed in the first interview. Some questions were consistent across interviews, but others were based on the individual's specific interactions in the classroom. During the second interview a video segment of each preservice teacher's interactions with the children was shown and the events discussed. Specific sections of the video sequence were viewed by the researcher and the participant. The tape was stopped, questions were asked, and the assistant teachers elaborated on their perceptions, interpretations, and feelings about the incidents. Interviews were audio recorded and interview transcripts were returned to the

participants for clarification and comments.

Children. Informal interviews were conducted with the three year-old children. Informal interviews and conversations were audio taped and field note descriptions of the context were written as soon after leaving the classroom as possible. Informal rather than formal interviews with the children were chosen because "in general the most successful ethnographic interviews with child informants will be informal in nature" (Tammivaara & Enright, 1986). Hatch (1990) postulated three major reasons for conducting informal, rather than formal, interviews with children. First, informal interviews de-emphasize the adult/child power structure. Secondly, an informal setting creates spontaneous starting points for interactions which are based in the child's reality. Thirdly, children feel more comfortable within the natural setting of their own classroom than when taken away to another setting to answer interview questions.

The most difficult problem in ethnographic interviewing with young children is the adult/child relationship (Hatch, 1990; Tammivaara & Enright, 1986). In order to access the child's world the interviewer must devise a method to counteract the power and control relationship of the adult/child role. Specific methods which I employed in this study in order to deal with the power relationship problems

included: modification of Corsaro's (1981) reactive entry strategy; avoidance of controlling and directing the children's play and/or behavior; adjustment of discourse patterns so children would not perceive questions to be a game of finding the right answers; avoidance of performing activities which the children perceived to be the teacher's role; "playing dumb" (Tammivaara & Enright, 1986) by using incorrect assumptions so that the child could provide guidance and explanations; and providing the child with something concrete to talk about.

Parker (1984) suggests the use of a projective technique in which the interviewer uses dolls, pictures, or stories to structure a situation in order to help the child articulate a response. In this study, I used puppets, pictures of classroom events and people, and other play props to help elicit responses to my informal questioning. Informal interviews using projective techniques occurred during classroom center activities and on the playground. I established myself in an area of the classroom or playground with concrete materials and let the children initiate the play activity. During the course of the play I attempted to ask questions concerning the children's views about school, the head teachers, the preservice teachers, peers, me, and themselves. Guideline questions are provided in Appendix F, but the questions were structured and modified to fit each

individual play situation.

Another problem in interviewing young children is that "children have membership in at least two cultures: one of their own making and the one created by adults" (Tammivaara & Enright, 1986). These two cultures have different values, beliefs, rules for behavior, and rules for interaction. When we neglect to seek the child's meaning of these two cultures we fail to understand the meaning of the event for the child. An interaction with Toby during Phase I, illustrates how important it is to seek the child's meaning. As Toby and I were playing I asked him what teachers do. His reply was that "They teach me songs. I'll show you." The ensuing interaction involved Toby's teaching me a "hit" song. As an adult, I assumed that a hit song was a popular song on the radio, but for Toby a hit song was one in which you clap your hands together. From this interaction I was reminded that in order to conduct successful ethnographic interviews with children one must respect the child's own knowledge and must not place the adult's meaning on the child's world (Hatch, 1990, Tammivaara & Enright, 1986; Yonemura, 1974).

Mechanical Records

All interviews were audio recorded and transcriptions were returned to the adult participants for verification.

Attempts were made to orally verify interview data with the children. Observations of interactions were at times recorded by means of audio and video tapes. During Phase I, the overhead ceiling video cameras were inoperable during the majority of the practicum experience. Video taping only occurred on three days near the end of the semester. It would have been possible to use a camcorder to record the interactions in the classroom, but I rejected this option for two reasons. First, I felt that this method would have been too intrusive to the daily events of this classroom. Second, I wanted the children to accept me as a playmate and I felt that my filming the events in the classroom would place my actions in a more adult role.

During Phase II, video taping of interactions occurred at the beginning and end of the experience. These filmed interactions were analyzed to determine if the types of interactions between the preservice teachers and the children changed over time. The videos were also used in interviews with the preservice teachers as a means of eliciting information about how the preservice teachers viewed their interactions with the children.

Documents

I kept written fieldnotes of classroom tasks and social interactions which occurred between head teachers, assistant

teachers, the three year-old children, and the researcher. One part of the fieldnote journal contained my record of thoughts, ideas and reflections about the ongoing analysis of the study. At the beginning of the semester the preservice teachers were asked to write a short one-page description of their ideal teacher. Mid-term and final head teacher evaluations for each preservice teacher were copied and became a part of the data.

The preservice teachers were required to keep a written reflective log and to complete observation reports as a part of the class requirements of FCD 3204. Requirements for FCD 4214 included written teaching plans and self-evaluations of teaching experiences. I requested that the preservice teachers provide me with these written materials. The materials were photocopied and returned to the preservice teachers. These written materials became part of the fieldnote journal. One of the Curriculum students and I exchanged a weekly dialogue journal. This journal was also photocopied and added to the collection of data sources.

As a part of the research process I also kept a journal of my perceptions and understandings of the ongoing events. I recorded my feelings, tensions, and thoughts about the events in the classroom. This journal was a part of my fieldnote log book and as such, was also a part of the data source.

Analysis

Analyses were inductive following qualitative analysis procedures (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Ely, et al., 1991; Spradley, 1980). Analysis was on-going throughout the data collection process and continued after leaving the field. The on-going analysis included reviewing fieldnotes in order to plan subsequent observations, writing comments and questions about the on-going research process, and checking events which were occurring in this setting with previous research reported in the literature. The major part of the analysis process occurred in the Spring semesters of the two school years. Periodically, it was necessary to return to the field in order to check questions which surfaced during the analysis. As the events were interpreted, written, and presented the preservice teachers, head teachers, and the laboratory director were asked to read, to respond, to discuss, and to elaborate on any points or events that were important in the interpretation of the data. Attempts were made to include the children in this process by asking them to orally respond to theory about the classroom events and interactions.

Transcriptions of fieldnotes, observations, interviews, written materials (i.e., log observations, activity plans), video and audio recordings became a part of the

approximately 2,000 pages of data. After the data collection was completed, I separated the material into four different notebooks. One notebook contained all the general material about the Lab School, the Principles and Curriculum classes, Human Subjects review, and permission forms. The second notebook contained all the interviews, fieldnote data, and materials from Phase I. This notebook was divided into two separate sections (i.e., Interviews; Fieldnotes and Other Materials) and the pages were numbered. The third notebook contained all the transcripts from the Phase II fieldnotes, audio, and video recordings. The pages in this notebook were numbered consecutively. The final notebook contained all the Phase II interviews, observation logs, activity plans, and ideal teacher descriptions. I assigned each assistant teacher a pseudonym and created separate sections for each individual's materials. The pages were then numbered according to the first letter of the pseudonym and the page number (e.g., Barbara's materials are numbered as B1, B2, B3, etc.).

After compiling all the material, I read each notebook three times. In the first reading I coded the material with the pre-established codes of teacher identity, student identity, and researcher identity. In the subsequent readings of the data, I looked for codes and topics which seemed to occur through out. Codes, categories, and notes

were written in the margins of each notebook. Categories which were identified during the analysis of Phase I data included: responses to limits of authority, responsibility, changes in interaction patterns, focus of attention, coparticipation, kids who play, and play.

After delineating the categories, I wrote each participants name at the top of a piece of paper and proceeded to indicate the categories and page number locations for each individual. I also followed a similar process with each category. For example, a page was labeled "Responsibility". I read through the fieldnotes and recorded the page numbers where the category appeared in the data. I then proceeded to determine which categories seemed to appear the most frequently. The categories were examined for experiences, statements, and interactions which stood out as possible themes. Four major themes were constructed from Phase I data. These themes were:

(1) Changes in interaction patterns occur as the preservice teachers assume more responsibility in the teacher role.

(2) Preservice teachers' primary focus is on self as a student, but as responsibility increases feelings about self as teacher begin to be constructed.

(3) In this setting, three year-old children view

school as play and themselves in the student role as "kids" who play.

(4) Interactions through play enable children to experiment with the role of self and other.

At the end of the Phase I research, two additional research questions were added. The research questions which were specific to Phase II were:

(1) How does the assumption of responsibility in the roles of teacher and student affect the construction of teacher and student identities?

(2) In what ways does the coparticipation of the preservice teacher and the novice students in play contribute to the construction of teacher and student identities?

Phase II data was coded with the categories from Phase I. Based on the use of the additional research questions and material contained in the data, additional categories were identified in Phase II. Additional categories in Phases II included: decision making, risk taking, feeling like "the" teacher, feeling like "a" teacher, and who is the teacher?. Additional themes which were constructed during the Phase II research were:

(1) Three year-old children use physical

characteristics in order to construct and classify aspects of self and other.

(2) The assumption of responsibility in the teacher "position" is part of being willing to take a risk to make decisions.

(3) Preservice teachers make a distinction between becoming "the" teacher and becoming "a" teacher.

(4) Within the coparticipatory processes of living together in this three year-old classroom the boundaries between student and teacher often blurred in the doing.

After developing these four additional themes, I then searched the data for what Spradley (1980) refers to as universal themes. I looked at issues of social conflict, cultural contradictions, social control, social relationships, acquiring and maintaining status, and solving problems (Spradley, 1980). As I looked as these universal themes I began to look at the issue of coparticipation in terms of the theories of Mead, Vygotsky, Lave and Wenger, Rogoff, Engeström, Garrison, and Dewey. On the basis of the data analysis in terms of universal themes, the concept of the coparticipational bidirectional model of learning in the zone of proximal development was formulated.

In reporting the data from Phase I, I chose to narratively discuss the first four themes by developing case studies on two preservice teachers. In the first reporting of the data, the interactions between the children, the preservice teachers, and myself were not developed into case studies, but were narratively discussed in order to illustrate the types of interactions which were occurring between the participants. Chapter 3 presents the case studies from Phase I and a longitudinal case study which illustrates the experiences of one of the participants during both her Principles and Curriculum Class experiences as an assistant teacher in this three year-old classroom. Chapter 4 presents the Phase I narrative discussions concerning the children and a narrative group study from Phase II which highlights the interactions of selected children. Chapter 5 explores the coparticipatory aspects of identity construction for the head teachers, researcher, assistant teachers and the children as we lived together in this community of practice.

And so now we have the individuals and the classroom. We have the kaleidoscope, the colors, and the pieces. The dial turns and crimson intersects with sapphire. Amethyst and magenta converge. Azure, mauve and amber intermingle. The various multicolored, multifaceted pieces meet and mingle...intertwining, interchanging, constructing new

pictures of self and other.

Notes

1. In this study preservice teachers were Principles and Curriculum students. The terms Principles student and Principles assistant are both used to refer to individuals enrolled in the class FCD 3204. The terms Curriculum student and Curriculum assistant refer to the individuals enrolled in FCD 4214. Individuals enrolled in these two classes are also referred to assistant teachers.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRESERVICE TEACHERS

> As researchers, we work to present the points of view of our Participants, to see life through their eyes as well as our own....(Ely, et al., 1991, p. 220)

Azure, magenta, and amber...three separate pieces...three different colors, mixing and mingling with other pieces to construct images within the kaleidoscope. Each piece is different, yet the positioning of the pieces in the kaleidoscopic world of imagery also creates similarities. Linda, Susan, and Kay...three separate individuals...three different backgrounds, mixing and mingling with adults and children to construct images of self within the classroom. Each assistant teacher brought to the classroom different background experiences, but their positioning within their university classes, their fieldwork experiences, and the laboratory school classroom also created similarities.

The experiences of these three individuals are used to narratively illustrate the four themes (refer to pp. 63-65) which dealt with the preservice teachers' construction of identity as teacher within this community of practice. The experiences of Linda and Susan, participants in Phase I, highlight how the preservice teachers' interactions changed as they assumed more responsibility in the teacher role.

The interactions of these two preservice teachers also illustrate their focus on self, as student, as well as the manner in which they began to construct images of self as teacher. Kay's experiences in Phases I and II further illustrate the themes which were developed in Phase I and also provide insights into the concepts of risk taking, decision making, and responsibility in the process of constructing an identity as both "the" teacher and "a" teacher.

Just as the pieces of the kaleidoscope must intertwine to create images and pictures, in the reality of the classroom the lives of people are intertwined. Therefore, the themes are interconnected and cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. Yet, in order to understand the images created by the intertwining pieces, it is first necessary to examine the separate constituents.

The Preservice Experience

As preservice teachers move along a continuum of experiences to prepare for a career as teachers, they are required to complete a specified course of study. While this continuum may vary between different colleges and universities, the sequence often involves a specified number of fieldwork assignments (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). The

preservice teachers who participated in this study were preparing for careers in early childhood education. The degree requirements in their area of concentration required them to complete both the Principles Class and the Curriculum Class before applying for admission to the university's student teaching program.

The Principles Class

The Principles Class is a prerequisite to the Curriculum Class. In addition to the class assignments, the requirements for the class "Principles of Working With Parents and Children" (Appendix E) include three hours of observation per week in a field experience. Some of the individuals enrolled in the course are assigned to fieldwork experiences in local daycare facilities, while others complete the assignment in the university's Child Development Laboratory. For the majority of early childhood majors, the Principles Class represents their initial induction into the role of teacher. Principles assistants are required to complete observational logs after each classroom experience. While in the classroom, Principles assistants are responsible for observing teaching practices, applying developmentally appropriate teaching and classroom management techniques, as well as for supervising children at centers, snack, lunch and on the playground.

The Curriculum Class

Preservice teachers enrolled in the Curriculum Class are participating in their second practicum experience. Some of these assistant teachers are assigned to classrooms in off-campus settings while others complete their assignment in the Lab School. The Curriculum Class is designed to provide preservice educators with a supervised experience in which they plan, implement, and evaluate developmentally appropriate teaching activities. The course is also "designed to encourage the development of a reflective disposition toward teaching in general" (FCD 4214 Course Syllabus, p. 1, see Appendix E). As a requirement of the course, Curriculum assistants spend six hours per week in a fieldwork setting. Curriculum assistants are responsible for planning and implementing four activities during the semester. These assistant teachers are also responsible for two full time days in the head teacher position.

Susan and Linda

Changes in Interaction Patterns

Changes in interaction patterns occur as the preservice teachers assume more responsibility in the teacher role. Even though Linda and Susan began their fall field work

assignment on the same day, their experiences were very different. Both Linda and Susan had past experiences in babysitting and interactions with children in their own families. These past experiences played a role in shaping the ways these two preservice teachers chose to interact with the children in the classroom. Linda's day began as the children arrived and she was scheduled to work with the children during centers, first circle, and snacktime. Susan arrived in the Lab School as Linda was leaving. Susan's schedule included outside play time, second circle, lunch and dismissal time. Not only were their past experiences, schedules, and participation in classroom activities different, but these two young women were also entering the laboratory field experiences at different points on the continuum in the process of becoming a teacher (Fuller & Bown, 1975; Kagan, 1992).

As a Principles assistant, Susan was taking on the role of the teacher for the first time. Linda, a Curriculum assistant, was expanding her experience in the teacher role. Even on the first day in the classroom, the differences in the interaction patterns of the two preservice teachers were evident and, with one exception, were indicative of other Principles and Curriculum assistants in this setting.

Susan. Susan's first day began on the playground during outside play. As she approached a large wooden play

structure which resembled a boat, she looked around as if she were hesitant and unsure of what to do. She didn't initiate an interaction sequence with the children in the area and questioningly asked another preservice teacher "should I stand back." During lunch, as during snack, the head teachers and the preservice teachers sat in different colored, larger sized chairs which the children later called "the teacher chair." Susan sat in the teacher chair and assumed the responsibility of serving the plates and helping the children with lunch. Her interactions during this time were basically in the form of questions to the children and she monitored the head teacher's movements to determine the procedures and responsibilities. During the first few weeks, Susan continued to be hesitant to initiate interactions with the children. She observed the children and helped with specific tasks assigned by the head teacher. Her interaction patterns continued to be initiated in the form of questions to the children.

Toward the middle of the semester, Susan began to initiate more interactions with the children and her interaction sequences began to be more conversational rather than question and answer sessions. The midterm evaluation by the head teacher indicated that Susan needed to focus on and be more aware of individual interactions, as well as to assume the responsibility "to take action to prevent or stop

problems before they get out of hand." Susan, like most of the other Principles assistants, tended to hesitate to intervene in behavior management situations. For example, in dealing with Jason [1], a child who had a difficult time adjusting to school, Susan stood back and waited for either another assistant teacher or the head teacher to intervene.

One problem which developed early in the semester involved Jason's spitting on other children. Susan talked about this problem during an interview stating that if Jason was near someone else she basically tried not to draw too much attention to him. If Jason was near her, Susan stated that "I'm at a loss because I don't know what to do." As she talked about her interactions with the three year-old children, Susan asserted:

> I feel somehow intimidated and I don't quite know what to say to them even though I know they don't care...If somebody is talking to me, I'll talk back, but sometimes I'm like, Geeze, what should I say?

As the semester progressed Susan became more comfortable with the children and she began to accept more responsibility in dealing with behavior management. In a video sequence made during the last week of the semester, Susan was assuming the responsibility during circle time to redirect a child to participate in an activity and desist

from crawling under a television stand. In Susan's final evaluation, the head teacher commented that Susan had improved in her "awareness of what was going on at circle time" and that Susan was better "able to quietly handle disputes without looking to me for direction." When asked about her interactions and what she felt had been beneficial about her experiences Susan replied:

> Next semester I don't think I will be worried about it all like I was really worried about [this semester]. Oh my gosh, I've never done anything like this, you know. I babysat, but that's it. The thing that I think helps the most is having done it. That's the only thing that I think helps the most is having done it. That's the only way. As hard as it is to jump in, you have to or you're never going to get anywhere. You have to.

Linda. In contrast, Linda began the first day in the art center rolling Play-Doh and attempting to engage the children in conversation in order to learn their names. She seemed at ease and comfortable as she talked with the children and facilitated their involvement in the activity. Later in the morning during the transition from centers to circle, the head teacher was occupied in another area of the classroom. As Linda initiated an interaction in which children actively pointed to various body parts such as eyes, ears, and nose, the children were guided to make the

shift from one activity to another. There were other times during the morning that Linda seemed to hesitate and wait or stand back to determine what the procedures would be and if she should assume any responsibility in the situation. Linda's subsequent interactions on the first day and in the beginning of the semester seemed to follow a similar pattern.

During the first month of school, Linda continued to interact with the students in a friendly, relaxed manner. She was aware of the interactions between the children in her assigned area and continued to expand her willingness to take the initiative to intervene in redirecting the children in behavior management situations. For example, in dealing with Jason, Linda would attempt to structure her interactions using the developmentally appropriate methods she was learning in class. When Jason would spit at the other children, Linda would first try to redirect his attention and provide him with choices. If these attempts proved unsuccessful she would then try to remove him from the circle to a quiet area. When these interactions did not follow through with the results she anticipated, she would step back and look to the head teacher for assistance. During an interview she commented on these types of management situations stating that:

> When a situation comes up if its around me

> and I'm the first one to get there I try to handle it. But I always know that if I think I'm doing something wrong then I can say "OK, Joyce" or "OK, Paula."

Near the end of September, the Curriculum assistants began to plan, implement, and evaluate their own teaching activities. The planning progressed from single activity plan(s), to daily plans, and then weekly plans. These plans could be implemented at any time during the school day. As Linda began to carry out these teaching activities, she became more aware of her specific interactions with individual students. In one self evaluation she commented:

> I learned more about the complex role of the teacher. As I was redirecting this one, that one wanted me to tie her shoe. When I asked the other one about her [block] structure, everyone wanted to tell me about his at the same time.

Near the end of the semester as she assumed more responsibility in the teacher role and was self-evaluating her activities, she began to reflect on her interactions with the children. In these reflections she indicated that she now "recognized opportunities to guide children's learning" and that she "took advantage of child initiated communication." At the end of the semester when talking about her growth in the process of becoming a teacher, Linda

expressed a desire for the practicum experience to be extended.

> I just wish that there were further things that I could do in the Lab School. I'm really sorry to see the Curriculum Class end because I've learned so much and had a great time and it's been a lot of fun. There's so much room for more learning, that I wish it were at least a year long experience...It's been kind of difficult. But definitely I think it's an increase in experience as you put more and more in a situation where you are given more and more responsibility.

During the field experience Susan and Linda both progressed along the continuum in their journey to become a teacher. The experiences of the two preservice teachers illustrated the differences in the roles and responsibilities of the Principles and Curriculum assistants, individual growth in acceptance of responsibility in the role of teacher, the importance of self-reflection, and changes in interactions with students. The gradual development of the acceptance of responsibility in the teacher role is also intertwined with the second major theme which was constructed during the research analysis.

Focus on Self as Student

Preservice teachers' primary focus is on self as student, but as responsibility increases feelings about self as teacher begin to be constructed. As novices, both Susan and Linda brought to the teaching situation prior images and beliefs about the role of teacher.

Susan. In describing the role of teacher Susan envisioned herself being someone who cares about children, someone who is responsible for presenting material, and someone who "could make a difference." She viewed the teacher as a role model and as "someone a child can look up to and use as an example for their own behavior." Susan described teaching as providing opportunities for students to

> learn what you need to know for later on. That's what its always been . I guess that's the way it will always be...I'm thinking of school the way we did when we were in elementary school. You go, you learn your letters and numbers and the eventual goal is you can read...It's hard to consider just play activities as teaching.

As Susan interacted with the children, head teachers, and her college class work, her image of self as teacher and her actual role in the Lab School created cognitive dissonance in her self-identity. In attempting to resolve

this dissonance her focus was basically on self and on her own behavior, rather than on pupils (cf. Bennett, 1991; Bullough, 1991; Grossman, 1989; Kagan, 1992). At this point in her development she did not see herself as a teacher, but was focused on her needs as a student. Even though in class the professor explained that the Principles assistants should not worry about doing everything right, this issue was still an area of concern to the preservice teachers. In talking about her initial entry into the classroom Susan stated:

> I needed somebody to say don't worry about doing everything right, you are not expected to know what to do...I just felt like I was thrown in there cold. I didn't know what I was doing...What I don't feel comfortable with is when I say something in what I think is an appropriate way, like when one hits another I say [to myself] what do I say now?...I'm afraid to say the wrong thing.

She also indicated that interaction and discussions with other Principles assistants and the head teachers "really helped a lot because it was like a place to say, Hey! I'm messing up and I don't know why." When asked in what ways she viewed herself as a teacher, Susan replied:

> Well, kids call me "teacher." I feel like if something does happen I can say this is what you need to do...I'm authorized to come up

> with a solution. I don't see myself as meeting any activity or discussion. I mean the kids see you, they know exactly who is the authority. It seems like because whoever they're around a lot. The Curriculum students spend a lot more time. I think if they [the children] actually see you leading the song they think of you as like Paula. Paula does the leading of the circle, they really do see Paula as primary teacher...And I don't teach them songs, anyway, but I sit in the teacher chair so I must be the teacher.

In an interaction between Susan, Adam, Stacey, and myself, the children told us that Susan could sit in the teacher chair, but I could not. I was not allowed to sit in the teacher chair because, according to Adam, "you're not the teacher." When asked who the teacher was, Stacey pointed to Susan. Both the children and teachers in Phase I viewed sitting in the teacher chair as a visual representation of being the teacher. Sitting in the teacher chair also represented the acceptance of the responsibility to serve the plates and to monitor the snack or lunch activities. In recognizing that she sits in the teacher's chair, Susan was also recognizing the acceptance of some of the responsibilities of the teacher role.

Later in the semester, Susan indicated that she was

beginning to realize that she needed to assume more responsibility in her role.

> It took me a while before I realized, geeze, I should really learn what is in the Lab School, I should know where everything is, get more familiar with it, on my end.

Susan's conversation indicated that she was in the process of constructing her image of self as teacher. She was struggling with her past conceptions of school as work versus learning through play. She was making a shift in perception of teacher as a person who presents material to teacher as a guide. Her focus at this point was basically on her behavior as a student. She voiced concerns about not having had the opportunity to participate in center activities this semester and having to plan these activities next semester in the Curriculum Class. She felt that the Principles assistants "who got to do the centers this semester were at an advantage and would probably get a better grade next semester based on their experience." When asked about how she viewed herself Susan answered:

> As a student. For the most part. I've had this tiny minuscule role for an hour and a half a couple of days a week to these children who aren't really sure who I am. I tell them that they shouldn't hit people, but I don't feel too much like a teacher...I just

> think it advances as you go through the Curriculum [Class]. If I was doing more activities I would feel more like I was becoming a teacher.

Linda. As a Curriculum student, Linda was doing more activities, but when asked if she felt like a teacher her response was negative. Linda described the role of a teacher as multidimensional.

> I would say there's a lot of parts. One thing is to plan, plan appropriately. To know your kids and their needs, where they are developmentally and plan appropriately for them...Which sounds easy, but it's so hard.

Linda also described a teacher as a guidance person, a decision maker, a substitute parent, a friend, a playmate, a counselor and a disciplinarian. Linda's self-evaluations indicated that her focus was currently on self as student. Like Susan, Linda was also concerned with saying or doing something that might be inappropriate. Excerpts from her self-evaluations illustrated Linda's concerns about being observed and evaluated as a student in the teacher role.

> One child stayed at the center the entire time. There is some controversy surrounding this child and I was apprehensive knowing that I would be in contact with him while I

> was being observed.
>
> I was tremendously apprehensive about implementing this plan. Paula has always led circle and I have always been an observer. I was anxious because I had totally rearranged my plan and I didn't know if the new plan would work out.
>
> I obviously have a lot of learning to do. I need tons more practice.

Even though Linda's primary focus was on self as student she was also beginning to construct an image of self as teacher. In discussing how the children viewed the Principles and Curriculum assistants in the role of teacher, Linda felt that the amount of time spent with the children was an important factor. However, she felt that personality was equally important.

> I'm a lot more domineering and demanding and teacherish than some of the Principles students. I take more initiative. I take upon myself more responsibility than some of them do. And so, I think they [the children] view me more as a teacher than maybe some of the Principles students. Not necessarily because I'm there more, possibly that has something to do with it, but more because of the role I take in there. Because if I were sedate, and you know, passive, then I'd just

> do what Paula told me. And I just could talk to a couple of kids here and a couple of kids there and you know, that would be it. But, I'm actively seeking them out and if they do something wrong, I'm going to say something and they know that.

Linda's focus was on self as student. She had trouble in accepting the role of head teacher because "it's Paula who's the head teacher and no matter if I've got the title of head teacher she's really still the teacher."

On a day that Linda was assigned to be head teacher, Toby's mom brought him into the classroom and asked Linda to read him a story. Linda hesitated, yet sat in the story area under the loft and read to Toby. In this area her global view of the classroom was somewhat restricted. While Linda was reading to Toby, Paula left her assigned area. Linda felt uncomfortable with the situation. Her anxiety was intensified by the knowledge that she was being observed and evaluated by her professor. Linda commented:

> I felt really uncomfortable and you know if I had really been the head teacher there would not have been that kind of authority problem. I would have had no problem saying that's where you are assigned and that's where you are supposed to be...If I were the head teacher, the real head teacher, I could have had somebody else read to Toby or something.

> What I'm used to playing is the part of the student teacher.

During the same week Joyce was absent and Linda filled in for the whole morning as head teacher. Even though the assistant director and the director were in the classroom helping with the activities, they stayed in their assigned areas and did not take on any of the head teacher responsibilities. During this time Linda felt like she was the teacher.

> I really felt more of a head teacher on Friday than I did on Wednesday. It was like it was my classroom...It was scary and I was afraid I would do something wrong...I was like, am I going to be able to do this? I've never done this [all morning]. I've only been there for lunch once and so I was really anxious.

In reflecting back on her successful day in the classroom in the role of head teacher, Linda enthusiastically asserted that "Friday was the only time ever this semester, that I've ever felt like a teacher." When asked to elaborate on why, Linda stated that it was partly experience and partly responsibility.

> I think it's an increase in experience as you put more in the situation where you are given more and more responsibility. Like in

> Principles you get basics, in Curriculum you get a little bit more than when you are out head teaching, you know student teaching, you are there for the whole day, you're given a lot more responsibility and its like a build up, it's a progression. You just build on what you know and your thinking, increasing your knowledge, and your base of what you want to do in your own classroom. I don't think anybody is prepared to really have their own class when they finish college, because they've not had that experience of being the only teacher, everything is their responsibility, and it's all on the line everyday.

For Linda and for Susan, the assumption of responsibility in the teacher role helped in beginning to construct an image of self as teacher. Even though Linda and Susan were both carrying out teaching responsibilities and enacting the teacher role, both still primarily viewed self as student rather than self as teacher.

Kay: Responsibility, Risks, and Decisions

Making decisions and being willing to take a risk in the teacher position seem to be a part of the ability to assume responsibility in the role of teacher. Kay's

experiences further illustrate how the assumption of responsibility contributed to the construction of identity as "the" teacher and as "a" teacher.

Kay: Phase I

As an eighteen year-old college sophomore, Kay did not begin her practicum in the Child Development Laboratory "feeling like a teacher," but she did begin with some prior knowledge of young children. From her past experiences as a student, a babysitter, a Bible school teacher, and an observer in her mother's classroom she had formulated some concepts about children, about learning and about teaching. At the beginning of Phase I, Kay described young children as

> ...a lot smarter than I gave them credit for. They definitely try to manipulate adults more than I ever thought they did. Not in a bad way necessarily all the time, but they know their limits and what they can get away with and if they don't know you or you're new they're probably going to try to test their limits with you. They get kind of attached to you in a real short period of time. When I would go babysitting for the first ten minutes they'd be like scared to death of me and by the end of the night they were sad when I wanted to go home and that just amazed me....How do I think children learn? Probably by example, by watching other people, watching their peers, watching their parents, just listening and

taking it all in, a lot through modeling.

In Kay's opinion a teacher is someone who is always asking questions in order to guide and extend a student's knowledge and understanding. A teacher is someone

> ...to look up to, to respect, to share knowledge, to talk to, and who cares about kids and helps with their problems....I think to be a teacher you've got to like kids and want to spend time with them, and deal with them, and not just come to school, have class, and then leave and that's it, you're done with your job. I don't think teaching is a nine to five job at all....Academics may be the center of it....but integrating all the things that they need, the love they need, the care they need, taking their interest into account and what they like to do, what they want to do in their free time, giving them time to just be kids and play....I'm going to try to be everything they don't have and I don't think that's possible, but that's what I want to be.

Kay approached her first encounter with the three year-old students with mixed feelings. Before entering the Lab School classroom, Kay had already attended several class sessions of the course "Principles of Working With Children and Parents". During these sessions the professor explained the course content, the laboratory assignments, and the course expectations. The professor also requested that the student assistants read the Child Development Laboratory

Handbook before beginning their first day in the laboratory classroom. Kay completed the assignment and her nervousness about the first day intensified.

> I have to tell you that I was pretty nervous about this first day. I had read the blue handbook and that scared me. I kept wondering how I would ever remember all the rules and guidelines. My biggest fear is that I'll do something developmentally inappropriate.

Kay's fears and jitters continued to build as she arrived for her scheduled time in the Lab School. Her assignment included outside play, second circle, lunch and dismissal. With a stomach full of fluttering butterflies, Kay walked down the hallway between the four laboratory school classrooms. In her daily observation log Kay recorded her feelings and impressions about her first day.

> When I got there everybody was out on the playground. My first problem was that my name tag was not beside my name on the sign in sheet....I went outside and found the teacher. I have a few questions about the three year-old teacher. First, what is her name? Second, is she new this year? The assistant director was in the room most of the time and I think I understood her to say that all of us in the room were new to this. It seemed we were all really confused.

Kay's feelings of confusion escalated as she exited the

building and made her way out to the fenced play area. On the playground the three and four year-old children were playing together. The head teachers and assistants from both classes were busy supervising and playing with the children.

When Kay entered the playground area, she did not know which head teacher, assistants, or children belonged in the three year-old class, nor did she know her head teacher's name. She was not sure what to do, where to go, or who to ask for guidance. To her "it seemed that every group of children had an adult with them" and that some of the children she approached "either ran away or told me to get away." With her feelings somewhat hurt, but trying to put things into perspective, she eventually found the head teacher, asked where she should go, and made her way over to the sandbox. Ben and some other boys were digging in the sand. Ben was using a shovel to make a mountain of sand. Kay picked up a hoe and proceeded to join in the play. Using the skills she had learned as a babysitter, she began to interact with Ben. Everything seemed to be fine until Ben decided that he wanted both the shovel and the hoe. At that point Kay hesitated. She wasn't sure what was expected of her in this situation. Again, using her babysitter skills, she suggested that a trade be made. Ben was happy with this arrangement and the two of them continued to build

their mountain until time for cleanup.

Although both the children and teachers were expected to help each other with cleanup duties, the four year-olds were more involved in the cleanup routine on this first day than were the three year-olds. Kay and other Principles assistants were helping, but were asking others what to do and where to put things. Many of the children continued to play until the head teachers had the three's and the four's get into groups to go inside. After the four's left the playground Paula, the head teacher, had the three's alternately taking baby and giant steps to the gate. One child tried to open the gate and was reminded to "wait on the teachers." Paula asked a Curriculum assistant to be last and to make sure that the gate was closed. The children hopped across the cement area between the building and the playground, entered the building through the intergenerational area, and reentered their classroom.

Kay had observed children in the Lab School via the observation booth, but this was her first entry into the classroom with the children. When the group entered the room they saw that the tables were covered with red tablecloths and set for a family style lunch. Each place setting had silverware, a napkin, and an empty glass. A pitcher of milk and the stacked plates were sitting in front of the teacher chair. Although it was time for second

circle, the children had not yet learned the school routine and many tried to sit down at the tables. The head teacher and some of the Curriculum assistants attempted to help the children with the transition between outside play and circle time. Kay, and the other Principles assistants, watched and observed before beginning to help direct the children to get a carpet square and join the circle. To Kay it seemed that

> When we went inside it was a little chaotic. We sat in a circle to hear a story, but some children kept getting up and wandering.

Kay did not know how to redirect the children back into the circle and she basically observed the head teacher and Curriculum assistants in these redirecting attempts. After reading a story, Paula dismissed the children, a few at a time, to go to the restroom and to wash hands. When Kay returned from helping the children with toileting and hand washing, one of the Curriculum assistants explained the lunch procedures. Kay sat down in one of the teacher chairs and assumed the responsibility of serving the plates and helping the five children at her table with lunch. She encouraged each child to pour only a half a glass of milk and attempted to interact by asking questions. The conversation centered around the children's likes and dislikes regarding the food and Kay's attempts to learn

their names. Kay had difficulty getting Hannah to stay seated. Two attempts toward redirection were unsuccessful and Hannah went to scrape her plate and put her glass and utensils on the cart. Kay's log entry indicated that:

> I guess it is just as new for them as it is for us....I'm anxious to learn everybody's names and to get used to the routine.

Newness, confusion and questions about routines were characteristic during the first two weeks of school. My Phase I fieldnote entries at the end of September denoted that, as a Principles assistant, Kay seemed to do more watching of and less interacting with the children than did the Curriculum assistants. She was beginning to initiate more verbal interactions in the form of conversations rather than as questions than she had at the beginning of school. She indicated that at first she had interacted in a babysitter role because

> ...that's all you know. so that's what you do first is what you're used to...and babysitting that's what you do. Because that's all I'd ever done before. So you just jump in and take on that role that you're used to.

After becoming more familiar with the routines and with the children, Kay participated in more play interactions. She denoted that changes in her interactions also began to

occur based on what she was learning in her university Principles Class. In class the professor was presenting developmentally appropriate methods for teaching young children. Kay stated:

> As soon as she was teaching me that stuff in class, I wanted to try it out. I don't know if everybody wanted to do that. I think some people just sat in class and then still went and played just like they normally do, but I was like wanting to try it out.

At first in classroom management and discipline situations the tendency to stand back and to let the head teacher or a Curriculum assistant handle the situation was her more predominant choice of action. In these management situations, she either did not recognize a need to assume the teacher responsibility or was afraid to take the risk in making decisions because of the fear of making mistakes. As the semester progressed she began to attempt to handle more and more management situations. Kay noted this change as she compared her interactions with the interactions of some of the other Principles assistants.

> I was not one of those people who would see something going on and turn my head because I didn't want to handle it. I wanted to handle it. I wanted that chance to handle it even if I handled it wrong.

During the course of the semester, there were other shifts in Kay's interaction patterns. Her observation log entries chronicled the development of her interactions with the children, her struggles in making decisions, and her assumption of responsibility. Her log entries also indicated that at this point in her process of becoming "a" teacher her focus was primarily on self in the student role. She often sought the reassurance that she was "doing things right." Basically her log described her interactions with the children and usually ended with a question to the professor, such as, "Is that OK?" or "What should I do?" Even as early as her second log entry the concept of the teacher's responsibility was an issue she raised.

> Even with three or four adults in the room, it's a lot of responsibility for each adult. I didn't know which way to turn. I still need a lot of guidance as far as which way to go and what to do next.

The following log entries exemplified the development of Kay's interactions with the children, her decision making struggles, and her increasing ability to assume both assigned and unassigned responsibilities.

> September 8, 1992:
> I'm feeling more comfortable each day I'm there. I'm more apt to actively play with the children

rather than standing around and observing....I'm more apt to initiate activities rather than just watching to see what I could do....I'm still nervous about doing the "right thing."

September 10, 1992:
I also have a question about Ben. Paula told me he was wearing pull-ups today and wanted me to encourage him to go to the bathroom. He did try, but he didn't have to go. Paula then asked me if he was wet. How should I do this? Do I ask him if he's wet and then go on whatever he says? Or should I physically check his pull-ups or diaper? I did both today, just to make sure, but which way is appropriate?

September 15, 1992:
Today went great! I feel like I did really well today. Whenever I had to discipline someone, the right thing seemed to come out of my mouth. Plus, whatever I said worked. I wish more days would be like today....I volunteered to wash up the things from centers.

September 17, 1992:
The playground is still stressful for me.

September 22, 1992:
I'm having a small problem. I feel a little uncomfortable about "taking charge" or leading the children in activities. Sally and Myra are both in the Curriculum Class so they seem to have more experience. I feel like they look at me as if I

am doing it [leading activities] wrong. Should I let them handle it more since their class is geared more towards "taking charge"? What should I do?

September 29, 1992:
Paula said no one cleaned the snack tables. I've never been there for snack before, so I didn't know that needed to be done....I don't know how I can help her unless she gives me specific responsibilities.

October 6, 1992:
Margaret calls me teacher and asks me if she can have seconds even if I'm on the other side of the room.

October 20, 1992:
I need some help with Charles when he starts making faces and yelling. I just don't know what to do.

November 3, 1992:
Ben yelled "Hi Kay!" as soon as I came on the playground. It made me feel really good....At circle I was in charge of Jason....Paula said taking him out of circle wasn't working. He was great for me in circle. I didn't have any problems with him. Paula says I'm the best with him. That makes me feel really good.

November 17, 1992:
I heard the fire drill in the atrium so I decided

to go down to the Lab School in case they needed any help. The kids did a great job of getting out of the building.

November 19, 1992:
I was trying to teach Adam how to play rock, paper, scissors...we ended up with a totally new game.

December 1, 1992:
At lunch, Charles was putting his fingers in his milk and blowing in it. I told him if he could not drink his milk without blowing or using his fingers I would take it. He didn't believe me because he kept on doing it. I took his milk and put it on the other side of the table. He got mad! He did say he would "drink it right" though. I gave it back and told him I would love to give him his milk back if he would drink it like a three year-old. He did.

Kay's log entries exemplified her concerns with self, her acceptance of responsibility as the teacher, her changes in interactions with the children, and the beginning of a transition period in which she was beginning to focus more on self as "the" teacher. Her major concerns were "doing things right," not making mistakes, and how her "performance" in the classroom would affect her grade in the Principles course. Even though she voiced the desire to experiment and to try out the things she was learning in

class, her fears about mistakes and performance sometimes prevented her from taking the risk to make a decision in classroom interactions with the children. During the Principles experience Kay did not view herself as the teacher. At this stage of her development an identity as teacher was just beginning to be constructed. The shifting duality between her teacher and student identities may have been a contributing factor in her hesitancy to make decisions in the teacher role. As Kay interacted with the children, accepted and executed her assigned responsibilities and some unassigned responsibilities, she began to refer to 'self' in the teacher position or to make comments about her teaching. Yet, throughout the Principles experience Kay's primary focus was on her own behavior, rather than on pupils (cf. Bennett, 1991; Bullough, 1991; Grossman, 1989; Kagan, 1992). Kay's descriptions of her interactions with the children illustrated her focus on 'self' and her decision making processes as she assumed more responsibility in behavior management situations.

> When something happens and I see a child doing something I know they shouldn't be doing or that I want to turn around, I first just sit there and think....I'm still cautious when I'm with them and that's just because I'm not sure. I'm so scared when I see something or I see them do something. I get ready to do positive discipline, I'm

> thinking in my head, I'm turning it all over, "Okay, now what do I need to say?"...I feel like my Principles class book is going through my head and I'm trying to figure things out....How should I handle this? So I'm still a little cautious with the kids and there's kids that I'm more comfortable with than others....I mean it's like I'm their friend. I can just say whatever and they'll take it in stride and usually I don't have to try any major techniques with them.

Kay's conversations during our interviews indicated that she viewed 'self' in relation to the children as "a friend" or "a playmate", not as the teacher.

> I think I'm a lot like just a playmate for the kids, but I'm still there if somebody's in a dangerous situation. If somebody is doing something they shouldn't, I can redirect them and give them a better way to handle whatever they're doing....It's very weird to me that the kids are calling me teacher....I really don't feel like I've done anything yet that's teaching them because I spend most of my time playing with them. It may be the time that I'm there in the Lab School, but I think I'm a lot, just a playmate. I'm there trying to use the things I've learned. Kind of like I'm practicing, but I don't really feel like I'm a teacher yet at all.

During an interview at the end of the Principles experience I asked Kay if she thought her role in the Lab

School would change during her Curriculum practicum experience and if so, how would it change. Her response illustrated how she and other Principles assistants tended to talk about the assumption of responsibility in the process of becoming a teacher.

> I feel like I'll have a little bit more responsibility in the class because I've asked other students and I've asked Curriculum students, and Paula, "What am I allowed to do? What am I supposed to do?" Because a lot of times I get to circle first and I'm like, "Am I allowed to start a song in circle even though I'm not in Curriculum?" Because Curriculum is taking the teacher role more, the head teacher role. I think I'll have more responsibility where I'll be responsible for doing more things, whereas now, the only thing that I'm assigned is sometimes Jason and occasionally to make sure everything is cleaned up after lunch and that's not anything that major. I think that by the time I'm in Curriculum I'll be in charge of doing a lot more and I'll get to give more input about the kids. I'll be able to implement things more once I'm in Curriculum. I think the more responsibility you have the more risks you're going to be taking as a teacher. The more it is going to fall back on you and what you do....The more responsibility you have, the more important role you have in the classroom. The more responsibility you have, the more important you are because the more things you're in charge of, the more things that you're

taking care of and making sure they're done.

In her final interview Kay discussed a class project in which she had chosen to work with Tommy in an attempt to foster his prosocial behavior. During the time allocated to her project Kay's interactions with Tommy and his actions on the last day of her Principles assignment bolstered her confidence in her abilities as the teacher.

> I had an assignment for a paper to foster prosocial behavior which is to look at the class, see who was one of the least prosocial students and try to foster prosocial behavior in them. I looked around and I picked Tommy. I worked with him for three weeks just with anything, everything that my book told me to do. Anytime he did something that was prosocial I reinforced it and I tried to set up situations where he could be prosocial. The last day that I was observing he was just doing great. I don't know if he was just having a good day because I know I can't contribute it all to me, but it made me feel good because I knew I had been working at it. The first thing he did was he told Paula and me that he was getting ready to jump over us and for us to please get out of the way, because he didn't want to hurt us. And that was just like, "Oh, my gosh. Tommy doesn't want to hurt us." That, I think was a little bit prosocial. Then that day when I left he just came to me and gave me this huge hug and I was just like, "Oh, my gosh. This is not like

Tommy at all." And I just, I mean that made it for me. I was just like, "I can do this [be the teacher]. I can do it all [teaching] with these kids."

Kay: Phase II

Due to required course offerings and scheduling at the University, Kay had elected not to enroll in the class "Curriculum and Program Planning" until the fall semester. Scheduling and coincidence resulted in her assignment in the three year-old class for Phase II of my research. When I approached her about the study, she readily agreed to participate in the second phase. Since Kay's participation provided a longitudinal aspect to the study which I had not previously anticipated, I requested her to exchange a weekly dialogue journal with me in addition to providing copies of her activity plans and self-evaluations from the Curriculum course. Along with her reflective self-evaluations, Kay's journal entries provided insights into her processes of decision making and her process of becoming "the" teacher.

Kay's Curriculum Experience. Kay's first day in her Curriculum assignment was very different from her first day as a Principles assistant. This time when Kay entered the classroom, she was familiar with the layout and the routine. There was a new head teacher, a new group of children, and a slightly different classroom arrangement, but Kay felt

comfortable and excited as her day began. She arrived a half hour after the children had begun their second day of school. Before entering the classroom, she picked up her nametag from the bulletin board beside the assistant director's office and glanced through the observation window to see what was happening. She observed that some of the children were already busily playing while others were having difficulty separating from Mom or Dad. Each center seemed to have at least one or two children, but one child was standing at the aquarium and another was under the loft. Both of these children looked sad and seemed to be slowly making a transition from home to school. Some children were crying and clinging to a parent or being comforted by the head teacher who was sitting in the floor in the middle of the room.

Upon entering the room, Kay made her way to the door between the classroom and the restroom areas. The daily sign in sheet and copy of the day's lesson plan with assignments for the teaching assistants were posted on the back of the door. After signing in and checking her assignment, Kay decided to check with Angela, the new head teacher to find out if there were any special situations of which she needed to be aware.

Angela was still sitting on the floor in the middle of the classroom holding Robert in her lap. After touching

base with Angela, Kay proceeded to join the children in the block center. Her body language was open and relaxed as she sat down cross-legged in the floor and started to build with the colored blocks. Kathryn and Marsha engaged her to help them find different colored blocks. Rather than asking questions about the colors of the blocks, Kay led the girls to discuss the structures which they were building. All of a sudden Greg who was riding on a large wooden truck stopped very close to the block structures. Kay smiled and commented, "I like the way you are using your brakes." As Kay carried on a conversation with the three children she attempted to learn their names and continued to encourage them to discuss the structures they were constructing.

Throughout the morning's center activities Kay moved back and forth between the block center and the manipulative center depending on where children were playing. She continued to try to engage children in conversations, to help them explore materials, and to learn each other's names. At cleanup time she helped to show the children where to put away the toys and did not hesitate to encourage the nonparticipants to join in the cleanup process. At circle time, Kay tried to facilitate Judy's participation in the circle activities rather than remaining in the loft area.

Angela began the first circle with the song "Gilley,

Gilley, Good Morning" and not only sang a good morning to all the children using their names, but also included a last verse which sang good morning to all the teachers. The group continued to sing songs and Kay left the circle to get the morning snack from the kitchen. After putting the snack on the tables, Kay returned to the circle to help with the dismissal for washing hands and toileting. At snack she sat in the teacher chair, served the food, and engaged the children in conversation and then in cleanup responsibilities. When the other assistants, the head teacher and the children went outside to the playground, Kay finished the cleanup duties and returned the snack materials to the kitchen. She then joined the others on the playground where she immediately settled into the group play in the sandbox.

During the outside playtime, Kay seemed at ease and she alternated her time between the sandbox and the houseboat areas. She assisted the children with cleanup and helped them to gather on a small mound of dirt referred to as "the hill" to pour the sand out of their shoes. The children pretended to be airplanes as they walked back to their classroom through the intergenerational area. Back in the room, the carpet squares were already arranged in a circle. The children were directed to have a seat on a square rather than to go to the tables which were set for lunch. A story

and songs were the focal activities for the second circle and Angela dismissed the children to get ready for lunch by singing "If You Are Hungry and You Know It, Clap Your Hands."

Kay assisted with the toileting and hand washing duties and then again sat in the teacher chair to serve lunch. During lunch, she engaged the children in conversation which was primarily directed toward learning their names and the classroom routine. When faced with a incident similar to one which occurred during her first lunch as a Principles assistant, Kay responded differently. Jonathan did not want to eat and attempted to take his plate to the cart to scrape it and put it away. Kay asked him to return to the table.

Jonathan:	I'm finished.
Kay:	That's OK. We will talk.
Jonathan:	I don't want to talk.
Kay:	That's OK. You can listen.

Jonathan sat back down. Kay recognized Jonathan's attempt to "test" his limits and calmly negotiated and redirected the situation. Kay later commented to the children that she liked the nice way they waited at the table until others were finished before they went to scrape their plates. After assisting the children with scraping plates and cleaning off the table, Kay joined them in the circle for

quiet activities as they waited on their parents and dismissal time.

In a dialogue entry written after the second week of school, I asked Kay if she felt any different at the beginning of her Curriculum experience as compared to her Principles experience. In her response she indicated that she felt totally different.

> Stuff just seems to come so much more naturally. I don't have to go through as much of a conscious thinking process to handle a discipline problem. Most of the time I automatically say things in a positive way - i.e. "Please, walk" instead of "Don't run". I feel comfortable in my position. I'm not nervous any more. I don't feel weird when Angela corrects something I'm doing, but last year I would have felt like a failure. Last year I felt like an assistant teacher. Sometimes I felt like one of the kids. This year I feel like I'm the teacher, if Angela isn't in my area (activity). The kids this year even call me "teacher" more and earlier than the three's last year. I feel confident in my responsibilities.

In our first interview at the end of September, Kay also commented on the differences in her role in the classroom and her interactions with the children.

> I feel like I'm more responsible for them this year. Last year I felt like the head teacher was responsible for them more than I was. I was there

if something was going on that needed to be handled, but I was just hanging out on the playground and playing and now I feel like I'm responsible for them where I have to make sure things are going the way they should be going and handling the situations a lot faster. I think maybe it's a lot because I feel more secure I will handle it. I don't want to just sit by and watch and hope somebody else takes care of it. I'll just jump in there and take care of it because I feel comfortable and I feel like I know what I'm doing....The big thing I'm noticing a difference in is that I think even the kids look at me more as the teacher. I don't know if I've changed the way I act. I think in Principles...they found me a little bit more, not as a kid like them, but as more on their level. Whereas now instead of actually playing with them, I'm just trying to interact with them and to talk to them, ask them questions. Lots more of a teacher role than what I think I was last year. Especially outside time, now I feel like I'm kind of supervising where before I was just playing with them. Which I'm still playing, but I think I see a lot more teacher activity tasks....Instead of just playing along, I play the game with them, but then I try to get them to think more about the game or ask them questions about it and kind of try to extend what they're thinking about.

Although Kay disclosed that she felt totally different at the beginning of her Curriculum experience, the

self-evaluations of her activity plans indicated that her primary focus was still on self rather than pupils. Her first activity plan was implemented in the dramatic play area as the children explored a beauty shop theme. Plan two was an art activity which involved using paint and various textured materials such as rice, grits, and coffee grounds. For her third plan, she implemented a circle activity using a mystery bag of stuffed animals to introduce the story "Polar Bear, What Do You Hear." Her last activity plan was a center activity in which the children made cookies. During these activities, Kay felt stressed about being evaluated. She was also worried about the judgements of supervisory personnel. Her thoughts included, "What should I say?" and "What should I do next?". Excerpts from her self-evaluations explicate her thoughts and feelings.

> **Self-evaluation Plan I:**
> I tried to be enthusiastic even though I was stressed....The setting/content was weird for a couple of reasons. The first was that I was being observed....The second was that the activity time was shorter....The third reason was that some parents were around because of the field trip. I felt like they would be more critical than my professors....All through my implementation my thoughts were on what should I ask now? What should I say now? What should I do next?...At

first there were children at every activity, but mine, of course, then I felt panic....When I went after centers to get snack, Joyce [2] told me I did a good job and that made the rest of the morning less stressful.

In the second and third activity plan self-evaluations, Kay began to show a transition between a focus on self to thoughts about how the children responded to her activities.

Self-evaluation Plan II:
I was pretty comfortable in my setting today. More so than I was last time anyway. The boys, Robert and Greg, were having a bad day. They kept fighting and the assistant director had to come in and take care of them. That was a bit of a distraction to my activity. I started to feel uncomfortable when I started noticing how much of the materials were accidently falling on the floor....I felt like Andrea and the assistant director and probably everybody observing were thinking my activity was not good because it was so messy. As problems arose I was already thinking about what I would do differently next time. I had thoughts about what questions I should ask the kids and when is the appropriate time to ask them....There are a couple of things I would do differently to improve my activity. I would try to foster more divergent thinking. I don't think I do that enough with the children most of the time. I have trouble coming up with

ways to do it. I would appreciate any suggestions on question phrases to use. I'm glad the kids also came to the activity and liked it, but I wish more kids could have had the experience.

Self-evaluation Plan 3:
I was so nervous about my circle time all morning. Once I got into it I was fine. The one thing that bothers me was feeling like everything that came out of my mouth had to be perfect because I was being observed. It felt good to be "the teacher" though....It is going to be a bit overwhelming to go into a class of twice as many kids with no assistants....Some of the kids I know were aware of what their name and others started with. Others I knew could not identity the first letter of their name out of context. I varied dismissal accordingly.

Self-evaluation Plan 4:
The children did not respond to the activity as well as I had hoped. Not one child participated through the entire process....The thought that comes to my mind first is panic. I was just a bit stressed when nobody was at my activity. Thank goodness it turned out OK....Throughout the activity I wondered if the cookies would turn out OK....I wondered if the children were enjoying themselves when it wasn't their turn to measure.

In writing, implementing and evaluating her activity

plans, Kay became more involved in processes which required her to be a decision maker in the teacher role. The assumption of the responsibility for planning activities increased Kay's awareness of aspects of teaching which are not always readily apparent to a novice. In one early reflective entry, she stated that "When watching teachers, it appears that they are totally playing it by ear, but this assignment let me see how much thought and decision making goes into an activity plan." Her reflections began to refer to her processes of decision making. Her practical experiences in the classroom encouraged her to reflect on how and why her activities did or did not progress according to her expectations. She was learning to make decisions and adaptations to her plans before, during, and after the implementations. Her comments illustrated her willingness to risk being a decision maker as she planned and implemented her teaching activities.

> **Activity Plan I:**
> During the activity I had to make a decision as to whether to tell them or let them come up with their own ingredients. I decided to tell them what the bottle said....It was hard to decide how much to ask and when to leave them alone....As far as my decision making process, I tried not to direct the activity too much because I wanted the children to play in whatever way they most

enjoyed....I was pleased with my decisions on explaining why the props weren't real.

Activity Plan 2:

However the way I chose to do the activity was not the best. It was just too messy. It was hard to clean a space on the table for the next child. I think I could have chosen better materials....Next time I need to either find smaller containers or measure it for the kids. I think the first choice would be better though because I want the kids to have as much control of the activity as they can.

Activity Plan 3:

I feel like I could have engaged more children if I had called on children some rather than posing questions to the entire group. There are negatives to that approach too, because I don't want to single out a child who doesn't know the answers or simply does not want to be involved....During the story, I redirected Greg's behavior of not sitting on his carpet square and disrupting other children. Rather than disciplining him, I tried to get him involved in the activity. I said, "Greg, what kind of noise does a walrus make?" This caught his attention and got him involved in the story again.

Activity Plan 4:

I had to be flexible when my activity kind of died for a couple of minutes....I just got cleaned up a little and then circulated around the room trying to interest children in making cookies.

Head Teaching Day:
I chose this activity because some of the children have shown an interest in playing construction vehicles in the sandbox outside. This may be helpful in interacting with the children. Also, sharing may be a problem. Be sure to encourage taking turns.

Kay's actions in the classroom illuminated her processes of decision making in taking risks and in assuming teaching responsibilities. Two interactions which occurred during a lunch period in late October, demonstrated two different behaviors regarding making decisions and assuming responsibility. In the first incident, Kay did not take a risk to make a decision in the assumption of responsibility in the teacher role, but instead she deferred the decision making to Andrea. Evelyn, a child with a lactose intolerance, was sitting at Kay's table. For some reason Evelyn's milk substitute was missing and not available. Kay basically had two choices. She could get Evelyn a glass of water or allow her to drink a small amount of milk. In this instance where a "mistake" might result in a child's illness, Kay was not willing to assume the responsibility of making a decision in the teacher role. Kay made a decision to defer the teacher responsibility to Andrea who poured Evelyn a tiny amount of milk.

During the same lunch period another incident with a lower risk factor for "mistakes" occurred. Kay's table had finished eating and were involved in scraping plates and cleanup when David, who was sitting at Peggy's table, became ill. Peggy and Andrea took David to the restroom and then were busy preparing a cot so he could lie down. Kay was aware of the situation and quickly made a decision to step into an expanded teacher role. She stopped her cleanup process, moved to sit in the teacher chair at Peggy's table, and facilitated the children with the lunch procedures, conversation, and cleanup. When the children completed their lunch, Kay directed them to choose quiet activities and to gather in the circle area to await the arrival of their parents. As soon as Peggy returned to the table, Kay relinquished the teacher chair and returned to the cleanup duties at her own table.

Although Kay was willing to risk the consequences of her decisions in planning and teaching activities, she was less willing to take risks in safety and management situations. Situations in which a child challenged her "authority" in the teacher position were somewhat problematic. In these situations Kay often made the decision to allow the child to control the power negotiations. She thus avoided direct confrontations, but often set herself up for situations in which she was unable

to maintain an optimal teaching and learning environment. Kay's interactions with Greg were often examples of times in which she choose not to make the decision to carry out the teacher's responsibility for maintaining classroom discipline. In her final interview she discussed the negotiational aspects of her interactions with Greg and asked questions about how to handle decisions as the teacher.

> Greg's another really hard one because he's just automatically defiant. He thinks that's fine and I find myself letting him go sometimes because I just don't know what in the world to do. I think about it, and think about it, "Why did I let him do it and get away with it?" or "How could I have gotten him to do it?"

Although the issues of "control" or ownership of the decision making process and of assuming responsibility often seemed to be problematic for Kay and the other preservice teachers, these same issues also seemed to be determining factors in helping them to "feel like the teacher." In describing when she most felt like the teacher Kay stated:

> The circle times. At circle times you feel more like a teacher because you're more in control of that circle.

She also indicated that the hardest part of her role as an

assistant teacher was "not being in charge as much as I'd like to be." In her comments during our final interview, Kay acknowledged that the responsibility of being in charge helped her to feel like the teacher.

> On my head teaching days it was so weird because I was doing all this counting kids thing. I was counting kids constantly, making sure they were OK and I had all of them....it was my class because I was in charge of them...so I was totally in control. I mean that I had this feeling of responsibility that if I messed up, a kid could get hurt or if I'm not always watching them somebody's going to get upset, so I totally felt like it was a responsibility thing. I felt I was in charge of all of these kids, where on other days I know I'm not really in charge. I mean I have a role like I'm supposed to take care of it, but ultimately Andrea is the one who would be held responsible and on that day I think I would be held responsible.

Her self-evaluation of her head teaching days also included comments about the role of responsibility and making decisions in the process of becoming a teacher.

> My lead teaching experience was good because it made me realize how much responsibility the head teacher has. I had to always be counting kids to make sure everyone was there. I couldn't stay in one spot for very long because I had to keep checking the whole room to make sure everything

> was OK....I had to be doing head teacher things instead of what I usually do. I needed somebody to take on my assistant duties. Finally, I had to delegate responsibility. That seemed kind of awkward since I was working with my peers and my head teacher....I liked being head teacher. I felt comfortable in that role. I think it will be easier to head teach now that I've had this experience. This time around I double checked with Andrea before I called cleanup time etc.. Now, when I teach my daily plans, I'll feel confident to make my own decisions.

Kay disclosed that she was comfortable in the role of head teacher. For Kay, assuming the head teacher position was in many ways the taking on of another role or a means of practicing to be the teacher. In her final interview session Kay elaborated on her experiences during the Curriculum Class.

> It's probably a lot of role playing...with the head teacher there I don't think I'm really the teacher....I'm trying to act like a teacher, but I don't think I'm the teacher.

The concept of not being the real teacher or really the teacher was one which Kay mentioned throughout her self-evaluations and during her interview sessions. Not only was this a concern for Kay, but the issue of becoming a real teacher was also a concern for the other preservice

teachers who participated in this study (cf. DellaVecchia, 1993). As Kay and the others continued to make comments about being "the" teacher and becoming "a" teacher or becoming "a real" teacher, I began to question their views on these distinctions. I began to ask questions about how and when do you become a real teacher.

Becoming Real

> "Wasn't I Real before?" asked the little Rabbit. "You were real to the Boy," the fairy said, because he loved you. Now you shall be Real to everyone." (Williams, p. 38-41)

Becoming "A" Teacher

Kay: "I don't think I'm really the teacher."

Susan: "I would feel more like I was becoming a teacher."

Linda: "...if I were the head teacher, the real head teacher..."

For Kay, Linda, Susan, and the other preservice teachers the process of becoming "a" teacher or "a real" teacher is a process of constructing a new identity. The process of becoming " a real teacher" takes time and involves a change in self perspective as individuals make the transformation from student to teacher (DellaVecchia, 1993). In their descriptions of teaching, the preservice

teachers participating in this study made a distinction between being "the" teacher and being "a" teacher. After specific interview questions in which I would ask about being a teacher, the preservice teachers tended to use my terminology. As the interviews progressed, or in situations in which a general discussion occurred, there were distinctions in the preservice teachers' discourse in using the terminology "a" teacher and "the" teacher. For the preservice teachers "the" teacher is the person in control of the classroom or who is responsible for a specific teaching activity. "A" teacher or "a real" teacher is the person they will become when they have control or ownership of their own classrooms. Kay's comments in a follow-up interview summarized how the terms were used by the preservice teachers.

> February 11, 1994:
> A teacher is what I will be. The teacher is what I was in the three year-old class.

Throughout her two practicum experiences Kay referred to a point in time when she would be "a real teacher." The following excerpts from interviews and self-evaluations illustrate the distinctions she made between being "the" teacher and being "a" teacher.

Interview, November 1992:

I don't really feel like I'm a teacher yet at all.

I don't know if by the time I'm a teacher they'll be like whether your kids do well or do bad in a class will be considered anymore [refers to standardized testing]. I hope not.

Interview, September 1993:

...there's somedays where I wish I could take control of the class...I feel like I'm the teacher and I wish I could just...say I'm your teacher today.

And even after that [student teaching] when I'm a real teacher.

I'm afraid that I'm just going to be unrealistic [about my first year] and be like OK, I'm not cut out to be a teacher.

Self-Evaluation, Activity Plan 1:

When I think back on doing my activity today, I'm realizing that I was so involved in whatever was happening with me that I wasn't paying attention to the rest of the room. That's bad because in the real world I could be the only teacher with twice as many kids. How do teachers do it?

Interview, December 1993:

> I like my kids and I feel like they are mine now. I think now I could teach preschool.
>
> Even when I'm a real teacher I may be going to ask; "Is this how other teachers if they were teaching this grade would do or is this what my principal would want me to do?"

At the end of her Curriculum practicum Kay did not view self as "a" teacher or as "the/a real" teacher. She had constructed an image of self as "the" teacher during specific activities or time frames within this specific classroom. The times at which she viewed self as "the" teacher were times when she had ownership of the teaching responsibilities and had to take the risks for making decisions in the teacher position. Kay commented that she would not feel like a real teacher "until I'm on my own." To feel like a real teacher Kay stated that she would have to have

> my own classroom with my own things that I'd made myself. My desk where I wanted it to be, where the lessons that I plan and stuff that I wanted on the walls and just my own classroom and that's where it'd be. Then I'd be a real teacher.

As we were finishing the final Phase II interview, Kay gathered up her long blonde hair into a pony tail and said,

"I'll fix my hair when I am a teacher because now I look like a college student, with my hair do". Since she did not perceive herself to look like a teacher, I asked her to elaborate about how she felt a teacher should look. She replied:

> More professional than I do. I've even told my Mom that when I get my teaching job I'll probably cut my hair off a lot more. Because, I mean when I'm actually working with kids it starts falling down in my face. Now the reason I have my hair like this is because I can just throw it in a pony tail. I don't have to fix it because I'm not in the lab school as much as I am in classes.

Even though Kay was beginning to construct an image of self as "the" teacher in the three year-old classroom, she did not yet view herself as a real teacher. At this point in the process of becoming a teacher she was carrying out teaching responsibilities and enacting the teacher role, yet she still viewed self as student. "A" teacher is something she is becoming, but "not yet is" (Wertsch, 1985, p. 67). If Linda, Susan, Kay, and the other preservice teachers in this community of practice primarily viewed self as student in their interactions in this classroom, how did the children in this school setting see themselves in the role of student? It is time to focus on the children, to turn the kaleidoscope dial, and to add new pieces and colors to

the pictures under construction. Amethyst, sapphire, mauve, emerald, crimson, vert, ruby, garnet, and many other colors...many other shapes...intertwining, intersecting, constructing images of self and other.

Notes

1. In an earlier reporting of the Phase I data this child was referred to as Mike. I changed the pseudonym because of the names of the actual children in Phase II.

2. In Phase I, Joyce was one of the head teachers. In Phase II, Joyce's graduate assistantship assignment was the teaching assistant for the Curriculum Class.

CHAPTER 4

THE CHILDREN

> There is a toy called the kaleidoscope.
> Before a child's charmed gaze it recombines
> A hundred jeweled bits of colored glass
> Into a myriad variant designs.
> (Gray, Kaleidoscope, 1978)

As children interact with significant others in their environments they begin to construct self-identity (Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1902). Within their various interactions children are provided with many different views of self which they use to construct their identity in terms of name, age, size, gender, (Harter, 1983) and "childness" (Cook-Gumperz, 1991). Cook-Gumperz (1991) defines childness as a child's own conception of self as a child. Within their social interactions young children are aware of their own sense of group membership and their own sense of self as a child. As children participate in new interactions and new group situations with teachers and peers they begin to construct concepts of self as a peer (Corsaro, 1988) and as a student. At the beginning of each school year students are involved in interactions which define the role of students within specific classroom communities (Ball, 1984; Benyon, 1985).

When some of the children participating in this study entered their three year-old classroom for the first time,

they entered a new community of practice, the community of school. In the context of this new community each child had to learn new procedures, new practices and new participant roles (Fernie, 1988). For these children to be successful in school they had to begin to interpret the school requirements and to construct and negotiate their participatory role within this new context.

As the children entered the Child Development Laboratory, they entered a community of practice which was based on the belief that children learn through play. Becoming a member of this classroom, or becoming a student, entailed learning to be a student/player (Fernie, 1988). As the children interacted with the head teachers, assistant teachers, the researcher, and the classroom environment, they were involved in a "reciprocal accommodation" (Kantor, 1988) and interaction. Individuals participated in activities and reciprocally negotiated their respective roles. In these interactional negotiations, the adults accommodated to the students' play agendas and the students in turn had to learn to accommodate to the culture of the school and to group living.

Phase I

School as Play and Students as "Kids" Who Play

In this setting three year-old children viewed school

as play and students as "kids" who play. For Ben, Jason, and Lori, the process of "reciprocal accommodation" (Kantor, 1988) began on the first day of school as they became a part of a classroom for the first time. Since Adam, Stacey, and Toby had been enrolled in the toddler program, their process of becoming a student/player had begun and would continue to evolve as they adapted to a new classroom setting.

Parents and teachers referred to the Child Development Laboratory classroom as school. During my first observation I heard comments and questions such as

"You'll like school."
"What do you think about this school?"
"We'll have fun at school."

The first day of school began as the children and their parents attended an orientation session. The visit was scheduled as an open house. Parents and children arrived, toured the room, found the child's cubby for his or her belongings, talked with the head teachers, and played with various center materials. The morning was structured in such a manner that the parents and children could visit, play as long as they wished, and leave at different times throughout the morning. The day passed quickly as the two head teachers and the parents tried to provide the children with a sense of safety and security in an unfamiliar

setting.

Some of the children stayed very close to mom or dad while others ventured to explore the room and play with the various materials and toys which Paula had placed in the centers. As I watched, I wondered how these three year-old children would adjust to becoming part of a classroom group. How would they begin to construct an identity as a student?

On the second morning of school, the children's day began with the morning health check. After the assistant director greeted and checked each child, the children and their parents entered the classroom. In the classroom, Paula was busy greeting each child and helping them put away any personal belongings. The preservice teachers were helping to involve the children in the center activities which included: crayons and markers in the art center; magneto pegs at the manipulative center; hollow blocks in the block area; painter and home/repair "props" in the dramatic play center and water play in the concept center.

Stacey and Adam, like some of the other children moved into a center and began to play. Toby, Lori, Mike and Ben like many of the other children had some difficulty making the separation from their parents. These children were comforted and encouraged to join in activities in the centers. For some children there were tears, and the parents lingered to help them become acclimated to the

classroom. One mother was helping her child work a puzzle and commented, "Paula has all these friends to help her out." By friends the mother was referring to the preservice teachers. I wondered just how the children, each with his/her own individual past experiences, would construct concepts about teacher and self in this classroom. Would the children see the preservice teachers as friends, playmates or teachers? How would they see themselves in this new community called school?

Later in the morning, I observed an interaction which occurred on the playground between Stacey and a preservice teacher. This interaction provided some information about how Stacey perceived school. A group of children had gathered in a play structure which resembled a big boat. Stacey was turning a steering wheel and the preservice teacher engaged her in conversation.

A Preservice teacher:	Where are we going?
Stacey:	To school.
A Preservice teacher:	What will we do there?
Stacey:	Play.

A few days later I was in the sandbox with Adam. We were playing side by side filling containers with sand and dumping them out. Adam had his shoes off and was wiggling his toes in the sand. In the distance we heard a siren and

Adam initiated an interaction in which we discussed the possibility of seeing a police car. As the conversation continued, we talked about school.

Dawn:	Did you come to school without shoes?
Adam:	(Laughing) You can't come to school without shoes.
Dawn:	Why?
Adam:	The teacher wouldn't let you. She would tell you to get out.
Dawn:	If I wear my shoes, can I come to school?
Adam:	Yes.
Dawn:	What do you do at school?
Adam:	Play.

As I interacted with the children in the role of playmate, I continued to ask the question, "What do you do at school?". Sometimes a child's response would be a quizzical look and silence as the child continued to play. Early in the semester Mike and Ben responded in this manner to my questions, whereas, Stacey, Adam, Toby and Lori answered with responses such as, "we sing," "take a nap," "go outside," "play" or "we play." Later in the semester Ben also responded to my inquiry, telling me that he played at school. Jason, who had a more difficult time accommodating to a group environment in a classroom, continued to remove himself from the play situation without responding to my question.

In my interactions with the children, teachers and preservice teachers, I also attempted to discover how these children viewed teachers and self. One morning at snack time, I noticed that Toby was sitting in the teacher chair. At this point in the semester the children usually did not allow each other to sit in this space. Since I had not heard any comments from Toby or the other children, I was curious to discover why he sat in the teacher chair. As we were putting on our coats to go outside, I engaged Toby in a conversation.

Dawn:	You sat in the teacher chair. Are you the teacher?
Toby:	No, I'm not.
Dawn:	Why could you sit there?
Toby:	Teacher said it was OK.
Dawn:	If a teacher says its OK, you can sit in the teacher chair?
Toby:	Yes.
Dawn:	If you're not the teacher, what are you?
Toby:	I'm a kid.

As I followed Toby to the playground I wanted to discover if he knew who the teachers were and what they did in the classroom. I also wanted to discover if he perceived me as a teacher. As we played together I continued to question him.

Dawn: Am I the teacher?

Toby: No.

Dawn: Why?

Toby: You don't teach things.

Dawn: Are they [pointing to Susan and other preservice teachers] your teachers?

Toby: Yes.

Dawn: Why?

Toby: They teach things.

Dawn: What do they teach?

Toby: They teach me songs. I'll show you.

The ensuing interaction involved Toby's teaching me a "hit" song. In the context of this interaction, I was reminded that as a researcher, I must be careful not to put adult meanings on the child's perception of the world. As an adult, I had assumed that a hit song was a popular song from the radio, but for Toby a hit song was one in which you clap your hands together.

In this interaction with Toby four elements important in this study are exemplified. First of all, Toby sees himself as a "kid." Secondly, he has a concept of who the teachers are and what they do in his classroom. Thirdly, the episode is an example of a bidirectional model of learning. Finally, Toby reminds me [the researcher] that his perspective is likely to be qualitatively different from an adult's perception and that my assumption of his meaning

without probing may lead to incorrect assumptions.

As Toby and the other children interacted with the adults in the world of the classroom, they began to construct meanings about school and about self. They were able to differentiate between their role as a student (i.e. in this context, a "kid" who plays) and between the role of the teachers. Throughout the semester other interactions occurred in which children would indicate, "I'm a boy," or "I'm a girl," "I'm a _____" (whatever role they were enacting, such as doctor), or "I'm a kid." One morning Ben, Adam, Toby, and I were in the drama center pretending to be firefighters. After comments about "I'm a firefighter and I put out fires," Adam turned to me and asked, "What do you do in real life?" My response was that I went to school and I turned the question around and asked, "What do you do in real life?" He replied, "I play" and Toby chimed in with, "In real life, I'm a kid."

In these interactions and other interactions with the head teachers, assistant teachers and with me, the children in Phase I indicated that school was a place to play and that they perceived themselves to be kids who play. The children were able to experiment with different roles and to construct their view of self in their interactions through play.

Interactions Through Play

Interactions through play enabled the children to experiment with the role of self and other. "Play...is associated with an understanding of self" (Rogers & Sawyers, 1988, p.69). Through play children are provided with comfortable, self-paced opportunities to examine themselves and their relationships to others in their environment (Rogers & Sawyers, 1988). In the context of the Lab School, the head teachers, preservice teachers, the children and I were involved in interactions through play. In these interactions, the children were constantly taking on the role of the "other" as they became doctor, mom, dad, teacher, firefighter, grocery shopper, super hero, and various other characters.

For example, at the beginning of the semester, Ben was basically involved in parallel play. Often he would be playing with the same types of toys as the children near him, but he was not playing with the other children. As the semester progressed Ben began to join in some activities with other children. One of his favorite pretend roles was the role of firefighter. In pretend, Ben became a firefighter, rode in a fire truck with other firemen, used a hose to extinguish fires, and rescued people. As he pretended, Ben took on the role of the generalized other (Mead, 1934). In his interactions through play, Ben began

to construct knowledge about the world and about self.

In one play interaction Paula and Ben, as firefighters, were playing in the dramatic play center. Two other children and I were nearby in the kitchen area pretending to have a birthday party. The two groups were not playing together, yet at times the play sequences would overlap and the firefighters would put out a fire at the birthday party. As we finished singing "Happy Birthday", Paula and Ben began to talk about the university logo on his shirt.

Paula:	What is my job at (named the university)?
Ben:	[No reply.]
Paula:	Am I a teacher?
Ben:	No.
Paula:	I'm not? What am I then if I'm not a teacher?
Ben:	[Smiling] You're a firefighter.
Lori:	A teacher. [Laughs] A kid.
Paula:	I'm a firefighter and a kid?
Lori:	A teacher.
Paula:	I'm a kid and a teacher? How can I be both?
Ben:	I don't know.
Paula:	How can that be?
Lori:	[Laughing] You're a kid.
Joan:	You can be two things.
Lori:	[Laughingly to me] You're a kid.
Me:	I'm a kid?
Ben:	[Poking at me] You're a firefighter.

In this interaction these children were entering into a play sequence and experimenting with the roles of others. Their comments and humor illustrated their awareness of the roles in play. As they interacted in play, the children began to negotiate and to construct their roles as students, the role of the teachers, and my role as playmate or friend. My role was more ambiguous and more difficult for the children to define. In interviews with the head teachers and the assistant teachers references were made to the children's difficulties in classifying my role in the classroom. One assistant teacher commented:

> I think they [the children] are really confused by it [my role]. You were an adult and you weren't a kid...they didn't know where to place you....It felt like they were just trying to grasp what you were....just constant cues, "Well, so you're not this, right?"

<u>"You're A Children"</u>. Since the adults in the classroom setting were teachers, and I was an adult, the children at first tried to negotiate my presence in the class in the role of teacher. But, I did not do the things the other teachers did. I did not sit in the teacher chair, serve the food, teach songs, or intervene in behavior management. I was not a teacher, therefore what was my role? As I interacted in their play, I was identified as "a grownup,"

"a mom," "a children," and finally "a kid." My identification as "a kid" represented the children's acceptance of my presence in the classroom as a playmate and friend.

Stacey and Adam were the first ones to identify me as "a children." One morning, as I was observing via the observation booth, the assistant director had snack with the children. During snack time she sat in the teacher chair and Adam commented that she could not sit there. The assistant director replied that she was just visiting and asked if she could sit in the teacher chair for her visit. Adam and Stacey agreed to her request. After snack the children went out to play and I stood near the gate waiting for Adam and Stacey to enter the playground. As I waited, I watched a large tree being cut down across the street. When Adam entered the play area he also stopped to watch. A few minutes later Stacey joined us. While we watched the tree being cut down, I began to question the two of them about the incident during snack time.

Dawn:	Why was it OK for Mrs. _____ to sit in the teacher chair?
Adam:	She was visiting.
Dawn:	If I visit can I sit in the teacher chair?

Adam/Stacey:	[Giggles, as if that was a silly question.]
Adam:	No.
Stacey:	No, you can't sit in the teacher chair.
Dawn:	Why can Mrs. _____ sit in the teacher chair and I can't?
Stacey:	You're not a teacher. You're a children.

Over time "a children" became "a kid" and I was later informed that I could sit in the teacher chair if I pretended to be a teacher. In many of the interactions in which I was called "a children" or "a kid" there existed an element of humor. Smiles, giggles, silly word games, and laughter often accompanied these play interactions. In some interactions in which I was identified as "a kid," such as a birthday party with Toby and Lori, the children assumed the role of an adult. Toby and Lori decided that I would be the oldest because I was the biggest. As Lori baked the cake, Toby gave out the silverware. He proceeded to give Lori and me "kid's knives" and he placed a larger plastic knife on top of the refrigerator. The larger knife was for him and it was a "grownup knife." While Toby gave out the knives, Lori continued to bake the cake. As she took it out of the oven she admonished me not to touch the hot pan. Even though Toby had just indicated I was the biggest, in the play interaction, I had become "a kid" who could not reach a

knife placed on top of the refrigerator and who had to be reminded not to touch hot surfaces. In their play, Toby and Lori had become the adults.

Within the context of their symbolic play [1], the children were playing at changing the rules. In the process of these role reversals, the children were changing the social reality and experimenting with the role of self and other. By reciprocally accommodating my play the children were able to construct knowledge of my role and identity in the classroom. I was not a teacher, but an adult who played at being a child just as they were kids who played at being adults, firefighters, doctors, etc. In these play interactions the children also used observable characteristics to help construct concepts of other people in the school community. As the children attempted to identify the teachers in their classroom they used specific observable physical indicators to define themselves and others. Young children tend to use category labels (e.g., child, adult, boy, girl, age) to define themselves and others (Wylie, 1979). In an attempt to define the different roles of the individuals in the classroom, the children participating in this study applied categorical labels to themselves and to others.

Observable Characteristics, Self, and Other

Throughout the research data there are many different

documentations of references to self in terms of "I am a boy/girl," "I am a big/little boy/girl," "I am three," "I am [name]" and "I am a kid." The children also used observable characteristics to help construct concepts of other people in the school community. As the children attempted to identify the teachers in their classroom they used specific observable physical indicators. In Phase I, sitting in the teacher chair, serving the food, leading songs, and pushing the swings were physical indicators used to determine which adults were teachers. The teacher chair was the main physical indicator of the teacher role as evidenced in the following lunch time interaction with Adam.

> The children were sitting down at the tables for lunch. I started to sit in a teacher chair. Adam grinned at me and shook his head to indicate that I could not sit in that position.
>
> Dawn: I can't sit there in that chair?
> Adam: No, a teacher can sit there.
> Dawn: And I'm not the teacher?
> Adam: No, you are not.
> Dawn: Can you sit there?
> Adam: No, no, no.
> Dawn: Can Margaret [a child] sit there?
> Adam: No!
> Dawn: Why can't Margaret sit there?
> Adam: Because that is the teacher chair.
> Dawn: Can Tina [an assistant teacher] sit there?
> Adam: Yes.

The only way I was allowed to sit in the teacher chair was if I would pretend to be the teacher. George stated, "You can sit there because you could pretend to be a teacher." The observable characteristic of sitting in the teacher chair was a concrete attribute which these children used to define "other" as teacher.

Phase II

For the children participating in Phase II, the school year began in a similar manner as it did for the children in Phase I. The children and their parents attended the first day's visitation and orientation in an open house setting. Andrea and James, the head teachers, greeted the children as they arrived. Since he was teaching both the three and the four year-old classes James circulated back and forth between the two classrooms as he interacted with both groups of children. Andrea was positioned near the center of the classroom and was encouraging the children to explore the various activities. The parents were asking questions about the morning check-ins and the daily procedures as they helped their children locate cubbies and trace handprints for a bulletin board. One mom asked "will the helpers be here today?" Andrea replied that James and she were the only teachers present today and explained that the assistant

teachers would begin their duties on the following day.

Some children were readily exploring the classroom. Matthew, Michael, and David were immediately drawn to the trucks and blocks. Kathryn gravitated to the art center and Andy and his mom explored each area together. Other children were more hesitant to enter the classroom. Jonathan and Robert both had attended the two year-old toddler program and wanted to go back into a familiar setting. Jonathan crawled under the observation booth and did not enter the three year-old class until his previous teacher brought him his favorite toy to hold. Upon entering the hallway between the classes, Robert also headed toward the two year-old class. When his mother indicated that he was going in a new classroom, he began to cry and stated: "I don't want to play. I want to go home." His older brothers eventually coaxed him into his new classroom and helped him to find his cubby. Later Robert's tears subsided and he was eager to go to the playground. Throughout the morning the teachers, parents, and staff were involved in interactions with the children as they attempted to help each child become familiar with the classroom and to feel safe and secure.

School as Play and Students as Kids Who Play

Just as the children in Phase I viewed themselves in

terms of name, age, gender, size and childness, the children in Phase II did likewise. Often in answering my questions "Who are you?" or "What are you?" the children would answer by stating their names. Other answers would include, "I'm a boy," I'm a girl," "I'm three," I'm a big girl/boy." Of the sixteen children in Phase II, ten specifically indicated "I'm a kid," and one stated, "I am a children." However, the children did not have a concept of themselves as a student. Students were either unknown entities or were the college age individuals who were going up and down the stairs to classes in the building where the Lab School was located. I received a variety of answers to the question "What is a student?"

Judy:	I don't know.
Jonathan:	Students are pirates. Students don't go to school. Kids go to school.
Lisa:	Students go up and down the stairs. They do student things [she did not verbalize what student things were].
Dawn:	Are you a student?
Lisa:	[Laughing] No, I'm a kid.

Throughout the two semesters during which I conducted

the research, only one child referred to herself and others as students. Perhaps, the reasons the children do not refer to themselves as students are two-fold. First the term student may represent a concept which is too abstract for a young child to construct an understanding of its meaning. Secondly, in this setting the adults did not typically refer to the children as students. The adults tended to use the terms children or kids when referring to the children in the Lab School. Mead (1934) contends that we see ourselves as others see us. Perhaps, since the adults did not use the term student to refer to the children, the children did not think of themselves in this manner.

As the three and four year-olds were playing together on the playground during the second week of Phase II, Lori, a member of the four year-old class, asked me to join in a game of dinosaurs. Lori wanted me to hide in a cave [box] away from the dinosaurs who were chasing all the people. As I entered the play I attempted to discover how the roles were being allocated.

Dawn: Who am I?
Lori: You can be the sister.
Dawn: I know who the mom is. Who are the rest of the kids?
Lori: We're students.
Dawn: What do students do?
Lori: You'll find out.

In this particular play episode, students played by running from dinosaurs and hiding in a cave. While we were hiding, I attempted to elicit more information on Lori's conception of students. She indicated that teachers and students are different, but she did not elaborate on the differences. During Phase I of the study, Lori referred to herself and the other children as "kids" rather than as students. The three year-olds in Phase II also defined their childness in terms of being "kids" and they viewed school as a place for kids to play. The following comments from the children were collected during informal interviews during different play sequences. These interactions are not presented as a sequence of events, but are provided to illustrate the children's view of school as a place to play.

Fieldnotes, September 21, 93:

Dawn: What do you do at school?
Robert: Play with a lot of fun toys.

Fieldnotes, October 15, 1993:

Dawn: What do you do at school?
Marsha: I just play.

Dawn: What does Andrea do for you at school?
Michaela: She plays with me.
Dawn: What does Kay do at school?
Michaela: She plays with me.

Dawn: Are you an adult?
Matthew: Nope.
David: We are kids.
Dawn: You are kids?
David: Yep.
Dawn: What do kids do?
David: They just pretend stuff.
Dawn: What do kids do at school?
David: They play and pretend.

Fieldnotes, October 21, 1993:

Dawn: What do you do at school?
Judy: I play.

Dawn: What do you do at this school?
Lisa: Play.

Fieldnotes, October 28, 1993:

Dawn: What do you learn at Lab School?
Allison: Draw. Play. Read.

Fieldnotes, November 4, 1993:

Dawn: Are you a teacher?
Andy: No.
Dawn: What are you?
Andy: Andy.
Dawn: What does Andy do?
Andy: I play, all by myself.
Dawn: Where do you play.
Andy: At school.

Thus, as they became members of this classroom the children

in Phase II also, to use Fernie's (1988) terminology, were becoming "student/players." As the children engaged in interactions with the head teachers, the assistant teachers and with me they were able to experiment with different roles, to learn about school rules, to define the role of the teacher, and to construct their view of self through play.

Interactions Through Play

Although the Phase II school year began in a similar manner as Phase I, I soon realized that there were both similarities and differences between the two groups of children. For the children in Phase I, the play groupings of friendships were more fluid and changeable from day to day than they were for the children in Phase II. While the children in Phase I did tend to form groups of children who played together, these groupings were not composed as early in the school year nor were the groupings as fixed as the groupings during Phase II. Within the first two weeks of school the children in Phase II seemed to have paired into twosomes which tended to be consistent throughout the semester. Matthew and Marty; Kathryn and Wendy; Aaron and Greg; Evelyn and Marsha; and Allison and Lisa comprised the main groupings. David sometimes paired with Jonathan and he was often included in the grouping with Marty and Matthew.

Occasionally Robert and Michaela paired together or Robert would join the grouping with Aaron and Greg. Michaela tended to be involved in primarily solitary play or parallel play situations. Judy, Jonathan, and Andy were involved in parallel play or moved in and out of the different groupings.

Jonathan and Andy both tended to need a transition each morning between home and school. Andy would enter the classroom touch base with Andrea and then make his rounds of each center to discover what was happening and who was playing before he made a decision about which area he wanted to join. Jonathan would enter the classroom and head for the area under the loft. From this position he would watch each area for awhile before venturing out to join in the play.

Matthew, Marty, David, Aaron, and Greg usually made a beeline for the trucks or blocks as they began their morning's play activities. Matthew and Marty would play with trucks for awhile and then use the trucks to traverse the room as they stopped at each center to decide if they wanted to participate in the different play activities. If they decided to join the activity they would park their trucks, play for awhile, then when finished hop back on a truck to continue their journey around the room. Although the children moved in and out of play situations depending

on their interests, these play group dyads could be usually be observed together at sometime during the school day.

These friendship groupings created many instances to observe peer interactions, but the groupings also made it difficult to negotiate entry into an ongoing play frame between the dyads. I discovered that it was more difficult to enter into the children's play during Phase II of the research. My difficulties in entering the play frames during the Phase II research could possibly be attributed to a number of factors. First, in Phase II, I entered the setting differently and I spent less time there per week than in Phase I. Secondly, the friendship groupings not only excluded me, they also at times excluded other children. Although Greg, Aaron, Kathryn, and Wendy would interact with me they would never really allow me to become a playmate. The following interactions illustrate how these four children reacted to my presence in their play. In one interaction, Kathryn and Wendy were playing with blocks and I was playing parallel to their grouping. Their discussion was centered on being friends and on going to each others homes to play. As they talked about friends, I attempted to enter the conversation.

Dawn:	What do friends do?
Kathryn and Wendy:	Play

Dawn:	Are you friends?
Kathryn and Wendy:	Yes.
Dawn:	Can I be your friend?
Kathryn and Wendy:	No.
Dawn:	Why?
Wendy:	You just can't.
Kathryn:	No.
Dawn:	Who can be friends?
Kathryn:	Not you.

In another interaction on the playground Greg and Aaron also would not allow me to become a playmate. The two boys were playing in a box shape as they hid from the "big kids" (four year-olds). In the conversation Greg indicated that he and Aaron were three and that they played at school. When I asked what the big kids did at school Greg informed me that "they fight with little boys."

Dawn:	Why do they do that?
Greg:	I don't know. They are mean.
Dawn:	So you hide in this box to keep them from fighting with you?
Greg:	Yes.
Aaron:	Yes.
Greg:	I don't want you near our box. Go play somewhere else.

Other pairs were more willing to seek me out as a playmate. My observations, along with, comments from the head teachers and assistant teachers indicated that the

children only began to seek me out as a playmate after they had worked through a process of categorization and negotiation of my place in their classroom. Barbara, an assistant teacher, stated, "they didn't know where to place you and they kind of made a new category for you."

The children had been able to form a category for themselves as "kids who play" and the other adults as teachers in the classroom, but my role was ambiguous. I was an adult, but not a teacher. I played with them, but I was not a child. The Phase II children at times tried to classify me as "a teacher," "a mom," "a kid," "a big little girl," and "a friend." Lisa and Allison accepted me as a friend after I participated in show and share and allowed them to take turns playing with my teddy bear. During the quiet time after lunch the three of us took turns holding my bear and drawing pictures together. When the parents arrived Lisa introduced me to her mother stating "This is Dawn. She's my friend." After this incident Lisa and Allison actively sought me out to join in their play activities and my identity in the classroom was that of a friend or playmate.

In the concreteness of their thinking, most three year-olds classify people in categories as either/or and it is difficult for them to conceptualize the concept of multiple roles (Selman, 1980). Although some of the

children were at a developmental stage in which they were beginning to understand the concept of multiple roles, others were not yet able to understand the concept. For the children who were in the stage of classification as either/or, a person could be a teacher or a friend, but not both at the same time. Kathryn and Wendy indicated that Andrea was their teacher, but not their friend.

Dawn: Is Andrea your friend.
Kathryn: No.
Dawn: What is Andrea?
Kathryn: My teacher.
Dawn: Can teachers be friends?
Kathryn: No.
Wendy: No.

Within the play interactions the children experimented with various roles and learned more about self. As Greg, Aaron, David, and Jonathan played in the dramatic play center one morning they took turns dressing up as different animals. Aaron became a dragon, Greg was a tiger, Jonathan was a cheetah, and David and I were trying to get away from the wild animals. As the dragon growled at us, David commented to me:

> They are pretend people. I am a real person. The difference between real and pretend is you

pretend to be something else than what you are.

As I participated in play interactions with the children in both Phase I and Phase II, I was told that I could pretend to be a teacher. During the Phase I research, George and I were on the playground and he stated that "You are a kid, but you can pretend to be a teacher." In November of the Phase II research, Jonathan told me I was "a kid, but I could pretend to be a teacher." Jonathan also stated that I could be "a teacher upside down." Jonathan could not articulate his meaning of this phrase, but during the interaction it seemed to refer to my adult status in the context of pretending to be a kid. During both Phases of the research investigation, the children, in the context of their play interactions, negotiated and constructed the roles of teachers, kids, playmates and friends within their classroom.

Although the majority of the children in Phase II were constructing identities in terms of either/or, a few of the children were beginning to understand the concept of multiple roles. As these children interacted in their play frames they were constructing the concept of being both a kid and a friend.

Dawn: Well if you [David], Matthew, and

Jonathan are kids, are you friends?

David: Yeah.

Dawn: Can you be a kid and a friend?

David: Yeah.

Dawn: How can you be both?

Matthew: By making construction work.

David: By being nice.

As the children in Phase II interacted in play situations with peers, teachers, and the researcher, they also constructed knowledge of other people. Each child brought to the classroom his/her own conceptions of the world and the roles of others in their environment. Their interactions in play allowed them to experiment with these roles and to expand their own understandings of the world.

In many of their interactions the children focused on specific observable characteristics to construct their understanding of the world. Research information on the changes in children's self-descriptions indicates a general pattern which progresses from a focus on concrete observable aspects to a description of traits and finally to the use of abstractions such as thoughts and feelings (Harter, 1983).

Observable Characteristics, Self, and Other

In Phase II, the children used the same indicators (teacher chair, serving food, pushing swings, and leading songs) as the children in Phase I, but added the teacher

spot and name tags. The teacher's spot became a physical indicator based on Andrea's use of positioning herself in the center of the classroom, bulletin board, or playground. I am not really certain as to how or when the children began to use name tags as one of the observable characteristics in determining who was a teacher. Yet, for the Phase II children, name tags were the main physical indicator of the teacher position. My first fieldnote references to the use of name tags involved Andy's bipolar use of either/or thinking. Andy determined that the teachers wore name tags. I was not a teacher because I did not wear a name tag. Yet, the head teachers also did not wear name tags and were recognized as the teacher. However, the head teachers sat in the teacher spot or the teacher chair.

These observable physical attributes [sitting in the teacher chair or in the teacher spot] were allocated to both the head teachers and the assistant teachers. At circle time the children sat in front of a bulletin board area. The teacher spot was the position in the circle located in the middle of this board. This is the spot in which Andrea sat for all circle activities as the head teacher. When the assistant teachers assumed head teaching responsibilities they moved into this teacher spot in the circle. On the day that Kay was directing a circle activity an easel was placed in the teacher spot to hold the large picture book which she

was planning to read. As the children entered the classroom, David went to the circle and attempted to move the easel. Andrea asked him to please leave the easel in place and he replied "but it is in the teacher spot." The children only wanted the teacher to be positioned in the teacher spot.

In Phase II, the teacher spot was also a name for the teacher chair. At one snack time during the second week of school, Marsha started to sit in the teacher chair. Andrea commented:

> Marsha, that is the teacher's spot. Can you sit across from Evelyn so I can see your smiling face?

Marsha moved to one of the smaller chairs.

A week later Marsha's mom came to eat lunch at school. She sat in a chair at the end of the table. The chair beside Marsha's mother was a teacher chair. When Marsha approached the table she stated, "I don't want to sit in that teacher chair" and moved the chairs so that she had a smaller one. Robert was sitting on the other side of the table from Marsha and her mother. As he looked quizzically at Marsha's mom he said, "You don't have a name tag on." She replied, "I'm a mom. I don't need one."

In my informal interviews with the children, I asked

them if I was a teacher. Sometimes they answered yes and provided the reasons such as "you are big" or "you wear lipstick." The majority of the time they answered that I was not a teacher because I did not have a name tag. The following interaction exemplifies the conversations which occurred between the children and me.

Dawn:	Am I a teacher?
Jonathan:	No, you don't have a name tag.
Dawn:	I don't have a name tag on, so I'm not a teacher. Do the teachers have name tags?
Jonathan:	Uh huh.
Matthew:	If you want to be a teacher, you need a name tag.
Dawn:	I need a name tag to be a teacher? OK, I don't have one so I'm not a teacher.
Matthew:	You can put a name tag on and then you will turn into a teacher.
Dawn:	If you put a name tag on will you be a teacher?
Marty:	No, because I don't want to be a teacher.

In their play the children used visual props to help them pretend. A dragon costume helped you to become a dragon. A stethoscope helped you pretend to be a doctor. In this interaction Matthew and Marty indicated that a name tag was a prop to help me pretend to be a teacher. Marty could wear

a name tag, but he would not be a teacher because he did not want to pretend to be a teacher.

On the day that Smokey the Bear visited the classroom all the children were given Smokey Bear pins and name tags to wear. I was the only adult to get both a pin and a name tag. Since all the individuals in the classroom were wearing name tags, I wondered how this would affect the children's perceptions of self and other. As I talked with David, Allison and other children I discovered that a name tag was a visual prop, but that the children also attributed other observable teaching characteristics to the teachers.

Dawn:	Today lots of people have name tags on. Did that make you a teacher, having a name tag on?
David:	[Grinning] Noooo....a kid!
Dawn:	You told me the other day that only teachers wore name tags.
David:	I do.
Dawn:	Now you have a name tag, but you are still a kid. Well, I've got a name tag today. Am I a teacher?
David:	No.
Dawn:	I'm not. What do teachers do that I don't do?
Allison:	They teach people.

During the circle time, Robert was concerned that

Barbara, one of the assistant teachers did not have a Smokey the Bear pin. She reassured him it was OK because there were not enough pins for the kids and the teachers.

Robert:	But Dawn has one.
Barbara:	Is Dawn a teacher?
Robert:	No.
Dawn:	How do you know that I am not a teacher?
Robert:	Teachers sing and you don't sing. You don't sit in front of the board with the pictures.

During an informal interview I had the following conversation with Robert.

Dawn:	Are there any teachers in this picture?
Robert:	Yeah. [points to assistant teachers]
Dawn:	How do you know?
Robert:	The teachers are doing to the kids (indicating helping) what Andrea does.
Dawn:	Andrea is a teacher?
Robert:	You're not.
Dawn:	I'm not. How do you know?
Robert:	Because you don't have a name tag on.
Dawn:	What do teachers do? If I wanted to be a teacher what would I have to do?
Robert:	Teach me.
Dawn:	Teach you what? What do teachers teach?
Robert:	Songs, stories.
Dawn:	Anything else?
Robert:	Nope.

Dawn: Are you a teacher?
Robert: No.
Dawn: What are you?
Robert: A kid. A big kid.

Summary

The children in both Phase I and Phase II identified self as a "kid." Throughout the two semesters of research only one child referred to self and others as "students." For these three year-old children school was a place to play. Within their play frames the children were involved in processes of coparticipation which enabled them to reciprocally negotiate the roles of students (i.e., "kids" who play) and teachers. As they lived together in their classroom and participated in processes of identity construction, the "kids" who play and the teachers turned the kaleidoscope dial to combine "jeweled bits of colored glass into myriad variant designs" (Gray, 1978).

Notes

1. The majority of the examples of play used in this paper are of children's symbolic/dramatic play. In using these examples, I am not implying that learning is not taking place in other types of play, such as art play, manipulative play, block play, etc. The focus in this study was on interactions between the participants and symbolic/dramatic play elicts

more social interaction than other nonsocial constructive play activities.

CHAPTER 5

COPARTICIPATION: THE PROCESS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

> The final actuality is accomplished in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take.
> (Dewey, 1927,1984, p. 371)

The kaleidoscope turns. The colors and shapes intermingle and intertwine. In the classroom, separate individuals also intermingle and intertwine as they come together in face-to-face interactions with one another. In these interactions each member of the community is provided with an opportunity to view both self and other, to construct and to reconstruct aspects of self-identity. Over the past two years, I have engaged in many face-to-face interactions with the members of the Laboratory School's three year-old classroom. I have observed, participated in, recorded, and analyzed the events which occurred as we lived together in the classroom. Although the interactions impacted each of us differently, one interaction was especially significant for me, as I attempted to search for and to construct meaning about identities in this three year-old classroom.

It was one of those days in early fall 1993, bright with the color of the changing leaves against a cloudless

blue sky. There was a nip in the air that required one to wear a light jacket. The four year-olds were already outside and the children in the three year-old class were streaming onto the playground finding an area of interest and establishing a play frame. Some children headed for the swings, some preferred the trikes, others were running and chasing each other, and still others made a beeline for the sandbox. As I made a global, visual scan of the playground, I saw that Michaela, Judy, and Marsha were already busy shoveling sand into different sized containers to make birthday cakes. Kay was sitting on the wooden border of the sandbox helping Michaela fill a bucket with sand. Andrea, the head teacher was standing nearby between the sandbox and the circle of rubber tires.

I made my way over to the sandbox and found a place to play near Judy. I too, began to fill a plate with sand to make my own birthday cake. At this point the girls and I started a conversation about how many candles we would need. Judy decided that we each needed three candles on our chocolate cakes. In the context of my conversation with the girls, I asked about the three year-old class, the teachers, and the children. My questions were an attempt to discover how the children viewed "self" and "other" in the context of their community of practice.

Dawn: What about Judy? What is Judy?
Judy: Me a girl.
Dawn: What about me, what am I?
Judy: You're a teacher.
Michaela: Nope.
Dawn: What do I do that makes me a teacher, Judy?
Judy: Because you all are teachers.
Dawn: What do you mean that we all are teachers?
Judy: I mean all of us are teachers.
Dawn: All of us are teachers? Everybody?
Judy: Yeah.

As the conversation continued Judy indicated that she was only pretending that we were all teachers, yet her remarks triggered a train of thought that shifted the lens through which my observations of this classroom were being filtered. Ely, et al. (1991) asserts that it is difficult to make the distinction between the words 'student' and 'teacher'. She states that the artificial separation of the two terms is antithetical to her perception of what is occurring in the classroom and that "the distinction between student and teacher blurs in the doing" (p.38). Just as Ely found it difficult to separate the words teacher and student, I too am finding it difficult to separate the two terms. In this three year-old classroom both adults and children were constructing aspects of self-identity. We were all students...the adults were all enrolled as students

in university classes and the children were students in the Child Development Laboratory. The adults also were teachers. Even though my role in this classroom was that of researcher, my identity as a teacher had been constructed during my years as an elementary school teacher. Yet, the children in the Lab School classroom were also teachers. There were occasions in which the children stated they would either teach another child or me something (i.e., Toby teaching me a hit song. Comments such as "I'll teach Jason how to do this."). Within the structured teaching activities and the naturally occurring interactions of the classroom there were many times that the children became the experts and the adults were the novices.

Lave and Wenger (1991) postulate that communities of practice consists of both experts and novices. Within a community of practice, persons are active agents in the world and knowing is an "activity by specific people in specific circumstances" (p. 52). From Lave and Wenger's viewpoint of learning, a person is both defined by and defines the system of relationships between individuals. Thus, learning is a process of becoming a different person and involves the construction of identities. For Mead (1934), selves are constructed when individuals participate in processes of communication and interaction. Greene (1984) extends Mead's perspective stating that mind includes

experiences, lived situations, and the findings of all types of meanings. These meanings become a part of one's construction of self and "they compose the background against which new encounters and experiences are projected" (p. 287).

The members of the community of practice in this three year-old classroom were involved in experiences and a lived situation. As we interacted with each other we were finding and creating meanings about self and other. A major developmental task for young children is the differentiation of self from other (Harter, 1983). Mead (1934) indicates that we view ourselves as others see us. Bannister and Agnew (1977) indicate that a young child's interpretations of what he/she is like, rely on the child's perceived judgements of external sources, especially adult authority.

During play activities the children were given many opportunities to adopt the attitude of the other. As they played with the children, planned and implemented classroom activities, the assistant teachers were also involved in interactions in which they were differentiating between self and other. The assistant teachers were taking on the role of the generalized other, the teacher, and were beginning to define themselves in terms of the reactions of the children to the teachers in this classroom. The assistants and the children were coparticipating in processes of seeing

themselves as generalized others (Mead, 1934).

Rogoff (1994) articulates that a community of learners consists of a structure which does not rely on single individuals, but relies upon group participation. Within a community of learners knowledge is not a result of either transmission or acquisition, but is a process of cooperation and coparticipation between individuals. The most widely accepted interpretation of Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development (ZPD) states that children learn in a scaffolding process of moving from what one can accomplish alone to what one can achieve with the help of a more knowledgeable adult or peer. Garrison (1993), however, contends that the scaffolding interpretation of the ZPD creates a passive unidirectional model for the transmission of information. This interpretation presents a model which "tends to be monological, and therefore <u>illogical</u> as a model of the social construction of knowledge" (Garrison, 1993, p. 22).

Engeström (1987) redefined the ZPD as the "distance between the everyday actions of individuals and the historically new form of the societal activity that can be collectively generated as a solution to the double bind potentially embedded in...everyday actions" (p. 174). Engeström defines the double bind as a social, societal, and essential dilemma. Individuals are not able to resolve

double binds in separate action alone, but the solution to the double bind must be constructed in joint co-operative actions which encourage the emergence of new forms of activity (Engeström, 1987).

Engeström's "societal" perspective provides an interpretation of the ZPD as a zone of socially constructed meaning which produces a bidirectional coparticipatory process of learning. This bidirectional interpretation allows us to view classrooms as communities in which students learn from teachers and teachers also learn from students. In this process, the roles of expert and novice can be fluid and reversible depending on the context of the interaction and the solution to the double bind of everyday actions.

Double bind situations occur when individuals receive two differing messages and are unable to comment on these messages (Engeström, 1987). In Engeström's interpretation the double bind is seen as an essential dilemma which is both social and societal. Garrison (1993) posits that the double bind "regards the tension between the need of the student to appropriate historically entrenched tools that empower social actors and at the same time retool and recreate not only the culture but themselves" (p. 23). The double bind is not resolved through separate individual action. Instead, solutions are constructed in

coparticipatory structures of action and activity.

For the individuals within the community of practice of the Lab School's three year-old classroom tensions of the double bind were often embedded within the day-to-day actions of living together. These tensions arose when past conceptualizations of self, school, teaching, and learning contradicted with the new meanings being constructed in the classroom. The tensions were manifested in issues of relationships, power, and control as individuals attempted to determine their places and participation within the community of practice. At times the "actors" in the setting were able to collectively resolve the tensions presented by the double bind and move in a bidirectional voyage across the ZPD where individuals combined the old and the new, resolved their differences, discovered their similarities, and recognized their dependence upon one another" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 116). As we, the members of this three year-old classroom, worked through and resolved tensions of the double bind we not only learned about each other, we also learned from each other and in these processes learning and identity were inseparable (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

In these processes of learning and identity construction each member of the classroom constructed knowledge about self and other. Although each person

within the setting was involved in processes of identity construction, this research primarily focused on the assistant teachers and the children. However, from the analysis of the coparticipatory processes enacted in this study it is necessary to discuss the roles of the head teachers and the researcher as we interacted with the assistant teachers and the children. Granted, the design of the study did not focus on the collection of data which would illuminate how the interactions within the classroom would influence the construction of personal and professional identity for the head teachers. Neither did the design focus on how interactions with the head teachers contributed to the children's construction of self-identity. It was only as I began to distinguish the differences between Phase I and Phase II of the study that I realized eliminating the influences of the head teachers in the coparticipatory processes of identity construction left a gap in the story of what was occurring in this community of practice. The data analysis indicated that these head teacher interactions served as an important factor in mediating the coparticipatory actions of the children and the assistant teachers. Not only were the interactions of the head teachers mediating factors in the coparticipatory structures of interaction, but my interactions as a researcher also influenced the framework of interactions

which were occurring in the classroom. Therefore, in the framework of coparticipation, this chapter addresses how the interactions of the head teachers, the researcher, the assistant teachers, and the children were all mediating factors as we collectively constructed our personal and professional identities within this three year-old classroom.

The Head Teachers

Even though the three year-old classroom had two head teachers, the teacher who was there only one day per week did not play the same role as the teacher who was there four days per week. The children and the assistant teachers viewed the person who was teaching the longer period of time as the basic person in charge of the classroom. The teacher who was present only one day per week did not seem to have the same influence on how the assistants or the children viewed the hierarchy of the classroom. For example, when asked about who the teachers were one of the children indicated that "they [the assistants] are all teachers, but Andrea is higher." The child could not explain what he meant by "higher" but said "she just is." He recognized that the head teacher was in charge of the classroom and that ultimately the head teacher was the authority figure.

In answer to the question, "Who are the teachers?", the

children in both phases of the study always named the teacher who was teaching four days per week first. Their second choices varied between naming the other head teacher or naming an assistant teacher with whom they had developed a special closeness. The children tended to talk about the assistants in terms of being teachers, but would refer to the head teachers as "my teacher" or "our teacher".

The assistants, like the children, also seemed to view the person teaching four days per week as the person in charge. Although in the evaluation process both head teachers had equal responsibilities and provided feedback, the assistants tended to place more weight on Paula's or Andrea's evaluations than on Joyce's or James'. Head teachers were required to evaluate the assistants at mid-term and at the end of the semester. These evaluations were given to both the assistants and to the professors of the Principles and Curriculum classes. The professors considered the evaluations of the head teachers as one of the elements in the determination the assistant teachers' grades in both of the practicum courses. The interview data from the assistant teachers indicated that they were more concerned with how Paula's and Andrea's evaluations would affect their final grades in their field work assignment than they were about Joyce's or James' evaluations. This concern may have been a reflection of scheduling. The

university and Lab School schedules of the assistant teachers participating in the study resulted in more interaction occurring between Paula and Andrea than with Joyce and James.

However, during the initial classroom observations via the Laboratory School observation booth, data was collected during times at which all four of the head teachers were involved in classroom interactions. Later, scheduling conflicts for observations of the assistant teachers participating in the study limited the collection of data on the days James and Joyce were teaching. Joyce, Phase I, and James, Phase II, only taught the three year-old class one day per week. In Phase I, only two of the assistant teachers in the study were involved in classroom interactions with Joyce. In Phase II, one assistant teacher participated in the classroom activities on the day James was teaching. Therefore, the discussion of the head teacher interactions focuses on Paula and Andrea.

Paula. During Phase I, Paula described herself as a daycare provider and a nurturer. She was responsible for helping prepare student assistants to be teachers, yet she did not view herself as a teacher nor did she want to be a teacher after graduation. In our final interview Paula indicated that she wanted to work with children and that for her teaching focused on "more of a nurturing standpoint

rather than the cognitive development part of teaching." She also indicated that in this classroom she felt similar to the assistant teachers in that

> it is like being a teacher, but it is really not, you don't feel like its your entire, your whole classroom....I was sort of learning at the same time I was teaching the assistants....We sort of just learned together.

Paula's uncertainties about her identity as a teacher and about teaching methods created some tensions within the classroom. The tensions were:

(1) Her own tensions in constructing her identity in the classroom.
(2) Tensions in the differences in her views and the views which were being presented to the assistant teachers in their university classes.
(3) Tensions for me as a researcher as I tried to deal with my role in the classroom.
(4) Tensions among the children as they attempted to construct personal self-identity in the classroom.
(5) Tensions for the student assistants as they attempted to construct an identity as teacher.

These tensions were played out in different ways. For example, Paula frequently asked me for help in teaching practices and ideas. I felt the constant struggle between

being a researcher and being a teacher. Also Paula's beliefs about classroom management and procedures for dealing with some of the issues which arose during the semester differed from those of the philosophies of the Lab School and the methods being taught in the Principles and Curriculum Classes (e.g., techniques for dealing with Jason, a child who had difficulty adjusting to participating in a group situation). At times these differences caused Paula to shift back and forth in an undefined classroom stance on discipline and management.

Paula also seemed to exhibit an undefined sense of self as a teacher. Since she did not perceive of herself as a teacher and she did not have previous teaching experience, she had not constructed her own philosophy of teaching. Paula, like the assistant teachers, was involved in constructing her teacher identity within the three year-old classroom. Her shifting stance on management issues and her undefined sense of self as a teacher seemed to create a situation in which it was difficult for the assistant teachers and the children to reciprocally negotiate and define their own sense of self in this classroom.

Paula's definition of self as a "nurturer" was manifested in her interactions with both the children and the assistant teachers. She provided positive feedback and encouragement throughout the semester as she attempted to

develop a personal relationship with each individual in the classroom. In terms of her interactions with the children, Paula stated:

> The part that I enjoy the best is talking to each child individually and spending time with them, knowing their family, asking about their siblings, their grandparents, that kind of thing, more than their colors, their numbers, and that part of it.

The schedules of some of the assistant teachers made it very difficult for Paula to talk to them and get to know them on this personal basis, thus making it difficult to carry out her sense of self as a nurturer. When this happened she would become frustrated with the situation and feel that she was not providing the guidance that the assistants needed. Copies of the assistant teachers' midterm and final evaluations were given to both the professor of the class and to the assistant teachers. Paula's notes on these evaluations were written directly to the assistant and illustrated Paula's portrayal of self as a nurturer (e.g. "You really listen to the children and respond in a way that makes them feel good about themselves").

Andrea. In comparison, Andrea did not envision herself as a daycare provider or a nurturer, but she indicated that in this context she viewed herself as teacher and facilitator

of learning. In making comments on midterm and final evaluations, Andrea did not address her remarks to the assistants. Instead the remarks were written in the third person and seemed to be addressed to provide the professor with information about the assistant's role in the classroom (e.g. "Even when she redirects/disciplines, she does so in a positive way and often tries to find a win-win situation").

Andrea's past experiences had allowed her to begin to construct an identity as a teacher. Yet, these very same experiences which had contributed to the construction of her identity in the teacher role also caused tensions as she attempted to construct her sense of self in this new classroom situation. Andrea's teaching experience had occurred in a setting which ascribed to a very different philosophy of early childhood education than the philosophy that children learn best through play. At first, the transition between the two programs was difficult for her. Andrea described these tensions during an interview at the end of the 1993 semester.

> It [the other experience] was a lot more teacher directed...a really different emphasis on who's in charge... who's directing the activities. There it was very teacher directed. The teacher gets this idea and kind of forces it on the kids. Whereas, here we put things out and the kids explore and we interact with the kids to encourage

> them to try different things...but they do the initial exploration....comparing it [the other program] to the program here the differences are just amazing....It was hard to make the transition at first because I had never taken any formal curriculum class. Everything I have gotten has been from that placement in the college and I came down here and they are like, "No, we just don't do that here." Well, OK, where does that leave me?...So I was kind of fending for myself. Maybe it's also my fault. I just didn't ask, but I felt stupid asking what everyone seemed to know. I'm like, well, everyone else can figure it out, I guess I can too. So I started looking around trying to figure things out.

Although Andrea did not discuss her transitions from a different program with the assistant teachers, they were cognizant of how these differences affected the interactions within the classroom. One assistant teacher stated:

> I do think she knows more than us....She has taken more classes than us....but I think with her going to a different program I could probably teach her some things I've learned through our university program.

Because of such feelings, the assistants at times felt the tensions which were created as Andrea attempted to redefine herself as a teacher in a new classroom setting. Even though Andrea provided the assistants with written feedback

in notes posted on the classroom door, the assistants often felt some dissonance between Andrea's feedback and the feedback they were receiving in their university classes. One Curriculum assistant stated:

> This year it seems like there are a lot of things that are conflicting with what we've learned. I forget what you call them, but we were taught that it was inappropriate to make children say, "Thank you", or "please." I noticed that Andrea during this year does a lot of it...It's just a lot of things that makes me feel awkward because I mean, well we have to do a head teaching during the semester and like even for show and share I would do that differently because I would ask the children to just tell me about what they brought in. Then, I'd ask the children, "Do you have comments or questions?"...it just makes me feel awkward.

Another assistant commented that she felt pulled between what she was being taught and the things Andrea was asking her to implement in the classroom.

> There was a pull within me because the things that I was learning were very different sometimes, to the things that Andrea was asking me to do....that was a pull for me in that I felt like I'm cheating myself if I do what she wants because that's not what I believe, but if I don't do what she wants, then I'm going to get graded down on my evaluation.

Yet, Andrea's sense of self as a teacher created a classroom environment which facilitated the assistant teachers' construction of their identities as the teacher within this setting. Andrea's knowledge of teaching materials and techniques enabled her to create a classroom atmosphere which helped all the members of this community of practice negotiate meanings about their respective professional identities. For example, in singing the "Good Morning Song", Andrea always ended the song with a good morning to "the teachers." Her verbalization and her nonverbal signals indicated that she was referring to herself and to the assistant teachers. Andrea also positioned herself in certain strategic locations within the classroom. These positions were recognized by both the children and the assistant teachers as nonverbal indications of the "teacher's spot." During circle time Andrea always sat in front of the bulletin board. The children would not sit in this spot because it was "the teacher's place." As the assistant teachers took on more of the circle responsibilities and were in charge of conducting the circle activities they moved to sit in this "teacher spot" and Andrea moved to another place in the circle. During this time Andrea indicated that it was difficult for her to relinquish her head teacher role. She stated that the children had been her kids during the semester and that she

had to "remember that I'm not in charge" which was a "really tough switch."

The issue of being in charge created some tensions as the Curriculum assistants moved from their former positions into a new classroom position in the head teacher role. In a self-evaluation of a teaching activity another Curriculum assistant also recognized the tension created when Andrea attempted to relinquish the teacher role.

> I think that having someone else leading circle influences the activity. While most children took it without any hesitation, others noticed that Andrea was sitting around the circle rather than leading the circle. I understand that it must be difficult for her to give up that role during circle since she is used to it. However, I felt that at times she was trying to maintain control over the entire class rather than the children she was sitting near. But, other times she was playing with Andy, who sat in front of her. It was frustrating to me to have her encouraging him to play rather than participate in the group. I also think that this gave the wrong message to Andy. It would seem to me that Andy now sees Andrea as the only REAL teacher.

In her capacity as head teacher during center time, Andrea also tended to position herself in a "teacher spot" in the middle of the classroom. Although she moved from center to center during these activity periods, her

gravitation to this middle area became so obvious during my observations that in my fieldnotes I just began to indicate her location in the classroom in reference to "her spot." As the semester progressed my observations indicated that some of the assistants were also gravitating to this spot as they circulated around the room. It was not unusual to see a Curriculum assistant move to the middle of the classroom, pause, make a visual sweep of the room, and then move to an area which might need some teacher attention in order to facilitate the learning experiences.

Andrea viewed a teacher's role as one of a facilitator of learning. When asked to describe the roles of the Curriculum and Principles assistants in the classroom she stated that she viewed the Principles assistants as being there to help her in accomplishing her responsibilities as a teacher.

> It sounds like such a power thing when you say that they assist me, but that's kind of what it boils down to. They help me to implement activities that I have planned. They help to maintain classroom management, they help with stuff like toileting. They help at the playground, at snack and at lunch. They help the classroom run smoothly, to make sure everything runs well.

She described the Curriculum assistants as having a much

bigger investment in the classroom and being more involved in the role of being the teacher. "They have to do their own activities and they get a turn being head teacher. So they have a lot more challenges and a lot more responsibilities." Many of the responsibilities (e.g., directing a circle activity) were outlined by the program of the requirements for both the Principles and Curriculum assistants. As they successfully completed their university class assignments they assumed the roles and stance outlined by the instructional program. Yet, in the processes of constructing their teaching identities, the assumption of responsibility included going beyond the acceptance of assigned tasks to include the willingness to take risks in making decisions in the teacher role.

Due to the initial nature and the sequence of learning experiences in the university curriculum, the Principles Class is designed to provide for observation experiences, classroom management experiences, and experiences in developing knowledge about young children. Principles assistants were not assigned as many responsibilities as Curriculum assistants nor did they generally assume as much of the responsibility for the teaching role. Basically, Principles assistants stated that they did not feel like teachers. When a Principles assistant indicated that she felt like the teacher, she was either in charge of a center

activity or involved with one or two students on the playground. The Principles assistant in Phase II indicated that she felt like a teacher "when I am interacting with the kids, and I take on the responsibility of working in the center and trying to make things go smoothly."

As the Curriculum assistants assumed more responsibility in the teacher position, they commented that they felt like the teacher when they were conducting their individual activities. Until they began to plan, implement activities, and to assume the head teaching role they felt that Andrea viewed them as helpers, not teachers. Barbara, a Curriculum assistant, commented:

> I think that in the end she probably thought of at least Ellen and me as teachers. Only because we were planning and doing our own days and I think that at that point, yes, but before it was just a, "You're here to help me," kind of thing.

The verbal and nonverbal messages which the head teachers sent to the assistant teachers were a variable in determining the assistants' construction of identity as the teacher in this community of practice. In both phases of the study the assistant teachers' primary focus was on self as a student. Yet, during certain interactions in the classroom they were beginning to construct identities as the teacher. At the completion of Phase I, the Principles

assistants indicated that they did not feel like teachers. The Curriculum assistants in Phase I were more apt to indicate that they saw themselves as the teacher after their head teaching days. The Curriculum assistants participating in Phase II also indicated that they did not view themselves as teachers until they assumed the responsibility of the teacher role.

The Researcher

> Becoming a researcher means more than learning specific skills and procedures. It involves changing your way of thinking about yourself and your relations with others. It involves feeling comfortable with the role of "researcher." If people you know are your research subjects, the transition from your old self to your researcher self becomes ambiguous. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.61)

Phase I. Whereas the assistant teachers were beginning to construct their identities as the teacher in this classroom, my identity as a teacher was already firmly established. A paradox existed in that I was a teacher, yet in this setting I was not one of the teachers. During an interview with Paula in Phase I, I stated:

> We talked before, especially at the beginning of the year, when you were saying that you didn't feel like a teacher in there [the classroom] and the assistants didn't feel like teachers. Well, with twenty years of teaching, I definitely felt like a teacher and yet I'm not the teacher in this

> setting....my identity is just as off balance as everybody else's [identity]. I am trying to figure out where do I fit in, how do I interact and not act like a teacher and it is really difficult.

Like the children and the assistant teachers in both phases of the research, I also was dealing with the tensions of constructing new aspects of my self-identity. In describing myself, one of the first descriptors in my list would be "I am a teacher." Yet, as I began my observations in the Child Development Laboratory, I was not the teacher. I was a university student who was conducting a research project. I was doing research, but I did not feel like a researcher. Methodologically, I had adopted a stance as a participant observer from the position of a child in this classroom. As I interacted with the other adults and children in the setting, I also was involved in a process of constructing my identity in this classroom and in constructing my identity as a researcher.

My first day's observation began as I sat on a hard, round wooden stool looking through a one-way observation window. The observation area is located in the hallway between the classroom and the administrative offices of the Child Development Laboratory. As parents and children enter the building, they move down this hallway to the assistant

director's office for the morning health check. After taking their children into the classroom, parents often spend time observing in this area. On this first morning children and parents were going directly into the classroom for a short orientation visit.

As I prepared for my first observation, I realized that I would be sitting in an area where I would be seen by both children and parents as they entered and left the building. Therefore, I automatically dressed as I normally dressed for a day in school. I was wearing a relatively "dressy" red, black, and white plaid skirt, a red blouse, and red dress shoes. My years of socialization in the teaching profession had produced my own sense of professional identity concerning how I, as an educator, should dress when interacting with children and parents in a professional setting. During the first month of the study, I continued to dress in the same manner even though the teaching staff and assistant teachers were wearing causal attire which enabled them to more easily engage in activities with children. I was dressed in a manner that looked more like the administrative staff or a mom coming to visit the classroom.

In my interactions with the children, I wanted to interact as a student in the classroom, yet my mode of dress was not that of either a student or a teacher in this

setting. As the children attempted to determine who I was and where I fit into their classroom, they asked, "Are you a mom" and "Are you a doctor" [like the Lab School director]? I was also told that I was a teacher because "you wear lipstick." My dress and my uncertainty in how to enact a classroom role other than that of teacher made it difficult for the children to classify my role in the classroom and led to attempts to test the boundaries of adult/child classroom relationships.

On September 3, 1992, I was playing in the sandbox with Charles, Toby, and Jason. Charles and I were making footprints with a plastic sand toy and Toby and Jason were making sandcastles. Jason filled a container with sand and announced "I'm going to dump sand out." If he had planned to dump the sand in the sandbox there would not have been a problem, but he intended to dump the sand outside the sandbox which was against the rules. As he made his announcement he looked directly at me to determine my reaction. My tension about the situation was apparently evident in my unconscious body language and my adult response. I looked around, as if looking for a teacher, and then asked, "What will the teacher say? Will the teacher like it?" He looked straight at me, did not make a reply, and dumped the sand outside the sandbox. My first impulse was to ask him where the sand was supposed to be and to

interact in the teacher position, but with much difficulty I restrained, attempted to ignore his action and continued to make footprints with Charles. In my journal reflections on this incident I stated:

> In someways this [not interacting in the teacher position] is going to be the most difficult part of the research. Teachers and students aren't the only ones searching for an identity in this classroom, I am also searching for my identity here in this situation.

Another journal entry also reflected my feelings of not having an identity in the early stages of the research.

> **September 7, 1992**
> I am still having a difficult time in interaction. It is difficult for me to step out of what I perceive to be the teacher role. It is almost as if I've lost my identity and have to discover my role in this situation as well as to try to discover how the assistant teachers and students view themselves. I think at this point the children view me as similar to one of the assistants who move in and out of the class. Since the three and four year-old classes are combined on the playground there are many assistants there from both classes. The three's may simply think I'm part of the four year-old group and vice versa. Or they may not even think about any of us except in terms of people to play with on the playground.

During a trip to the horticulture garden I spent my time attempting to become a part of the children's play. I was playing with a group of children who were running and hiding in different areas of the flowers. It was not an organized game of hide and seek, but more of a run and find type of activity. As I played chase with the children, I had to battle with my teacher identity versus my attempts to establish an identity with the children other than that of teacher. I indicated my feelings about this incident in a journal entry.

> **September 14, 1992**
> I don't know if it is because of my presence, but none of the assistant teachers seem to know where this group is. Are they assuming I am watching this group of children? Jason, Adam, and Tommy are running in and out of the flowers. My teacher identity is battling this. I feel that the assistants are focused on one or two children and that there is some potential for a child to wander off or get hurt here. The children are running around and I know they need freedom to explore, but I'm very keyed into all the possibilities of things which could happen here. We are relatively close to a street and the way the kids are running around I do not think anyone could account for all of them at this point in time. I do not know if the assistants were assigned a group to supervise, because they seem to be too scattered and the

composition of the various groups of children changes as they run around. I reminded Linda that I am not interacting as a teacher, and she is now observing the children around me more. I wonder if my dress, age, and demeanor cause the assistants to hesitate to intervene when I am with the children? I feel that the children were accepting me as a playmate, but they may also view me in the teacher role. I do not know. In terms of interactions, I feel like I made progress here. I was not approaching the children, they approached me to play.

During the first month I continued to make references to the tension and difficulty of determining my stance and identity in the classroom. By the end of September, I began to realize that I was going to have to make some changes in my strategies. I began to wear jeans, casual shirts, and tennis shoes. I decided that I was trying to concentrate too much on how I thought a child would interact and therefore my interactions were constrained and did not flow. I decided to just relax and talk to the children as normally as I could without entering into classroom management situations. I compared my interactions to a Principles assistant's interactions.

October 2, 1992:

Pam [one of the Principles assistants] seems uncomfortable at times as if she is unsure of how to interact. Maybe I'm picking up on this because

> of my own feelings when I have been on the playground with these kids. Since I'm not in the teacher role (and I have been for the past twenty years) I have felt uncomfortable at times in searching for how I should interact. My normal role has changed and as I struggle to find my role in this class I've at times been hesitant in my interactions because the role didn't feel comfortable and didn't fit my sense of self-identity. Does Pam feel uncomfortable in this role because it doesn't yet fit her sense of self-identity?

In their interviews the assistants indicated that during their initial Principles experience they often did feel uncomfortable in the classroom. For many of them the only previous interactions with children had been in babysitting situations. Therefore, in their initial interactions they were uncomfortable because they did not know how to interact with the children in a different role.

As the semester progressed the assistants, the children, and I began to define our relationships to each other in the classroom. We began to see ourselves as others defined us in the classroom. The children viewed self as "kids who play." Except during some of the interviews and discussions with the teachers, assistant teachers, and administrative staff when I referred to the children as students, the term student was not used to describe the

children. In the majority of conversations with the adults in this setting the children were referred to as kids or as children.

The term student was more likely to be used in reference to the assistant teachers in their role as college students. The assistants viewed self as student and at times as "the teacher." In their dual roles they were viewed by the children as teachers and by other adults as students enacting teaching responsibilities. The head teachers and assistant teachers viewed me as a fellow student conducting research, but they also defined me as a teacher because of my past experiences. By the beginning of October, the children were beginning to accept me in the role of a child as indicated by Stacey's comment, "You're a children." The children began to accept me into their play groups and to refer to me as "a kid." I was told that I could pretend to be the teacher, but that I was not the teacher. In their classroom the children viewed me as a playmate and not as one of the teachers. As I interacted with the children, I began to view myself as their playmate and friend, but I did not define myself as a researcher.

Perhaps the reason I did not see myself as a researcher at this point in time is that I was involved in trying to construct my identity within the classroom. My identity as a researcher was being established not only within the

classroom, but also in interactions with colleagues and committee members outside the classroom. After preparing an analysis of the Phase I research for my prospectus examination and after presenting the results of the research at a conference, I began to view myself as the researcher in this particular study. Like the assistant teachers in their process of becoming a teacher, I was "the" researcher in this setting and "a" researcher was someone I would become at sometime in the future. Thus, in terms of my identity in this setting at the end of the 1992-1993 school year, I defined myself as a playmate to the children and as "the" researcher in this study.

Phase II. At this point in time as I write about the completed research study, I also realize that my list of self descriptors would include the statement, "I am a researcher." I'm not really sure when I began to see my self as a researcher. A few weeks ago I did not use the term "a" researcher to describe myself. Like the assistant teachers in their process of becoming "the" teacher in specific situations, I stated that I was "the" researcher in this setting and that "a" researcher is what I would be after the dissertation process was completed. In a personal journal entry dated February 28, 1994, I commented:

I talked to Sue this week about how my identity

> construction process was similar to the student assistants. They [the assistants] feel like "the" teacher at times when they are in charge of an activity or when they are doing full day responsibilities. "A" teacher is someone they will become at some future point in their lives. For me, during Phase I, I was doing research. In Phase II and now I am "the" researcher, but "a" researcher is what I will be later after this process is completed. Maybe, it will take the completion of my dissertation and the validation of my committee's seeing me as "a" researcher before I can say, "I am a researcher."

In the time since this journal entry was written, I have been involved in conversations and interactions with members of my committee, with colleagues, and with interviewers for college teaching positions. I have also presented a paper which reported on this study at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. In each of these interactions I have been in dialogue with different individuals about my research and at times about my plans for future research. In the process of these interactions my view of self has shifted from being "the" researcher to being "a" researcher. In the reporting, in the face-to-face interactions with other researchers who view me as a researcher, I also began to see myself as a researcher.

Although I was conducting research in the three year-old classroom, my identity in the setting was constructed in my relationships with the children, the assistant teachers, and the head teachers. Since the head teachers and assistant teachers were trying to treat me in a manner similar to being a child in the classroom and since the children viewed me as a playmate, in the research setting my sense of self-identity as teacher and researcher was juxtaposed in tensions with my sense of identity as playmate and friend.

As I prepared for the first day of the Phase II observations, I dressed in a casual pair of aqua colored slacks, a matching shirt, and a pair of sandles. Yet, there still must have been something in my demeanor that portrayed the concept of teacher to a three year-old child. As Robert and his mom entered the hallway, he headed toward the toddler classroom. His mom stopped him as she commented that this year he would go in a new class. Robert turned, saw me sitting on a stool taking notes, began to cry, and stated, "I don't want that teacher." My journal entry noted:

> What made him think I was a teacher? I was writing notes on a pad. There were no children around and I was the only adult in the hall. What kind of thinking process did he use to assume that I was the teacher? He knew that I wasn't Andrea.

He had met her the week before during a home visit. When he realized he was going in a different room and he saw me instead of Andrea did he think she was not there? What caused him to assume I was the teacher?

In the beginning Robert and the other children attempted to negotiate my presence in the classroom in terms of being a teacher. I was an adult and the adults who were in the classroom for long periods of time were teachers. For example, Allison stated that I was a teacher because "you are in this school and you are big." I was big and I dressed in jeans, casual shirts, and tennis shoes, like the teachers, but I was not serving the food, sitting in the teacher chair, directing the circle or center activities, taking initiative to manage classroom discipline situations, or wearing a name tag. I was attempting to join in the classroom activities, such as show and share, in the same manner as the children. I was playing in the centers and the sandbox just as the children did, but I was not a child. How was my identity with this group of children going to be negotiated and defined? Would they, like the children in Phase I, also refer to me as "a children" or as a "kid" ?

In Phase II, as in Phase I, I had difficulties not interacting with the children in terms of my teacher identity. This difficulty was particularly apparent at

times when I perceived the assistant teachers reluctant to assume, or unsure of how to assume, teacher responsibilities and in situations which involved what I perceived to be a safety issue. For example, at the end of September the class was taking a walk around campus. I was holding hands in a group with Lisa, Allison, Judy, and an assistant teacher, Sandy. Although our group was small enough to walk safely on the side walk, other groups were larger and some of the children were too close to the edge and at times stepped off the sidewalk into the street. No one seemed to be aware that this could be a potentially dangerous situation if a car were to be moving too fast or to suddenly swerve. Because of the safety issue involved, I moved to the street side of the sidewalk and directed some of the assistant teachers to make a smaller grouping of children. I commented that we all had to be careful not to step in the street. Although these safety issues were rare, they did at times occur and I moved into a teacher position.

At lunch and snack interactions, when some assistant teachers did not always attempt to engage the children in conversations, I found it difficult not to move into the teacher role. At these times my coparticipation in the classroom interaction sounded very much like a teacher in terms of the types of questions and comments I was making as I talked with the children. When I was involved in

interactions with children who were testing the classroom rules I also had difficulty not being a teacher. In a journal entry dated October 5, 1993, I discussed a situation involving playing with weapons.

> Greg, Aaron, and I were playing in the tent. The boys were at first pretending to hunt wild animals and then to shoot at bad guys. It was hard for me not to slip in the teacher role and direct their play away from shooting bad guys. Being a teacher is so much a part of me that I instinctively slip into this mode. Knowing that weapons play is not allowed, I was finding myself trying to focus their play in a more constructive avenue away from shooting at bad guys.

Perhaps my unconscious tendency to move into the teacher role was one of the variables which made it difficult for me to enter the children's play frames as a fellow playmate. The children, in Phase II, very quickly formed friendship patterns with each other and I found it difficult to enter their play groups. Other variables which could account for the problems I encountered in entering play frames might have been the exclusiveness of their friendship patterns, their uncertainties about my role, or the amount of time I spent in the classroom. Perhaps had I been in the classroom everyday, rather than two days per week, the children and I would have negotiated my role

sooner. It was only after I began to participate in show and share that the children accepted me in their play groups. On my first show and share day I brought my teddy bear. Later in the day, Lisa and Allison included me in their group as we drew pictures together and I was introduced to Lisa's mom as "This is Dawn. She's my friend."

The children in Phase II, began to include me in the group on the basis of my identity simply as Dawn, a friend. As a friend, I was accepted as a playmate and at times referred to as a kid. Jonathan told me I was "a teacher upside down," and that I "could pretend to be a teacher." In another incident with Robert, Jonathan, and David on a day all the children had on name tags the conversation went as follows.

Dawn:	Am I a teacher? Today, am I a teacher, because I've got a name tag on?
David:	It's not like Edna's [an assistant teacher].
Dawn:	But, I don't have that kind of a name tag.
Jonathan:	Hey! Hey! It looks like you are Dawn, a kid.
Dawn:	I'm Dawn, a kid.
Robert:	That's your name.

Young children tend to base descriptions of self and

other on concrete recognizable characteristics (Harter, 1983). The children in Phase II, negotiated my identity in terms of my name and in terms of being their friend and playmate. As I interacted with both the children and the assistants I saw myself as the children's friend and playmate. In terms of individual abilities, as an adult, I would typically be defined as a more capable playmate, yet I found that there were many times that the children were teaching me about their games as well as about themselves. As we interacted they also were learning from me about taking turns, sharing, the negotiation of conflicts, and other ways to accomplish tasks. In these interactions we guided each other in a bidirectional journey of learning.

One day in early November, Kathryn, Wendy, Marsha, David, Aaron, Andy, and I were playing at a center activity with Amy, an assistant teacher. On the table there were different types of machines to use in making shapes with the many colors of Play-Doh which we were rolling around and playing with. I did not know how to put the Play-Doh in the machine or how to change the pieces to make different shapes. As David demonstrated how to make a snake, he showed me how to move the parts of the machine open and closed and he talked to about what I needed to do.

David: Put it in. Squish it and then it comes out.

Dawn: Can I try?

David: Sure.

Dawn: Like this? [I followed his directions and made a long snake.]

David: See, I told you it would work. Now, you have to get your Play-Doh out. [The Play-Doh became stuck, but he showed me how to get it out.] Do it again.

I made another snake and then Aaron wanted a turn. I passed the machine to Aaron and watched as he also made a snake.

Marsha had a different machine and was making "fat snakes." Her machine was not working correctly and when they could not fix it, David and Aaron decided that Marsha should give the machine to Amy to be fixed. According to the boys, "Teachers can help fix things." Amy was able to fix the Play-Doh in the machine. Marsha continued to make "fat snakes" and the boys and I continued to negotiate turn taking in order to make "little snakes" and share the Play-Doh.

Later, Marsha wanted to trade machines and we agreed to a trade, but David had to remind me to remove my Play-Doh before we gave the machine to Marsha. During this exchange Amy announced "Five more minutes till cleanup time." We continued to take turns until Amy told us that after David's next turn we needed to clean up the table and put the Play-Doh away. David made one more snake and the children began

to pick up the pieces of Play-Doh one at a time and place them in a container.

I began to roll my snake into a ball and to use the ball to pick up the very tiny bits of Play-Doh that had fallen around the table, on the chairs, and in the floor. The boys realized that as I was picking up the pieces my ball was getting bigger and they began to talk about how to make balls of their own and to "make them get bigger." David and Andy began to make their balls larger by doing the same thing I was. Andy wanted his ball to be even bigger. I gave Andy part of my Play-Doh. He added it to his own and rolled it into a larger ball as he said, "that makes it bigger." As they used their balls to pick up the tiny bits and pieces of Play-Doh on the floor, David and Andy commented on the changes in the balls' size. Amy returned to the table to check on our progress and announced that it was time to put the Play-Doh in the container.

Amy:	It is time to put all the Play-Doh away.
Andy:	We made balls.
Amy:	How did you make that, Andy?
Andy:	I rolled it this way. [He demonstrated how he rolled the ball and picked up the smaller pieces on the floor.]
Amy:	That is a neat idea. All of us can do that.

Amy then had all the children in the center make balls to pick up the remaining Play-Doh and put it away. In this interaction the flow of learning was bidirectional. I learned how to operate the Play-Doh machines and David and Andy learned about increasing the size of an object by adding more material as well as about how to use the Play-Doh as a tool in the cleanup process. Amy learned from Andy and used the idea to have the other children finish cleaning up the Play-Doh. The roles of expert and novice were fluid. In this interaction we were all learners together as the line between teacher and student became blurred in the doing.

Assistant Teachers and Children

In most interactions, it is logical to assume that adults are more knowledgeable than children and therefore, the experts in a given situation. As assistant teachers and children coparticipated in classroom activities in the Child Development Laboratory, the line between teacher and student often blurred in the doing. There were times when the children became the experts and the adults were the novices. A playground interaction involving Kay, myself, and a group of three year-old students provides an illustration in which the children were the experts and the adults were the novices.

Kay was playing in the sandbox with Jonathan, David, and Matthew. I moved to this area to join in their play.

David:	I'm digging still.
Kay:	You are digging...what machine digs, I forgot?
David:	A backhoe and an excavator.
Kay:	A backhoe and an excavator dig?
Dawn:	What is an excavator?
David:	It is a kind of machine that fills the dirt over the top into a little pile. That's an excavator.
Kay:	I'm glad you told us because I had no idea.
Dawn:	I am too. I didn't know what it was. What is a backhoe?
Matthew:	A backhoe has a shovel and a bucket.
Kay:	How is it different from a bulldozer?
David:	A bulldozer is bigger than an excavator.
Kay:	OK.
Matthew:	Well, an excavator is pretty big.
Dawn:	Which one is the biggest?
David:	I think a dump truck.
Jonathan:	No, no, a backhoe.
Matthew:	An excavator is pretty big, too.
Kay:	All of them are pretty big machines.
Dawn:	What do they do? Where do they go to dig?

Jonathan: They can go to each places where they fill a hole.

Matthew: Then they can go dig another hole.

Kay: I don't know if I've seen them or not but now if I saw them I'd know what they were.

Dawn: Now I know what that big machine over across the street is.

Kay: Do you think that it is one of those things?

Jonathan: Yeah.

Dawn: Across the street from the Lab School where they have all that big orange wire and big trucks and they are digging in the ground, is one of those a backhoe?

Kay: Maybe, if it digs.

Matthew: One is an excavator.

The boys continued to dig a very deep trench. They moved in and out of the play frame as they discussed learning about dump trucks, backhoes, and excavators.

David: I'm the excavator.

Matthew: No, I'm the excavator.

Dawn: Do you have two excavators?

Matthew: Well, no they just have one. But, someday they got two backhoes. But, now they just got one.

Matthew: We're digging up the ground.

Kay: How do you know so much about all of this?

Matthew: Because we're digging.

Kay: Where did you learn all this? Who told you all about this?

David: From trucks.

Dawn: From watching trucks?

As they were cleaning up the play area I asked the boys "What are you going to do when you grow up"?

David: I'm going to dig.

Matthew: With big backhoes and big excavators.

Dawn: Can you do it now?

David: No.

Dawn: Why can't you do it now?

David: We pretend.

Dawn: What is the difference between pretending and being real?

David: We are just digging.

Dawn: Who does it for real?

David: All the adults.

Dawn: Are you an adult?

Matthew: Nope.

David: We are kids.

In this interaction the learning process was bidirectional. As a teacher Kay had provided the boys with a learning activity in which they were allowed to experiment with roles in the adult world and thus learn more about self

and other. She had placed a variety of sand toys in the sandbox in order to encourage the children to explore, to be creative, to play, and to extend their knowledge of the world. The boys had taken the toys and proceeded to incorporate their experiences about machines which dig into their play frame.

Kay and I were learning from the children. We were learning about the differences between three different machines, about the boys' constructions of self through play, and about our roles as learners in the classroom. The boys were learning from the materials that Kay had chosen to include in their environment. They were also learning from each other and they were learning about roles of construction workers in the adult world. As the boys were engaged in coparticipation with each other and with adults in play experiences and dialogue, they were contrasting self and other - a process which is necessary in the differentiation of the self (Bannister and Agnew, 1977). In this process the boys were imitating adult roles, investigating the generalized other, and adopting the attitude of the other in play. Both Mead (1934) and Baldwin (1906) view these differentiation processes in play as important in the formation of the self. Griffin and Cole (1984) contend that play is often a mediating device which enables children to enter into new activities.

Coparticipation in play provided both the children and the assistant teachers in the three year-old classroom with a mediational tool which helped them to differentiate self in terms of generalized others (Mead, 1934).

Differentiation of Self and Other. As the assistant teachers and children coparticipated in play activities, they were beginning to define themselves in relation to their conceptualizations of the generalized other within their classroom. During Phase I, as Linda and Susan participated in activities with the children they were taking on the role of the generalized other. In attempting to learn about the three year-olds in the student role, Linda compared herself and her experiences as a student to the children and Susan used her knowledge and perceptions about the three year-olds to help plan activities. In an interview Linda stated, "I'm just like the kids are, they want feedback....They need to get feedback from either another student or the teacher." Linda also compared her entrance as a freshman in college and her entrance to kindergarten as being similar to beginning the first day of school in the three year-old class. She stated that

> It's like a year here [in college], I was way more comfortable than I was the first year. I knew where I was going. I was like hey, I'm not a

> freshman and I know where I'm going. I was very disoriented. You're disoriented when you come to campus, you're disoriented when you have to do something you have never done before and don't really know what you are supposed to be doing....Some of the kids, the teacher told us, had never been in school before. That would be, [pause] everybody's first day isn't easy. Especially [pre]schoolers in the first day....I didn't want to go [to school in kindergarten]. I didn't want to be around all of those kids and one or two adults that I didn't know and I didn't know what to expect. School to me was...this is going to be hard, this is something that is scary....It's funny. Lana [a three year-old] goes "I love school. I love coming here. I love school."

As she attempted to learn about the three year-old students, Linda compared her own student experiences to their experiences. In this process of differentiation between self and other Linda was attempting to resolve the tension between her past conceptualizations of school and the concept of school as a place to learn through play.

As Susan interacted with the children she began to learn about a three year-old child's interests and abilities. In one self-evaluation she indicated that she learned "how varied the children are developmentally even though they are all approximately the same age." In this

teaching interaction she also learned "the importance of creating a lesson plan that can be utilized with children with a range of developmental skills." In her next activity, Susan used this knowledge in her planning stating that

> I chose participation songs to sing during circle for a number of reasons. First, the head teacher no longer sings songs acappella. She uses a tape with the songs prerecorded for every circle time. The children like some of these songs, but I feel they are inappropriate in two ways: the songs are sung much too quickly for a three year-old to understand and learn the words, and the children do not sing when there is a tape because they cannot hear their voices over the recorded singer's voice. Second, the head teacher reads a book during circle time everyday. Some of the children do not have an attention span that enables them to sit quietly and attentively for long periods of time. The children are normally very active, so they need a group experience that will not require a lot of time sitting. While writing this plan, I considered the nature of the children in the three year-old classroom. I tried to choose some songs they know already so that they would know the hand motions and would be able to focus primarily on singing the words. I know that children love to dance and move around, so I chose songs that the children could get up and move to.

Susan also indicated that in her center activities she used her knowledge of the children as she planned the activity. In these activities, Susan indicated that both she and the children were learning from each other. In one center activity, Susan made jello with the children. As they interacted with each other both Susan and the children were involved in learning about themselves in their respective roles. The children not only were learning concepts (e.g. when a wooden spoon is dropped in jello, it floats; some solids dissolve when mixed with water), they were also learning about their responsibilities in the student role (e.g. taking turns, sharing, cleaning up the center). Susan described the process as follows:

> I felt that they [the children] were learning....Charles took his turn and observed that the spoon floated! All the children wanted to see and when their turn came, they each made the spoon float. This was a wonderful "teachable moment". I had no control over Charles' observation and had not thought about the floating principle. However, once he mentioned it we discussed why it floated, etc., and I was pleasantly surprised at the other children's answers....I learned that I should tell the children before we begin a cooking activity that we can't eat the (blank) while we're making it. We can eat it at snack. I also learned that "teachable moments" do exist for us students, not

just for Dr. _____ or Dr. _____ [named the professors of the Principles and Curriculum classes].

Both Linda and Susan were bringing together the old and the new as they attempted to resolve the contradictions between their past sociohistorical conceptualizations of the roles of teacher and student. In coparticipatory structures with the members of this community of practice, Susan and Linda were attempting to resolve the tensions of the double bind.

Tensions of the Double Bind. As Linda, Susan and the other assistant teachers enacted their responsibilities within the classroom they were often faced with the tensions of dealing with the issues of control and power. These tensions occurred in differentiating the various roles in the classroom. At times the tensions in the processes of differentiating self and other, arose between delineating the roles of head teacher and assistant teachers. At other times these tensions arose as assistant teachers and children tried to negotiate the roles of teacher and student. When they were able to collectively resolve these tensions the individuals in the classroom moved in a bidirectional journey across the ZPD.

Some of the tensions dealt with the assistant teachers'

sociohistorical constructions of the teacher's role in the classroom. The assistant teachers stated that they felt like the teacher when they were in control of a center activity or the circle. They also stated that they would be "a" teacher when they were in control of making the decisions in their own classroom. These issues of control were also issues of relationships of power. In their interviews the assistant teachers often referred to the tensions which occurred as they enacted their roles as head teacher.

> **Susan:**
> I have a certain inhibition about things when Paula is in the room. She is the head teacher and she is ultimately in control and I don't want to overstep my bounds.

> **Peggy:**
> ...it's hard for me just because there's a head teacher...I feel kind of reluctant to take initiative.

> **Ellen:**
> ...the children have a vision of the way that things are in this classroom and that would conflict with what I would want to do and it just makes me feel awkward. There are some routines that I don't want to follow, but I kind of feel obligated to...because I don't want to undermine the head teacher by not doing it.

Kay:
I think maybe my role in comparison to the head teacher has caused a lot of dissonance because I didn't always like the way she was handling things.

Barbara:
I thought I knew what I was supposed to do, but there was a pull with me because the things that I was learning were very different sometimes from the things the head teacher was asking me to do.

Lave and Wenger (1991) indicate that newcomers to a community of practice are caught in a dilemma. Old-timers and new-comers establish and maintain their identities in different ways which "conflict and generate competing viewpoints on the practice and its development" (p. 115). The assistant teachers, as new-comers, needed to engage in, understand, and become full members of the existing practice of the three year-old classroom. They also needed to establish their own identities within the classroom and as members of a future community of educators. The assistant teachers, in their role as students, were hesitant to discuss these tensions about their differing viewpoints because of the issue of evaluation. They expressed concerns that these differences could be reflected in the head teachers' evaluations of their teaching activities.

Therefore, in these instances the lack of an interactive dialogue between the preservice teachers and the head teachers tended to prevent the resolution of the tensions of the double bind.

The assistant teachers also mentioned the issue of control in their relationships and interactions with the children. For example, Kay discussed how she felt the children perceived sitting in the teacher chair.

> They always make such a huge, big deal out of it if a little kid gets stuck in a teacher chair...They're like, "No, you're sitting in the teacher chair"....I think they look at you [the teacher], it's like you're in control because you're in control of the plates, you're in control of the food and who gets their plate when and you're telling people what to do. So-and-so pour your milk. So I think they think you're in a controlling position....I don't think it is a negative power role, but, I'm sure the kids look at it that way.

Ellen indicated that "being in charge of the children at the table" during centers and being "in control" of the classroom were aspects which helped her to feel like the teacher. Peggy asserted that she felt that the children did not always listen to the assistant teachers because they perceived a difference in the roles of the head teacher and the assistants in terms of authority. Peggy stated:

> I'm not really the one that is the teacher, or that the children really listen to. Like sometimes they'll listen to us [assistant teachers], but a lot of times they'll say, "Well, Andrea and James didn't tell us to do that. I'm not going to listen to you". And that's hard.... I understand that its because they are the head teachers, but sometimes it's hard to [accept]. That shows me that well, I'm not really the teacher here. I'm just the assistant.

When the children stated "I'm not going to listen to you," the assistant teachers and the children were engaged in issues of resolving the tensions of the double bind. The children tested the limits of their individual power as they explored the boundaries of what was appropriate behavior in the student role. At times neither the children nor the assistant teachers were able to confront these tensions in a manner which enabled both to successfully resolve the issues of the double bind. For example, in an entry in our dialogue journal Kay and I discussed her interactions with Greg.

Dialogue Journal - October 8, 1993:

Dawn: ...I noticed that you didn't address the issue of Greg leaving the circle at the wrong time. Was this because it had the potential for a power play? What were

you thinking and what was your reasoning in making the decision? If you were the only teacher in the room how would you handle dismissing the circle?

Kay: ...Wow! You posed some difficult questions about circle and Greg. I could use some help with how to handle Greg....It does usually end up in a power play and he usually wins. I'm at a loss at how to handle it. I would dismiss the circle all at once so that I could keep my eye on all the kids. I might have them pick an animal or a way to go to the bathroom. I would think that the only safe place would be with the kids.

Later in the semester, Kay was beginning to learn how to negotiate these tensions of power and control in a manner which enabled Greg, the other children, and her to successfully move in a bidirectional process of learning about concepts and about themselves as teacher and students.

For her third activity plan, Kay was in charge of a circle activity. During this activity she choose to introduce and read the story Polar Bear, What Do You Hear? She began the activity as soon as a few children began to arrive in the circle. Using a mystery bag, which contained

a stuffed toy polar bear, she began to ask questions to help the children predict what she might have in her bag. The children who were finishing clean up activities were curious and quickly joined the circle. After revealing the toy polar bear and talking more about real polar bears, Kay used an oversized book placed on an easel to read the story. Before turning each page, she paused to give the children time to make animal noises and to predict the next animal based on the story content. She stated that she read the story in this manner in order to "hold their attention and to keep them involved as active learners."

After reading the story, Kay told the children that she had more animals from the book in her bag. She provided an opportunity for the children to guess which animals were in the bag by giving hints about color, where the animal lived, and clues from the story. After pulling a toy animal out of the bag, Kay would ask the children to name the animal and to make the sound the animal makes. The children wanted to touch and hold the animals at this time. Kay realized that being able to play with the animals was an important part of the children's learning process. She also was aware that if she allowed them to hold the animals during her activity she might lose their attention. Therefore, she established very quickly that for now the children would look at and observe the animals with their eyes and that in quiet time after

lunch she would place the animals on the shelf for them to play with.

Even though Kay asked the children not to play with the animals while she was reading the story, Greg attempted to test the limits of the student role. He moved out of his place in the circle and attempted to grab one of the animals and to roll around in the middle of the circle. Rather than ignoring what could become a power struggle, Kay addressed the issue and she and Greg were able to participate in a successful negotiation. As Greg was rolling on the floor in the middle of the circle, Kay turned to the next page and attempted to redirect his attention by asking, "Greg, what kind of noise does a walrus make?" This question peeked his curiosity. He sat up, thought for a second, made a funny noise which was his interpretation of a walrus talking, and then moved back to his place in the circle to listen to the page about the walrus. At the end of the story, Kay used the strategy of dismissing the circle with statements such as, "If your name begins with S, like snake, you may go and wash your hands." At other times she stated, "Greg, your name starts like grasshopper, so you may go and wash your hands". Kay indicated that she varied the dismissal based on her knowledge of the children's abilities to recognize the letter their name began with. She stated:

Some of the kids I knew were aware of what their

> names started with. Others I knew could not identify the first letter of their name out of context. I varied dismissal accordingly.

During the coparticipatory interactions in this circle activity, Kay, Greg, and the other children were able to learn about themselves in their respective roles as student and teacher. The children all were involved in learning about animals. They also were involved in learning about their responsibilities as students in listening to a story, answering questions, paying attention, taking turns, and following directions. In issues which involved a negotiation of the tension of the double bind, Kay and Greg coparticipated in finding a solution in which they were able to share the responsibilities of their respective roles. In this negotiation, both learned about self and other as student and teacher.

In her self-evaluation Kay indicated what she learned from the circle activity.

> I learned that transition activities are valuable and they work. I learned that children don't get nearly as restless if you keep them involved with questions....I learned that it is more effective to get a child involved (redirect) than to discipline or reprimand them....Three year-olds like animals. They like to make animal noises. Some three's know what letter their name starts with, others do not. Three year-olds are capable

of sitting through a ten or fifteen minute group time and paying attention.

The children and the assistant teachers were involved in circle activities in which the preservice teachers were reading stories, teaching songs, leading discussions, and involving the children in other learning activities. They also were involved in activities in centers and on the playground which included dramatic play, block play, manipulative play and other types of play activities. In these activities the children and the preservice teachers were learning from each other. The following excerpts from interviews, journal entries, and self-evaluations reflect what the assistant teachers believed they were learning from the children and what they perceived the children were learning from them.

Tina - Self-Evaluations

October 1, 1992:

I learned that children want to talk to you and be asked questions about what they are constructing. An adult being present does influence their play. I also learned, and in a way was surprised, that they know colors and most shapes. That's when I thought I should ask more questions about math concepts and problem solving.

October 29, 1992:
Through this experience, I've learned you need to be flexible with your plans. If I plan to read a story and the children do not appear interested or if they appear restless, then I need to switch gears and do a music or movement activity.

Amy - Interview
December 9, 1993:
One thing I've learned, even though I still have problems with it, is to be patient with the kids when it [being able to do something] isn't really on their level yet....I've also learned to talk to the kids more because at the beginning of the year I kind of was quiet and I just let the kids kind of sit there and do whatever, but now I'll talk to the kids.

Ellen - Interview
December 9, 1993:
I've gained a lot of experience just in working with children and a lot more insight as to what to do in certain situations....I've learned a lot just on how to interact and feel comfortable around kids....I've learned a lot about their interests and the types of children that they are....I hope that they may be learning just by my pointing out things. Like by asking questions and then I'm also learning what questions to ask. Just by their feedback you can pretty much figure out whether you asked the right question or not....I think I've learned a lot about their development.

Peggy - Interviews

October 19, 1993:

A lot of times they'll [the children] direct the activity that they want to do and I'll just follow along with it and, make sure things are going OK....Sometimes they come up with really cute ideas or ideas that I've never even or could never even think of. So they teach me a different way to look at things a lot of times, a different way to view things. I guess just to make me realize that there's always different views in mind....I learned that they're very vulnerable and they believe pretty much what they hear. So you need to be careful....they are very loving and open and if sometimes they're not,...if they need more attention or they misbehave a lot, there's always a reason....Hopefully they are learning to respect one another and to be sharing.

December 2, 1993:

I've learned a lot from them. I mean it's not that they're always learning from me. I'm always learning from them everyday. They'll even tell me things that I didn't know....when they play, they interact more in social situations and they have more freedom. They're free to make their own decisions instead of being directed. They can be creative. When they play it's giving them a chance to decide what they want to do. When they try things, like if they build a sand castle, they decided and if it comes out really well, then it helps build their confidence and lets them know that they really matter and that they can do

pretty much what they put their mind to.

Barbara - Interviews

September 22, 1993:

They're teaching me that...children are different. Each child is different and you have to approach them in different ways and they're open to many things....I'm amazed at the three year-old abilities. It never ceases to amaze me the things that they can come up with and the ideas that they can do, the words they use. Things like, David one day told me that these were the same height and these were different heights. I was surprised to hear him use the word height....I think they learn through interaction and through play....not structured, four plus five is nine, but interactive where they look at things and they come up with the answer almost on their own. You give them a bit...and see what they can come up with.

December 9, 1993:

I learned so much, not just facts that you could put down on paper, but more ideas....I've learned from them [the children]. I learned how each child is different and just how different they really are. I learned about being patient with things that might just sometimes grate on your nerves. I learned that you have to think about the child's family situation....You have to come up with a different approach with different children....I think that they learned that I cared. That I wasn't judgmental to

them....[What's] helping us learn from each other?...it's just the interaction. I never set out to learn from them and I don't think that they set out to think, "Well, she's going to teach me something today." I just think it's through mutual exploration of something. I mean the way that we would go about doing an activity together or puzzle together. Watching the way that their mind worked versus the way that mine worked....it was the interaction and maybe they learned from me saying, "Well, you see how this is a straight edge here. Do you think maybe something straight would go up in there or something curvy?"...I think children probably learn the most when they don't feel like they're in a learning setting, per se. I don't think children get as much out of your sitting down saying, "I'm going to teach you your letters," or "I'm going to teach you your numbers." I think maybe you are sitting there doing some activity with marbles or something and you start counting them and, "Well, how may do you have?" and I think it's just more interaction.

Kay - Journal Entry

October 29, 1993:

I don't know if they've learned from me or not. I know I offer any knowledge I have about science, math, letters, numbers, and reasoning. I interject a fact here and there. I try to extend their learning by asking questions....I've learned from the kids that they need comfort and affection. I've learned that they like to talk. I've learned about them and what they like, what

they don't like, what they need and sometimes when they need it. I've really learned to follow their cues.

Kay - Interview
December 6, 1993:
...in their play you learn. I learn a lot about them. I learn, sometimes, I'm trying to figure out why they're acting the way they do....every time they're playing that's an opportunity for them to learn if I go and ask the right questions and I learn from them trying to find out where this comes from and to find out where they are in their thinking....what they respond to and what they don't. They're definitely teaching me what they expect me to do...how they expect me to act in my teacher role.

The children did have expectations for the head teachers and the assistant teachers in the teacher role. In Phase I, Tommy and I were working a dinosaur puzzle. It was a difficult puzzle and Tommy thought we needed someone to help us put it together.

Dawn: Who could we get to help us put it together? If we don't know how to do it, who could help us?
Tommy: Paula.
Dawn: Why could Paula help us?
Tommy: Because she knows how.

Dawn: Why would she know how to do it and we don't?

Tommy: Because she knows how to do everything.

The children expected the teachers to know how to accomplish the varied tasks and activities in the classroom as well as to be there to help them with these tasks. The children also perceived that the teacher's job was to take care of children. For example, in Phase II, Jonathan stated that Andrea had a job and that her job was "to take care of kids." When I inquired about the assistants, asking "Does Kay have a job?", he answered in the affirmative stating "She takes care of kids, too."

The children perceived that the teachers were in the classroom to take care of and to help them. Because the children were not always able to articulate their conceptualizations about teachers, it was much more difficult to ascertain what the children felt they were learning in their interactions with the teachers than it was to discover what the preservice teachers felt they were learning from the children. Often in interactions with the children, my questioning and inquiry shut down the play frame and they moved to other areas to play, they ignored my questions, or they answered, "I don't know." In informal interviews and in play sequences I attempted to ask the

children to verbalize what teachers did and what they were learning from and about teachers. The following comments were taken from both Phases of the research and illustrate the children's verbalizations of their conceptions of what they were learning from the teachers. The comments were responses to my questions, "What do teachers do?", "What do teachers teach?", or "What do you learn from teachers?". The children's responses were not made at any one time but were collected over the course of the research study. The ellipsis indicate that the statements were made during different interactions with the children.

Phase I

Margaret:
Sit in the teacher chair....They [the assistants] are teachers because they are nice.Toby:
Teachers teach things. They teach me songs....You can find a teacher to ask [indicating that teachers answer questions]....They help everybody. They take care of people....They get people to take naps and then wake them up.

Adam:
Sit in the teacher chair. They give you food.

Tommy:
You can tell the teacher something [indicating that you tell teachers things and they help].

Phase II

Judy:
Stay at school....Give you lunch....Say cleanup time.

Andy:
Push swings....Teachers tell you to stay on the hill [indicating the place where the children gather before coming in from the playground]. They go out and get children [indicating bringing children in from the playground]....I think she is the teacher because she has a name tag....They help [with zippers]....Teachers, like Andrea [indicating that the assistant teachers do similar things as the head teacher]....Read stories. Sing songs. Play.

Judy & Andy [collaboratively decided]:
Teachers put names on papers.

Marsha:
Help you get dry clothes....Tie shoes.

Jonathan:
Give you apples [said at snack when assistant teacher was giving out apples]....Give you lunch....Teach things [no answer when asked what teachers teach].

Greg:
They fix lunch....Clean stuff up....Help you out of boxes [an assistant teacher had just helped him climb out of a box on the playground].

Aaron:
Help you play outside....Mommies do housework, teachers don't.

Matthew:
Teachers have cars....They go upstairs [indicating that the assistants go upstairs to classes after Lab School].

Kathryn:
Read books....Serve food.

David:
I don't know....Feed the plates and give to people....Help you.

Allison:
Teach people [did not articulate what teachers teach]....Can be boys [refers to James]....[In response to "What do you learn at school?"] Draw, play, read.

Robert:
They are teachers because they come to my class somedays....Let us fed the fish, water plants, color, go to pumpkin patch [refers to a field trip]....Don't have show and share day....Sing. Sit in front of the board [indicating leading the circle activities]....Teach me songs and stories.

Allison & Lisa [collaboratively]:
Teachers write names on papers.

Lisa:
They give you food.

Michaela:
Get cleaned up....They eat lunch and whatever Jane cooks....Be teachers....They do all stuff....He [James] does everything that's why he is a teacher....Play....[In response to my question, "How do you know Barbara is a teacher?"] Because she loves to play school.

The children's responses indicate that they were differentiating between self and other as they defined what teachers do, what they were learning about teachers, and what they were learning in school. When the children's responses are viewed in conjunction with classroom interactions involving the head teachers and assistant teachers, it is possible to conclude that the children were learning about both the roles of students and teachers, about self and other, in their classroom. As "kids who play," the children were playing in an environment which had been planned and structured by the teachers. The teachers planned the activities and organized the classroom. The organization of the classroom and the activities provided the children with opportunities to make choices, to experiment, and to learn as they coparticipated in various play situations. Within the boundaries of these situations,

the children were learning about school routines, about others in their everyday world, about responsibilities as a student (i.e. taking turns, listening to a story, cleaning up after play activities, and sharing), about how to verbalize their feelings and conceptualizations, about how to negotiate conflicts, about teachers, and about themselves as students. In the coparticipatory interactions of the classroom the children and the assistant teachers were involved in the processes of constructing identities as teacher and student, but they also were engaged in interactions which enabled them to become a community of learners.

A Community of Learners

Rogoff(1994) asserts that in a community of learners the construction of knowledge is not based on transmission or upon acquisition, but that all members of the community are engaged in activities in which they learn from each other. At times the construction of knowledge within the Laboratory School's three year-old classroom was based on either transmissional or acquisitional models of learning. At other times, the individuals in this classroom were able to engage in dialogue and interactions which helped them to recognize the walls (Greene, 1988), and tensions created by the sociohistorical constructions of our society's

conceptualizations of the terms student and teacher. Engeström (1987) indicates that when individuals are able to resolve the tensions of the double bind they are able to move in a bidirectional journey of constructing knowledge within the zone of proximal development. In order to adjudicate the double bind, individuals must coparticipate in activities which resolve or at least recognize issues of power and control. As they dealt with issues of power and control the individuals in the three year-old classroom dealt with the participation structures which define the roles of teacher and student in our society. When the individuals were engaged in coparticipatory activities in which issues of power and control were shared constructions within the action sequences, the culturally defined structures for transmission and acquisition of knowledge were altered or readjusted. At these times of readjustment, a space was opened to create a bidirectional movement for the construction of mind and self.

Barbara discussed the issues of control and power in terms of both her role and the student's role in the three year-old classroom. She commented, "I think they [the kids] see themselves as rulers of the room, just because they think they can get away with things." In terms of her role she indicated that

I viewed myself as a teacher with very little

> power. Not power in a bad sense, but power over your own environment. I know that if I had been lead teacher, things would have been set up much differently and handled much differently.... Realistically there's always going to be constraints on you because you're never going to have an ideal situation. But, I think that when I have my own classroom where I'm responsible for everything that happens in that classroom. I'm the one who decides the way I'm going to set up my room or anything and I'm the only one that answers for it....I will do what I want to do when I'm the only person that's going to have to suffer any repercussion, negative or positive.

In discussing what she learned from implementing her activity plans, Barbara described a classroom event in which she felt neither the teacher nor the children had control in the classroom.

> **Self-Evaluation - Lead Teaching:**
> Observation and Assessment [indicating other university classes] students were in the classroom both days that I was head teaching. The daily plans had to be altered in order to accommodate their activities....Instead of reading the children a book, Andrea had me basically flip the pages while the record read the book. There was no opportunity for the children to comment as the book went along. Also, instead of having real interaction in the group, they were passively listening to the story. I think that this is one

reason the children were restless. I am strongly for active participation and allowing children to have some control during circle. In this instance, the record player had control, not the teacher or the students.

Barbara also described another teaching activity in which she felt that the children were given control in the learning situation.

Self-Evaluation - Activity 4:

By actively involving the children in discussion, movement, and choosing of songs, I feel I gave them back a sense of control. I feel that one reason that some children "act up" during circle is because they have no control in the situation. They are required to be there, and they have no choice what they do there. I feel that by giving the children the opportunity to have a sense of control, they enjoyed the activities more....I wanted the children to be actively involved in circle. I did not want for it to be me reading them a book, me telling them about it, me discussing how they move, and me choosing the songs. I think the children enjoyed having a sense of control during the activity. The

activity worked better because it was a mutual activity versus a teacher activity.

In both her interview and in her self-evaluations, Barbara voiced concerns about transmissional and acquisitional models of learning. Her discussions of the learning activities indicated that she viewed learning as a shared activity between teacher and student.

Peggy also mentioned the issues of control and power in an interview as she discussed the differences in her role as an assistant teacher and her role on her head teaching days.

> December 2, 1993:
> It just changes. It was that they [the head teacher and the professor] gave me that power. They gave me the chance to try out my own ideas. They listened, no, not listened to me, but I guess I was just the one who made all of the, made most of the decisions in the classroom. That made me feel sort of higher, not higher than anybody else, but just to have more confidence, I guess.

The issue of control was also an area of concern for Peggy in the implementation of her first activity plan. In this implementation, Peggy set up the materials for the children to make colored bubble mixtures. The activity was arranged on the playground at a time when both three and

four year-olds were playing together. Peggy felt that the implementation of this activity had been too teacher directed. As such this activity demonstrated a transmission model for the construction of learning. In her self-evaluation of this activity Peggy stated that "so many things were happening at once. At times, I felt I had no control." This lack of perceived control during the activity made Peggy uncomfortable and nervous.

In planning for her next activity, Peggy stated that she "wanted to make the activity child-oriented [rather] than teacher-oriented." By structuring the activity as a child-oriented one, Peggy provided an acquisition model for the construction of knowledge (Rogoff, 1994). Yet, the coparticipatory interactions which occurred during Peggy's implementation of this activity plan provide an illustration of the bidirectional construction of knowledge about self and other within a community of learners.

The implementation of this activity involved providing the children with the materials (e.g., colored chalk, paint brushes, various sized wet and dry sponges, a bucket of water, and paper towels) to engage in a creative art activity on the pavement between the Lab School and the playground. As the children participated in this activity Peggy allowed them the freedom to make their own choices and to be creative. She attempted not to control the activity.

Peggy's description of the activity illustrates her struggle with the tension of the double bind as well as how their mutual interactions allowed Peggy and the children to resolve these tensions. In the resolution of the tensions, the model for the construction of knowledge was transformed from an acquisition model to a bidirectional coparticipatory model of learning.

> **Self-Evaluation, October 7, 1993:**
> My activity took place outside on the paved area, outside the playground. My objective was for the children to utilize chalk (colored), toothbrushes, big and small paint brushes, water, and various sponges in creative ways....I told the children as little as I could about my materials and asked if they would like to use them on the pavement. It excited me that many of the children were enthusiastic about the activity....During the activity, I did not suggest anything unless a child was looking a little puzzled...then I would say things like, "What else could you use for your picture"....I did not model any behavior with the materials. I only observed and commented. But, if a child asked me to participate or to do something, I made sure to do it....It was hard not to direct their play at first. But, when I saw all the ideas they were capable of creating themselves, I really enjoyed stepping back and encouraging their own ideas. I felt I was learning just as much from them as they were from

my activity....Each child had a different idea of what to use and how. And, through observing their classmates, the children got other ideas and built upon them. For example, when Marsha mixed the water with the chalk to get paint, Andy observed and added green chalk to his water. When he made his water green, I could see he was really proud of his product. Also, when Allison used the sponge to spread her chalk, Lisa found that to be interesting and proceeded to do the same with hers. The children also, at times, painted a large area together, and I observed a sense of cooperation and sharing among peers. The children also liked it when I made specific comments about their efforts and creativity. I felt I was encouraging and inspiring....I really did not direct the activity at all. After I briefly introduced the materials available, I stepped back and allowed the children to utilize them in ways they came up with....I really did not think they would come up with such good ideas. They were really into the activity and therefore, so was I.

I enjoyed the setting of the activity. I think the children did too. Not only was it outside, which made it easier for the children to feel free to be active (whenever the children are outside, they no longer have to walk and use their "inside voices," which limits the activity), but also we got to work on the huge paved area in front of the playground. The children were not being bothered by other children's activities. They had so much room to work with, they could share a space or even go off away from the others

and have their own space. I found the children were doing both of these. Andy liked to work on his own and Lisa liked working with others....I felt like the children enjoyed, socially, the activity, for I could observe their helping others and sharing ideas. They enjoyed showing others how they used a sponge or brush, or they enjoyed doing things for others such as getting more water or a piece of chalk.

...When I first started this implementation, I was very nervous because there was no structure to the activity. I was glad to give them the materials and allow them to choose what they wanted to do. But, this way, I could not tell what was going to happen. I could not be prepared. As the activity progressed and I saw how the children were being creative and enjoying themselves, I loosened up and began to be really responsible to their actions.

I learned that with this age group, it is more appropriate to have activities which are very open for variation. The children stayed interested in the activity, for they were choosing to do what they enjoyed individually and because they all worked near one another they built on their ideas through the ideas of others. Also [I learned], some children enjoyed working on their own, and others are ready to work in cooperation with others. Because the children are all in different stages of socialization, it is good to give them the choice of how they want to work, whether it be alone or with others.

For the most part, I was satisfied with my

> implementation, for my objectives were accomplished. The children were creative, enjoyed themselves, and learned from their peers. At times, I felt like I was out of things to say....At one time, I was feeling like the children really did not care that I was even there....But when Kathryn told me, "Sit down and paint, too. I'll tell you what to do." I felt better....I really enjoy participating.

Through coparticipatory interaction and dialogue the members of the classroom were able to open spaces (Greene, 1988) in which they were able to collectively resolve the tensions of the double bind and find the freedom to become, not just teachers and students, but also a community of learners. In becoming a community of learners, the assistant teachers and children were also engaged in communicative activities which enlarged and changed dominant forms of classroom participation structures to create a historically new form of communicative activity. Dewey (1916,1985) maintains

> Not only is social life identical with communication, but all communication...is educative. To be a recipient of communication is to have an enlarged and changed experience. One shares in what another has thought and felt...has his own attitude modified. Nor is the one who communicates left unaffected. (pp. 8-9)

Communication with each other in coparticipatory interactions enlarged and changed the experiences of the children and the assistant teachers. The changing of the classroom structure from participation to coparticipation created a space for a bidirectional movement of learning in the ZPD. In the transformation of the existing structure into a new form of activity the line between teacher and student became blurred in the doing. As the line between self and other blurred the members of this community of practice were able to create and re-create self (Greene, 1987), not just as teacher and student, but as learners.

Dewey (1916,1985, p. 408) states that the self is "in continuous formation through choice of action." Through choices of action the members of this community of practice will continue to create and re-create self. Judy stated, "we are all teachers" and Kay asserted that "in one sense I'll always be a student because I'll always be learning." When we recognized the walls, coparticipated in dialogue and in reciprocal interactions we opened the spaces which enabled us to become both teachers and learners in a bidirectional journey of becoming "what one not yet is" (Wertsch, 1985). Peggy summarized it best in her comments about teaching and learning.

> [We] learned a lot through interacting with others. But, I know that there is a whole lot more

> out there that I don't know and I need to be open to that too. There's always going to be things I don't know about teaching. There's always more things I need to know...there is always more...I'll [always] try to work at learning more.

There will always be more. The process of creating self-identity never stops. The kaleidoscope dial will continue to turn. The colors and shapes will always intermingle and change in order to construct images of self and other.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

> ...those of us committed to education are committed not only to effecting continuities but to preparing the ground for what is to come...to explore some other ways of seeing, alternative modes of being in the world...My focal interest is in human freedom, in the capacity to surpass the given and to look at things as if they could be otherwise.
> (Greene, 1988, p. 3)

As the head teachers, assistant teachers, children, and researcher lived together in the classroom, we were involved in the coparticipatory processes of constructing personal and professional identities. Susan, Linda, Kay, and the other preservice teachers entered the practicum experience with their own individual past histories and prior beliefs about teachers, students, teaching, and learning. These assistant teachers identified primarily with self as a student rather than self as teacher. Through their interactions with children in the classroom and with their college class work, they began to learn more about children, teaching, and themselves in the role of teacher. In processes of reciprocal interaction the assistant teachers began to construct their identities as "the" teacher in this three year-old classroom.

The theme of responsibility was intertwined throughout the data. "Feeling like a teacher" involved a progression in the acceptance of responsibility in the teacher role.

Even though the assistant teachers indicated that they perceived the acceptance of responsibility as part of the process of becoming "the" teacher, in practice they often hesitated to take the initiative to assume responsibility in the role of teacher. Fear of making a mistake, of saying or doing the wrong thing, and of not getting a good grade, often created an ambivalence in feelings about self as student and self as teacher. Yet, as the preservice teachers assumed more unassigned responsibilities and engaged in taking risks to make decisions they began to construct identities as "the" teacher.

The three year-old students identified themselves as "kids" who play and for them school was viewed as a place to play. Interactions through play enabled the children to experiment with the role of "self" and "other." Within the interactions between all the individuals in this community of practice, "kids" who play assumed responsibilities in group processes. As the children assumed these responsibilities they learned about themselves as students. In play interactions the children were learning a variety of concepts about self and others in the social world. The children were learning to share, to take turns, to clean up, to participate in group processes, to solve problems, and to use the discourse of the school. In these learning processes the children were also assuming the

responsibilities of the student role.

Participation in a classroom, as a student, also involved assuming the responsibilities of following classroom rules and procedures. The assumption of responsibility was constantly in a process of negotiation between adults and children. These processes of negotiation were not static and were reciprocally interacted. In a classroom where adults accommodated to the children's play, the children also accommodated to the boundaries of the rules and reactions of the teacher (Kantor, 1988). In these processes of negotiation, adults and children constructed and shared social meanings about school discourse, about rules, about procedures, about self, and about others. The assumption of responsibility was a factor which affected the processes of identity formation.

In the three year-old classroom the adults (i.e. head teachers, assistant teachers, and researcher) were teachers and students. However, the children were also both students and teachers. We were all socially constructing identities "in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take" (Dewey, 1927,1984, p. 371). Our coparticipation in play activities and in communication created an environment in which we were able to begin to define ourselves in relation to the other members of the classroom community. As we lived together in the classroom, we were often

confronted with the tensions of the double bind (Engeström, 1987) in regards to the issues of power and control in the sociohistorical conceptualizations of our respective roles. These issues of power and control in relationships arose when our conceptualizations of the past intersected with the concepts of the future. As we attempted to blend the colors of our pasts (i.e., conceptions of student, teacher, school, self, and learning) with the shapes of our futures (i.e., new meanings being constructed in the classroom), we were attempting to resolve tensions of the double bind. When we were able to resolve the tensions, we brought new structures and activities for learning into existence.

Griffin and Cole (1984) assert that play is a tool through which children bring new activities into existence. In the Lab School setting, adults and children were involved in face-to-face interactions through play which enabled us to construct new forms of activity. We constructed new meanings about self and other. Children [students] became "kids" who play. Head teachers and assistant teachers became "the" teacher. I became a playmate and a friend. However, not only did my interactions as the researcher in the setting contribute to my identity construction, other face-to-face interactions outside the classroom, with colleagues, committee members, and others also enabled me to become "a" researcher.

We were all teachers and students and at times we also became a community of learners. Rogoff (1994) postulates that in a community of learners all individuals are engaged in activities where learning is bidirectional. Each member of the community learns from, as well as about, other members and about self. In coparticipatory activities, communication and interaction were tools which at times enabled us to resolve tensions of the double bind, to break down, to construct, and to reconstruct structures of classroom participation.

In any classroom teachers and students are engaged in participatory structures of action. These existing structures typically define the dichotomy between teacher and student. Historically, the types of participation structures which exist in classrooms define education as a process of enculturation (McLean, 1991) in which teachers transmit and students acquire knowledge. In our day-to-day living together in the classroom, teachers and students have become so accustomed to these structures that we sometimes accept them as given. We have, as Greene (1988) states, become so "embedded in a kind of cotton wool of habit, of mere routine...that we neglect "to seek alternative ways of being, to look for openings....to discover new possibilities...new ways of achieving freedom in the world" (p.2). We become "minimal selves" (Lasch, 1984, p. 59)

rather than reaching our fullest potentials. Yet, at times teachers and students in face-to-face interactions come together in dialogue and in communication.

In true communication we enlarge and change our experience and change ourselves (Dewey, 1916,1980). When in communication we resolve the tensions of the double bind we also break down the old patterns of participation structures. As the lines between teacher and student blur in the doing we open a space (Greene, 1988) and bring something new into existence. We construct a democratic community of learners.

If we, as educators, are committed to "preparing the ground for what is to come" (Greene, 1988, p. 3) we must also join together in dialogue and communication. We must recognize walls and open spaces (Greene, 1988) in order to find the freedom to become "different from what we have been" (Dewey, 1960, p. 280). We must ask ourselves important questions about the future of education. What kinds of learning environments do we want to create? Are classrooms in which the line between student and teacher blur in the doing the kinds of classroom environments which will provide optimum opportunities for learning? What are the possibilities for transforming classroom communities into communities of learners? Do we want to create classroom environments in which teaching and learning become

coparticipatory structures? If so, how can these environments be brought into existence? How do coparticipatory structures of interaction open spaces for individuals to become different "selves", to learn, and to grow?

In coparticipatory processes of interaction the individuals in this study became different selves. As each of us moves to other classrooms, we will continue to learn, to grow, to construct, and to reconstruct our self-identity. As indicated earlier, Corsaro (1981) postulated that in socialization to school, children must first see themselves as peers before they view themselves as students. Perhaps, in a setting where children are learning through play, it is necessary to first construct a view of self as a "kid" who plays before viewing self as a peer, or playmate, and then as a student. Further research is needed to determine at what age and in what kind of circumstances children begin to use the term student as a self descriptor. Future research should also extend the investigation to further study the variables of responsibility, risk taking, and decision making in the process of becoming "a" teacher both during the student teaching experience and the initial induction year.

Individuals who are becoming different selves are also involved in a search for individual freedom. Greene (1988)

argues that a "teacher in search of his/her own freedom may be the only kind of teacher who can arouse young persons to go in search of their own [freedom]....that children who have been provoked to reach beyond themselves, to wonder, to imagine, to pose their own questions are the ones most likely to learn" (Greene, 1988, p. 14). I believe that we must take Greene's argument a step further. We must look at a new way of being in the world. Not only, will the teacher who is in search for his/her freedom arouse children to engage in a similar search, but when we open spaces for bidirectional learning children can also arouse teachers in the search for freedom. In classrooms where Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development becomes a community (Garrison, 1993), individuals are provided with opportunities to become learners who are provoked to reach beyond and to bring something new into existence. As we live together in the classroom, not as teachers and students, but as coparticipants in bidirectional learning processes we open spaces in which we discover the freedom to "become different from what we have been" (Dewey, 1960, p. 280). We become a democratic community of learners joined together in a bidirectional journey of discovering meaning about self and other.

EPILOGUE

Kaleidoscopes, Identities, and Futures

"You are not the person you were when you began" (Lofland & Lofland, 1984, p. 120).

"...to make an end is to make a beginning. The end is where we start from" (T. S. Eliot, Little Gidding).

With each turn of the kaleidoscope dial the light was filtered, the colors blended, the patterns changed, and new possibilities emerged. Three year-old children entered school and became "kids who play." Assistant teachers completed a practicum experience and became "the" teacher. I completed a research project and became "a" researcher. In becoming a researcher, I am no longer the person I was when I began. I have learned more than skills and procedures. I have chosen a new way and in the action of that choice I have also made a new self. I no longer will look at classrooms in the same manner. For me a space was opened to envision something different.

In the telling of the story, the unconscious became conscious. As each member of the classroom community coparticipated in reciprocal interactions, the patterns of the past mixed with the designs of the future and new possibilities emerged. We became members of a community of learners. As a member of that community of learners my visions of classrooms are now focused from a bidirectional

coparticipatory framework. For me, the description of the optimal learning environment is a democratic community where the line between teacher and student blurs in the doing as they live together in the classroom.

The story is completed. But like beginnings, endings also are arbitrary and fluid social constructions. The story will never really end. The dial will continue to turn. The movement will not stop. The light will always be filtered. The colors and shapes will intermingle and intertwine. The constructions will continue to change as well as remain the same. And so, just as the past has defined the present, the present continually defines the future. Red, yellow, green, blue...colors and shapes, becoming a myriad of patterns, intertwining, ever changing, constructing images of self and other. The dial turns...blue meets yellow...the shapes intersect...the colors blend...aqua is constructed...and we arbitrarily end...

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APPENDIX A

A Review of the Literature Related to the Construction of Teacher and Student Identities

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE RELATED TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF TEACHER AND STUDENT IDENTITIES

> ...the self is not something ready made, but something in continuous formation through choice of action... (Dewey, 1916;1985, p.361)

> ...the very process of living together educates. It enlarges and enlightens experience; it stimulates and enriches imagination; it creates responsibility for accuracy and vividness of statement and thought. (Dewey, 1916;1985, p. 361)

In the processes of living together in the classroom community, teachers and students search for self-identity. The search for knowledge about self is not a new phenomenon. Throughout both ancient and modern times individuals have struggled with questions about self-identity. The search for meaning about who we are and how we fit in the world has produced a vast amount of literature in the fields of psychology, philosophy, sociology, theology, and education. This review explores a section of this vast amount of literature that investigates how students and teachers coparticipate in the search for meaning about self. Students and teachers are unique individuals, thus this review will examine studies which deal with student identity and teacher identity. However, the main focus will be to concentrate on a review of the literature that deals with the teachers' and students' construction of identity as they live together in the classroom.

Construction of Self

James. William James (1890) was one of the first theorists to employ the construct of the self-concept as a motivating factor in human behavior. James defined the term self as a total of what the individual believed himself/herself to possess. He postulated that understanding a person's perceptions of self was essential to understanding a person's behavior. James saw the self as possessing a dual nature. He referred to the "I" self as knower or subject, and the "Me" self as object or thought. According to James, the "I" is the pure ego. The "I" is the "Thinker." The "I" provides a sense of consciousness and sameness. The "Me" consists of all the elements of self and the "I" is the consciousness of these elements (Allport, 1961).

James (1890) posited the "Me" aspect of self to be a structure which included the material and bodily "Me," the social "Me," and the spiritual "Me." The social "Me" is not composed of just one self, but rather, the social "Me" is a composite of multiple social selves. According to James, the social "Me" develops through social interaction. The development of one's social self emerges from the social recognition one receives from others.

James also posited that the material, spiritual and social selves exist in both an ideal and an actual representation. The ideal "Me" is the image to which the

individual strives. The actual self is the image which the individual holds of self. A person evaluates his/her self-worth in terms of the amount of discrepancy between the idea and actual self.

Cooley. Cooley's (1902) concept of "the looking glass self" defined the self as a reflection of a person's perceptions of how others view and judge the individual. Although Cooley did not use the terminology of significant other, his view of "the looking glass self" supports the concept that individuals formulate perceptions of self based on their interpretations of the view of significant others (Bretherton, 1991). Cooley (1909) postulated that the social mind is unified in organization. The reciprocal influence of all that occurs within the social mind connects it to everything else and in essence creates the whole. According to Cooley, everything a person says or thinks is influenced by what others have said or thought and in turn creates its own influence. Each individual reciprocally accommodates to the actions and behavior of the other and in the process constructs meanings about self and other. Cooley (1909) emphasized that the self is constructed in "primary groups" (p. 25) and that healthy group play is important to human development.

Mead. Mead (1934) postulated that individuals are born without a self-concept and that the self emerges as a result of social experience. From Mead's viewpoint, without

society there can be no individual. Mead hypothesized that the development of self is a process of social interaction and communication. Language makes possible the appearance of the self. In this process mind and self emerge from manipulative activities in which the individual becomes conscious of self. Mead viewed role-taking as the vehicle through which this process occurs. In role taking the individual must be aware of the relationship between his/her own personal role and the roles of others involved in the social act. To participate in role-taking, individuals involved in a social act must share knowledge of a symbol system (Mead, 1982).

Mead (1934) emphasized two stages in the development of the self. The first stage involves play. During play individuals learn to take on the role of another person. With the acquisition of language, children learn to take on the attitude of the significant other. The child is mentally able to project his/her understanding of a set of actions, words, and feelings into an imagined situation or to the other person.

The second stage occurs when children begin to participate in rule-governed games and begin to take on the attitude of the group or generalized other. According to Mead (1934), the groups to which an individual belongs serve as a basic frame of reference in the individual's perceptions of self. Yet, if this is all there is to the

self then the self would be nothing but a reflection of the social structure and there would not be room for creative or reconstructive activity. The "I" part of the self is capable of action and this action changes the social structure. The process is reciprocal in that the individual changes the social structure and the social structure changes the individual.

Mead defined the "I" as the creative, spontaneous aspects of the self. When the individual takes on the role of another, the "I" is in a sense transferred to the other, it becomes a "me" (Miller, 1982). The "me" is defined as the pressures or influences of society which are taken in as part of the self. Thus, the effect of taking on the attitude of the group or the generalized other is twofold: the individual is able to incorporate societal rules and to integrate into a unified whole self all the multiple selves which had their existence in relationships with others (Bretherton, 1991).

Baldwin. Mead's ideas reflect the influence of Baldwin's (1906) contentions on the origins and development of the social self. According to Baldwin, the child begins to understand others by attributing to them the aspect of self-hood. Through this attribution process, which also works in reverse order, the self develops and expands by incorporating the experiences of others through imitation of behavior. An individual may use another individual as a

copy or model for behavior, but individuals are also capable of using their own behavior as the model, thus the individual is capable of both social and psychic imitations. In this process there is always a blending of the old and new. The individual's old self blends with all the new elements which come from other external selves.

Baldwin (1906) stressed the child's own activity in the acquisition of a sense of self. In the construction of a sense of self, the child actively imputes subjectivity to others. Children expand their experiences through imitation of others and through assimilation and accommodation of new experiences to already existing self schema (Bretherton, 1991). In considering the development of the ethical self, Baldwin stressed the active intervention of caregivers and other adults. Baldwin emphasized the reciprocal feedback which occurs between emerging sense of self and the sense of others as selves (Bretherton, 1991).

Both Mead (1934) and Baldwin (1906) stressed the modification of self-concept as a result of feedback from significant others. The continuous modification of self does not mean that the individual is not an organized whole person. The individual is not a chameleon, changing self-identity within each individual interaction. Research indicates that the individual does strive to maintain a consistency of self (Purkey, 1970). The self is a product of complex social relationships which are differentiated and

changeable (Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 1985). Within the context of multiple interactions, the individual constructs a base of relational understandings. These relational understandings are a part of the individual's reference group (James, 1890). Within the reference group each individual shares a perspective with the other members of the group. Individuals belong to many different reference groups and may reveal a different aspect of self to each group. As new reference groups are formed, the individual constructs new aspects of self (Sikes, et al., 1985).

Dewey. Dewey also emphasized the social nature of knowledge and self. According to Dewey, ideas are not preconceived, but are formulated in the social environment. Experience becomes a guide to knowledge and thinking is not an isolated activity (Mayer, 1958). Dewey (1916;1985) asserted that the self is not fixed or ready made. The self is "something in continuous formation through choice of action" (p. 361).

Children develop within a social context. In growth processes, individuals engage in interactions with one another. Within these interactions individuals begin to share ideas and beliefs with others and choose courses of action. In this sharing of activities and action in the social world the individual "gradually acquires a mind of his own" (Dewey, 1916;1985, p. 304).

Dewey did not view the mind as an isolated possession

separated from the self. The self achieves mind as the individual interacts in the social world. Mind implies memory, attention, purpose, care, as well as volitional, purposive and practical action (Dewey, 1934). Dewey defined mind primarily as a verb. Mind implies the multitude of means in which individuals consciously and expressively deal with the face-to-face situations of the everyday world. Mind and consciousness indicate the location where "the formed disposition and the immediate situation touch and interact. It is the continuous readjustment of self and world experiences" (Dewey, 1934, p. 266).

As individuals experience the world they share a social environment. Each person's actions depend on the reciprocal interactions of others. People join together in common activities, share and agree upon actions, develop the same ideas, and act in similar ways. In these conjoint activities individuals arouse in self the same ideas and emotions of others (Dewey, 1916;1985). Each individual involved in the activity develops similar ideas or meanings because "both persons are engaged as partners in an action where what each does depends upon and influences what the other does" (Dewey, 1916;1985, p. 19).

Interaction Theory. Interaction theory asserts that the actors within an interaction must be performing from a similar script. Since no two individuals ascribe the same meanings to events and actions, the performance must

involve a reciprocal negotiation of meanings (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Thus, the construction of identity is fluid and continually in a process of reciprocal negotiation (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1984). The interactionist perspective of the teaching-learning process stresses the importance of "a feedback loop between teacher and student" (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1984, p. 159). The teacher and the student are continuously involved in a process of reciprocally negotiating meaning within the classroom. The behavior of each person reciprocally influences the behavior of the other. Thus, student and teacher identities are continually being constructed and can be viewed as both cause and effect for each other (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1984).

Constructivist Theories

Recent constructivist models of learning have emphasized that knowledge results from individual constructions of reality (Brooks, 1990). Piagetian theory posits that children construct schemata of the world through interaction (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992). Even though Piaget emphasized the importance of social interaction, his description of the child's construction of the world basically emphasized the role of the child alone (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992).

Vygotsky. The writings of Vygotsky (1978) emphasized the importance of the symbol system in the cognitive

construction of the self (Winter & Goldfield, 1991). Vygotsky's work stressed the importance of social support and language in the child's development. Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (i.e., ZPD) has been used to study how an individual comes to use the symbol system of language and to illustrate the role of symbolic activity in the organization of behavior (Winter & Goldfield, 1991). The zone of proximal development represents the distance between a person's actual developmental level in problem solving activities and the level of a person's potential development in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985). Vygotsky, like Mead, recognized that inner speech plays a role in the development of the self.

Other Constructivist Viewpoints. From a constructivist viewpoint, the self can be seen as basically dialogical, or multivoiced (Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992). From this perspective, the self is conceptualized in narrative terms and meaning comes into existence within the interaction of two or more voices (Wertsch, 1991). These voices can be actual voices or the imagined voices of others. The "I" is able to construct and enter into conversation with these alternative positions (Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992). Understanding is basically a process of comprehension of utterance (Wertsch, 1991). In the transformation of an inner thought into an utterance, a dialogical relation occurs between the utterance and the imagined utterance of

others. Thus, the self is seen as being social in nature and conceptualized in terms of a multiplicity of autonomous "I" positions. The "I" can move in space, changing positions with situation and time as it imaginatively bestows each position with a voice. The "I" becomes the author with multiple voices which can exchange information about the "me", or the actor, thus creating a complex narratively structured self (Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1991).

Lave (1988) presented a related view of social constructivism, in which cognition is described as being distributed among mind, body, activity, and culturally organized settings. Learning and the development of a sense of identity are seen as aspects of the same phenomena. Learning, social relationships, and identity are interrelated. In this framework, identity is considered as the long-term living relationships which exist between individuals and their place and participation in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Engeström (1987) redefined Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD as the "distance between the everyday actions of individuals and the historically new form of the societal activity that can be collectively generated as a solution to the double bind potentially embedded in...everyday actions" (p. 174). Engeström defined the double bind as an essential dilemma which is both societal and social. In a double bind

situation an individual receives two conflicting commands or messages and the individual is unable to comment on the messages. A double bind is not done to someone, but dwells in interactions over time in which relationships are invalidated through paradoxes which occur in the tensions of the interactions (Engeström, 1987). According to Engeström, individuals can not resolve the tensions of the double bind in separate actions. The solution to the double bind must be constructed in joint co-operative actions which will encourage the emergence of new forms of activity.

"Play activity...is often a mediating device which helps youngsters enter new activities" (Griffin & Cole, 1984, p. 62). Children's play can be repetitive and reproductive, but it can also be inventive and constructive (Engeström, 1987). Children are often able to construct new structures and forms of play as well as new tools and models for play activity. Sometimes children are able to create in play something that does not fit preconceived structures. In play children often bring something new into existence (Engeström, 1987).

Play

Although many definitions for play exist, the most widely accepted definition views play as a behavioral disposition which is apparent in observable behaviors. Play occurs in contexts which are reproducible and describable.

and is a vehicle which allows individuals to explore new behaviors and ideas (Hughes, 1991; Johnson, Christie, Yawkey, 1987; Rubin, Fein & Vandenberg, 1983). Play is the primary occupation of most children and a way of coping with life (Cherry, 1976). Young children do not make the same distinctions between play, learning, and work as adults make (Hughes, 1991; Rogers & Sawyers, 1988; Van Hoorn, Nourot, Scales & Alward, 1993). However, before an activity can be described as play it must contain five essential characteristics. Play is intrinsically motivated, freely chosen, pleasurable, nonliteral, and actively engaged in by the player (Hughes, 1991; Johnson, Christie, Yawkey, 1987; Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983; Van Hoorn, Nourot, Scales & Alward, 1993). Play is a natural function during which learning is achieved by the process of "doing," by exploration, testing, and repetition (Cherry, 1976). Play contributes to emotional, cognitive, and social development (Johnson, Christie, Yawkey, 1987). One of the most useful characterizations of play is its structurally dialectical terms (Sutton-Smith, 1978) in which play "is a special kind of medium for packaging life's contradictions" (Fein & Rivkin, 1986, p. 4). In play individuals assume the role of another person (Mead, 1934) and actively explore the world. Exploration of behaviors within group play helps individuals to develop an awareness of both self and society (Cooley, 1909). James (1842-1910), Dewey (1859-1952), Mead (1863-

1931) and many others have championed the principles of learning by doing and learning through play (Cherry, 1976; Scales, Almy, Nicolopoulou, & Ervin-Tripp, 1991).

Development In Play. Many species engage in physical play, but the range of play from motor play to pretend play, to games with rules is a unique aspect of human development (Ellis, 1988). As play progresses through these unique human stages, it forms the foundation for the development of intellect, creativity and imagination, a sense of self, the resolution of feelings, and the capacity to interact with others in positive and morally sound ways (Almy, 1984; Bergen; 1988; Greenberg, 1989; Isenberg & Quisenberry, 1988; Smilansky, 1968; Van Hoorn, Nourot, Scales, & Alward, 1993). "Play is more than an ends to development...play is the source of laughter and humor, of inventiveness and beauty. It allow us to entertain possibilities and to envision the future" (Van Hoorn, Nourot, Scales, Alward, 1993, p.14).

Symbolic activities are based on a child's ability to create meaning and to express meaning through gesture (Mead, 1934). The use of language and pretend play indicate that by eighteen months of age children are able to engage in symbolic thought. The use of symbolic thought, through interaction and imagination, enables children to transform objects or situations into meanings that are different from the original object or situation (Fein, 1981; Hughes, 1991; Van Hoorn, Nourot, Scales, Alward, 1993).

Social play stimulates children to highlight the rules that underlie play episodes and makes children aware that certain rules are the underlying basis of all social interactions. Through social play children are able to integrate into play groups, to learn to cooperate with one another, and to go beyond self-centered perspectives and to see the world from the viewpoint of another person (Hughes, 1991). The ability to assume the role of another person in play, is related to the expansion of a sense of self as an autonomous individual. Sutton-Smith (1980) asserts that role reversal in play fosters a sense of control and autonomy in children. Playful reciprocity enables children to engage in activities with peers and to develop an understanding of self in relation to others in the social world (Hughes, 1991; Johnson, Christie, Yawkey, 1987).

Mead (1934) indicated that dramatic play is fundamental to the development of self-concept. To develop a separate self-identity a child must figuratively view self from the perspective of the other. Dramatic play provides a vehicle to accomplish taking the viewpoint of another. Mead referred to the make-believe play of three year-olds who are acting at being mommy, daddy, fireman, as "playing at roles." At this stage of development the young child is not integrating his or her play with the role structure of the surrounding world. The integration of role structures does not occur until later when the child is involved in games.

Playing at roles is not supplanted by role playing but the actions of others are integrated into the role play. In games players define a sense of the other by "knowing" what is going to happen (Biesty, 1986).

The ability to enact a role indicates the child's growing awareness of self and other, a continuation of the process of differentiation of self from other which appears between the ages of one and two (Fein & Schwartz, 1986). Developmentally children are able to make a differentiation between self-transformations earlier than they are able to handle other-transformations. By age three children may be able to initiate complementary role play and to assign roles to others, but as they enter actual play frames young children often enact these roles independently (Fein & Schwartz, 1986). Yet, in play the child is aware of his/her self-identity. Thus in early symbolic play the child is

> (a) able to realize simultaneously that s/he can play a role and be him/herself or that a lump of clay can be just that, as well as a birthday cake; and (b) the child realizes that s/he can revert to being him/herself after the play episode is over....dramatic play may be a useful mechanism which compels the child to conserve the identity of peers and the self through the world of make-believe (Rubin & Pepler, 1980, p. 225).

In make-believe the child is able to experiment with a multitude of roles for the generalized other and to take on the attitude of the other in developing self-concept. Mead

(1934) considered dramatic play as fundamental to the development of self-concept. By taking the role of the other in play, children begin to obtain reflections of self as different from, but related to others. Vygotsky (1978) also viewed play as an important precursor to the development of cognitive and social skills. In play, children progress from one level of development to the next. According to Vygotsky, play is invented when children begin to experience unrealizable tendencies. When the child is not immediately able to gratify desires tensions arise. In play the child is able to enter an imaginary world in which the tension can be resolved and unrealizable desires can be fulfilled. Vygotsky stresses that in real life situations action dominates meaning, but that in play action is subordinated to meaning. Thus,

> play creates a zone of proximal development of the child. In play a child always behaves beyond his average age, above his daily behavior; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself. As in the focus of a magnifying glass, play contains all developmental tendencies in a condensed form and is itself a major source of development. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 102)

Therefore, play becomes a mediational tool for bringing something new into existence as the child constructs images of self and other within his/her community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Students

Student Self-Identity

Within a community of practice, self-identity is the way an individual understands and views self as well as how others view the individual (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Self-concept is a broader term which embraces personal elements, esteem elements, and a person's sense of identity in the sociocultural context of the everyday world (Phillips, 1983). A child's self-concept begins to develop with the realization that he/she is a separate entity from the environment (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992; Harter, 1983; Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979). This awareness of self, as a separate entity, begins to appear around twenty-four months of age (Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979).

Studies by Lewis and Brooks-Gunn (1979) indicated that initial visual recognition of self is present as early as nine months of age. As infants develop through the second year of life, they advance in their ability to use physical appearance in the recognition of self, to distinguish their own image from pretaped visual images, and to determine specific stable categorical features in recognition of self.

Investigations dealing with infant recognition of self have been limited to studying aspects of children's visual self-recognition. As the child becomes able to communicate verbally, researchers are not limited to the study of visual

recognition of self (Damon & Hart, 1982). During the processes of growth and development, children begin to use self-descriptive statements. These self-descriptive statements tend to increase around two years of age (Damon & Hart, 1982). At this age, children are able to distinguish between active and physical constituents of the self and can verbally indicate their self-knowledge.

In the attempt to explore the young child's self-knowledge, researchers have discovered that, in early childhood, children conceive of the self in concrete and observable aspects such as name, physical appearance, and size (Damon & Hart, 1982; Harter, 1983). Pre-schoolers tend to view themselves, as well as others, in terms of all or none type thinking (Harter, 1983; Marshall, 1989, Phillips, 1983; Weinstein, 1983). When asked to describe themselves, preschoolers and kindergarten children most often use physical and action terms, such as "I can ride a bike" or "I can play ball" (Damon & Hart, 1982). Younger children do not seem to make the distinctions between physical and academic competence that older children make (Marshall, 1989).

Children begin their school experience with expectations of success, yet evaluations and feedback from adults (e.g., parents and teachers) are important factors in a child's perception of self-concept (Entwhistle & Hayduk, 1981). When children enter school self-concept is already

formed, but at this time children begin to construct a new identity, as a student (Purkey, 1970). Entwhistle and Hayduck (1981) asserted that the beginning of school is a time when the young child leaves the protective circle of the family and starts a new life. For the first time, the child will be evaluated comparatively by adults outside the family structure and these comparisons will shape the child's evaluations of self. Entwhistle and Hayduck posited that the child's self-expectations are critical elements in academic development.

Reviews of the literature (Beane, Lipka, and Ludewig, 1980; Purkey, 1970; & Silvernail, 1981) indicated a significant positive relationship between self-concept and academic achievement. Wylie's (1974; 1979; 1989) reviews relating self-concept to academic achievement in school from the primary grades through undergraduate studies, indicated significant, but weak findings between the two variables. More recent studies also indicated a positive, although weak, relationship between self-concept and academic achievement (Hansford & Hatie, 1982,; Walberg, 1984). The variations in the findings between the two variables may be attributed to differences in testing instruments, but the variations may also be due to the fact that most existing instruments do not account for age and developmental changes (Damon & Hart, 1982).

Some of the research indicated that children's

perceptions of self are age related and change with development (Beane, et al., 1980; Damon & Hart, 1982). Research also revealed that self-perceptions are influenced by the environment, especially by persons designated as significant others (Beane, et al., 1989; Purkey, 1970). Beane et al. (1980) postulated that young children view themselves in a criterion referenced manner (i.e., they evaluate their abilities in specific situations based on task performance). In contrast, adolescents tend to base self-judgements on norm referenced criteria of their peers. As individuals continue to develop, they take on more roles and their awareness of the environment is more acute and more complex.

Children's positive and negative perceptions of self are related to their feelings about social interactions, learning experiences, and school activities (Purkey, 1970; Wylie, 1979). School climate, teacher evaluations, grades, and academic self-esteem, are some of the factors which affect a child's self-identity (Hodge, Smit, & Hanson, 1990; Purkey, 1970; Silvernail, 1981; Wylie, 1974, 1979, 1989). The review of the literature disclosed evidence that for some students, positive self-concept increases as the student moves through school. The evidence also indicated that the underachieving student perceives himself/herself as less confident, less adequate, and less worthy than other more successful classmates; that many students acquire a

more negative self-concept with each additional year in school; and that negative attitudes increase as the end of the school year approaches (Edeburn & Landry, 1974; Flanders, Brode, & Morrison, 1968; Harper, 1989; Purkey, 1970; Purkey & Novak, 1984; Silvernail, 1981).

Differences in self-concept levels of achievers and underachievers could be attributed to differences in intelligence. Research, however, has shown that even when I.Q. was statistically factored out, there was a significant, but weaker, relationship between the two variables (Brookover, Thomas, & Paterson, 1965). Although recent research (Hansford, & Hatie, 1982, Walberg, 1984; Wylie, 1989) discovered weak relationships between self-concept and academic achievement, stronger relationships between student self-concept and achievement have been demonstrated in a wide range of specific academic areas. When researching achievement in reading, Wattenburg and Clifford (1964) discovered that the measures of self-concept scored in kindergarten were significant predictors of progress in later reading achievement. Clawson and Patterno (1987) used the Florida Key, an instrument which measures self-concept-as-learner, to investigate the differences in inferred student self-concept scores of high reading achievers and low reading achievers in kindergarten and first grade. The research results indicated that the high reading achievers, both male and female, received higher

self-concept scores than the low reading achievers.

Although the majority of the literature reviewed presented evidence to support the conclusion that there is a positive relationship between self-concept and student achievement, some researchers found negative conclusions in discovering a relationship between self-concept and academic achievement (Evans, 1988; Pottebaum, Keith, & Ehly, 1986; Scheirer & Kraut, 1979). Scheirer and Kraut (1979) reviewed studies which focused on changes in academic achievement after inception of programs designed to improve students' self-concept. Scheirer and Kraut concluded that the evidence for a causal connection between self-concept and academic achievement was negative. Pottebaum, et al. (1986) also attempted to determine the presence of a causal relationship between self-concept and academic achievement. The results of the statistical analyses did not suggest the existence of a causal relationship between the two variables. In light of these findings, Pottebaum et al. asserted that the observed relationship is the result of one or more unknown variables. Additional research would be needed to determine the nature of these variables and their influence on self-concept and achievement.

In the process of constructing meaning about self, children are also constructing meanings about others. As children construct meaning about self and other, they begin to learn the categories and rules of their society. The

processes by which society imparts these rules and categories to its younger generation is collectively viewed as a process of socialization (Fischer, Hand, Watson, Van Parys, & Tucker, 1984).

Student Socialization

In all societies young children are faced with the task of learning the roles and categories of males and females, of children and adults, and of the various other people (e.g., doctors, firemen, teachers) with whom they interact. Children must also learn how people in each of these categories are expected to act within the context of their society (Fischer, et al. 1984). Most of the existing theories of socialization have emphasized the impact of society on the child, yet have neglected to examine the role of the child in the socialization processes. Given the assumption that children are active agents in these processes, it is necessary to examine how children understand the demands which society places on them and to, correspondingly, examine children's behavior in terms of their understanding of society's demands (Corsaro, 1981; Fischer, et al. 1984).

Most childhood socialization theories have been based on Piaget's assertion that children do not understand social roles and other categories until the period of concrete operations. Yet, researchers have postulated that the

capacities of preschool children are more developed than previously believed (Fischer, et al., 1984). By age two, young children have developed an understanding that other people are independent agents and are beginning to use their knowledge of people to build categories in order to explain the actions of others (Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983). By age three, most young children have mastered a number of these categories. As children grow and develop in the preschool years, they become able to understand the relationships of these complex social categories. By the time children enter elementary school, most have become competent at understanding the categories and rules needed to function in their everyday worlds. Yet, researchers must be aware that young children do not view the world in the same manner as adults (Fischer, et al., 1984). Whereas, an adult might understand social categories in relation to a set of societal roles and norms, young children view social categories in more concrete and personal ways.

By age three, most children can define behavioral roles dealing with gender, age, and race, as well as, learn other behavioral roles such as the complementary roles of teacher and student (Lee & Voivodas, 1977). Yet, at this age young children find it difficult to deal with more than one category at a time. Some research suggested that it is not until age four that a child can begin to integrate a role with its complimentary role in society (Fischer, et al.,

1984), while other research (Mueller & Lucas, 1975) postulated that children younger than three years of age are able to think about others as well as about the behavior of others. This change in role understanding has an effect on the child's self, as well as, on the child's social relationships.

Social roles are only one part of many important social categories children must learn. Other types of social categories are the establishment of categories which specify how to behave in a specific situation (e.g., in a restaurant, in school) and categories which reflect the perceptions of other people. For the preschool child one very important type of social category includes people's interactions with each other and the rules involved for the participants in these interactions (Fischer, et al., 1984).

In our society, aspects of the processes of socialization include learning what students and teachers are, how they are supposed to act, and which rules to follow in the community of the school. Socialization to school is a process which involves not only academic achievement, but also involves developing social competence within the classroom setting (Amunds, 1989; Erikson & Shultz, 1981). Some research studies which examined the young child's process of becoming a student, defined social competence as obtaining the ability to demonstrate appropriate behavior in

the school environment (Amunds, 1989; Erikson & Shultz, 1981).

Developing social competence involves the child's ability to produce appropriate social behavior from one moment to the next, knowing how to interpret various contexts, and knowing how to employ the appropriate behavior for each context. Contexts are structured by people's actions, as well as, the location of these actions. Erikson and Shultz (1981) asserted:

> people in interaction become environments for each other...These interactionally constituted environments are embedded in time and can change from moment to moment. With each context change the role relationships among the participants are redistributed to produce differing configurations of concentrated actions. (p. 148).

Students who have difficulty developing social competence may be labeled "behavior problems," "hyperactive," or "slow" (Shultz & Florio, 1979). The effects of labeling on children are varied, yet based on theories of self-concept construction (Baldwin, 1906; Cooley, 1902; James, 1890; Mead, 1934), results have indicated that labels can lead to detrimental effects on a child's concept of self. The acquisition of social competence plays an important role in a child's formation of his/her image of self as a student

(LeCompte & Stewart, 1979; Shultz & Florio, 1979).

Kantor (1988) posited that learning how to go to school involves both the acquisition of social knowledge and communication skills. Traditionally, researchers have considered kindergarten and not preschool as the entry point at which a child goes to school and begins to learn the role of student. The process of becoming a student in the years of the preschool experience have been relatively unexamined by researchers in the fields of education and childhood socialization. The works of researchers at Ohio State University (Kantor, 1988; Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988; Klein, 1988), and the works of others such as Amunds (1989), Bae (1988a;1992), Corsaro and Rizzo (1988), and Corsaro (1981), have attempted to focus on the preschool child's socialization to school. The process of learning to be a student starts with the child's first experiences with school (Florio, 1978; Kantor, 1988; Reifel, 1988). Different kinds of experiences lead to different constructions of meaning about the student role (Fernie, 1988). Fernie (1988) described two disparate views of school socialization. The traditional socialization viewpoint portrays the school as an agency and teachers as the agents for the transmission of culture to the next generation. From this traditionalist viewpoint, becoming a student is a method for becoming an adult. Individuals are

socialized through the process of schooling in order to meet the needs of the workplace.

Another view of socialization depicts classroom cultures as distinctive social relations created by particular groups of children and teachers. In the process of becoming a student, children negotiate with teachers a participatory structure of different roles, rights, obligations, intentions, and actions. Emphasis is on the everyday face-to-face interaction and becoming a student is seen as an active process. Whereas, the traditional view sees becoming a student as socialization through school, the contrasting viewpoint emphasizes socialization to school. From this perspective, play is the means through which the child accesses the social world, experiments with the roles of self and other, and develops a more socialized self (Fernie, 1988). These two viewpoints illustrate that the sociocultural orientation of the school community is a mediational means in the construction of the child's identity as a student.

In an ethnographic study which investigated the development of social competence in junior kindergarten students, Amunds (1989) confirmed the viewpoint that children are active participants in the socialization process. Amunds' study focused on the processes of the child's socialization to school from the viewpoint of the

child and did not investigate the interaction between teachers and children. Amunds' concluded that in the process of becoming a student, nonconformist behaviors regarding rules and routines were related to insufficient procedural information, as well as, to the testing of adult rules. More specifically, when junior kindergarten children were not given the procedural information needed to make sense of and to execute a task, they experienced difficulty in assuming the role of student. Other researchers (e.g., Corsaro, 1981; Bae, 1988a, 1992; Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988) have focused on the interaction which is occurring between the individuals in the school setting. These studies will be discussed in the section dealing with teacher and student socialization as coparticipatory processes.

Investigations have, not only, highlighted the child's self-concept and socialization, but investigations have also focused on teacher self-concept and socialization. Students and teachers are both members of the classroom community. Teacher self-concept and the teacher socialization processes are factors which contribute to the manner in which children and teachers harmoniously live together within the community of the classroom.

Teachers

Teacher Self-Identity

Teacher identity has been investigated using both quantitative and qualitative methodology (Nias, 1986). Quantitative studies (for reviews see Fitts, 1972; Kash, Borich, & Fenton, 1976; Purkey, 1970; Thomas, 1973; Wylie, 1974, 1979, 1989) indicated that, in general, teachers as groups tend to record positive self-concepts, when measured on self-report instruments such as The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Fitts, 1972). A critical assertion generated by these reviews concludes that in order to help children develop positive attitudes about self, teachers need to have positive and realistic self-attitudes (e.g. Purkey, 1970).

Theoretically, a teacher's "substantial self" (Nias, 1986), or core self, influences his/her behavior, view of self as a teacher, perception of students, and the view of the role of student and teacher. The teacher's positive or negative view of self affects the teacher's ability to function competently in the role of a teacher (Kash, Borich, & Fenton, 1976). Combs (1965) indicated that "effective" teachers' view of self are both positive and realistic. Effective teachers are also more decisive, realistic, and consistent in addressing classroom management and behaviors. Combs indicated that the teacher's positive self-concept

seems to be an important element in establishing a supportive classroom environment.

Boy and Pine (1971) postulated that teachers need to value themselves in order to value students. Teaching is a personal experience of the self which has an important influence on the behavior of others. A teacher who does not have positive self-esteem would find it difficult to view others as having positive self-esteem. Correspondingly, a person defines himself/herself in choosing work and a style of work behavior. Many variables are involved in a person's choice of a career, but some college students' choices about a future career and about coursework may be arbitrary and based on general college requirements and convenience. At some point in their program of studies, students who are considering teaching as a career will be enrolled in classes which include fieldwork components. Prospective teachers often view these courses as a method of self-assessment. They want to know if they have what it takes to be a teacher (Applegate & Lasley, 1985).

The construct of the self in early field experiences of beginning teachers has been examined by a number of researchers (e.g., Applegate & Lasley, 1985; Fuller, 1969; Garvey, 1970; Lantz, 1965; Scherer, 1979; Walberg, 1967; Weinstein, 1988). The contributions of these early field experiences to self-knowledge and self-concept, however, are

not well defined. The results of these early studies indicate that the self-concepts of prospective teachers are related to a variety of variables, such as, practice teaching grades, classroom climate, cooperating teacher's ratings of performance, participation in early field experiences, types of school placements, and flexibility in teaching behaviors (Fuller, 1969; Garvey, 1970; Lantz, 1965; Scherer, 1979; Walberg, Metzner, Todd, & Henry, 1968).

Fuller (1969) investigated the behaviors and concerns of preservice teachers and experienced teachers. In this study, prospective teachers who exhibited a positive image of self and reasonable self-confidence, as measured by self-rapport, also exhibited flexibility in teaching behavior. These preservice teachers were primarily focused on "self" and survival concerns. In contrast, the experienced teachers were more focused on the task of teaching and their impact on students.

Recent research indicated that the concerns and self-images of preservice teachers in an introductory education course were more closely related to the concerns of experienced teachers than to those of beginning teachers (Evans & Tribble, 1986). Preservice teachers were less concerned than beginning teachers about issues such as classroom discipline, assessment, and working with parents. These results appear to be inconsistent with Fuller's (1969)

work. An explanation may be that the preservice teachers, who have not yet been involved in a field experience, are in a period of "unrealistic optimism" (Walberg, 1967). These prospective teachers may not have experienced the "reality shock" of the real world of the classroom. Since the preservice teachers have not yet entered the real world of the classroom from the other side of the desk, they may be more able to focus on concerns about their future impact on students rather than on their survival. The need to maintain a sense of self-esteem is one of the contributing factors to the preservice teachers' sense of "unrealistic optimism" as they seek to maintain their "ideal" images of self as teacher (Weinstein, 1988).

The majority of the studies which investigated teacher self-concept were framed within quantitative methodology. These studies tended to focus on correlational aspects of teacher or prospective teacher self-concept with other variables and did not give insights into the teacher's view of self. Another group of studies which attempted to provide insights into the teacher's view of self were studies which investigated the teacher socialization process.

Teacher Socialization

Quantitative Studies. Some studies which investigated

teacher socialization also utilized a quantitative framework (e.g. Fuller & Bown, 1975; Hoy & Woolfolk, 1990; Karmos & Jacko, 1977; Zeichner & Grant, 1981). Many of the studies within this framework tended to be functionalist in nature and to portray the novice teacher as a passive agent in the socialization process. These studies investigated how the impact of different variables, such as, the influence of significant others, the ecological environment, the dominant beliefs and practices of the school, and the teachers' orientation toward control, effect the process of socialization to teaching (Hoy & Woolfolk, 1990; Karmos & Jacko, 1977; Zeichner & Grant, 1981).

Fuller and Bown (1975) reviewed over 300 studies which investigated teacher socialization. From a synthesis of these studies, the researchers were able to label three categories in the process of learning to be a teacher: survival concerns, situation concerns, and pupil concerns. These concerns can cluster together and may overlap. Before entering their first teaching roles, preservice teachers are primarily concerned with self as a student. At this point in development, preservice teachers tend to have idealistic concerns about pupils (cf. Walberg, 1967; Weinstein, 1988). When prospective teachers begin their teaching experience their concerns deal with their own survival as teachers (cf. Fuller, 1969). At this point novices are primarily focused

on issues of classroom management, mastery of content and evaluation by supervisors. Beginners are experiencing the difficulties of learning all the intricacies of the teacher role. They are teaching, yet they do not view themselves as teachers. As preservice teachers continue to teach, they begin to think about the aspects of teaching. Although still very much focused on their own survival, these novices are beginning to think about methods and materials. At this point they may have concerns about pupils, but coping with their own concerns often prevents preservice teachers from dealing with concerns about pupils. Other research, within a qualitative framework, also revealed that the process of becoming a teacher evolves over time and that self-confrontation which involves construction of teacher identity are important factors in the socialization process of becoming a teacher (Kagan, 1992; Strahan, 1990a; 1990b; Wildman, Niles, Magliaro, & McLaughlin, 1989).

Qualitative Studies. In self-confrontation, preservice teachers are involved in a process of dialogue and a complexity of negotiations with self and other (Strahan, 1990a; 1990b). The processes of socialization involve understanding what persons make happen as a result of their life experience, as well as, the events that structure their practice (Britzman, 1991). An assemblage of studies examined teacher self-identity in light of the teachers'

life experiences. These studies were framed within a variety of contextual approaches such as interviews, case studies, life histories, and narrative discourse (Britzman, 1991; Bullough & Knowles, 1991; Bullough, et al. 1989; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Lalik & Glasson, 1992; Nespor & Barylske, 1991; Nias, 1986; Woods, 1986). These studies employed qualitative methods in order to examine individual lives and to determine which aspects and experiences influenced and shaped the individual's sense of personal identity (Nias, 1986).

Kagan's (1992) review of the literature on professional growth among preservice and beginning teachers examined and grouped 40 studies according to major themes which emerged from any analysis of the results. One important theme which continually surfaced throughout Kagan's review was the role of the neophyte teacher's image of self as teacher. The feeling of one of the teachers that "Sometimes I am not sure who I am" (Bullough, et. al., 1989, p. 210), illustrates the beginning teacher's struggle to formulate a sense of self as teacher. Initially, novice teachers have not formed an understanding of self in the teacher role.

One aspect of developing an understanding of self as teacher, involves the synthesis of the novice's prior beliefs about teaching with the novice's current experiences (Knowles, 1992). A number of studies indicated that

preservice and beginning teachers bring to the teaching experience prior beliefs and knowledge of teaching based on their own experiences as students (Britzman, 1986, 1992; Bullough, 1991; Bullough & Knowles, 1991; Bullough, et. al., 1989; Knowles, 1992; Lortie; 1975; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). Based on past school experiences and other life experiences, novice teachers construct "ideal" images of self as teacher (Calderhead, 1989). These prior beliefs and ideal images of self as a teacher, become part of the novice's multivoiced dialogue with self. These conceptions interact with the social setting, people, and new experiences to contribute to the socialization process of becoming a teacher (Britzman, 1991).

As neophyte teachers interact with students in the classroom, they acquire knowledge of pupils. This newly acquired knowledge of pupils is used to modify, to adapt, and to change the teacher's image of self as teacher (Bullough, 1991; Bullough & Knowles, 1991; Bullough et al. 1989; Grossman, 1989). When novices have experienced and resolved the dissonance in self-image, they begin to reconstruct their teacher self-identity and they begin to move from a focus on their own behavior to a focus on the design of instruction and pupil learning (Kagan, 1992). Kagan asserted that the beginning teacher's initial focus on self is not an inadequacy, but that the adaptation and

reconstruction of the initial teacher image is a necessary part of the novice teacher's development. The primary tasks for the novice teacher are the acquisition of knowledge about students and about self. The acquisition of this knowledge is not a separate process, but occurs as teachers and students negotiate meanings about self in the processes of living together in classroom communities.

Nias (1984; 1989) and Woods (1984; 1986) also saw the individual's attempts to preserve a sense of personal identity as an important part of the active process of socialization in teaching. Nias' (1989) interviews of British primary teachers produced evidence to indicate the importance of self-image in the work of teachers. Nias discovered that at the beginning of the teaching career most of the teachers interviewed did not see themselves as teachers and that the search for identity, as teacher, often lasted up to four years. Woods (1986) examined and compared two teachers in a case analysis. Woods asserted that the differences in the two teachers could be attributed to their types of commitment and their conceptions of identity. Each teacher's previous experiences led to the establishment of different strategies for dealing with the teaching environment. Woods indicated that the establishment of survival strategies reflects the individual's choice of the distribution of commitment and identity within the framework

of interaction with others. Within this framework teacher socialization and the construction of teacher identity develop.

Identity, as teacher, is not only influenced by beliefs and newly acquired knowledge of students, but teacher identity is also influenced by the classroom and school contexts (Clandinin, 1989; Cole, 1990; Wildman, Niles, Magliaro & McLaughlin, 1989). As novices begin the process of becoming a teacher they attempt to link self with the system (Knowles, 1992). Based on case studies of five preservice teachers, Knowles (1992) presented a speculative model of teacher socialization which accounts for both the teacher's role identity and the school environment. Knowles asserted that the contextual aspects of the classroom environment are important in the socialization process, but that these contextual aspects do not have the power that has been assigned to them by other research (e.g., Karmos & Jacko, 1977). Knowles posited that both biography and context are factors in the student teachers' construction of identity.

Wildman et al. (1989) also presented in-depth case studies which indicate that both biography and context are important factors in the process of teacher socialization. For the teachers in this study, prior beliefs and expectations, colleagues, parents, and school context all

were factors which affected the socialization process. The school context varies for each individual teacher. A novice teacher's chances for a successful year can be affected by students, classroom assignment, relationships with principals, and relationships with colleagues. For the teachers in this study, these factors were important to experiencing success and constructing identity. Whilbourne's (1986) study of adult identity also supported the assertion that context and setting of one's work, as well as success or failure on the job, can have an effect on a person's perceptions of competence which are considered basic to adult identity.

An individual's past experiences as well as, the context and setting of new experiences are important aspects in the socialization process. From a social constructivist viewpoint these aspects (i.e. past experiences, colleagues, parents, and school context) are mediational means, or tools, in the construction of mind and self. Teachers and students bring to the classroom their own past histories and individual experiences. For teachers and students experiences, individuals and the school context are all mediational means which are employed as teacher and students coparticipate in constructing identity.

Students and Teachers

Coparticipatory Interaction

Social interactions with parents, teachers, and peers are important factors in the development of the child's concept of self (Coopersmith, 1967; Purkey, 1970; Purkey & Novak, 1984). During the early school years, teachers become important significant others in effecting the development of the child's self-concept (Purkey, 1970). As teachers and students live together in the classroom, they create and interpret meanings about self and others in coparticipatory processes of social interaction. The boundaries between personal and situational factors become permeable and it is difficult to determine with certainty "where 'self' ends and 'other' begins...the linkage between I and Other is not a relation of exclusivity but one of mutual dependence" (McLean, 1991, p. 186).

Just as teachers are an important element in the child's classroom reference group, pupils are also an important influence on the teacher (Sikes, et al., 1985). A synthesis of the literature indicates that over time, teachers and students become reference groups for each other and that the coparticipatory social interactions between teachers and students impact both teacher and student identities. Teachers and students are reciprocally involved

in the processes of identity construction (Bae, 1992; McLean, 1991).

The initial encounters which occur between teachers and students are the basis for the establishment of negotiations within a new reference group. These negotiations are the foundations for the construction of identities within the classroom. Reviews of the literature (e.g. Purkey, 1970; Silvernail, 1981; Wylie, 1974, 1979, 1989) indicated that research has focused on the influence of teachers on pupils in areas such as achievement, attitudes, beliefs, and self-concept. In the majority of these studies pupils are viewed as passive subjects and the teacher is seen as the major actor (Sikes, et al., 1985). When studies did investigate the influences of teachers' and pupils' on each other, the focus was on the effects of the interaction on either the teacher or the pupil. Despite this shying away from a coparticipatory framework, the investigations into the relationship between teacher attitudes, beliefs, and self-fulfilling prophecies, as well as, teacher and student identity and socialization still maintain the crucial dimension of the interactional relationship between teacher and student. The basis for many of these studies rests on the assumption that what the teacher does in the classroom will affect the students and likewise that the students' actions will affect the teacher.

Self-fulfilling Prophecies. In every classroom setting, teachers make inferences about the present and future classroom behavior and academic achievement of pupils. Teachers base these inferences on factors such as student grades, I.Q., home and family background, and the opinions of other teachers. Some of these opinions may be accurate and others may be misconstrued, but these inferences all combine to form the basis of teacher expectations which are observed in daily classroom contact with the students (Brophy & Good, 1970; Crohn, 1983). The teacher's opinions and expectations play a role in framing present and future teacher behaviors (Crohn, 1983). The teacher communicates performance expectations and attitudes in both verbal and nonverbal messages. Young children are as aware of differences in teacher messages and treatment of high and low achievers as older children (Weinstein, Marshall, Sharp, & Botkin, 1987). Teacher's attitudes and expectations toward students and student performance have been shown to change in regard to students' gender and achievement (Brophy & Good, 1970; Etaugh & Harlow, 1973; Mendels & Flanders, 1973; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). The teachers' attitudes, beliefs and expectations are incorporated into the student's perceptions of self and are significant in affecting the child's attitudes toward school and academic achievement (Purkey & Novak, 1984; Silverman,

1981; van Horn, 1983; Weinstein & Marshall, 1984).

Probably the most cited and controversial study in the area of teacher attitudes and expectations was the classic Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study of the Pygmalion effect. In this study teachers were told that, judged on the basis of test performance scores, certain children would make significant increases in academic achievement during the school year. At the end of the year, the children, who actually had been randomly selected, had made gains in I.Q. scores. Rosenthal and Jacobson concluded that the effect was the result of the teachers' belief that the students would show a gain in academic achievement.

Some of the research which has replicated the Rosenthal and Jacobson study on teacher expectancy effects has yielded negative findings (Mendels & Flanders, 1973), but other evidence supports the hypothesis that teacher expectations influence a teacher's behavior toward specific pupils in the classroom (Brophy & Good, 1970). Brophy and Good (1970) investigated the ways teachers communicate to different children different performance expectations. Observational investigations of dyadic interactions between teachers and children in first grade classrooms revealed that the teachers did have differential expectations for high and low achievers and for males and females. Teachers did discriminate in their behavior toward high and low achievers

in terms of demands on the students' performance. This differential treatment encouraged the students to respond in such a manner as to confirm the teachers' expectations. The researchers concluded that the behavioral manifestations of the teacher's expectations acted as self-fulfilling prophecies.

Research indicates that expectancy effects which are artificially created are not equivalent to the expectancy effects which are found in the natural setting of the classroom (Brophy & Good, 1978; Mendels & Flanders, 1973). Based on the differences between the findings in investigations in which the teacher's expectations were manipulated and the investigations of the teacher's own expectations, researchers concluded that teacher expectations are sometimes self-fulfilling. Overall, however, those studies which are truly naturalistic in nature have tended to support the assertion that teachers behavior and expectations result in self-fulfilling prophecies (Brophy & Good, 1978).

Student and Teacher Self-Concept. A number of quantitative correlational studies which were conducted in the late 1970's and early 1980's investigated the relationship between teacher and student self-concept, academic achievement, and teacher effectiveness (Aspy & Buhler, 1975; Curtis & Altman, 1977; Edeburn & Landry, 1974;

Seaton, Mize & Memory, 1978; van Horn, 1983). Implications which can be drawn from these studies include: the formation of the academic self-concept influences the students' future achievement in school; a teacher's reaction to a child is influenced by the self-concept of the child and the self-concept of the teacher; and the teacher, as a significant other, is an important factor in the formation of the student's academic self-concept. These quantitative studies imply that a relationship exists between the self-concept of the teacher and the self-concept of the student, but the studies do not provide knowledge about the nature of the relationship between teachers and students as they construct meanings about themselves within the community of the classroom.

Student and Teacher Socialization. Kagan (1992) asserted that one of the primary tasks for novice teachers was the construction of knowledge about students. Just as teachers teaching must learn about students, the students must also learn about teachers. The initial encounters between students and teachers establish the base for the negotiation of meanings about teacher and student identity. The teacher is considered to be the locus of control within the classroom, yet the classroom events are jointly constructed by teacher and students.

When children enter school they begin to construct

meaning about the roles of student and teacher and to construct a student identity that is unique to each youngster. LeCompte and Stewart (1979) discovered that kindergarten children were better able to describe what teachers do in school than they were to describe their own role in the school setting. The children viewed their role as directed by the teacher. The amount of time spent in school seemed to be a factor in the children's perceptions of school. Whereas, some children viewed school activities as play, others viewed school activities as learning specific cognitive matters (e.g. reading). Children who had been enrolled in longer periods of daycare before the kindergarten experience were more likely to view school in an academic context.

Socialization to school is a collective social process (Corsaro, 1981; 1988; Corsaro & Rizzo, 1988). The ethnographic work of Corsaro and Rizzo revealed a range of discourse strategies used by children in order to generate shared routines, to collectively construct and participate in a peer culture, and to appropriate features of the adult world. These discourse strategies were developed in classroom interactions with peers and produced a peer culture and identity which in turn contributed to the construction of individual identity as a student. Whereas, Corsaro and Rizzo's view of socialization emphasizes the

autonomy of the child's peer culture, at the same time it also recognizes the contributions and influences of the adult world. Corsaro (1988) posited that becoming a student is a complex process in which children must first begin to see themselves as peers before they begin to view themselves as students. As children construct social identity as peer, they also interact with the boundaries represented in the reactions and rules of the teacher. Children confront and react to the adult rules in the new social setting of the classroom and begin to form a group identity. Corsaro viewed the group identity as the basis of the eventual formation of the social identity as student.

The process of becoming a student involves both students and teachers in a coparticipatory interaction of negotiation of the classroom procedures and events. Shultz and Florio (1979) used microethnographic techniques to study and describe aspects of social competence acquired by children in a combination kindergarten/first grade classroom. They reported that both the teacher and students used movement through time and space as cues to the context of classroom events. For example, the students' movement and level of noise cued the teacher as to the length of the activities. The teachers' movement to a specific area of the classroom cued the students that a change in activity was about to occur. Both verbal and nonverbal signals were

given to the students by the teacher to indicate the beginning and end of activities. As coparticipants in the classroom interactions, the children were able to recognize changes in the classroom context. When children were not able to recognize these contextual changes there behavior was considered inappropriate for the situation.

Whereas, Shultz and Florio examined the child's interpretation of classroom cues and social competence, other researchers have approached the interaction from the viewpoint of the teacher (e.g., Doyle, 1979; Ben-Peretz & Halkes, 1987). Ben-Peretz and Halkes (1987) focused on teachers' interpretations of classroom actions. In this study two groups of teachers from different cultures viewed video tapes of the others' classrooms. Based on the teacher's and student's movements, voice levels, nonverbal cues, and use of materials, the two groups of teachers were both able to interpret classroom events. The teachers' own personal knowledge and past experiences of classroom events were important aspects in the interpretation of the events.

Other researchers found evidence that school cultures are diverse in nature and influence teachers in contradictory ways (e.g., Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). Each individual school setting may contribute to the socialization process in different ways. Yet, most of us were at one time students and the memories of past student

experiences are a part of the sociohistorical voices which affect our present interactions. As indicated earlier, novice teachers bring to the classroom images of self as teacher which have been partially constructed from their own experiences as students (Bullough, 1991; Lortie, 1975). "Knowledge of self, classrooms, and pupils does not appear to evolve separately" (Kagan, 1992, p. 148).

Students are powerful factors in the teacher socialization process (Doyle, 1979; Haller, 1967; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). As novice teachers enter the classroom their understanding of the students they are to teach may be inadequate (Bullough, et al., 1987). This inadequate base of knowledge about students underlies other problems such as classroom discipline and management. Bullough et al. posited that, to be successful, the beginner must learn about and respect his/her students. In essence, the roles of teacher and student are linked, therefore in learning about students, the beginning teacher is also defining self-as-teacher.

Bae and McLean. In the field of early childhood education, the works of Bae (1988a; 1992) and McLean (1988, 1991) have been situated in a coparticipatory framework of interaction between teachers and students. Using a phenomenological approach these investigations examined how interactions between teacher and student were experienced by

the individuals involved in the processes. Although, both Bae and McLean discussed interactional effects on teacher and child, they highlighted different viewpoints. McLean focused on how the interaction between teacher and student influenced the teacher and the teacher's development of self identity. Bae focused on how the teacher/student interaction influenced the child and the child's development of self.

McLean. The primary purpose of McLean's research was to ascertain the teacher's involvement in the peer group interactions of the children. Four experienced Australian kindergarten teachers, who had recently been recognized by excellence in teaching awards, were the subjects of in-depth case studies. In each case study, the connections between the teachers' image of self-as-teacher and the teachers' classroom actions were explored. McLean drew a number of conclusions about the interaction between the teachers and the students. First, within these classrooms, the teachers and students established a community in which the context of the interaction was important. The physical environment influenced the social world and the established patterns of teacher/student interactions became the basis of teacher decision making and conflict resolution. Secondly ,the teachers were often confirming in their relationships with the children and demonstrated a willingness to view the

world through the child's eyes. Equally important to the teachers in this study were the strong elements of personal history which were present in the teachers view of self-as-teacher. As these teachers discussed self, it was possible to identify critical incidents (cf. Measor, 1985) in the construction of their identity of self-as-teacher.

The teachers' interpretation of situations became the basis for understanding the classroom events. Teachers developed strategies to deal with the complexity of the interpretive processes of interaction. One strategy was the importance that teachers gave to the identity of the children involved in an interaction. The teachers' seemed to give the children both individual and group identities (cf. Bullough, et al., 1989), thus producing individual and collective influences for the children's role in the interactions. Contrary to other studies of experienced teachers (e.g., Fuller & Bown, 1975; Kagan, 1992; Katz, 1972), the strategies used by the teachers often were coping or survival type strategies. That is, previous findings have indicated that the survival stage in teacher development occurs early in a teacher's career and that experienced teachers are not focused on their own survival needs, but are more focused on the needs of the students. However, survival issues remained a viable concern for the experienced teachers in these settings.

Although, McLean did not extend the study to describe the lives of the children, her observations led her to draw some conclusions about the children's roles in the interactions. The children skillfully interpreted the teachers' actions. They were able to shape the interaction sequences in order to meet their own needs. This finding is similar to the contention of other researchers that young children are more skilled in reading situational cues and sophisticated cognitions than previously believed (cf., Fischer, et al., 1984).

Bae. Whereas, McLean focused on the teachers in the interaction, Bae's (1988a; 1992) studies of Norwegian nursery school classrooms investigated children's relationship experiences as they participated in interactions and learned about self and others. Bae incorporated a dialectical self model (Lovlie, 1982) which employs the concept of "part processes" (i.e. interchanges in interactions occur on three simultaneous levels: theme, feelings, and definition of the relationship). Within the framework of these "part processes" each individual in an interaction can negotiate the expression of parts of the relationship. The individuals create expectations about self, the task, and the other.

Bae's (1988a) analysis yielded themes which were both similar to and different from the themes which emerged in

McLean's findings. First, the children used a variety of means to communicate the message that they wanted adults to relate to their actions. Some of these messages were in the form of verbal requests and others were nonverbal in nature. In their attempts to seek adult recognition and interaction the children became active partners in the process of creating self. Secondly, the adults in the setting had difficulty confirming or acknowledging the children's experiences. The adults did not seem to try to understand the children's communication in the interaction.

These findings, concerning the teachers in Bae's study, are in direct contrast to McLean's (1988; 1991) findings. McLean's findings indicated that the teachers in her study were confirming and tried to view the world from the child's viewpoint. Bae did not provide information about the participants in this study, in terms of age of the children or experience and training of the teachers. Therefore, it is not known what type of teacher preparation the adults in this setting had received. The teacher's qualifications, or lack of qualifications, for teaching could be a factor in the teachers' difficulty in confirming the child's experience. The personalities of the teachers could also be a factor affecting this finding.

Bae concluded that in the majority of the classroom interactions the teachers focused on verbal messages and did

not respond to the children's nonverbal attempts to create an interaction. The adults did not focus on their own contributions to an interaction. In most instances the teachers tended to label the child's experiences and did not see how their own responses contributed to the on-going flow of an interaction.

McLean (1988; 1991) concluded that young children are very attuned to the situational cues of the context and at times manipulate these cues to their own benefit (cf. Fischer, et al., 1984). The children in Bae's study did not seem to be as able to manipulate the interaction to meet their needs. Again, the lack of knowledge about the participants in Bae's study makes it difficulty to draw conclusions about her findings. The children in McLean's study were in kindergarten and were four and five years old. Bae's study was conducted in a nursery school and the age of the children was not disclosed. Nursery school children could range in age from infants to age five. It is conceivable that the children in Bae's study were younger than the children in McLean's study and that the younger aged child might have more difficulty discerning these situational cues. Also, McLean and Bae were investigating classrooms in different cultures. Cultural differences could also contribute to the different types of interactional patterns observed by the researchers.

Another theme which emerged in Bae's research was that the experiences in one classroom relationship created mutual predispositions for other relationships. The degree of self reflection by the adult created predispositions of the adult/child interaction. When the adults did not reflect on their contributes to classroom interactions, the processes of living together were not conducive to the child's nor the teacher's development of self.

In a follow-up study, Bae (1992) specifically examined the question of the teacher's acknowledgement of the child in the interaction. Her results indicated that different interactional patterns created different experiences about self and others. Interactions which indicated acknowledgement led to the child's more spontaneous expressions of self and to positive expectations concerning the role of the other. Interchanges which did not indicate acknowledgement created "educational prototypes" (p. 6), which expressed the teacher's conceptions of their pedagogical attitudes. When teachers did not reflect on the classroom events these "educational prototypes" were automatically incorporated into the teacher/child interaction. Bae found evidences of the following prototypes:

(1) a preoccupation with correctness (i.e., the "right" answer);

(2) Didactic questioning, testing abstract knowledge;
(3) leveling or erasing individuality, stressing similarity (cf., Bullough, et al., 1987; McLean, 1988, 1991);
(4) neutrality and control in the expression of feelings.

When the interaction between teacher and student is dominated by "educational prototypes", the child's expression of self is hampered. The prototypical attitudes create insecurity, embarrassment, frustration, and anger and prevent the child from sharing thoughts, feelings, playfulness, and from developing social competence. The self which is constructed in these interactions is passive, reticent, and lacking in sensitivity and solidarity with others. Bae postulated that based on these findings, it is important for teachers to become more conscious of ways of communicating and interacting with the students in the classroom.

Summary. The works of Bae and McLean lend support to Kagan's (1992) assertion that knowledge of self-as-teacher and self-as-student does not evolve separately. Even though Bae and McLean both use a framework based on the interaction and coparticipation of teachers and students, the processes by which novice teachers and students jointly construct

identities during the everyday interactions of classroom practice has yet to be studied. Specifically, an investigation of the construction of identity for novice teachers and students which highlights the coparticipatory processes for both teachers and students has yet to come to my attention. In order to begin an investigation of these processes, I implemented Phase I of the present study (Walker, 1993).

Implications from Phase I

Phase I of the present study investigated the interactional coparticipatory processes of becoming a teacher and becoming a student. Specifically, Phase I examined the ways in which preservice teachers, in their initial experiences with the teacher role and three year-old children who were entering school for the first time began to construct identities as teachers and students.

A review of the literature indicated that self-identity studies which used quantitative techniques disclosed knowledge that relationships between teachers and students contribute to their respective constructions of identity. My purpose in Phase I was to seek to obtain knowledge about how the interactions between teachers and students contributed to the construction of identity as a teacher and as a student.

Based on the findings from Phase I and the present literature review, it is reasonable to assert that the assumption of the responsibility of the role of teacher and the role of student is intertwined with the development of social competence. Social competence includes learning how to "behave" appropriately in specific contexts and knowing when role relationships change (Erickson & Shultz, 1981). As preservice teachers enter their practicum experiences they must learn how to behave appropriately in the role of teacher. As these neophytes are assigned responsibilities for planning lessons, managing classroom routines, and behavior management, they are learning what is expected of them as teachers. These activities are being conducted in interactions with students. Mutual rights and obligations are constantly being redefined within the interactions and allocated into categories of action (Erickson & Shultz, 1981). Within these interactions teachers and students negotiate the meanings and definitions of their individual roles (Corsaro, 1988). Accepting the responsibilities which accompany the roles of teacher and student help beginning teachers and students define actions and define mutual rights and obligations. Not being able to recognize the context and to enact the appropriate behavior may prevent both novice teachers and novice students from accepting the responsibilities of their respective roles.

When an individual is unaware of the cues that indicate changes in the context, the person may not employ the appropriate behavior (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Shultz & Florio, 1979). For example, young children may not recognize the contextual changes between the end of one activity and the beginning of another. The child may understand what is expected in the student role, but a child who misreads the context cues consequently does not accept the responsibility of the student role.

Beginning teachers who misread the contextual cues in a situation may not enact the teacher responsibilities in classroom management or instruction (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Shultz & Florio, 1979). In the context of the practicum experience, the external motivation of the course grade may result in the preservice teacher's acceptance of the responsibility to complete an assigned task. As a novice, the preservice teacher may not be able to interpret the context cues involved in appropriately enacting the teacher role and thus, may not assume the responsibility of the teacher role.

Another theme which emerged during the analysis of Phase I, concerned the role of play in this setting (cf. Mead, 1934). The philosophy of the University Laboratory School is based on the belief that young children learn through play. At the inception of this research project, I

entered the fieldwork experience with an awareness of Mead's theory and of the Lab School philosophy. Even after a semester of observing the interactions and collecting and analyzing the data, I did not realize the significance of play in this setting. Perhaps, because play was seen as the natural occurrence in this classroom, I had not made "the familiar, unfamiliar" (Erickson, 1983).

In reading and re-reading the field notes in preparation for writing a paper to present at a conference, I became aware that in my play interactions with the children, they often assumed the role of the adult and I was the child. Within the context of their symbolic play, the children were playing at changing the rules. In the process of these role reversals, the children were changing the social reality and experimenting with the role of self and other. By reciprocally accommodating my play the children were able to construct knowledge of my role and identity in the classroom. I was not a teacher, but an adult who played at being a child, just as they were kids who played at being adults, firefighters, and doctors, etc.

As the preservice teachers interacted with the children, they entered into the children's play in the role of teacher, but in play the preservice teachers were helping the children expand their knowledge of the world. At the same time, the preservice teachers were expanding their own

knowledge of children, of teaching, and of themselves as teachers. Thus, in a coparticipatory process of interaction through play, the preservice teachers and the children began to negotiate and construct meanings about self and other. The play situation was influenced by both the teacher and the child.

Rogers and Sawyers (1988), posited that relationships with other people (e.g., parents, teachers, peers) affect children's play. Sociodramatic play, or social pretend play, involves two or more children enacting roles in make believe situations (Johnson, Christie & Yawkey, 1987). Howes, Unger, and Matheson (1992) identified three functions of social pretend play:

(1) to communicate meaning by mastering the forms of social pretend;
(2) to express and explore the forms of control and comprise issues through negotiation of meanings and scripts;
(3) to explore intimacy and trust.

Social pretend play functions are related to demands for social competence. The second function of social pretend play is salient to this study. As children construct an identity as a student, they are involved in negotiation and compromise with the teacher. Social pretend play during the three year-old period is characterized by negotiations of

control and comprise (Howes, Unger, & Matheson, 1992). Howes, Unger, and Matheson's (1992) review of research indicated that studies of social pretend play during the toddler period tended to focus on the adult/child dyad (vis., mother/child dyad); but in the period between ages three and four, the studies related to social pretend focus on peer/peer relationships. These researchers asserted that the few studies on adult/child relationships at this period tend to suggest that adults support and encourage the child's play rather than being an active participant. When children begin to negotiate issues of control and compromise, it seems that the adult takes on a supportive rather than active role. The absence of studies does not mean that the adult and the child are not negotiating issues of conflict and compromise through play. The absence of studies indicates that the role of the adult in the three year-old child's play has not been thoroughly investigated. My initial investigations of the literature exploring the adult role in children's play indicated that there is an absence of studies which investigate the impact of the teacher's role in the young child's play.

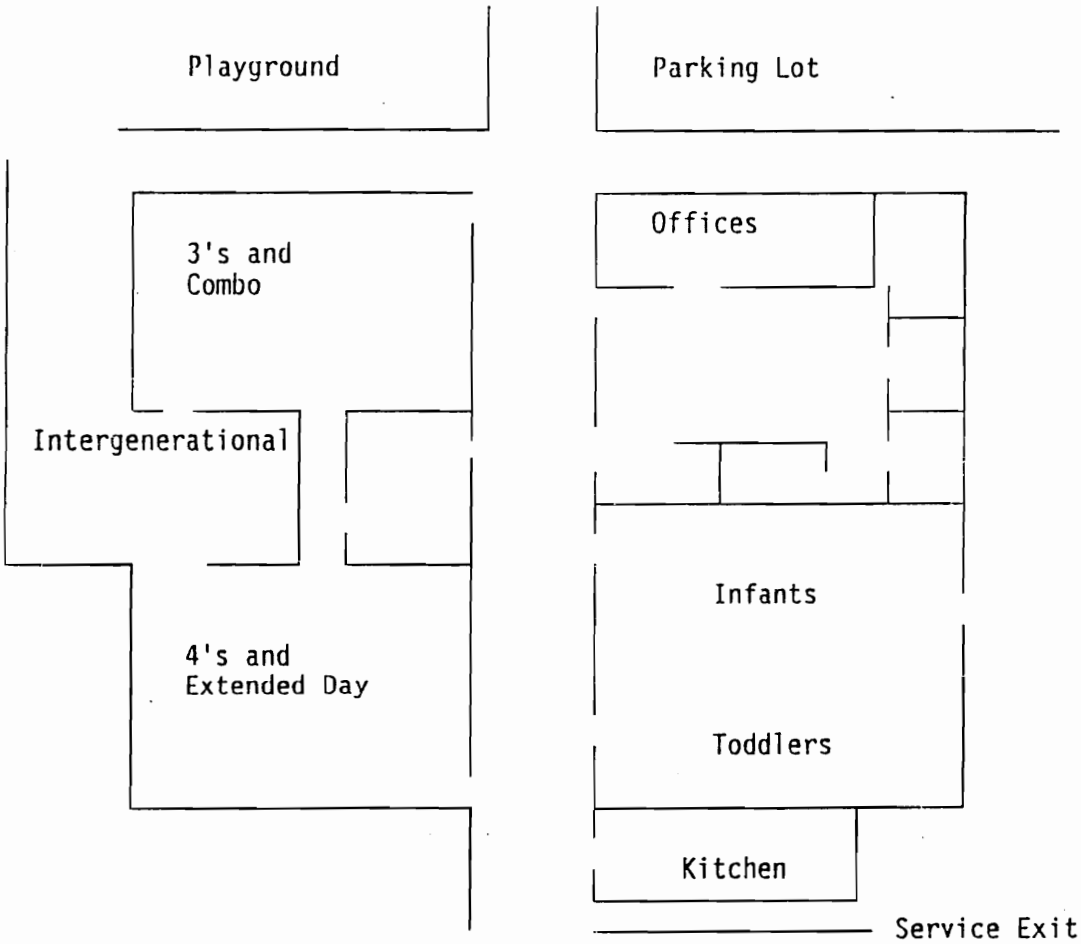
Based on my review of the literature and my analysis of the Phase I data, Phase II of this study was designed to further investigate the coparticipatory processes of becoming a teacher and becoming a student and to investigate

how these processes contribute to the construction of teacher and student identities.

APPENDIX B

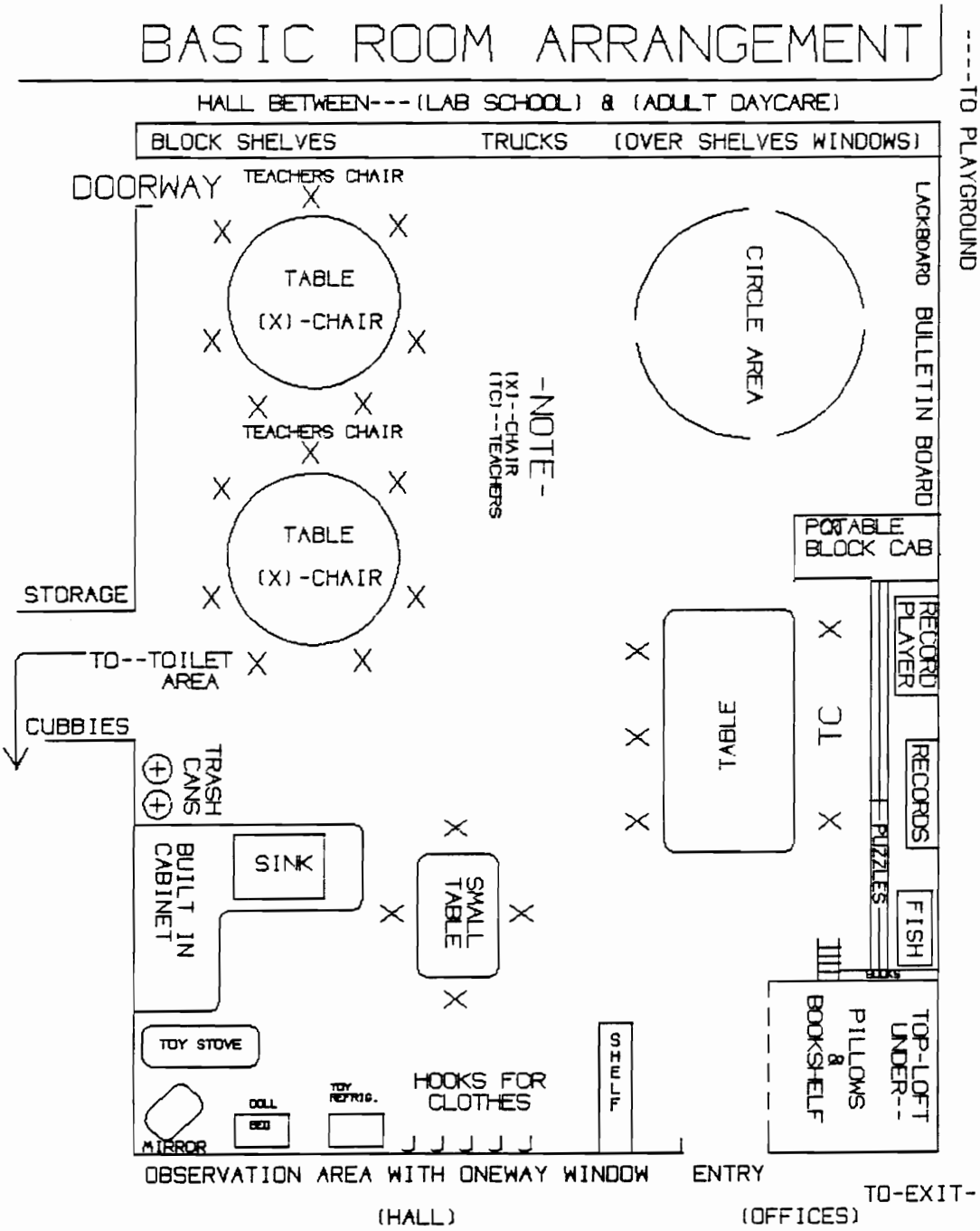
Diagrams of the Child Development Laboratory

Child Development Laboratory



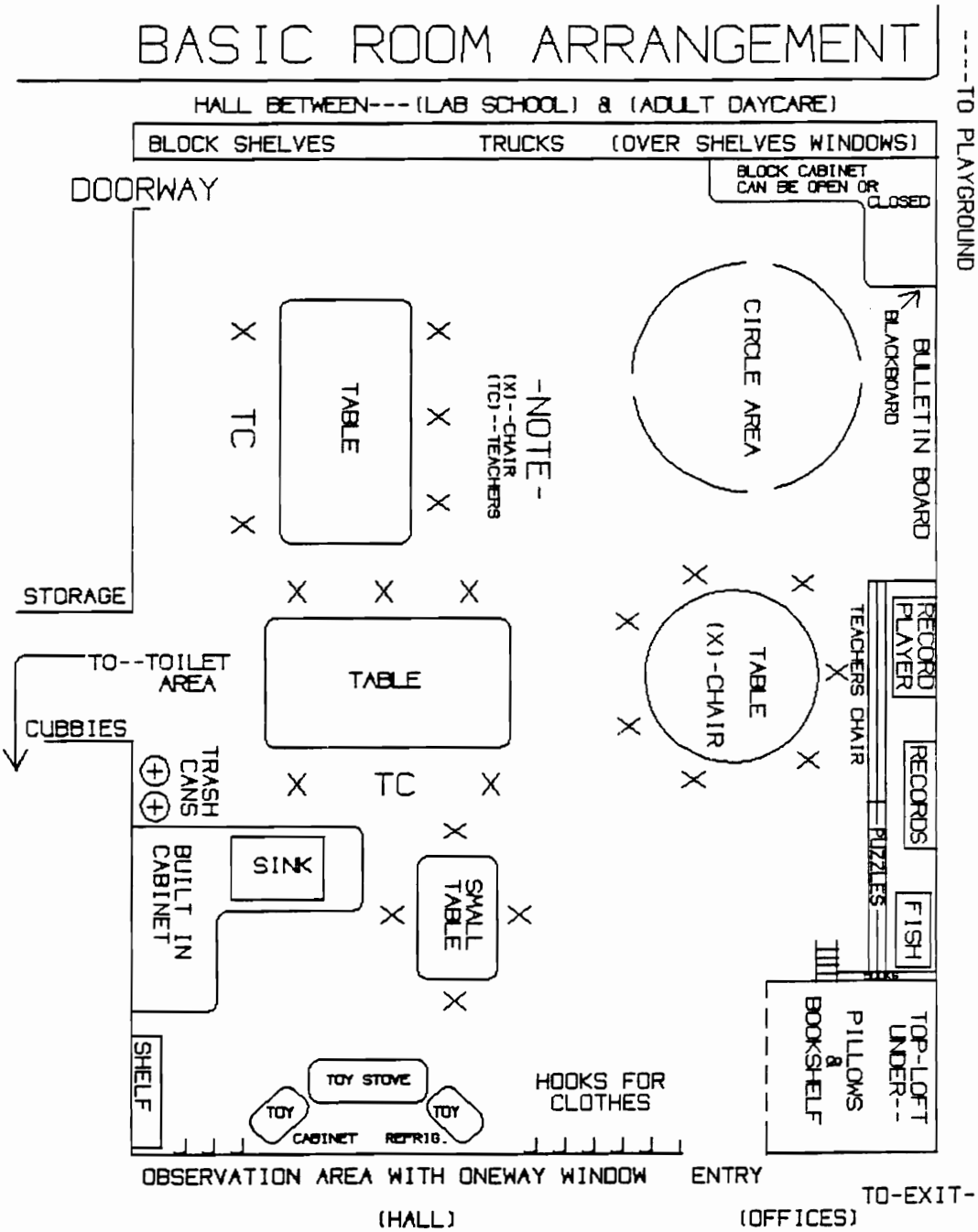
PHASE-1

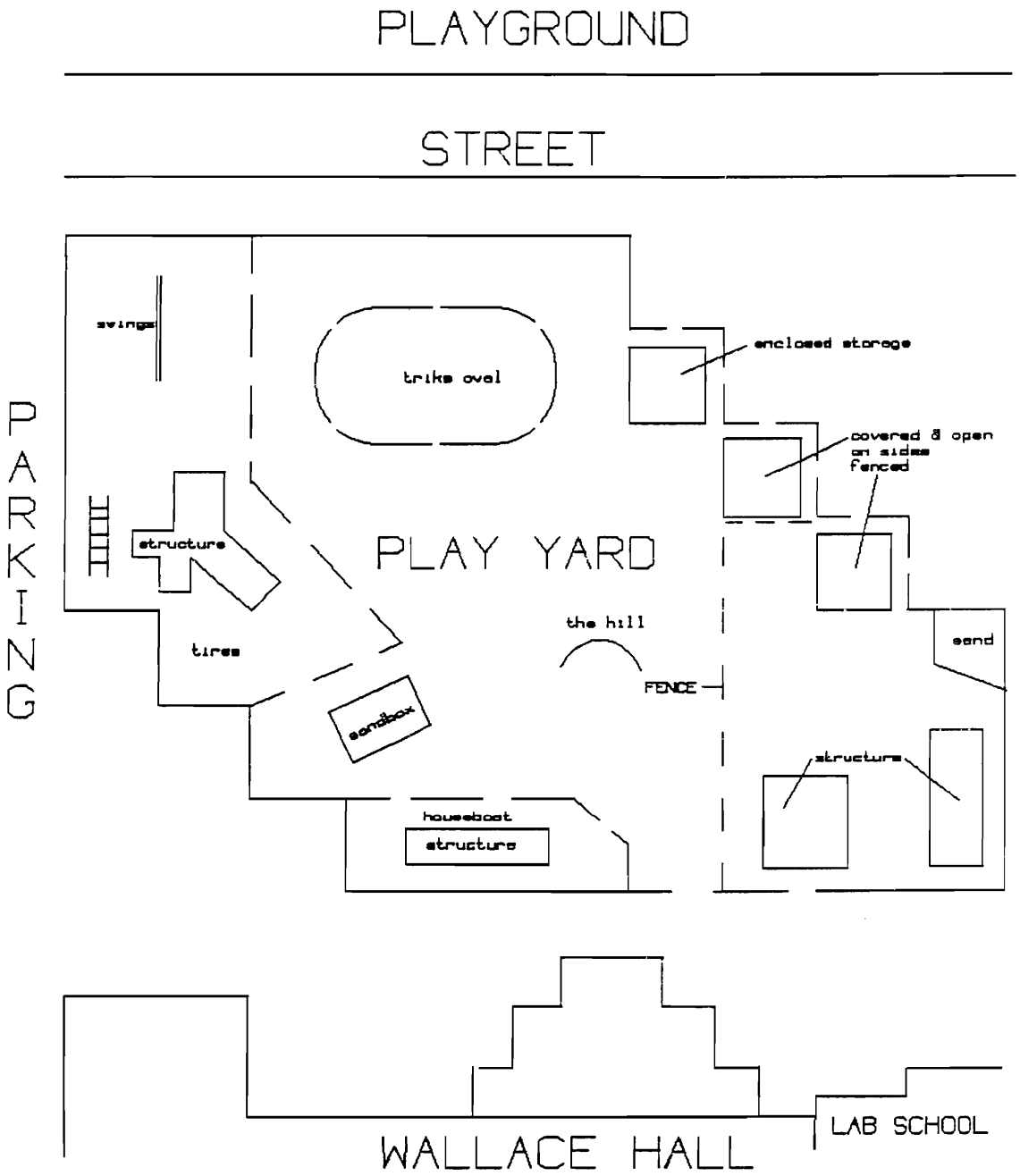
BASIC ROOM ARRANGEMENT



(PHASE 2)

BASIC ROOM ARRANGEMENT




PLAYGROUND
STREET
PARKING
swings
trike oval
enclosed storage
covered & open on sides fenced
structure
PLAY YARD
tires
the hill
FENCE
sand
sandbox
structure
houseboat
structure
WALLACE HALL
LAB SCHOOL

APPENDIX C

Daily Schedules

Daily Schedule for Child Development Programs

Infants (2 to 18 mo.,Monday/Wednesday,Tuesday/Thursday,9:00-11:30)

9:00-9:55	Activities/diaper checks
9:55-10:05	Clean up/prepare for snack
10:05-10:15	Snack
10:15-10:25	Group time
10:25-10:35	Prepare for outdoors
10:35-11:10	Outside play
11:10-11:30	Inside quiet play

Toddlers (18-36 mo.,Monday/Wednesday,Tuesday/Thursday,9:00-11:30)

9:00-9:55	Activities
9:55-10:05	Clean up/diaper change/toilet, wash hands
10:05-10:15	Snack
10:15-10:25	Group time with infants
10:25-10:35	Diaper change/prepare for outdoors
10:25-10:35	Get ready for outside
10:35-11:10	Outside play
11:10-11:25	Inside quiet play
11:25-11:30	Clean up, circle

Three Year-Olds (Monday-Friday 8:30-12:00)

8:30-9:30	Centers
9:30-9:45	Clean-up
9:45-10:00	Circle/toileting
10:00-10:10	Snack
10:10-11:00	Outside
11:00-11:10	Clean-up
11:10-11:30	Circle
11:30-12:00	Lunch and quiet activities

Four Year-Olds (Monday-Friday 8:30-12:00)

8:30-9:30	Centers
9:30-9:40	Clean-up
9:40-9:55	Circle
9:55-10:00	Bathroom
10:00-10:10	Snack
10:10-11:00	Outside
11:00-11:25	Circle
11:25-11:30	Bathroom
11:30-12:00	Lunch and quiet play

Extended Day(Monday & Wednesday - Three and Four Year-Olds 12:00-5:00)

12:00-1:00	Centers
1:00-1:10	Clean-up
1:10-1:20	Brushing teeth and toileting
1:20-1:35	Circle (story time) in nap room
1:35-3:00	Nap and quiet time
3:00-3:20	Wake up; toileting and snack
3:20-4:10	Outside time
4:10-4:30	Circle
4:30-5:00	Quiet Activities

Combo Group (Monday, Wednesday, Thursday - Three and Four Year-Olds; 1:00-4:00)

1:00-2:00	Centers
2:00-2:15	Clean-up/bathroom
2:15-2:30	Show and Tell/grouptime
2:30-2:35	Handwashing
2:35-2:50	Snack
2:50-3:45	Outside
3:45-4:00	Storytime/Group time

Head Teacher: Kay

Child Development Lab Lesson

3-Year-Old

Date Fri., Nov. 19

	Art	Manipulatives	Blocks	Dramatic Play	Concept
8:30	Hand-print/ Finger painting mural	Build a Pipeline #36	(kitchen) Construction vehicles with Bristle Blocks #15 and construction hats (dramatic play)	Birthday Party 4's cubby	Flannel Board Habitats C1 S5

9:30	Clean Up / Toileting	Helen-clean-up Beatrice-toileting
9:45	Circle Time Kay	Nature walk discussion/Show and Share
10:00	Snack	Peggy
10:10	Playground / Active Play	Nature walk/Playground (Beatrice) sand toys;bikes;basketballs & goals;balls
11:00	Store Equipment / Clean Up /	Peggy
11:10	Circle Time Kay	Turtle Song, The Tortoise and the Hare, Real turtle
11:30	Lunch / Quiet Activities	Peggy-markers/paper

APPENDIX D

Letters and Consent Forms

LAB SCHOOL
Department of Family and Child Development
Permission Form

The main purpose of the program is to provide learning experiences for students. This includes both instruction and investigations of child and family development. In connection with this, photographs may be made, field trips may be taken away from the laboratory area or children may participate in varied activities connected with investigation and research projects. In addition, medical emergencies could arise which require immediate action. In order to be sure parents are aware of and understand these possibilities we are asking you to give permission. Please check the blanks and sign below.

_____1. Permission to Photograph. I understand that video, sound tape recordings, movies and photographs may be made of the laboratory groups. These will be used for educational purposes, publications and professional presentations.

_____2. Field Trips. I grant permission for my child to take occasional excursions away from the University and understand that parents will be informed at least one day ahead of such trips. Transportation will be provided by faculty, parents and students who are personally insured for liability. If I prefer that my child not go on a trip he/she will remain at home that day.

_____3. Investigations and Research Projects. I understand that students under the supervision of instructors, may occasionally question or provide special learning experiences for children that are usual and accepted in early childhood programs, and may be participants in student or faculty research projects which may be disseminated to other than class members. In this case, I understand I will be informed as to the specific study and can then decide if I want my child to participate.

_____4. Emergency Medical Care. If the staff determine that medical care is needed, every possible effort will be made to first contact a parent so that the parent can help in planning further steps to be taken in the particular situation. If emergency medical attention is needed and the parent cannot be reached or if there is no time to reach the parent first, the staff will contact medical aid in the following order: (1) the child's physician named below; (2) the County Hospital Emergency Room. If the child should become ill during the session and the parents cannot be contacted, we will contact the non-emergency contact number listed below.

Child's Name _____

Mother's Name _____ reach at telephone # _____

Father's Name _____ reach at telephone # _____

Child's Physician _____ telephone # _____

Non-emergency contact _____ telephone_____

I authorize the personnel in the University Laboratory School to secure emergency medical aid for my child.

Signed _____ Date _____

List any persons authorized to pick up your child _____

Letter to Parents
1992-1993

Dear Parents:

As a part of my doctoral research I wish to investigate how beginning teachers and students become socialized to school. The process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student involves social interaction as teachers and students explore new situations and begin to form new aspects of self-identity. The messages which socialize a young child to school are transmitted in many ways. Teachers are constantly sending both verbal and nonverbal messages about what is expected of students in the classroom, yet as educators, we know very little about how children interpret these messages. Research findings indicate that these initial experiences contribute to the way a child forms an image of self as a student and that a child's perception of these initial experiences may have long-lasting effects on other school experiences. Research also indicates that for preservice teachers beliefs about self and teaching change during extended interactions with children. Additional research of these beginning interactions is needed in order to help formulate appropriate learning experiences for young children and for preservice teachers.

I would like you to help me better understand the processes of socialization and identity construction of teachers and students by granting permission for your child to participate in this research project. Specifically, I would like to observe the interactions which occur between your child and the teachers and assistant teachers in the University Lab School and informally interview your child in the school setting. The interviews will occur during the course of the child's interactions with me in the classroom. I will be using puppets, art activities, and informal conversation to elicit information about how your child perceives the role of student, teacher, and assistant teachers in this classroom setting. These informal interviews will be audio taped and during transcription all names will be changed to provide anonymity to the participants. Interactions between children and teachers will occasionally be video taped and viewed by myself, the teachers, and members of my doctoral committee. A summary of the research findings will be made available to you upon request.

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. He or she is free to withdraw at anytime without penalty or prejudice by contacting Dawn Walker (231 -7040 or 953-4053), Dr. Janet Sawyers (231-6148), or Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269).

This project has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee and the Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me, Dawn Walker (231-7040), my major professor, Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269), the director of the University Lab School, Dr. Janet Sawyers (231-6148), or the Chair of the Institutional Review Board, Dr. Janet Johnson (231-6077).

Please indicate you decision to participate by completing the attached form and returning it to Dawn Walker or Jean Vogler at the University Lab School by _____. I do appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Dawn Walker

Consent Form For Children

I **DO** give permission for my child, _____,
to participate in the study on the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

Signed _____ Date _____

I would _____ would not _____ wish to receive a summary of the findings of this study.

I **DO NOT** give permission for my child, _____,
to participate in the study on the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

Signed _____ Date _____

Letter to Parents
1993-1994

Dear Parents:

As a part of my doctoral research I wish to investigate how beginning teachers and students become socialized to school. The process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student involves social interaction as teachers and students explore new situations and begin to form new aspects of self-identity. The messages which socialize a young child to school are transmitted in many ways. Teachers are constantly sending both verbal and nonverbal messages about what is expected of students in the classroom, yet as educators, we know very little about how children interpret these messages. Research findings indicate that these initial experiences contribute to the way a child forms an image of self as a student and that a child's perception of these initial experiences may have long-lasting effects on other school experiences. Research also indicates that for preservice teachers beliefs about self and teaching change during extended interactions with children. Additional research of these beginning interactions is needed in order to help formulate appropriate learning experiences for young children and for preservice teachers.

I would like you to help me better understand the processes of socialization and identity construction of teachers and students by granting permission for your child to participate in this research project. Specifically, I would like to observe the interactions which occur between your child and the teachers and assistant teachers in the University Lab School and informally interview your child in the school setting. The interviews will occur during the course of the child's interactions with me in the classroom. I will be using puppets, art activities, and informal conversation to elicit information about how your child perceives the role of student, teacher, and assistant teachers in this classroom setting. These informal interviews will be audio taped. In any reporting of the data pseudonyms will be used to provide anonymity to the participants. Interactions between children and teachers will occasionally be video taped and viewed by myself, the teachers, and members of my doctoral committee. A summary of the research findings will be made available to you upon request.

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. He or she is free to withdraw at anytime without penalty or prejudice by contacting Dawn Walker (231 -7040 or 953-4053), Dr. Janet Sawyers (231-6148), or Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269).

This project has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee and the Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me, Dawn Walker (231-7040), my major professor, Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269), the director of the University Lab School, Dr. Janet Sawyers (231-6148), or the Chair of the Institutional Review Board, Dr. Janet Johnson (231-6077).

Please indicate you decision to participate by completing the attached form and returning it to Dawn Walker or Jean Vogler at the University Lab School by _____. I do appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Dawn Walker

Consent Form For Children

I **DO** give permission for my child, _____,
to participate in the study on the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

Signed _____ Date _____

I would _____ would not _____ wish to receive a summary of the findings of this study.

I **DO NOT** give permission for my child, _____,
to participate in the study on the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

Signed _____ Date _____

Preservice Teacher Consent Form

Becoming a teacher and becoming a student involves a socialization process in which an individual participates in a situation, determines what actions are expected, experiments with different aspects of a role and thus begins to construct a new part of self-identity. I invite you to participate in a study that will examine the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

This research project is a qualitative/ethnographic study which includes and examines my observations of your interactions with the students in the University Lab School, your observation reports and logs in FCD 3204 or your reflective evaluations in FCD 4214, a written (one page) description of an "ideal" teacher, and participation in two interviews. The interviews will focus on your perceptions, attitudes and conceptions about the process of becoming a teacher. Each interview should take about one hour and will be scheduled at your convenience. The interviews will be audio taped. During transcription all identifying names and identifying locations will be removed to provide anonymity. A summary of the research findings will be available upon request.

Occasionally classroom interactions will be video taped. The video tapes will be viewed by the researcher, lab school teachers, and university faculty who are members of the researcher's doctoral committee. You are also invited to view these tapes and to discuss your interpretations of your role in the classroom interactions.

From this project I hope that together we can learn more about the coparticipatory processes of identity construction occurring in this classroom and that our understanding of these processes will contribute to a deeper understanding of ourselves. You are free to withdraw form this study at any time without penalty or prejudice, by contacting Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269) or Dr. Janet Johnson, Chair of the Institutional Review Board (232-6077).

This study has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee and the Institutional Review Board. If you have any further questions please contact Dawn Walker, Division of Curriculum & Instruction, 400 B War Memorial Gym, Virginia Tech (231-7040).

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information above and have agreed to participate in the research project. In order to schedule interviews, please include your telephone number.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Telephone # _____

Head Teacher Consent Form

Becoming a teacher and becoming a student involves a socialization process in which an individual participates in a situation, determines what actions are expected, experiments with different aspects of a role and thus begins to construct and identity. I invite you to participate in a study that will examine the interactional process of becoming a teacher and becoming a student.

This research project is a pilot study which includes and examines my observations of your interactions with the students and assistant teachers in the University Lab School, two formal interviews, and a written (one page) narrative about how you perceive your role as a teacher. The interview will focus on your perceptions of the interaction that is occurring between you, the assistant teachers, and your students. Each interview should take about one hour and will be scheduled at your convenience. The interviews will be audio taped and during transcription names will be removed to provide anonymity. Occasionally classroom interactions will be video tapped and will be viewed by the researcher and members of the researcher's doctoral committee. You may also want to view the video tapes to discuss your role in the classroom interactions. A copy of the summary of the data will be available at your request.

From this project I hope that together we can learn more about the coparticipatory processes of identity construction occurring in this classroom and that our understanding of these processes will contribute to a deeper understanding of ourselves. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or prejudice, by contacting Dr. Susan Magliaro (231-5269) or Dr. Janet Johnson, Chair of the Institutional Review Board (231-6077). This study has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee and the Institutional Review Board. If you have any further questions please contact Dawn Walker, Division of Curriculum & Instruction, 400 B War Memorial Gym, Virginia Tech (231-7040).

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information above and have agreed to participate in the research project. In order to schedule interviews, please include your telephone number.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Telephone # _____

APPENDIX E

Course Syllabi

FCD 3204

Principles of Working With Children and Parents

Course Description:

Principles and techniques of guiding children's behavior will be studied from a developmental perspective. Parent education methods will be explored. Pre: 1004, (2H,3L,3C)

Instructor:

Instructor's Name	Office Phone Number
Office Location	Home Phone Number

Texts:

Marion, M. (1991). **Guidance of young children.** Columbus, Ohio: Merrill Publishing Company.

Bredekamp (1987). **Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs serving children from birth through age 8.** Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Berger, E. H. (1991). **Parents as partners in education.** NY.
NY:Specified Reading on reserve in library.

Objectives:

Having successfully completed this course the student will be able to:

1. Demonstrate knowledge of several philosophies of childrearing and evaluate philosophies of child-rearing and state one's own philosophy.

2. Demonstrate knowledge and comprehension of the currently accepted principles of working with children in such a way as to promote self-discipline while preserving self-esteem.

3. Apply the currently accepted techniques in working with children in the university laboratory school or other child care settings.

4. Demonstrate knowledge of the techniques of written and oral communication with parents regarding child development and guidance.

Honor Code:

All students are expected to uphold the standards of the University Honor Code. Any suspected violations should be reported.

Course Requirements and Evaluation:

Assignment	Due Date	Possible Points
Exam 1	Sept. 24	50
Exam 2	Oct. 29	50
Final	Monday, Dec. 14 3:25-5:25	80
Lab Grade		
#1 Physical & Temporal Environment	Sept. 15	25
#2 Teacher-Child Interaction	Oct. 13	25
#3 Prosocial Behavior	Nov. 3	25
#4 Parent Newsletter	Dec. 1	25
Daily Logs		
#1	Sept. 10	10
#2	Sept. 24	10
#3	Oct. 8	10
#4	Oct. 22	10
#5	Nov. 5	10
#6	Nov. 19	10
#7	Dec. 8	10

Grading Scale:

360-400	=	A
320-359	=	B
280-319	=	C
240-279	=	D
below 240	=	F

Failure to complete any assignment will result in your grade being lowered by one letter grade. Fabrication observations and daily logs will be treated as a violation of the Honor Code.

Tuesday, August 25	Introduction
Thursday, August 27	Adults Styles of Caregiving (Marion: 4-31)
Tuesday, Sept. 1	Discipline: The Continuing Debate (Marion: 33-53)
Thursday, Sept. 3	Positive Discipline (Marion: 56-80)
Tuesday, Sept. 8	Adults As Managers of the Physical Environment (Marion: 82-104)
Thursday, Sept. 10	Adults as Managers of the Temporal Environment (any source on schedule) Log #1
Tuesday, Sept. 15	Developmentally Appropriate Child Guidance: The Child in the Guidance System (Marion: 169-203) Observation #1
Thursday, Sept. 17	Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp: 1-46)
Tuesday, Sept. 22	Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp: 47-87)
Thursday, Sept. 24	EXAM #1 Log # 2
Tuesday, Sept. 29	Behavioral Approach to Child Guidance (Marion: 108-134)
Thursday, Oct. 1	Rogerian Approach to Child Guidance (Marion: 136-150)
Tuesday, Oct. 6	Adlerian Approach to Child Guidance (Marion: 151-168)
Thursday, Oct. 8	Motivation & Autonomy Kamii (1981-82) Csikszentmihalyi & McCormick (1986) Log # 3

Tuesday, Oct. 13	Helping Children Develop Positive Self-Esteem (Marion: 206-226) Observation # 2
Thursday, Oct. 15	Nurturing the Roots of Prosocial Behavior (Marion: 251-270)
Tuesday, Oct. 20	Aggression in Childhood (Marion: 227-250) (Berger: 346-379)
Thursday, Oct. 22	Dealing with Problem Behaviors Log # 4
Tuesday, Oct. 27	An Eclectic Approach to Child Guidance (Marion: 271-280)
Thursday, Oct. 29	EXAM # 2
Tuesday, Nov. 3	Parent Involvement & Historical Overview (Berger: 1-84) Observation #3
Thursday, Nov. 5	The Parent Community (Berger: 85-115) Log # 5
Tuesday, Nov. 10	Effective Home-School-Community Relationships (Berger: 116-151)
Thursday, Nov. 12	NO CLASS - NAEYC
Tuesday, Nov. 17	Community & Parent Programs (Berger: 152-182)
Thursday, Nov. 19	Leadership Training in Parent Education (Berger: 183-232) Log # 6
Tuesday, Dec. 1	School & Home Based Programs (Berger: 233-299) Observation # 4
Thursday, Dec. 3	Right, Responsibilities, & Advocacy (Berger: 386-409)
Tuesday, Dec. 8	Wrap up & Review Log # 7

FCD 33204

Physical & Temporal Environment

Observation # 1

Please state the age of children you are working with. The questions below are to give you some structure, but do not limit yourself to these. "Yes" and "No" questions are to be followed with explanations. Use specifics and details to support your responses.

1. Describe the indoor setting you are in. What is the classroom like? Is there a schedule or routine? What behavior is elicited by the environment (i.e. child-child interactions; teacher-child interactions)? What is the overall atmosphere and what contributes to it (i.e., lighting, materials, space, textures, organization, etc.)?

2. Describe the playground. Do the children have outside time each day? Is the playground arrangement and/or activities varied? Is there enough to do for the number of children?

FCD 3204

Teacher-Child Interaction

Observation # 2

1. Describe any incident in which you or another teacher used the techniques of I-messages, active listening, or the no-lose method based on the Rogerian approach. Was the technique used appropriately and successfully?

2. Write a short reaction paper (one-page) to the major principles of behavioral theory. Support your papers with examples from your experience and observation of other teachers use of behavioral techniques.

3. Evaluate the age-appropriateness (0-8) of the four "mistaken goals" of behavior associated with Adlerian theory. Give examples from your experience of successful and/or unsuccessful attempts to deal with the behaviors associated with mistaken goals.

FCD 3204

Prosocial Behavior

Observation # 3

Marion defines prosocial behavior as any action intended to benefit or help another person, animal, or group of people without expectation of external reward. In the classroom in which you work, observe for examples of the prosocial behaviors as shown on the chart on page 255. Identify a child who exhibits <u>few</u> of these prosocial skills. Use one or several of the adult practices that she identified that foster prosocial behavior. Describe your "intervention" and discuss the results. Be sure to integrate your reading of Marion in your observation.

FCD 3204

Parent Newsletter

Observation # 4

Write a paper suitable for inclusion in a parent newsletter on any topic we have covered in class. Be sure to base the information on research and recommended guidance procedures.

FCD 3204

Daily Logs

The daily log is a "diary" of your practicum experience. It is an opportunity for you to develop observation and recording skills. My recommendation is that you write down your reflections as soon as possible after you are with the children. You will need an entry for each time you are with the children. Be sure to date your entry. The log can be informal but correct spelling and grammar is an expectation. The logs should be written on paper that can be inserted into a thin paper folder/binder. Feel free to raise questions. Give me enough detail on a particular child or situation so I can give you helpful feedback.

FCD 4214

Curriculum and Program Planning in Child Development

Fall 1993

Instructor: Instructor's Name Location: Place
Office: Office Location Time: T, Th: 12:30-1:45
Office Hours: T & Th: 3:00-5:30 Course Index: 6443

Course Description:

This course provides supervised experience in planning, implementing, and evaluation activities and experiences conducive to meeting the developmental needs and interests of young children (infancy through age 8). Theories and teaching methods that foster the full development of children are stressed and an integrated approach to curriculum is presented in which literacy, mathematical, scientific, social studies, and creative activities are introduced and applied. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of teacher-child and peer interaction in the development of social, communicative, and cognitive competence and intrinsic motivation.

While this course primarily offers supervised experience in the teaching of children in early educational settings, **it is designed to encourage the development of a reflective disposition toward teaching in general.** Specifically, teacher development is fostered through processes of shared inquiry and reflection on the pedagogical meaning and significance of students' experiential knowledge about teaching and learning.

Required Texts:

Dodge, D., & Colker, L. (1992). **The creative curriculum for early childhood (3rd Edition).** Washington, D.C.: Teaching Strategies Inc.

Lay-Dopyera, M., & Dopyera, J. (1993). **Becoming a teacher of young children (Fifth Edition).** New York: McGraw-Hill.

Selected cases from Silverman-Welty-Lyon (1993). **Case studies for teacher problem solving.** McGraw-Hill Primis.

Other readings on reserve or distributed in class.

Course Objectives:

1. Demonstrate ongoing personal and professional development as an early childhood teacher (i.e., as a decision-maker and active participant in the teaching-learning process of young children).

2. Integrate and apply scientific and personal knowledge systems (i.e., child development and instructional theories, research evidence, as well as personal experience, subjective understanding, and intuition) in planning and implementing activities, schedules, and routines for young children in early educational classrooms.

3. Demonstrate an understanding of the preactive, interactive, and evaluative phases of teaching (i.e., observing, planning, implementing, and assessing) in fostering all aspects of child development (i.e., cognitive, social, communicative, physical, creative) through the organization and implementation of informal learning activities.

4. Demonstrate an understanding of the role of play and informal learning activities as social contexts for development, and the ability to choose and utilize play materials effectively.

5. Develop skill in self-evaluation and a reflective attitude toward teaching.

AUDIT - To earn credit for auditing the course, students are expected to attend all classes and to do all readings.

Course Expectations:

1. Regular class attendance is expected.

2. Participation in the Child Development Laboratories is required. Students are expected to spend 6 hours per week in their assigned lab school placement. Some participation in outside settings (e.g., public school classroom, family child care home or child care center) also is required (see Professional Menu).

3. Students are expected to complete all assignments and requirements by the dates specified.

4. Students are expected to contribute to classroom and small group conversations centering on their personal and

interactive experiences with children and cases for teacher problem solving. Conversations focusing on actual and case-based teacher experiences provide students with opportunities to explore the context specificity of the teaching-learning process and begin to think like teachers.

Course Policies:

Five points per day will be deducted for late assignments, unless arrangements to change the date have been made in advance. Assignments should be typed, unless otherwise indicated, and proofread for spelling, typing, and grammatical errors. If you are unable to participate in the lab school due to illness, death in the family, or emergency, you must immediately:

a. contact your Head Teacher or lab school office
b. contact the professor or the T.A.
c. arrange to make up missed time with your Head Teacher.

Points will be taken off of your participation grade for unexcused absences (e.g., over sleeping, studying for another class, etc.). Both excused and unexcused absences must be made up.

NOTE: It is a privilege for you to observe and interact with children in the Child Development Laboratories and other public school settings. Please guard this privilege well by: a) not discussing children and families outside the class - professional ethics include protecting the privacy of all individuals; and b) not attending any practicum if you have a fever or any other sigh of illness that might expose children to infection.

Honor Code:

All students are expected to uphold the standards of the University Honor Code. Any suspected violation should be reported to the professor or to the proper authorities.

Important Dates

Aug.	31	1st day of labs
Sept.	14	Plan 1 due
Sept.	28	Plan 2 due
Oct.	5	Problem Solving Exercise 1
Oct.	12	Plan 3 due
Oct.	14	Problem Solving Exercise 2
Oct.	26	Plan 4 due/Problem Solving Exercise 3
Nov.	4	Weekly Plans due
Nov.	11	No Class - - - NAEYC
Nov.	16	Problem Solving Exercise 4
Nov.	22-26	Labs closed for Thanksgiving Break
Nov.	30	Last day to complete outside practical/ professional activities
Dec.	2	Problem Solving Exercise 5
Dec.	7	Last day of class
Dec.	8	Last day of labs
Dec.	9	Clean up day

Grading*

A - To receive the grade of A, you must complete all assignments on time (see Course Policies) and must accumulate 92% (approximately **312**) of the total possible points.

B - To receive the grade of B, you must complete all assignments on time and accumulate 84% (approximately **285**) of the total possible points.

C - To receive the grade of C, you must complete all assignments and accumulate 76% (approximately **258**) of the total possible points.

D - To receive this grade, you must accumulate 68% (approximately **232**) of the total possible points.

F - indicates unsatisfactory performance and accumulation of less than **232** of the total possible points. Don't do this!

NOTE: Minuses are only given in borderline cases. **FAILURE TO COMPLETE ANY ONE OF THE ASSIGNMENTS AUTOMATICALLY WILL RESULT IN YOUR GRADE BEING LOWERED BY ONE LETTER GRADE.**

Evaluation Criteria:

ASSIGNMENTS*					POINTS
Intro. Assignments Educ. Beliefs (5) Lab Materials Checklist (5) Teacher/Classroom Orientation (5)					15
Activity Plans	4	X	30 pts.	=	120
Lead Teaching Experience					10
Weekly Plan					50
Problem Solving Exercises					50
Lab Participation					50
Experiential/Professional Activities	2	X	15 pts.	=	30
Participation in Classroom Activities and Inventory Return					15
Total Possible Points					340

***Number and type of assignment subject to change.**

Curriculum & Program Planning
Suggested Outline For Fall 1993

Date	Topics and Assignments
Aug. 24	Course Overview and Philosophy: Providing a Safe Environment for Learning
Aug. 26	Exploring beliefs about early childhood teaching and curriculum Read: **Case Study on Patricia Barnes** **L & D: Chapters 1 & 2**
Aug. 31	Thinking Like a Teacher/Teaching Like a Thinker: The Teacher as Decision-Maker
Sept. 2	Early Childhood Curriculum Approaches: Searching for the Best Approach Read: **L & D: Chapters 10 & 11**
Sept. 7	Planning for Learning: What Should Children Learn? Read: **L & D: Chapter 12 & pp. 233 -240** Suggested: **CC: pp. 1-70**
Sept. 9	Planning for Learning: What Can I Learn from Children? Read: **L & D: Chapters 3, 4, 6, 8, & 14**
Sept. 14 & 16	Teaching and Learning in Activity Settings: How, Why, and When? **Plan 1 due on Sept. 14** Read: **L & D: Chapters 4 through 9, and pp. 240 - 253**
Sept. 21	Evaluation: Having the experience, but missing the meaning
Sept. 23	The Teacher and Children's Imaginative Play: When to Act, What to Do Read: **L & D: Chapter 19, Review Chapters in Part 2**

Suggested: **CC: Sections on House Corner, Outdoors**

Sept. 28 Reflective Conversations

Plan 2 due

Sept. 30 Art and Constructive Activities

Read: **L & D: Chapter 18, Review Chapters in Part 2**
Suggested: **CC: Sections on Art, Blocks, Cooking, Review pp. 43- 57**

Oct. 5 **Problem Solving Exercise - Jan: A Case for Decision-Making**

Oct. 7 Literacy: Whole-Language Reading Processes

Read: **L & D: Chapter 16, Review Chapters in Part 2**
Suggested: **CC: Sections on Library, Music & Movement, Review pp. 43- 57**

Oct. 12 Reflective Conversations

****Plan 3 due/May Lead Teach one day during weeks of Oct. 18 or 25**

Oct. 14 **Problem Solving Exercise: The Case of Brenda Forester**

Oct. 19 Group Time: Getting Beyond "Show and Tell"

Read: **L & D: Chapter 20, Review Chapter 16**

Oct. 21 Fostering Scientific and Mathematical Thinking Through Manipulative Materials

Read: **L & D: Chapter 17, Review Chapters in Part 2**
Suggested: **CC: Sections on Table Toys, Sand and Water, Review pp. 43 - 57**

Oct. 26 **Problem Solving Exercise: The Case of Therese Carmen**

		****Plan 4 due/May Lead Teach one day during weeks of Nov. 1 or 8**
Oct.	28	Designing Daily and Weekly Plans
Nov.	2	Time for Group Planning
Nov.	4 & 9	Classroom and Group Management **Plans Due Nov. 4** Read: **L & D: Review Chapter 12**
Nov.	11	No class - NAEYC
Nov.	16	**Problem Solving Exercise: The Case of Nan Miller**
Nov.	18	Learning in America: Alternatives to Traditional Elementary School Practice Read: **Article by Burchfield and Burchfield (On Reserve)**
Nov.	22-26	Thanksgiving Break
Nov.	30	Learning in America: Alternatives to Traditional Elementary School Practice
Dec.	2	**The Final Problem**
Dec.	7	Coming Full Circle - The Case of Gina Shrader/Course Evaluation

APPENDIX F

Guideline Interview Questions

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR CHILDREN'S INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

1. Who are you?
2. What do you do in school?
3. Who are your teachers?
4. What do your teachers do?
5. What do you like best about school?
6. Do you have brothers or sisters who go to school? What do thy do in school?
7. Are you a student?
8. Finish the sentence. I am _____.
9. Finish the sentence. I am a boy/girl who _____.
10. What things do you like best about you?
11. Do you go to school?
12. What do you play at school?
13. Who do you play with at school?
14. Are you like _____(answers to #13)? How are you alike? How are you different?
15. What do teachers do at school?
16. If you fell down and hurt yourself at school who would ask for help?
17. If you are building with blocks or working a puzzle and need help, who would you ask to help you?
18. Are you like other children at this school? How?
19. Am I your teacher? Why or why not?
20. Am I different from the teachers? How?

21. Are _____(names of other adults in the setting) teachers? Why or why not? How are they different from the teachers?

22. What do students do?

Questions Added After Phase I

23. Who sits in the "teacher chair"?

24. Can I sit in the teacher chair? Why or why not?

25. Can _____(names of other adults in the setting) sit in the teacher chair? Why or why not?

26. If you are not the teacher, who are you?

27. Am I a student? Am I a kid? What am I? Who am I?

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR PRESERVICE TEACHER INTERVIEWS

1. At what point did you make a decision to enter teaching?

2. What are major attractions of teaching as a career?

3. Why do you want to be a teacher?

4. How do you see yourself as a teacher? Visualize your own classroom. Describe the way you see yourself?

5. Was the lab school experience different from what you expected? Better? Worse? In what ways?

6. Of the various things you will do as a teacher what do you consider the most important?

7. Of all the teachers you had yourself in you school career, which do you consider outstanding? (No names, just characteristics) Describe this teacher and tell why he/she was outstanding.

8. Describe the worst teacher you ever had? Why was he/she not a good teacher?

9. What is the role of a teacher?

10. Describe your best day in the Lab School.

11. Recall a time you felt proud of something you achieved as an assistant teacher. Tell me about this instance.

12. As an assistant teacher, was there anything you regret doing or that you would do differently, given another chance?

13. What are the satisfactions that teaching offers for you?

14. Which of these is most important?

15. What is the most important knowledge a teacher must possess?

16. What will you be trying to do as a teacher?

17. What are your greatest strengths as a teacher?

18. What are your greatest weaknesses as a teacher? What do you need to improve on in either the Curriculum Class or in your student teaching?

19. What kind of reputation would you like to have with students and parents you deal with?

20. Describe how you see yourself five years from now?

21. At this point in time, do you feel like a teacher? If so, why? If not, why not?

22. Describe your interactions with your peers.

23. Describe your interactions with the children in the Lab School.

24. What kinds of experiences have you had in working with children, prior to your assignment in the Lab School? Describe these experiences and what you learned from them.

25. How do you see your role in the Lab School?

26. What is the role of a student?

27. What is the role of a teacher?

28. How do you think children learn?

29. How do you learn?

30. Have you changed during this experience? In what ways?

Questions Added After Phase I

31. Describe the role of a Principles assistant. Describe the role of a Curriculum assistant. How are these two roles different/alike?

32. How does the fact that you are being evaluated as a student affect what you are doing as a teacher?

33. Do you feel comfortable talking to the head teacher about your teaching? Why or why not?

34. Describe the times you most feel like a teacher.

35. What have you learned from the children?

36. What have the children learned from you?

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR HEAD TEACHER INTERVIEWS

1. Tell me about your background and your previous experiences with children.

2. How do you view yourself five years from now?

3. At what point did you make a decision to enter teaching?

4. Why do you want to be a teacher? What is the role of a teacher?

5. What are the most important things a teacher does?

6. Describe your most outstanding teacher. Why was this person a good teacher?

7. Describe your worst teacher. Why do you think this person was not an effective teacher?

8. What is your role in the Lab School?

9. How do you view the role of the Principles assistants?

10. How do you view the role of the Curriculum assistants?

11. At this point in time do you feel like a teacher? Why or why not?

12. How do children learn?

13. Describe how each of the Curriculum and Principles assistants participating in the study assume assigned and unassigned responsibilities.

14. What do you think the assistant teachers are learning from the children?

15. What are the children learning from the assistant teachers?

16. How do you think the parents view the roles of the assistant teachers?

17. How do you think the children view the roles of the assistant teachers?

Questions Added After Phase I

1. Are there any differences in how the children view your role and the assistant teachers' roles? Describe these differences.

2. Complete the sentence with as many descriptors of yourself as possible. "I am _____."

APPENDIX G

Assistant Teacher Evaluation

Head Teachers' Assessment of Student Assistants

Please evaluate the student assistants in your classroom using the following criteria:

1. The student fails to demonstrate the skill, attribute, attitude, or behavior at a level acceptable of an assistant teacher.

2. The student demonstrates the skill, attribute, attitude, or behavior to an limited degree and needs considerable assistance as well as additional experiences to function effectively and independently. Progress is being made in this area.

3. The student demonstrates the skill, attribute, attitude or behavior to an adequate degree but needs occasional assistance and/or additional experiences to function effectively and independently.

4. The student demonstrates the skill, attribute, attitude, or behavior to a high degree, in a manner expected of an assistant teacher.

5. The student demonstrates the skill, attribute, attitude, or behavior to a very high degree, beyond what is expected of an assistant teacher.

Please also note that space has been provided on the form for you to provide comments. Comments are particularly helpful in providing feedback on strengths and areas that need improvement.

Student's Name: _____

Head Teacher: _____

Assess the Student in Terms of:	5	4	3	2	1	COMMENTS
1. BASIC DEPENDABILITY						
Arrives early or on time						
Calls in ahead when sick/makes arrangements for make up						
Attends regularly						
Notifies staff prior to departure						
2. INITIATIVE AND ENTHUSIASM						
Volunteers for and/or participates in activities without prodding						
Is actively involved in the program(vs. passive observation)						
Shows appropriate energy level/ interest						
Takes responsibility for small groups of children upon request						
Seeks feedback and information (staff input)						
Accepts positive feedback and suggestions willingly						
3. CENTER TASKS						
Shows willingness to perform requested tasks						
Independently follows tasks through to completion						
Shows initiative in recognizing tasks that need to be done						

4. UNDERSTANDING CHILDREN
Shows warmth and support of children

Utilizes positive and appropriate verbalizations

Interacts with children at their level-really listening to them.

Shows consistency and follow-through with children on clean-up, center rules, etc.

Encourages children's problem-solving, independence, creativity, and expression of feelings

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Approaches children at their pace (does not overpower or direct their play

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5. GROWTH IN CHILD CARE AND RELATED SKILLS OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAB EXPERIENCE

COMMENTS

STUDENT ASSISTANTS: Please comment on the following for any/all children. Thank you for your assistance.

1. physical appearance/health:

2. large motor development (developmental milestones):

3. small motor development (manipulatives, puzzles, art):

4. interests (what they enjoy inside and out):

5. adult relations:

6. social development (level of play, who playmates are):

7. cognitive development (beyond letters, numbers, and shapes; relationships, spatial concepts, etc.):

8. emotional development (range, intensity, appropriateness):

9. self-help (toileting, snack, dressing):

10. routines (transitions):

CURRICULUM VITA

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EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Virginia Tech (August, 1991 - present)

Major:	Curriculum and Instruction
Cognate:	Family and Child Development
Advisor:	Dr. Susan G. Magliaro
Dissertation:	Topic: Living Together in the Classroom: The Coparticipatory Construction of Preservice Teacher and Novice Student Identities
Degree:	Doctor of Philosophy in Curriculum & Instruction - May 1994

Converse College, SC (June, 1985 - May, 1989)

Major:	Instructional Leadership
Advisor:	Dr. Martha Lovett
Degree:	Educational Specialist

Appalachian State University, NC (July, 1970 - May, 1971)

Major:	Primary Education
Degree:	Master of Arts

Pfeiffer College, NC (August, 1966 - May, 1970)

Major:	Elementary Education
Degree:	Bachelor of Arts

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

May 1994 - June 1994 & August 1993 - December 1993:

Instructor: Psychological Foundations of Education

An undergraduate course dealing with psychological theories and models which serve as a basis for educational models and practice. Emphasis on conceptions of learning and teaching.

August 1993 and August 1992:

Taught segment of university wide GTA training workshop at Virginia Tech, "Training the Future Professorate" - conducted, videotaped, and critiqued graduate student performance in micro-teaching episodes.

May, 1992 - present:

Project Coordinator: Special Education Endorsement Mentor Program
Responsibilities: program development and administration of statewide research mentoring program for beginning and unendorsed special educators in Virginia, workshops, data collection and analysis, presentation and publication of technical reports, publication of newsletters. Fall 1992 - position also included team teaching an undergraduate educational psychology class.

August, 1991 - May, 1992:

Graduate Assistant: Curriculum and Instruction, Virginia Tech
Responsibilities: Supervised elementary student teachers' clinical experiences in public schools. Conducted workshops and seminars at Virginia Tech. Observed student teachers' performance in public school classrooms. Advised students in performance, curriculum, and teaching strategies and materials in graduate and undergraduate programs resulting in degrees and professional licensure. Evaluated student teaching performance. Acted as liaison between the university and the public schools.

June, 1990 - May, 1991:

Teacher Mentor/Adjunct Faculty, Emory & Henry College
Responsibilities: Participated in mentor training sessions; worked with student observers and student teachers; met with student teaching seminars to facilitate discussions of teaching practices.

August, 1973 - May, 1991:

Classroom Teacher (Grades K-2), Smyth County Schools, Marion, VA
Responsibilities: Taught summer kindergarten programs; taught first and second grades; taught summer remedial math and reading programs; served as grade group chair; assisted in coordination of second grade environmental program; developed evaluation plan for environmental program; planned and coordinated field trip experiences for all second grade classes; served as committee chair for Southern Association accreditation committees; conducted faculty and country inservice programs; served as cooperating teacher for student teachers.

August, 1971 - May, 1973:

Classroom Teacher (Grade 1), Surry County Schools, Dobson, NC
Responsibilities: Taught all academic subject areas in first grade, coordinated first grade field trips, served on faculty committees, served as chair of the planning committee for the school's first kindergarten program.

August, 1970 - May, 1971:

Graduate Assistant Director, University Kindergarten, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC.

Responsibilities: Assisted in planning, coordinating, administrating and teaching the kindergarten program; assisted in teaching nursery and kindergarten education classes; supervised student teachers.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

National Education Association
Virginia Education Association
Smyth County Education Association: faculty representative (periodically 1976-1988); Banquet Committee (1988-1991); Secretary (1989-1991)
Alpha Delta Kappa: Charter member Virginia Beta Alpha (1987); Beta Alpha Courtesy Committee Chair (1987-1989); Beta Alpha Scholarship Committee (1989-1991); Beta Alpha Vice President (1989-1991); State President's Council (1989-1991); State Convention Planning Committee (1990-1991)
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
International Alliance for Invitational Education
National Council for Self-Esteem
Graduate Students in Reading Education
Southwest Virginia Council International Reading Association
American Educational Research Association
Eastern Educational Research Association
National Association for the Education of Young Children

RESEARCH

Sponsored Research

Magliaro, S. G., Wildman, T. M., & Walker, D. C. *Development and implementation of mentor programs for novice special education teachers in Virginia.* Funded by the Virginia Department of Education for $100,000.00. March 1992 to August 1993. Role: co-investigator.

Magliaro, S. G., Wildman, T. M., Walker, D. C., & Maddex, J. *Continuance and expansion of the Special Education Endorsement Mentor Program.* Funded by the Virginia Department of Education for $100,000.00. June 1993 to August 1994. Role: co-investigator.

Program Development

State-wide emphasis:

Special Education Endorsement Mentor Program 1993 Summer Institutes. In August, 1993, two day Institutes focusing on mentoring as a key to collaboration and collegiality were held for teachers throughout the state at Mountain Lake and Fredericksburg, Virginia. These institutes represented a culmination of a planning a development effort by S. G. Magliaro, T. M. Wildman, and D. C. Walker in conjunction with the Professional Development Division of the Virginia Department of Education. Forty-one school divisions participated in the two Institutes. The Institutes were designed to provide support for the establishment of mentor programs in every Virginia school division.

Follow-up activities included program monitoring and surveys, newsletters, and dissemination of mentoring materials. Funding has been provided by the Virginia Department of Education.

Summer 1992 and Fall 1992 Special Education Endorsement Mentor Program Regional Institutes. During both the summer and fall of 1992 seven regional institutes were conducted in order to facilitate the establishment of mentoring programs for unendorsed special educators in the state of Virginia. The institutes were designed and implemented by S. G. Magliaro, T. M. Wildman, and D. C. Walker as a part of the Special Education Endorsement Mentor Program. The focus of these regional institutes was to provide support for school divisions in the beginning stages of establishing mentor programs. Follow-up activities included a toll-free technical assistance line, newsletters, materials dissemination and study of the mentoring process and how induction into the field of special education can be facilitated. Funding was provided by the Virginia Department of Education.

SCHOLARLY ACHIEVEMENTS

Publications

Walker, D. C. (1992). Invitations, development, and freedom: A personal perspective. *Journal of Invitational Theory and Practice,* 1(2), 97-101.

Walker, D. C. (1990). Challenges for the 90's: Aim high - work hard - enjoy your success. *Alpha Delta Kappan*, 20(2), 20-21.

Other Papers and Reports

Walker, D. C. (Fall, 1993). Research update - Living together in the classroom: The coparticipatory construction of preservice teacher and beginning teacher identities. *Early Education/Child Development: Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association*. 4-5.

Walker, D. C. (May, 1992). *Your child's early school years: Social and emotional development ages 5 to 8.* Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

State, Regional, and National Presentations

Walker, D. C. (April, 1994). *Living together in the classroom: The coparticipatory processes of identity construction.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Magliaro, S. G., Wildman, T. M., Niles, R. A., Walker, D. C., & Maddex, J. (1994, April). *Mentor programs: Changes, challenges, and chances for professional development in the 90's.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Walker, D. C. (1993, February). *Becoming a teacher: The preservice experience.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Ethnography in Education Research Forum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Magliaro, S. G., Wildman, T. M., & Walker, D. C. (1993, April). *The early career development seminar: A collaborative design for professional growth.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, GA.

Walker, D. C. (1993, February). *Preservice teachers and beginning students: The coparticipatory construction of teacher and student identities.* Paper presented at the Eastern Educational Research Association, Clearwater, FL.

Walker, D. C. (1991, September). *Obstacles are what you see when you take your eyes off the goal.* Welcoming keynote address Virginia Region VII Superintendents' Meeting, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1991, April). *Enhancing self-Esteem.* Workshop conducted at the Virginia State Alpha Delta Kappa Convention, Blacksburg, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1991, February). *I'm O.K.* An invited presentation for Emory & Henry College's Winter Convocation for Teachers, Emory, VA.

District and Local Presentations

Walker, D. C. (1994, April). *Inviting student success.* An invited presentation for students enrolled in the Master's program in Rockbridge County, VA under the auspices of the Division of Curriculum & Instruction, College of Education, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Walker, D. C. (1993, March). *Developing teacher and student self-concept.* Seminar presented for the Blacksburg Student Teaching Model, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1993, February). *Becoming a teacher: The role of self-concept.* Seminar presented for the Graduate Student Teaching Model, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1992, August). *Touching the future.* Keynote address, Smyth County Teacher of the Year Awards Banquet, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1992, February). *Developing a positive self image.* Presentation to the Student VEA and Health Careers Club, Emory & Henry College, Emory, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1991, November). *Self-esteem, for parents and teachers.* Presentation to the Marion PTA, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1991, May). *Teachers are life-touchers.* Keynote address for Beta Alpha Scholarship Awards Banquet, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1990, December). *Schoolhouse self-esteem.* Workshop presented for VEA/SCEA Instructional Conference, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1990, November). *Teachers and self-esteem.* Inservice workshop for Smyth County Teachers, Marion, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1990, October). *I'm O.K.* A self-concept/self-esteem workshop presented at the VEA District II Instructional Conference, Abingdon, VA.

Walker, D. C. (1990, May). *Aim high, work hard, enjoy your success.* Keynote address presented at the Beta Alpha Scholarship Awards Banquet, Marion, VA.

SERVICE

Member, 1993 Virginia Regional Teacher of the Year Selection Panel, July 1992.

Member, Delegate Frank Hall's Study Group on Self-Esteem, 1990 - present.

Moderator, for a session of the Commonwealth Outstanding Dissertation and Faculty Research Conference, Virginia Tech, April 1992.

Reviewer, proposals submitted to the annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association: Division K - Teaching and Teacher Education, 1992 - 1993.

AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

Alpha Delta Kappa State Scholarship 1991
Instructional Fee Scholarship, Virginia Tech 1991 - present
Marion Primary School Teacher of the Year 1991
Smyth County Teacher of the Year 1992
Virginia Region VII Teacher of the Year 1992

TEACHING COMPETENCIES

Educational Psychology
Elementary Curriculum
Language Arts
Nursery and Kindergarten Curriculum
Nursery and Kindergarten Instruction
Social and Emotional Development of Children
Supervision of Student Teachers
Teaching of Reading
Theoretical Foundations of Child Development
Early Childhood Education

Dawn C. Walker