Teaching Student Teachers to Reflect

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Conventional teacher education programs follow an apprenticeship model and, in so doing, aspire to provide student teachers with pedagogical skills and techniques derived from a pre-existing body of knowledge. In this contribution to HER's special series, "Teachers, Teaching, and Teacher Education," Kenneth M. Zeichner and Daniel P. Liston argue that the conventional approach inhibits the self-directed growth of student teachers and thereby fails to promote their full professional development. Illustrating an alternative model, the authors describe and assess the elementary student teaching program at the University of Wisconsin, Madison — a program oriented toward the goals of reflective teaching, greater teacher autonomy, and increasing democratic participation in systems of educational governance.

> The concern of teacher educators must remain normative, critical, and even political — neither the colleges nor the schools can change the social order. Neither the colleges nor the schools can legislate democracy. But something can be done to empower teachers to reflect upon their own life situations, to speak out in their own ways about the lacks that must be repaired; the possibilities to be acted upon in the name of what they deem decent, humane, and just. (Greene, 1978, p. 71)

Conceptual Orientation of the Program

The stated goals of the elementary student-teaching program at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, emphasize the preparation of teachers who are both willing and able to reflect on the origins, purposes, and consequences of their actions,[1] as well as on the material and ideological constraints and encouragements embedded in the classroom, school, and societal contexts in which they work. These goals are directed toward enabling student teachers to develop the pedagogical habits and skills necessary for self-directed growth and toward preparing them, individually and collectively, to participate as full partners in the making of educational policies. Underlying these goals is a metaphor of *liberation*. A liberated person, according to Siegel (1980), is one who is "free from the unwarranted control

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[1] The term "action" is based on Mead's (1938) notion of the "act" and implies a concern with both teacher cognitions and behaviors and their interconnections.

of unjustified beliefs, unsupportable attitudes, and the paucity of abilities which can prevent that person from completely taking charge of his or her life" (p. 16). It is our belief that learning, for both pupils and teachers, is greater and deeper when teachers are encouraged to exercise their judgment about the content and processes of their work and to give some direction to the shape of schools as educational environments.

The program literature draws upon the work of Dewey and makes a distinction between reflective and routine action. *Reflective action* entails the active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the consequences to which it leads. *Routine action* is guided primarily by tradition, external authority, and circumstance.

Utilizing Dewey's (1933) concept of reflective action as the organizing principle of its curriculum, the program literature expresses a desire to develop in student teachers those *orientations* (toward open-mindedness, responsibility, and wholeheartedness) and *skills* (of keen observation and reasoned analysis) which lead to reflective action. The continuing development of technical skill in teaching is also addressed, but only within this broader context of reflective action. Since the program is concerned primarily with the growth and development of student teachers in teaching roles, the term *reflective teaching* is used to identify this central goal of the curriculum.

In addition to this emphasis on reflective teaching, the program literature distinguishes between different forms of reflection[2] by drawing upon the work of Van Manen (1977) and his conception of "levels of reflectivity."[3] Van Manen identifies three levels of reflection, each one embracing different criteria for choosing among alternative courses of action. At the first level of technical rationality (also, see Schön, 1983), the dominant concern is with the efficient and effective application of educational knowledge for the purposes of attaining ends which are accepted as given. At this level, neither the ends nor the institutional contexts of classroom, school, community, and society are treated as problematic.

A second level of reflectivity, according to Van Manen, is based upon a conception of practical action whereby the problem is one of explicating and clarifying the assumptions and predispositions underlying practical affairs and assessing the educational consequences toward which an action leads. At this level, every action is seen as linked to particular value commitments, and the actor considers the worth of competing educational ends.

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[2] Roemer (1983) argues that if the attainment of rationality as an educational goal is to be more than socialization into current conventions of thought and behavior, then independent norms of rationality need to be established which distinguish the exercise of reason from merely following standard modes of thought. While not claiming to have established an independent theory of rationality to replace the culturally-bound technical rationality which we seek to go beyond, the adaptation of Van Manen's (1977) notion of "levels of reflectivity" for specifying alternative criteria of rationality represents a beginning effort in this direction.

[3] Van Manen's (1977) "levels of reflectivity" and Tom's (1985) "arenas of the problematic" are highly similar. In both cases the degree of comprehensiveness in what is considered problematic distinguishes one level/arena from another. In fact, the three points which Tom (1985) identifies on his continuum of arenas correspond very closely to Van Manen's (1977) three levels of reflectivity, and are also analogous to Fenstermacher and Berliner's (1983) delineation of three aspects of evaluation: success, merit, and worth.

The third level, critical reflection, incorporates moral and ethical criteria into the discourse about practical action. At this level the central questions ask which educational goals, experiences, and activities lead toward forms of life which are mediated by concerns for justice, equity, and concrete fulfillment, and whether current arrangements serve important human needs and satisfy important human purposes (Tom, 1985). Here both the teaching (ends and means) and the surrounding contexts are viewed as problematic — that is, as value-governed selections from a larger universe of possibilities.

The curricular plan for the student-teaching program at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, is designed to stimulate reflection about teaching and its contexts at all three levels. The program literature defines a "reflective teacher" as one who assesses the origins, purposes, and consequences of his or her work at all three levels. However, because of the historically dominant concern with technical rationality and with instrumental criteria of success (Beyer & Zeichner, 1982; Lanier, 1982) in teacher education programs, a particular emphasis is placed here on encouraging reflection that employs educational and moral criteria.

This goal of enabling students to reflect about their teaching and its contexts at all three levels has been linked to a statement of the kind of teacher we hope would emerge from the program. In 1979 the elementary-area faculty adopted a statement which specifies the qualities it seeks to develop in its students: (1) technical competence in instruction and classroom management — knowledge concerning the content to be taught and competence in the skills and methods necessary for the realization of their classroom intentions; (2) ability to analyze practice — to see how classroom and school behavior (including their own actions) flows from or expresses purposes and goals both anticipated and unanticipated; (3) awareness of teaching as an activity that has ethical and moral consequences, and ability to make defensible choices regarding their classroom and school behavior; and (4) sensitivity to the needs of students with diverse intellectual, racial, physical, and social characteristics and ability to play an active role in developing a respect for individual differences within their classrooms and schools.

This statement of the qualities that the program seeks to develop in its students has been further refined and extended since 1979 and is now presented in the student-teaching handbook as a set of criteria for evaluating the work of student teachers. Since 1979 greater attention has been given to specifying the elements of these four qualities more precisely (for example, the fostering of education that is multicultural) and to the student teacher's role in curriculum development. It is important to note that "reflective teaching" is not viewed as synonymous with any particular changes in teacher behaviors. The program seeks to help student teachers become more aware of themselves and their environments in a way that changes their perceptions of what is possible. The hope is that these expanded perceptions and an enhanced "cultural literacy" (Bowers, 1984) will affect the degree of "reflectiveness" expressed in student teacher actions, and that more reflective teacher actions will lead to greater benefits for the teacher and for all of his or her pupils.

An underlying concern of the program is to enable prospective teachers, both individually and collectively, to develop the desire and ability to assume greater roles in determining the direction of classroom and school affairs according to pur-

poses of which they are aware and which can be justified on moral and educational grounds, as well as on instrumental grounds. The hope is that graduates of the program will be able to exert more control over the content and processes of their own work than is now the case in many schools (Lanier & Little, 1986) and can participate as full partners with parents, administrators, and, in some cases, students in the making of educational policy within more democratically organized decision-making structures.

The conceptual orientation of this program has developed over a number of years and is still being revised and refined as our experience in the program and studies of the program reveal its inadequacies and limitations. We have moved from very general notions of what was wrong with the program (see Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1979–1980), to fairly general notions of the kinds of teachers we hope to prepare in the program ("reflective"), to finer and more detailed descriptions of the kinds of criteria we hope our students employ during the process of reflection (technical, educational, ethical), to statements of the specific characteristics and qualities of the teachers we hope to prepare.

This continual evolution of the program in response to experience and research is probably its most important characteristic. There is no more important need for an inquiry-oriented program than to model the processes of self-directed growth and continuing self-renewal that it seeks to engender in its students. If an inquiry-oriented program is to be successful in meeting its goals, then its staff, curriculum, and institutional environment must express these qualities of reflectiveness and self-renewal.

Commonplaces of Teaching

The educational platform of this program can be summarized by employing Schwab's (1978) heuristic of the "commonplaces of teaching." For teaching to occur, someone (a teacher) must be teaching someone (a student) about something (a curriculum) at some place and some time (a milieu). In the present context, school- and university-based *teacher educators* (teachers) work with *student teachers* (students) in *university and school classrooms* (milieu) teaching a curriculum that is concerned with both the student teacher's *teaching* and with the various *contexts* in which the teaching is embedded (curriculum). Each of the four commonplaces can be described along a continuum of alternatives and the program's platform can be identified in relation to each commonplace.

Students

First, with regard to the commonplace of students, the program seeks to prepare students of teaching who view knowledge and situations as problematic and socially constructed rather than as certain. Here the concern is with the degree to which student teachers view the knowledge which is taught in the program itself and the knowledge which is appropriated in student teachers' classrooms as value-governed selections from a larger universe of possibilities. The program is also concerned with the degree to which students treat the institutional form and social contexts of teacher education and schooling as problematic.

These students would also view the role of teacher as one of moral craftsperson (Tom, 1984) rather than as one of simply craftsperson or of technician. These

three conceptions of the teacher's role are analogous to Van Manen's (1977) three levels of reflectivity. The teacher as technician would be concerned primarily with the successful accomplishment of ends decided by others. The craftsperson teacher would consider the educational justification for classroom actions and how well the educational goals are being accomplished. The teacher as moral craftsperson would also be concerned with the moral and ethical implications of his or her actions and with the moral and ethical implications of particular institutional arrangements.

Curriculum

Second, the curriculum of the program should reflect in its form and content a view of knowledge as socially constructed rather than as certain. This requires a curriculum for student teaching that is reflexive rather than received. The dimension of received-reflexive (Eggleston, 1977) refers to the degree to which the curriculum of a program is specified in advance. On the one hand, a curriculum that follows a received perspective presents knowledge with the intent that student teachers accept it as predominantly non-negotiable. Student teachers are to be relatively passive recipients of that which is imparted, whether the source is the wisdom of experienced practitioners or the latest findings of research on teaching. On the other hand, a reflexive curriculum does not totally predetermine that which is to be learned but makes provisions for the self-determined needs and concerns of student teachers as well as the creation of personal meaning by students. A reflexive curriculum also includes provisions for the negotiation of content among teachers and learners.

Finally, in terms of the epistemology of the curriculum, the program seeks to draw upon the practical knowledge of student teachers and experienced practitioners, as well as upon insights and concepts generated within the realm of theoretical knowledge. The flow of knowledge is in both directions. For example, it is common practice for student teachers in their seminars to read papers that clarify the goals of reflective teaching and then to discuss, analyze, and evaluate this programmatic goal. Attempts are made to bring the conceptual basis of the program into focus and to provide diverse conceptual frameworks for analyzing the work of the teacher. These frameworks are then employed by student teachers to analyze, understand, and evaluate their practical situations. The student teachers are not passive in this process. They are encouraged actively to respond to and criticize the concepts that underlie the program and the frameworks introduced in seminars to help them examine their situations. They use the conceptual tools to understand and alter their actions in the classroom and in turn to react to the usefulness of the concepts for helping them analyze and interpret their situations. As Shulman (1984) points out, "a danger intrinsic to such examinations is dogmatic dominance of the examination by a single principle or point of view." Deliberate efforts are made by supervisors in the program to establish an interaction between the theoretical and the practical, such that both the concepts and the practical experience of the students gain "richness and clarity from the incursion of the other" (p. 185).

A third characteristic of the curriculum of the program is its relatively broad scope. As will be described below, the curriculum is concerned with teaching in its broadest sense (for example, with the teacher as curriculum developer) as well

as with inquiry about teaching and its contexts. It thus stands in opposition to those programs concerned primarily with the teacher's instructional role within a classroom and with the reproduction of valued teaching behaviors (for example, an apprenticeship).

Milieu

The milieu of the program should be *inquiry oriented* rather than "traditional" in relation to the authority relationships which exist between student teachers and teacher educators. According to McIntosh (1968), a traditional environment for clinical education is one that places a high value on "precision in following orders" and does not provide students with opportunities for independent decisionmaking with regard to their own education and that of their pupils. Alternatively, an inquiry environment elicits and rewards initiative and critical thought at all levels of the organization and provides students with opportunities for independent decisionmaking with regard to their education and teaching. Thus, in an inquiry environment, authority relations are more collaborative than in a traditional environment, and attempts are made to break down some of the rigid hierarchical lines which typify traditional programs.

A second characteristic of the milieu of this program is its intent to be self-renewing. Both students and teachers in the program should continually reexamine its curriculum, organization, pedagogy, and authority relationships, and work toward ongoing improvement of the program based on knowledge gained from experience and research or evaluation. The alternative to a self-renewing program is one that remains static and fixed, whatever its orientation, and closed to further growth and revision.

Teachers

Finally, the school- and university-based teacher educators in the program should ideally be living models of the moral craftsperson teacher. These teacher educators' views of knowledge and institutional contexts, as well as of the curriculum and environment in their seminars and supervision, should reflect the biases and emphases identified above. Figure 1 summarizes the characteristics of the program in relation to the four commonplaces.

The Instructional Plan: Program Organization and Curricular Components

The elementary student-teaching program at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, is the final stage in a four-semester sequence of professional education courses leading to certification in one or more of the following areas: kindergarten, grades 1–8, and bilingual education. The required sequence of professional education courses follows two years of course work outside of the School of Education (including a 12-credit area of concentration) and includes an introductory course in elementary education; methods courses in reading and language arts which are integrated with an 80-hour field experience; methods courses in mathematics, science, and social studies which are integrated with a second 80-hour field experience; and a supervised student teaching experience which includes a weekly campus seminar.

FIGURE 1
Aims of the Elementary Student Teaching Program in Relation to the Four Commonplaces of Teaching

		Desired Aims	As Opposed to:
Students	View knowledge and situations as	Problematic	Certain
	View the teacher role as	Moral craftsperson	Technical craftsperson
Curriculum	Form	Reflexive	Received
	Epistemology	Practical knowledge Theoretical knowledge	Theoretical knowledge only
	Scope	Broad (teaching and inquiry components)	Narrow (apprenticeship)
Milieu	Authority relationships	Inquiry-oriented	Hierarchical
		Self-renewing	Static
Teachers		Moral craftspersons	Technical craftspersons
		Self-renewing	Static

Additionally, students select from a variety of courses in educational psychology and educational policy studies, and must complete four required methods courses in the creative and performing arts, a course in mainstreaming, and a course in health information for teachers. By the time students enter the student teaching program, they have completed 27 credits of methods courses in various content areas and 160 hours of field experience in elementary and middle/junior high school classrooms. This program is typical of programs for the preparation of elementary school teachers in the United States (Zeichner, 1985a) in terms of its balance between general and professional education, its emphasis on content-specific rather than general methods courses, and its use of student teaching as the final step in a series of planned field experiences in K–8 classrooms.

During the student teaching semester, each elementary education major spends four-and-one-half days per week in one or more public or private school classrooms for an entire university semester (approximately 15 weeks) and approximately two hours per week in a required campus seminar (Seminar in Elementary Classroom Teaching). Preschool and kindergarten majors spend four or five half-days per week in a kindergarten classroom for a full university semester and two hours per week in the required campus seminar. Each student teacher is visited by a university supervisor (a graduate student in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction) at least six times per semester with at least five visits including an observation of the student's teaching and at least one follow-up conference.

Consistent with the program's intent to establish an "inquiry-environment" which elicits and rewards initiative and critical thought at all levels of the organization and which gives students choices with regard to tasks they do and how they do them (McIntosh, 1968), student teachers actively participate in the selection of their placement sites. During the semester prior to student teaching, each student observes and meets with at least two potential cooperating teachers who are assigned to students from a list of teachers approved by the program directors. These observations and discussions occur after an initial interview with university personnel in which students are asked to articulate their perspectives toward teaching and their preferences for a placement site. Students and teachers are required to reach mutual agreement regarding a "match" before a final placement is assigned.

Teaching

Five curricular components comprise the student-teaching program. First, a teaching component ensures the exposure of student teachers to all aspects of the teacher's role in and out of the classroom. As in most programs, over the course of the semester each student teacher is expected gradually to assume responsibility for all aspects of the classroom teacher's role (for example, instruction, classroom management, curriculum development, and pupil evaluation) and to take full responsibility for the classroom program for a minimum of two weeks.

Although most student teaching programs include this same notion of increasing responsibility for a classroom, the focus is frequently on instruction and classroom management and does not always include the student teacher's responsible participation in other aspects of the teachers' role, such as curriculum development and pupil evaluation. The program under discussion particularly emphasizes the student teachers' role in curriculum development and the concept of the teacher as a "user-developer" of curriculum—one who is both aware of critical choice points in curriculum development and who is skilled in curriculum development (Ben-Peretz, 1984). Although student teachers are expected generally to follow the curriculum guidelines of their schools and the curricular programs in their classrooms, they are also expected to be aware of and be able to articulate the assumptions embedded in curricula that are adopted with little or no modification (assumptions about learners and the role of the teacher); to show evidence of adapting and modifying curricular plans and materials for specific situations; and to make original contributions to the classroom program by creating new and varied instructional activities and materials beyond those specified in a given set of materials.

Consistent with a view of the program's curriculum as "reflexive" rather than as "received," all of the specific requirements for student teachers relating to their increasing responsibility for the teacher's role are negotiated by the student teacher, cooperating teacher, and university supervisor. During the first few weeks of the semester a formal contract, or "Letter of Expectations," is drawn up in order to delineate the specific experiences that each student is expected to have during the semester in relation to all aspects of the teacher's role (Grant, 1975). This "letter," which is periodically revised throughout the semester, is used to

monitor the student teacher's progress in assuming responsibility and provides, in part, the criteria employed to assess the student teacher's work.

Inquiry

Second, an inquiry component seeks to help students situate schools, curricula, and pedagogy within their socio-historical contexts; to emphasize the socially constructed nature of school knowledge and of schools; and to assist students in becoming more proficient at skills of inquiry. Somewhat more specifically, this component is intended to promote student teachers' understanding of the contemporary cultures of their classrooms and schools, of the relationships between these educational contexts and the surrounding social, economic, and political milieux, and of the historical development of these settings. The goal of this component is to have the classroom and school serve as social laboratories for study rather than as merely models for practice. It seeks to reinforce the view that student teaching is a time for continued learning about teaching and schooling and for establishing pedagogical habits of self-directed growth, rather than a time merely for the application and demonstration of previously acquired knowledge and skills. It also seeks to reinforce the view that teachers can be creators as well as consumers of educational knowledge.

There are several different elements in the inquiry component of the program. First, all students are required to complete at least three observations outside of their "home" classrooms. These observations, which at times may include the viewing of protocol materials rather than live classrooms, are structured for particular purposes by each supervisor and are analyzed and discussed either by the group during a seminar session or by each student individually in writing. These observations have been used by supervisors to accomplish a wide variety of purposes, including: (1) having students compare different general approaches to teaching at a given grade level; (2) having students examine different approaches to teaching in a given content area; and (3) helping students analyze the theories-in-use evident in particular kinds of classrooms.

In addition to carrying out these classroom observations, all students complete at least one of the following: an *action research project*, an *ethnographic study*, or a *curriculum analysis project*. Although each supervisor is given some leeway in how to approach this component, all supervisors develop assignments for student teachers that require the utilization of at least one of these approaches.

The action research projects completed by student teachers involve the adaptation of a framework for conducting classroom action research developed at Deakin University in Australia (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1982). This framework includes the following stages: reconnaissance, planning, acting, observing, and reflecting. Projects are written up by students and shared in the seminar groups. Some students have experimented in the classroom with different grouping strategies in order to assess their effects on maintaining pupil involvement; for example, some have examined a student teacher's behavior toward high- and low-ability groups in reading, while other student projects involved experimentation with different teaching methods. These included an automatic reading program designed to sup-

31

plement a basal program, and a math program, based primarily on concrete and manipulative materials, for pupils showing little success with the standard math curriculum. Many of these projects were planned collaboratively and carried out by student teachers and other staff in their schools.

One alternative to classroom action-research projects in some of the seminar sections requires students to conduct limited ethnographic studies in their classrooms, schools, and school communities. These projects, examples of which are discussed in some detail in Zeichner and Teitelbaum (1982) and in Gitlin and Teitelbaum (1983), have focused on such topics as studies of the allocation of resources among students of varying abilities and backgrounds, studies of school from the pupil's perspective, examinations of types of questions asked in different classrooms, and examinations of the implications of the language used by school staff.

A final option for the inquiry component in some of the seminar sections is for students to conduct analyses of school curricula and of the processes of curriculum development in the settings in which they work. In addition to projects which examine the values and assumptions embedded in particular curriculum materials and programs (for example, assumptions about learners and teachers, resolutions of particular "dilemmas" of schooling), students have conducted studies of the history and context of curriculum development in their settings in particular content areas. Here students address such questions as who made particular decisions about the curriculum, why certain decisions were made, and how particular institutional factors affected the processes of curriculum development.

The variety of action research, ethnographic studies, and curriculum analysis projects completed by students in the program is very great, but *all* student teachers are required to spend at least a portion of their time in schools formally studying and conducting inquiries related to their practices as teachers and to the settings in which they work. An important element of the inquiry component is the preparation that students receive for conducting their school-based inquiries. In each of the seminar groups some time is spent helping the students to master the tools they will need successfully to carry out an inquiry project. Students are evaluated during the semester on the quality of these inquiries as well as on the quality of their classroom teaching.

Seminars

The student-teaching seminar is the third component of the program and is taught by the university supervisor. The content of each seminar is planned by the supervisor and students in each group within a set of broad program parameters, and most of the assignments that students complete are linked in some way to the students' current classroom experiences. While this course is related to, and in fact builds upon, the students' classroom experiences, it is not intended to provide students with specific methods and techniques for direct application to specific classrooms; nor is it to serve as a forum for the discussion of only classroom-specific experiences. The seminar is designed to help students broaden their perspectives on teaching, consider the rationales underlying alternative possibilities for classrooms and pedagogy, and assess their own developing perspectives toward teaching.

One current emphasis in several of the seminar sections is to have students employ Berlak and Berlak's (1981) "Language of Dilemmas" in the analysis of their own perspectives toward teaching and the teaching of others (Hursh & Zeichner, 1984). Another theme in several of the seminar sections concerns the critical assessment of educational research. Students read and critique studies that present different points of view on selected topics (for example, studies on classroom management or ability grouping) and then discuss the implications of the studies for their own development as teachers. Participants in all of the seminars attempt to establish a collaborative approach to problem solving and inquiry; students are frequently encouraged to conduct collaborative projects and to make joint presentations to their seminar groups. (For a more detailed account of the structure and content of the student teaching seminar, see Zeichner, 1981.)

Journals

Additionally, student teachers are required to keep a journal according to a specific set of guidelines provided by their supervisors. These journals, which record students' development over the semester, are shared on a regular basis with the supervisors, who respond in writing to student teacher entries. The journals are intended to provide the supervisors with information about the ways in which their students think about their teaching and about their development as teachers, with information about classroom, school, and community contexts; as well as to provide student teachers with a vehicle for systematic reflection on their development as teachers and on their actions in classroom and work contexts. The journals are viewed as an integral part of the supervisory process.

Supervisory Conferences

Finally, the supervisory conferences that follow the formal observations of student teachers are considered to be an important learning context for student teachers and an opportunity for supervisors to raise issues related to specific actions and settings which have been considered at a more general level in the seminars. These conferences focus on both the classroom lessons that have been observed and the more general development of student teacher perspectives over the course of the semester.

The form of supervision employed in the program is similar to the dominant model of "clinical supervision" (Goldhammer, Anderson, & Krajewski, 1980) in its structure and its emphasis on the "rational analysis" of classroom instruction. Each visit by a university supervisor, for example, includes a preconference, observation, analysis and strategy, and a postconference. During the observation supervisors compile detailed narrative notes which are used to document patterns and critical incidents in classroom instruction. Supervision in this program departs from the "clinical" model, however, in the following ways:

1. In addition to focusing on observable behaviors, supervision includes analysis and consideration of student teacher intentions and beliefs. Moreover, it emphasizes the analysis of relationships between intentions and the theoretical commitments which are embedded in classroom actions.

2. Since the supervisor seeks to develop the rational analysis of teaching at all three levels of reflection described above, the institutional form and social con-

text of teaching are frequently viewed as problematic and as legitimate topics for analysis.

3. The supervisor gives explicit attention to the content of what is taught in addition to analyzing teaching processes (for example, direct and indirect behaviors). Questions related to the justification of particular content for specific groups of children are of primary concern.

4. The supervision goes beyond consideration of whether or not the student teachers' objectives have been achieved, and places an emphasis on the analysis of unanticipated outcomes and the "hidden curriculum" of the classroom. Here the concern is with understanding those dispositions and attitudes which are fostered (often as "side effects") by particular forms of curriculum, classroom social relations, and instructional practices.

While none of these elements are necessarily excluded from the "clinical" model,[4] the model does not make explicit commitments to particular kinds of rational analysis, nor are commitments made regarding the necessity of addressing instructional content, the "hidden curriculum," or the relationships between student teacher intent and the theoretical commitments embedded in their actions. Thus, while the model of supervision employed in this program can be viewed as consistent with the clinical form, it is shaped to reflect the conceptual orientation of the program and to imbue the supervisory process with a spirit of "critical inquiry" (Smyth, 1983). Figure 2 summarizes the five components which make up the curricular substance of the student teaching program.

As is the case in most student teaching programs, adopting the teaching role occupies most of the students' time. The critical difference between this program and many others lies in two areas: (1) its relatively broad definition of the teaching role, with its particular emphasis on curriculum development; and (2) the way in which various program components encourage student teachers to employ technical, educational, and ethical criteria in order to reflect systematically about their development as teachers, their actions in the classrooms, and the contexts in which their classroom actions are embedded. All of the various program components are designed to help students learn from their experiences as student teachers and to develop habits of self-directed growth, but the program also seeks to help students overcome the limits of first-hand experience (Buchmann & Schwille, 1983) through utilization of various conceptual tools and skills of inquiry which can help them see beyond the immediate circumstances of their situation.
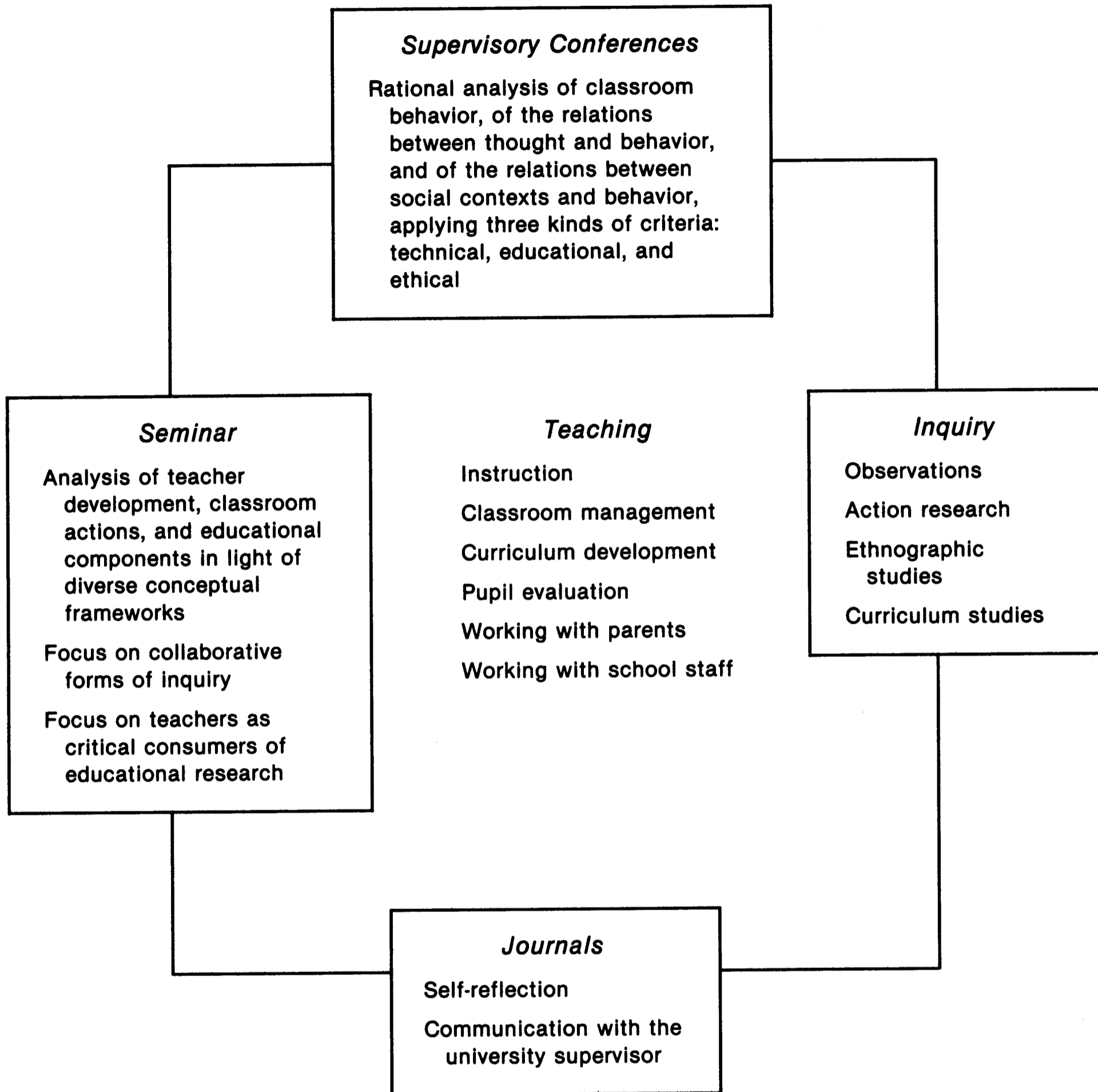
Studies of the Program's Curriculum-in-Use

A number of studies have focused on Wisconsin's inquiry-oriented elementary education student teaching program. The research includes analyses of the effects of student teaching on student teachers' perspectives toward teaching, examina-

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[4] Although some advocates of "clinical supervision" include elements in their interpretations of the model which are similar to the emphasis in the Wisconsin program (for example, Sergiovanni, 1976), most of the literature either makes some commitments which are in conflict with the goals of this program (for example, Cogan, 1973) or is not specific with regard to the quality of rational analysis which is to be promoted through use of the model. See Zeichner and Tabachnick (1981) and Zeichner and Liston (1985) for further discussion of this issue.

FIGURE 2
Curricular Components of the Elementary Student Teaching Program

Supervisory Conferences

Rational analysis of classroom behavior, of the relations between thought and behavior, and of the relations between social contexts and behavior, applying three kinds of criteria: technical, educational, and ethical

Seminar

Analysis of teacher development, classroom actions, and educational components in light of diverse conceptual frameworks

Focus on collaborative forms of inquiry

Focus on teachers as critical consumers of educational research

Teaching

Instruction

Classroom management

Curriculum development

Pupil evaluation

Working with parents

Working with school staff

Inquiry

Observations

Action research

Ethnographic studies

Curriculum studies

Journals

Self-reflection

Communication with the university supervisor

tions of the degree of emphasis placed by student teachers on a view of education as multicultural, and studies of the university supervisors' perspectives and actions. The studies tend to focus on whether student teachers perceive themselves as technicians, craftspersons, or moral craftspersons; whether student teachers view their contexts and the program's curricula as problematic or certain; and the role that supervisors play in this process. If the program achieved all of its goals, students would perceive themselves as moral craftspersons and view both the curricula and their contexts as problematic. The results show, as might be expected, that the program achieves some but not all of its goals.

Two studies specifically examine the effect of the student teaching experience on the development of student teachers' perspectives toward teaching. Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) report the results of a study which examined the development of student teachers' perspectives toward knowledge and curriculum, student diversity, teacher-pupil relationships, and the teacher role. They also attempted to identify the relative contribution of personal and institutional factors to this development. They found that student teachers entered the program "with different teaching perspectives and that significant differences among students remained at the end of the semester" (p. 33). Student teaching did not significantly alter the student teachers' views about teaching. Instead, after the semester-long experience, students, for the most part, became more skillful in articulating and implementing the perspectives that they possessed in less developed forms at the beginning of the experience. Ten of the thirteen student teachers studied followed this pattern. The other three student teachers appeared to comply with the demands of their student-teaching situation but maintained strong, private reservations about these demands. The perspectives of these three student teachers did not develop over the semester. Generally, it can be said that if students entered the program with what we would consider a technical- or moral-craft outlook toward the teacher's role, they left at the end of their student teaching experience with essentially the same perspective, albeit a more refined one.

In a second study reported by Zeichner and Grant (1981), a similar finding was noted. Using Hoy and Rees's (1977) pupil-control ideology construct, Zeichner and Grant examined whether student teachers became more custodial toward pupils during the semester, and whether the orientation of the cooperating teacher had any influence on the student teacher's development. They identified one group of student teachers whose views on pupil control were more humanistic than those of their cooperating teachers and another group whose initial views were more custodial than those of their cooperating teachers. At the end of the student-teaching semester, Zeichner and Grant found that "although the pupil-control ideologies of student teachers in both groups were initially significantly different from the pupil-control ideologies of their cooperating teachers, neither group of students altered their views on pupil control by the end of the experience" (p. 305).

Both Tabachnick and Zeichner's (1984) and Zeichner and Grant's (1981) studies are subject to interpretation in a number of ways, but at least two interpretations stand out. On the one hand, these studies show that this inquiry-oriented student teaching program had little effect on student teachers' perspectives toward teaching. Students came into the program with initial perspectives and beliefs about the role of the teacher and the curriculum, and left with those same beliefs essentially intact. The program did not foster the development of teachers who viewed themselves as moral craftspersons. On the other hand, some studies of the student-teaching experience show a significant change from an initially humanistic orientation to a custodial view toward the tasks of teaching (Zeichner, 1980). Given this frequently noted shift toward a more custodial orientation, it could be argued that both Wisconsin studies indicate that the inquiry-oriented student teaching program stems the onrushing move toward a more custodial view. Yet, still another position is possible. It may be that the effects of the student teaching experience are not apparent during or at the end of student teaching. If this is the case, there is a need for longitudinal studies that follow student teachers into their early years

of teaching. One such longitudinal study suggests that student teachers who leave the experience with a craft perspective maintain that perspective through the first year of their teaching under certain conditions (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1985; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). If an inquiry-oriented student teaching program is to be effective, it seems reasonable to expect its impact to endure beyond student teaching. Clearly, further longitudinal studies to illuminate these issues are in order.

In a second set of studies by Grant (1981) and Grant and Koskela (1985), the authors evaluate the degree to which the preservice teacher education students encounter and then implement a view of education that is multicultural (EMC). These studies provide one avenue to assess whether or not instructors provide and student teachers receive a view of the teacher as a moral craftsperson. In a program that presents a perspective on education that is multicultural, the craft and moral emphases are highlighted when students are encouraged to alter existing curricula to provide for cultural differences and to recognize and rectify the injustices connected to these differences. The perspective of EMC differs from the notion of multicultural education. In EMC, teachers recognize the role schools play in furthering the inequalities and injustices of current society and infuse the entire curriculum with a respect for cultural diversity. In a standard multicultural approach, the role of schooling in reproducing inequalities and injustices is not emphasized, and the multicultural curricular units are viewed as additions to an already established "standard" curriculum.

In the initial study by Grant (1981) and the later replication by Grant and Koskela (1985), the authors report findings which identify how the EMC concept was received and implemented at various stages of the elementary education program. In both studies the findings are essentially the same. Grant and Koskela (1985) report that "student teachers attempted and accomplished very little EMC" (p. 14). Grant and Koskela's assessment is based on observational data and the self-reported activities of eleven student teachers. When these student teachers were asked if they did "anything to affirm or implement EMC" in their classrooms during student teaching, seven responded positively (p. 13). Although these seven students reported being engaged in units on Mexico, discussions of sex roles, or designing a bulletin board for International Day, given the definition of EMC, such activities do not represent attempts to implement education that is multicultural. Rather, they serve as additions to a preexisting curriculum. Essentially, Grant (1981) and Grant and Koskela (1985) found little evidence of any attempt during student teaching to implement a view of education that is multicultural.

If retaining and implementing a view of EMC is one aspect of the moral craftsperson outlook, it might be concluded that the student teaching program fails to emphasize it. It could be argued, however, that both the multicultural approach and the view of education that is multicultural represent alternative routes for the morally oriented craftsperson. And, in addition to these two alternatives, other avenues exist. What these two studies do show is that one route, the EMC approach, is presented to students in an initial course in their preservice education program but that it is not implemented during their student teaching.

In studies by Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982) and Zeichner and Liston (1985) the emphasis is on the supervisory aspect of the program. Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982) analyze the various ways supervisors in the inquiry-oriented program

gave meaning to their work with student teachers. The authors indicate that the programmatic emphasis on reflective teaching exerted pressures upon supervisors to raise particular kinds of questions—such as, Why are you doing what you are doing with your children?—and to encourage their student teachers to evaluate classroom practices in terms of moral criteria rather than solely in terms of technical criteria. Nevertheless, they found that supervisors implemented the student teaching program goals in various ways. Out of the nine supervisors studied, the authors characterized three as emphasizing a technical-instrumental point of view, four others as utilizing a personal-growth-centered approach, and the remaining two as practicing a critical perspective. Briefly, the technical-instrumental approach focused on the practices and techniques of teaching that enabled the student teacher to transmit an "approved" curriculum to the students in a creative manner. The personal-growth-centered orientation encouraged the development of the student teacher's chosen goals and an emphasis on the educational rationales for actions within the classroom. The critical perspective emphasized the discovery of linkages between the actions in the classroom and institutional characteristics, as well as between classroom behavior and the social forces in the community; moreover, it focused on the use of moral criteria to evaluate classroom action. While all of the supervisors were identified as basically utilizing one of these approaches, Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982) noted that each supervisor employed aspects of all three.

In Zeichner and Liston's (1985) study, the authors assessed the degree of congruence between the expressed goals of the program and the quality of discourse between university supervisors and student teachers in post-observation conferences. The authors distinguished four types of discourse: factual, prudential, justificatory, and critical. In short, factual discourse is concerned with what occurred in a teaching situation or with what will occur in the future. Prudential discourse revolves around suggestions of what to do or evaluations of what has been accomplished. Justificatory discourse focuses on the reasons employed when answering questions of the form, Why do this rather than that? And critical discourse assesses the adequacy of justifications offered for pedagogical activities and examines the values and assumptions embedded in the content of the curriculum and instructional practices. From these categories a reflective teaching index (RTI) was constructed to represent the proportion of discourse most closely related to the program's goals. Using this index, the authors attempted to assess the degree to which the program's reflective orientation was present in conferences between supervisors and student teachers. They found, that of the total 260 minutes of discourse analyzed, 19.6 percent represented attention to reflective forms of communication. Furthermore, they found that the student teachers' conceptual levels appeared to affect the degree of reflective discourse occurring in supervisory conferences. The higher the student teacher's conceptual level, the more often reflective discourse occurred. This finding likely reflects the supervisors' attempts to respond to the cognitive levels of the student teachers. Thus, the student teachers appeared to have a "pulling effect" on the level of discourse occurring in post-observation supervisory conferences.

In both the Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982) and the Zeichner and Liston (1985) studies, it is difficult to determine whether or not the results indicate suc-

cessful implementation of the program's goals. Without a sound basis for comparison, the interpretations are highly tentative. A few comments, however, can be made. Zeichner and Tabachnick's finding, that of nine supervisors only three employed the technical-instrumental approach, seems positive. Given the conventional emphasis on technical orientations in supervision, this finding suggests a move toward the program's reflective orientation. (Furthermore, as noted earlier, even these three supervisors employed practices associated with the other two orientations.) Zeichner and Liston's report of an RTI of 19.6 percent also appears to reflect a partial implementation of the program's goals. In fact, the authors were surprised by the frequency of reflective discourse. It seems that discussions analyzing the educational rationales for classroom practices could be perceived as "threats" by the cooperating teacher. Supervisors might prefer to leave aside such questions in order to avoid conflict and maintain smooth relationships with school staff. Additional data from a program at another university with a more conventional student teaching program are now being analyzed so as to achieve a better understanding of these findings.

A summary of the pertinent research must also include two other works: Koskela's (1985) study of reflective communication in two student teaching seminar groups and Ullrich's (1985) analysis of student teachers' psychosocial development in an inquiry-oriented program. Koskela's research employs the case study method and examines the presence and effects of reflective communication during student teaching seminars. She defines reflective communication as statements indicating the presence of critical thinking or problem solving, the attitudes of open-mindedness, wholeheartedness, or responsibility, and the skills used for self-analysis. Koskela found that reflective communication occurred during the student teaching seminar and was encouraged by it; moreover, she found that the degree of reflective communication varied within single seminar groups of student teachers over time and between seminar groups. What is most striking about her study, however, are the cases illustrating reflective communication. During one of the observed seminar meetings, a curriculum coordinator responded to the student teachers' questions and concerns about their schools and classrooms. The student teachers had asked about the use of worksheets and had spoken of teacher frustration and student boredom. One result of this meeting was that the curriculum coordinator began questioning teachers about curricular policies and practices which, in turn, stimulated discussions among teachers in the school. Also, as a result of this meeting and the resulting communication, Koskela indicates, one student observed that "institutions could change," individuals could initiate those changes, and, as a result of this process, teachers and student teachers could change their practices in the classroom. Although this type of discussion and related action were not evident in all of the seminar sessions studied, there appears to be some indication that as a result of their seminar, student teachers viewed their school contexts as problematic.

Ullrich's (1985) study concerns an analysis of student teachers' psychosocial development in the Wisconsin inquiry-oriented student teaching program. Specifically, Ullrich investigated whether an experimental small-group-oriented seminar would encourage student teachers to define and act collaboratively on issues of authority and autonomy within the small group. Although his results are tentative,

Ullrich's analysis indicates that none of the seven student teachers who were studied acted in a collaborative manner to define or resolve these issues. Instead, students acted in an individualistic manner and withdrew from discussions related to authority and autonomy. For our purposes, Ullrich's findings indicate that the inquiry-oriented student teaching program may need to pay more attention to collaborative interaction. However, since Ullrich's seminar was atypical in that it focused on the dynamics of small-group interaction, his findings may have limited applicability.

In summary, the research examining Wisconsin's inquiry-oriented elementary education student teaching program has focused on student teachers' views of the teacher's role, on student teachers' understanding of their contexts and the program's curricula, and on the role that the supervisors and seminars play in the education of student teachers. The program attempts to educate student teachers in a reflective manner: to view their knowledge and their contexts as problematic; to view the teacher as a moral craftsperson; to approach the knowledge offered in the program reflexively; and to interact with their fellow student teachers, instructors, and supervisors in a collaborative fashion. There is some evidence that the program encourages students to view their student-teaching context as problematic (Koskela, 1985; Zeichner & Liston, 1985), to see teachers as moral craftspersons (Zeichner & Liston, 1985), and to clarify their own chosen perspectives concerning the teacher's role (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984; Zeichner & Grant, 1981). There is also some indication that the program may need to encourage more collaborative interactions among the participants (Ullrich, 1985), and that certain views of the moral craftsperson are not implemented (Grant, 1981; Grant & Koskela, 1985). While these findings may be of some use and interest to the larger teacher-education community, they also provide information and feedback for the program's participants. The program's coordinators, supervisors, and student teachers have examined aspects of these studies and, as a result, have altered certain practices.

Factors Impeding the Realization of the Program's Goals

Although the studies described above do not provide a complete picture of how successful the program has been in accomplishing its goals, it is still possible to speculate on the variety of material and ideological constraints, both within and outside of the program, which "work against" the program's stated aspirations. Although gaps between program rhetoric and reality are an inevitable consequence of the complexity and inherent uncertainty of human affairs (Tabachnick, 1981), it is important for teacher educators to examine the ways in which their own situations influence the character of their programs. This is especially important when a program seeks to encourage "reflective teaching." We will now examine a number of individual and structural factors at three different levels which we feel need to be addressed more adequately in the future.

First, within the student teaching program itself, the historically dominant and commonsense view of student teaching as an exercise in apprenticeship (Stones, 1984) has made it difficult for program personnel to establish the legitimacy of inquiry and reflection within the student teaching program. Efforts have been made

to work closely with cooperating school personnel to build an acceptance of, involvement with, and support for the more unconventional aspects of the program. Much time has been spent in justifying and establishing the legitimacy of reflective teaching. And yet, despite these efforts, the commonsense view of student teaching as a time for the "final" demonstration of previously learned instructional skills, together with students' understandable desire to create favorable impressions of their instructional competence in "the here and now" (Haas & Shaffir, 1982), have served to undermine, to some degree, the program's concerns with inquiry and reflection.

Several strategies have been employed to reduce the still prevalent attitude among student teachers that time spent on inquiry and reflection is time "taken away from" the more important tasks of applying and demonstrating knowledge and skills. For example, the inquiry assignments are coordinated with students' gradual assumption of the teaching role in a way which seeks to minimize pressures on students and to maximize the chances for the acceptance of what are not typically viewed as legitimate concerns for student teachers. Specifically, the inquiry assignments are typically heaviest toward the beginning of the semester, when students' teaching responsibilities are the lightest, and then gradually taper off as students assume more and more responsibility for the teaching role.

Deliberate efforts have also been made to include the quality of inquiry and reflection as part of the criteria by which students are evaluated, and to conduct the supervision of students in a manner that encourages and reinforces a reflective orientation to the teaching role. Despite these and other efforts to legitimize inquiry and reflection by student teachers, some student teachers and cooperating teachers still do not actively support these unconventional goals for student teaching and exert various pressures to focus the attention of program participants upon the more narrow concerns characteristic of an apprenticeship. Although much progress has been made over the years in generating more active support from both students and cooperating teachers for these goals (for example, by introducing the concept of reflective teaching in the program's courses and by including discussion of this broader view of student teaching in courses and workshops for cooperating teachers and in school advisory group meetings), the problem of expectations for an apprenticeship still persists.

One possible reason for the continued resistance of some student teachers to devoting serious attention to reflection and inquiry is that when students' total life experiences as pupils and as citizens in our culture are taken into account, the student teaching experience represents a very small portion of their formal preparation for teaching and an even smaller part of their socialization to teaching. There is little doubt that students' experiences outside the boundaries of formal programs exert a great deal of influence on their dispositions toward the teaching role and toward schooling (Feiman-Nemser, 1983). Although students within this program are bright, articulate, and for the most part do not fit the characterizations of teacher education students recently portrayed in the national media (see University of Wisconsin System, 1984), they do not enroll in the Wisconsin program because of its expressed emphasis on reflective teaching. Indeed, prior to student teaching, they have had relatively little experience with the kinds of reasoned analysis and problematic stance toward practice that are emphasized in the program.

Our experience has taught us that much unlearning has to go on before most students are willing to accept the need for a more reflective approach to teaching. The time devoted to this task, within a 15-week semester, may be far too brief to overcome the influence of prior experience and commonly-held expectations regarding the purposes of student teaching.

Another factor which has served to obstruct the realization of program goals is the ways in which the roles of university supervisor and cooperating teacher have been structured. For example, although a supervisor visits each of his or her students on the average of once every other week and has weekly contact with all of his or her students in the seminar, the provisions made in the program for supervisor-student contact are far fewer than those which are necessary to accomplish the ambitious goals set for supervisors. The limited resources allocated to the program, which reflect the relatively low status of clinical teacher education within a university context (Clark & Marker, 1975), lead to heavy workloads for supervisors (who are also full-time graduate students). This serves to make it difficult for supervisors to develop and nurture the kinds of relationships with their students which are needed for the accomplishment of their goals.

The problem is clearly a result of much more than the heavy workloads of supervisors (see Diamonti & Diamonti, 1975; Diorio, 1982). The limited contact between supervisors and student teachers, as well as the lack of formal authority supervisors and students have over the curricular and instructional practices in the student teachers' classrooms, inhibit student teachers from raising the kinds of questions about classroom and school routines which the program seeks to encourage. It is true that some cooperating teachers actively encourage students to question the reasons and rationales for educational practices and provide opportunities for students to create and implement materials and practices which go beyond the routine. Given the formal authority relationships between student teachers and cooperating teachers, however, student teachers are not encouraged to question classroom practices or to implement alternative approaches. For example, although the intent of inquiry and reflection is not to have students criticize particular teachers and their motives, discussions of the rationales for particular classroom practices and of the strengths and limitations of teachers' choices can be seen as potential threats to cooperating teachers, who are ultimately responsible for all that goes on in their classrooms.

Additionally, the supervisors in the program are graduate students in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction who spend anywhere from one to five years working in the program. From our experience, it takes a few semesters to prepare supervisors to work in a program such as this, and particularly for them to develop the expertise to be effective in implementing the inquiry and reflective aspects of the program. Frequently, as soon as supervisors have begun to make sufficient progress in the development of supervisory and pedagogical strategies, they leave, and work must begin to prepare a new group of individuals for supervisory roles. We have tried to counterbalance the frequent coming and going of university supervisors by attempting to establish a stable corps of cooperating teachers who are supportive of the program's goals, but the transitory nature of the supervisory role on long-term program development has remained a persistent problem.

Structural limitations in the cooperating teacher's role have also served to impede the realization of program goals. Although we have been somewhat successful in generating more active support from cooperating teachers for the goals of inquiry and reflection, and although many cooperating teachers are able to help students analyze the rationales underlying classroom and school routines, teachers assume the role of cooperating teacher in addition to their full responsibility over a classroom of children. Little provision has been made within the program to provide cooperating teachers with the recognition, rewards, time, and reduced teaching loads which are necessary for them to be able to work with student teachers in the way that the program desires. In many of the schools with which we work, little has been done to support cooperating teachers' involvement in inquiry and reflection with regard to their own work as well. To some degree, both student teachers and cooperating teachers work within a set of "ecological" parameters and a structural context which work against the goals of the program.

Another set of constraints comes into view when attention is focused on the elementary teacher preparation program as a whole. The Wisconsin program, as is clearly the case for many programs of its size, can be best characterized by its ideological eclecticism and structural fragmentation (Zeichner, 1985a). Although the goals regarding inquiry and reflection are evident in the intentions of those who work with student teachers and in a few other segments of the program, the program as a whole does not represent a coherent and well-coordinated effort to prepare "reflective teachers" according to a set of commonly agreed upon interpretations of this goal.

Each segment of the program is under the control of different faculty members who, in addition to their affiliation with the program, are also affiliated with one or more disciplinary areas (for example, social studies, education, mathematics). A recently completed external evaluation of the program initiated by the elementary faculty found that there was only limited discussion by faculty, students, and cooperating teachers of the program as a whole and concluded that the lack of coherence in the total program and the lack of attention to the shared enterprise of teacher education across content-area boundaries is a major issue that our faculty needs to address (Perrone et al., 1983). Students experience the program in relation to all of its various parts, but few faculty members who work in the program have an overall perspective on the entire enterprise. Most see themselves as primarily affiliated with a particular program component. Although efforts have been made subsequent to this review to focus more of the faculty's attention on issues related to the program as a whole, the organization of the faculty into disciplinary areas (a desirable attribute in relation to the graduate program) works against the establishment of a coherent and well-coordinated program of teacher education that provides continuity of experience for students.

Finally, when we move from the teacher education program as a whole to consider the teaching roles that our students observe as they spend time in classrooms and schools, both before and during their formal preparation for teaching, another important issue emerges. Specifically, a great deal of inconsistency exists between the role of teacher as professional decisionmaker, a role our program encourages students to assume, and the dominant role of teacher as technician, one our society and its institutions seek to maintain. Numerous analyses of recent policies directed

at teachers, conducted from a variety of perspectives, have concluded that the effect of these policies is to promote greater control over the content, processes, and outcomes of the teacher's work and to encourage conformist orientations to self and society, as well as technical orientations to the teacher's role (Apple, 1983; Lanier & Little, 1986; Sykes, 1983; Wise, 1979). While it is clear that many teachers do not passively carry out the directives contained in these "technical controls" (see Zeichner, 1985b), it is also clear that most schools do not actively encourage teachers to engage in the kinds of practices that our student teaching program seeks to promote. To some extent we may be preparing student teachers for a teaching role that does not now exist, or does not have the sanction of the institutions in which teachers now work.

Clements (1975) points out an obvious but important condition of improvement: "We cannot improve teacher education in isolation from the conduct of schooling. Improved teachers must go into existing schools" (p. 164). While there is some evidence that the nature of university undergraduate education as a whole and the university-based components of teacher education contribute to furthering the role of teacher as technician (Lanier & Little, 1986; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981),[5] it is also clear that changes in the status, recognition, and responsibilities given teachers must occur before an inquiry-oriented teacher education program will have a chance of making any lasting impact.

Shulman (1983), in his *Handbook of Teaching and Policy*, concludes:

> Papers in this volume . . . have painted poignant portraits of the lives of teachers and their attempts to influence the system in which they work. . . . The conditions of teaching set severe limits on the potential for reform. The descriptions of teaching have helped us to appreciate the strains of the working teacher, the frustrations of the profession that foster burnout, and the even more insidious charring that slowly eats away at a teacher in the performance of her duties. Without an improvement of those conditions or a massive shift in the expectations that make them commonplace, talk of improvements in the teacher education process . . . seems pointless. (p. 502)

Short of fundamental changes in the occupation of teaching and in related social and economic conditions, there is clearly much that can be done to improve the quality of the Wisconsin program and those like it. For example, we at Wisconsin need to do a much better job than heretofore of confronting our own "contexts." More material and moral support must be given to the supervisors and teachers who work with our students. Further attention needs to be paid to creating a more coherent and coordinated professional education component. And we need to work more closely with our colleagues outside of the School of Education so as to provide a greater continuity of experience for our students and the kinds of institutional support and structure which are consistent with our pedagogical goals. Our

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[5] See Powell (1976) and Palmer (1985) for accounts of the university's historical role in creating graduate programs that have had the effect of undermining the dignity of the classroom teacher's role.

greatest failure has probably been this lack of attention to the implications of our own institutional milieu and the lack of strategies which seek to alter factors outside of the program's boundaries. Unless these efforts at the university, however, are accompanied by massive and fundamental changes in the conditions of the teacher's work and in the expectations and contexts that make such changes acceptable, we will continue to pedal wildly and go nowhere.

It should be noted that we do not hold an overly romantic view of the benefits to be gained from giving teachers a more central role in the making of classroom, school, and educational policies and more relative autonomy over the content, processes, and actions of their work. We recognize the problematic aspects of the notion of professionalism (for example, Larson, 1977), the complexities of the issue of teacher autonomy (for example, Buswell, 1980; Mohrman, Cooke, & Mohrman, 1978), and the mixed benefits which have been shown to accrue from more democratic decision-making structures within schools and their communities (Duke, Showers, & Imber, 1980). We also recognize that more democratic structures of school governance which accord teachers, individually and collectively, more integral roles in the policy-making process, both within the classroom and beyond, do not even begin to address the concentration of power and authority in "the invisible centers of private power" (such as testing agencies and textbook publishers) whose personnel are neither elected nor accountable to anyone who is elected (Cohen, 1978). Finally, we also recognize that these changes do not directly confront the underlying social and economic causes of our problems (for example, division of labor and resources). The kinds of changes which we are working for within teacher education and schooling clearly represent only a beginning toward what will ultimately be necessary for the creation of a more sane, just, and humane society.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have sketched the goals and concepts undergirding the Wisconsin elementary student teaching program, described aspects of its organizational structure and curricular plan, and summarized findings from eight studies which reveal aspects of the program's curriculum-in-use. We have also noted several of the individual and contextual factors which "work against" the accomplishment of the program's goals. From all of this, we can conclude that some of our goals are achieved rather well, others are only partially achieved, and still others appear to be neglected in practice. We recognize that programmatic gaps, conceptual weaknesses, and internal and external contradictions exist with regard to the program, but we continue to examine, to clarify, and to act toward improving the quality of both theory and practice within the program. For unless we can begin to prepare teachers who are willing to assume more central roles in shaping the direction of their own work and school environments, the kinds of changes which may be on the horizon with regard to the occupation of teaching will continue to maintain the familiar pattern of "change but no change." The preparation of reflective student teachers is a necessary first step for those of us who work in university programs of teacher education.

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