



Durham E-Theses

Teachers' thinking about their relations with their pupils

Abbott, George Samuel

How to cite:

Abbott, George Samuel (1985) *Teachers' thinking about their relations with their pupils*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7878/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

ABSTRACT

GEORGE SAMUEL ABBOTT

TEACHERS' THINKING ABOUT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR PUPILS

A variety of research suggests that 'good' teacher-pupil relationships facilitate pupil learning, pupil progress, teacher control, teacher effectiveness and professional satisfaction. Studies of teaching styles have highlighted improved pedagogic competence from relational interaction. Indeed, competency in relationships is sometimes cited as being an element in 'good' teaching.

However, despite the degree of interest, enthusiasm and research concerning relationships in teaching, there remain gaps in our knowledge: Do teachers think in terms of relationships when interacting with pupils? If they do, how do teachers conceptualise a relationship? How are relationships conveyed and established? What benefits derive from using relationships?

This study uses an interview technique to discover whether teachers actually think in terms of relationships when discussing their work. In particular, to ascertain whether practising teachers, when given the opportunity, spontaneously use the term 'relationships' when describing interaction with pupils i.e. whether relationships are a prominent or salient feature of their work.

From a teaching perspective, it is useful to discover the examples of teacher-pupil relationships described, including practical features involved in their formation and practical benefits from their use.

If teachers do think relationships with pupils are a salient feature of their work, their descriptions, involving practical examples, may reveal items of skill which student or probationary teachers desire to know. The descriptive categories may be useful for teacher trainers who wish to emphasise teaching as a 'craft', or those who wish to reduce the apparent gap-discontinuity which is believed to exist between training courses and the practice of teaching.

**TEACHERS' THINKING ABOUT THEIR RELATIONS
WITH THEIR PUPILS**

GEORGE SAMUEL ABBOTT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

**THESIS PRESENTED FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

1985



11. JUN. 1986

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals in the preparation of this study:-

the sixty five teachers (fifty who contributed to the main study and fifteen in the two Pilots) who gave their valuable time to be interviewed; their attention and interest together with their clear and frank replies were invaluable.

Mr. M. Stone, my original supervisor, who was meticulous in his attention to detail and whose understanding of interviewing technique was of great help.

Dr. G. Alred, who took over the supervision and brought 'fresh eyes' and valuable constructive criticism to assist completion; his positive encouragement was much appreciated.

last but not least, my wife Susan for her strong moral support and understanding.

CONTENTS PAGE

Acknowledgements	iii
Contents	iv - vi
List of Figures and Tables	vii - viii
Declaration	ix
Statement of Copyright	x
Introduction	1 - 9
Chapter 1. <u>The Importance of Personal Relationships Between Teachers and Pupils</u>	10 - 25
(i) Introduction	11 - 12
(ii) Teacher-pupil relationships	12 - 14
(iii) Personal relationships and the notion of the 'good' teacher	14 - 15
(iv) Personal relationships and the personal authority of teachers	16 - 21
(v) Personal relationships and teacher effectiveness	21 - 25
Chapter 2. <u>Conceptions of Teacher-Pupil Relationships in Educational Research</u>	26 - 38
(i) General problems in the use of the term 'relationships' in educational literature	27 - 30
(ii) Examples of the term 'relationships' in educational literature	30 - 34
(iii) The term 'relationships' used in a 'taken for granted' manner	34 - 36
(iv) Difficulties in the study of relationships	36 - 38
Chapter 3. <u>The Nature of Relationships</u>	39 - 63
(i) The nature of relationships in general	40 - 41
(ii) The nature of relationships in teaching	41
(iii) Methods of studying relationships	41 - 49

(iv) Important distinctions in the study of relationships:	50 - 63
a. Interaction and Relationships	50 - 51
b. Relationships - Role and Personal	51 - 55
c. Reciprocity in relationships and teaching	55 - 57
(v) Relationships and teaching	57 - 60
(vi) The position of the teacher	60 - 63
Chapter 4. <u>The Importance of Teachers' Thinking about Relationships</u>	64 - 110
(i) The importance of teachers' thinking:	65 - 67
a. Implicit teaching beliefs - mental scripts	67 - 70
b. Teacher thoughts and actions	70 - 75
c. Teacher thoughts - access to practical knowledge	75 - 77
d. Status of teacher knowledge	77 - 80
(ii) Other influences on teacher style and practice	80
(iii) The importance of teachers' thinking about role	81 - 82
(iv) The importance of teachers' thinking about relationships:	82 - 110
a. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their style of teaching	82 - 89
b. Teachers' thinking about role may influence their style of teaching	90 - 93
c. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their control	93 - 101
d. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their effectiveness	102 - 110
Chapter 5. <u>The Importance of Salience</u>	111 - 118
(i) The nature of salience	112 - 115
(ii) The likely importance of teachers' salience	115 - 118

Chapter 6. <u>The Role Approach to Teacher-Pupil Relationships</u>	119 - 140
(i) Teaching as role interpretations	120 - 123
(ii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher as a 'Manager'	124 - 130
(iii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher as 'Decision Maker'	131 - 132
(iv) Theoretical and practical problems in the use of role for studying teacher-pupil relationships	133 - 140
Chapter 7. <u>Methods</u>	141 - 174
(i) Introduction	142 - 145
(ii) Interview considerations	146 - 149
(iii) Subjects	150 - 155
(iv) Interview schedule	156 - 162
(v) Procedure	163 - 167
(vi) Analysis	168 - 174
Chapter 8. <u>Results</u>	175 - 224
Chapter 9. <u>Conclusion</u>	225 - 255
(i) Discussion of results	225 - 243
(ii) Implications for teacher training	244 - 255
<u>Appendices</u>	256 - 280
(i) Schools A and B	257 - 258
(ii) Examples of transcribed interviews	259 - 275
(iii) Computer codings	276 - 280
Bibliography	281 - 303

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1	Teacher Responses to Misbehaviour	19
Figure 2	Description of Relationships 'A'	44 - 45
Figure 3	Description of Relationships 'B'	45 - 46
Figure 4	Description of Relationships 'C'	47 - 49
Figure 5	Measurement of Relationships	53 - 54
Figure 6	Principles underlying Teacher Thinking	73
Figure 7	Teacher Styles	85
Figure 8	Theoretical Teacher Thoughts	89
Figure 9	Curricula Types	91
Figure 10	Teacher Competence	102
Figure 11	Educational Objectives Domain	107
Figure 12	Teachers' Interests-at-hand	117
Figure 13	Management of Interaction	125
Figure 14	Role Relationships	135
	First draft of interview schedule	158
	Second draft of interview schedule	159
	Final version of interview schedule	160
Table 1	Details of respondents	153 - 154
Table 2	Distribution of respondents	155
Table 3	Preliminary categories for data analysis	171 - 172
Table 8.10	Salience of Teacher-Pupil Relations	177
Table 8.11	Relative Salience of Teacher-Pupil Relations and other Aspects of the Job	180
Table 8.12	Terms in which teachers saw their work	183
Table 8.13	Teacher reaction to the term 'Personal Relationships'	186

Table 8.14	Advantages of a 'good' relationship	188
Table 8.15	Teacher Advantages in a 'good' relationship	191
Table 8.16	Pupil Advantages in a 'good' relationship	194
Table 8.17	Instructional Advantages in a 'good' relationship	196
Table 8.18	Relational Advantages in a 'good' relationship	199
Table 8.19	Teacher Satisfaction from teaching	203
Table 8.20	Development of 'good' relationships	207
Table 8.21	Significance of teachers in the development of relationships	209
Table 8.22a	Teacher Professionalism in the development of relationships	213
Table 8.22b	Teacher Traits in the development of relationships	214
Table 8.22c	Teacher Treatment in the development of relationships	215
Table 8.23	Teachers' conceptions of a 'good' relationship	219
Table 8.24	Salient areas of advice to probationary/student teachers	224

Declaration

This is to certify that none of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

Statement of copyright

"The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged."

(i) Introduction

This study is concerned with relationships in teaching, particularly personal relationships from the teacher's point of view. Relationships have been studied in several areas within the social sciences, notably in psychotherapy, anthropology and psychology. However, relationships also appear to be an important area within teaching according to the frequency of its inclusion in educational literature to describe teacher-pupil interaction. The term is used on numerous occasions to account for positive and negative incidents during contact and interaction.

Relationships are often considered to be at the heart of teaching; almost a prerequisite for 'good' teaching to take place (Lortie, 1977; Bossert, 1980). Similarly, it is believed that relationships have advantageous and beneficial results for teachers and pupils (Evans, 1959; Brophy and Good, 1974; Shipman, 1975; Woods, 1980). When using a 'relationship' approach, teachers are thought more able to transmit knowledge, particularly to awkward and unreceptive pupils.

A relationship image of teaching is believed to be more personally rewarding for teachers, creating a situation in which they can derive intrinsic rewards and satisfaction (Lortie, 1977). On the pupils' side, learning is thought to be enhanced when a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship is established. Self-discipline, on the part of pupils, is a further positive factor considered to stem from a relationship. Here, pupils seem to sub-consciously appreciate and understand the boundary between themselves and teachers, whilst knowing it can be revised (Turner, 1962; Lovegrove and Lewis, 1982).

The term 'relationships' is used in connection with initiatives for changes in teaching styles (Plowden, 1967; Shipman, 1975; Sharp and Green, 1975). There seems to be an emphasis on relationships to improve the nature and standards of teaching to meet changing circumstances:



1. In general, a shift in society's attitude to authority.
2. Specifically, a reduction in deferential attitudes to authority.
3. Pupils less inclined to accept teacher authority unquestioningly.
4. A movement away from authoritarian and paternalistic patterns of teaching toward approaches encouraging pupil participation.
5. A movement favouring the abolition of corporal punishment.
6. More, but less academic pupils staying on at school.
7. Curriculum initiatives such as TVEI.

Relationships appear prominently in educational literature and teachers are encouraged to promote them in their teaching (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Hannam et al., 1976). But there is little evidence presenting the thoughts and views of those who should be carrying out relationships. Despite the prominence given to teacher-pupil relationships, there is no widely agreed definition of the term or clear understanding of how relationships are established, conveyed and used by practising teachers. There has been no systematic research into teachers' thinking about relationships. It is important to discover what teachers themselves think about relationships in teaching and the influence they may have on the conduct of teaching.

At one level, are teachers 'in favour' (1) of any kind of relationship in their work? At another level, whether they are 'in favour' will depend on how teachers think about and interpret a relationship. Two issues stem from this. First, if teachers are being urged to adopt a relationship style, are they as much 'in favour' as educationalists? Second, what does a relationship mean to teachers?

If a relationship style of teaching is to be promoted, it is important to obtain teachers' thoughts about the issue, particularly from a practical

1. A phrase frequently used by subjects during interviews and subsequently used as a sub-category in analysis of data.

teaching perspective. So far, there is insufficient evidence about relationships as they apply to actual teaching situations. Through an interpretive perspective insight can be gained into how teachers make sense of their work, using their language to articulate thoughts and knowledge. Choosing an interpretive style avoids immediate judgements of teachers, instead, it allocates autonomy to teachers by consulting their own perspective.

In particular, it is important to discover the following:-

1. Whether relationships are salient for teachers. It is reasonable to expect that teachers think some form of a relationship is part of their work. However, it is important to know more than this.
2. How salient are relationships in comparison with other areas of teaching work? In this way it is possible to gain some comparison of where a conception of relationships fits in with a complete view of teaching work, such as instructional or control matters.
3. What are teachers' conceptions of relationships? If, as is anticipated, teachers believe some kind of relationship is significant in their work, it is necessary to find out what the term means to them. Reports of their thoughts could reveal practical teaching examples which exemplify teacher conceptions.
4. Teachers 'in favour' of relationships may be in a position to give examples of what they believe a 'good' relationship to be. This can further reveal the conception of the term.
5. Why do some teachers use relationships in their teaching? Are there specific advantages? It would be useful to discover what the benefits are: teacher or pupil, instructional or socio-emotional aspects.
6. It is necessary to be aware of how teachers think relationships are established with pupils.

Thus the central concern of this study is to discover whether teachers spontaneously think about and use the term 'relationships' when describing teaching, together with their interpretations from a practical teaching perspective.

Although difficulties exist in studying relationships in teaching, certain features are similar to relationships in other situations. Frameworks for their study can be utilised to describe relationships in teaching. However, it is still necessary to distinguish key elements of a relationship and differentiate the concept from similar terms, such as interaction.

The nature of the study and the kind of information being sought required a method of analysis which allowed subjects maximum opportunity to express their thoughts and beliefs about issues. To enable subjects to formulate responses and present them using their own terms and phrases, an interview technique was used in which a combination of open-ended and more prescribed questions were asked. Each area of interest mentioned above was elicited through taped verbal responses of fifty teachers from two comprehensive schools. Subjects were asked "What do you think about?"

Thinking is a useful mode of enquiry because it enables respondents to use their own words and phrases to answer questions, without imposing a framework of categories or concepts. This procedure follows the ideas of Harre and Secord (1972) and Elbaz (1983). When asked questions and points of view, the respondent can reply using ideas and thoughts which appear relevant and salient i.e. thoughts using information which is 'immediate to hand', and thus drawn from experience. Reports using verbal accounts of thinking can reveal issues which are salient in the minds of teachers and relevant to their practical world of teaching. Issues which are thought about more than others may become more salient and have a greater chance of being translated into practice.

Teachers' thinking about relationships can thus be incorporated into an approach to teaching. Those who give prominence to relationships may produce one kind of teaching response to ideas concerning teacher style, teacher control and teacher effectiveness; those not in favour, preferring a more prescribed role interpretation, may produce a different teaching response. At the heart of this approach is the belief in the value of teacher

knowledge and how it may be identified and articulated.

The study of teacher-pupil interaction and their relationships has, in the past, proceeded via role theory. This has tended to emphasise role components of teaching, together with disparities between role interpretations, such as role ambiguity, role conflict and role strain. In particular, the teacher has been portrayed as a decision maker or manager. Both these interpretations study teacher-pupil interaction but are less successful in describing teacher-pupil relationships. The study of teacher-pupil relationships cannot rely upon what individuals are supposed to do in their role, it also needs to include how they actively think and interpret their role.

Fifty teachers from two schools were interviewed and recorded on tape. The interview schedule was in two sections. In the first section, questions were general and open-ended, allowing respondents to discuss 'good' and 'bad' points about teaching. The first six questions permitted teachers to spontaneously use the term 'relationships' if it was part of their thinking about teaching. In the second part of the schedule, the questions were more specifically about relationships.

Information generated by these taped interviews was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It was quantitative in terms of frequency of those spontaneously mentioning relationships and those who did not; frequency of teachers 'in favour' and against relationships; and the frequency of those subjects giving teacher or pupil benefits from a relationship. It was also qualitative in terms of the way teachers viewed their work, both positive and negative aspects, together with the way relationships were conceptualised and the meaning they held for teachers in this study.

The nature of the data required different presentations. Where the main interest was in the frequency of responses to specific questions, these were presented in table form after computer analysis. However, it was important to reveal the nature of responses (verbatim) as they apply to categories they were placed in. In order to give a preliminary example of

the content of the taped interviews, extracts are incorporated at certain points in Chapter One to illuminate specific issues raised in connection with relationships. Categories in the results section were derived from two main sources: the questions contained in the interview schedule and the actual phrasing of respondents.

This study is a dual approach to the investigation of relationships. It is in two distinct yet interlinked parts. The first is a critical discussion of relationships in teaching and is concerned with the prominence of relationships in educational literature to improve teacher authority, teacher effectiveness and pupil progress. It proposes that despite claims for their importance not enough is known about teacher-pupil relationships; there are gaps in our knowledge about relationships as presented in educational research, particularly from the perspective of those taking part. This study identifies some of the gaps and the attendant problems in the study of relationships, drawing on methods of analysis from social psychology.

The **empirical part** attempts to discover whether practising teachers think relationships are as important as those views presented in research literature, together with their interpretation of the meaning and benefits from relationships. Data generated by teacher interviews can be used as a stage in the study of teacher-pupil relationships concerning their salience.

In this context, the empirical section of the study is a preliminary enquiry into the nature and use of relationships from the perspective of practising teachers. It attempts to propose initial descriptions of issues raised in the first three chapters, using teachers' thinking. The empirical results can be used to compare other research on teacher-pupil relationships, such as benefits from and establishment of relationships.

Chapter One illustrates the wide-ranging use of relationships in situations where individuals are in a continuous or prolonged sequence of interaction, particularly those cases where there are no prescribed actions for participants. This chapter emphasises the prominence of the term 'relationships' in educational contexts where there are believed to be benefits from

its use in terms of: pupil learning, pupil control, teacher effectiveness and teacher survival. As presented in research literature, relationships in teaching are regarded as a significant element in respect of the 'Ideal Teacher', 'Teacher Authority' and 'Teacher Effectiveness' (Evans, 1959; Shipman, 1975; House and Lapan, 1978):

However, Chapter Two suggests that there is concern over the use and application of the term. Despite the apparent success being claimed for teachers giving serious concern to the type of relationships they have with pupils, it appears that not enough is known about them in an educational context. There are different interpretations of a relationship, often not from the teacher's perspective. It is used interchangeably with interaction leading to a muddled position, and is often used in a 'short-hand' manner to describe teacher-pupil interaction. Lack of systematic research into relationships ensures that there are gaps in our knowledge as they apply to teaching.

Chapter Three discusses the general nature of relationships as they apply to teaching. Despite problems in definition, relationships have points of similarity which make them amenable to study. This chapter summarises some methods used to study relationships, in particular frameworks for describing them. It suggests that there are distinctions which can be made when describing relationships, such as: Interaction and Relationships; Role and Personal Relationships. In teaching, the position of the teacher may involve a compromise between role and personal relationships.

In Chapter Four the basic attributes of thinking are considered as they apply to teachers. Thinking is presented as mental schemes or constructs which enable large amounts of complex information to be dealt with by an individual. It suggests that the way a teacher thinks about an issue can be incorporated into his teaching style with behavioural consequences, and therefore such knowledge is useful. Differences in thinking are discussed in connection with teacher style, teacher authority and teacher effectiveness.

Chapter Five concerns salience. The study of salience suggests that when making judgements, people may be most influenced by single pieces of information, that which is most available or salient (readily brought to mind). Issues quickly brought to mind by respondents when answering questions may be useful in presenting salient thoughts. It is likely that only the most salient thoughts will influence action. If teachers spontaneously use the term 'relationships' as part of their thinking, it may reflect the salience of relationships in their teaching method.

Chapter Six assesses the capacity of role theory to illuminate teacher-pupil relationships. Teaching in the past has often been presented in role terms but there are theoretical and operational problems with the concept. This chapter identifies two teacher roles, manager and decision maker, and proposes that neither adequately deals with teacher-pupil relationships.

Chapter Seven deals with methods and procedures used to collect, handle and interpret the data. In particular, it describes: the group of teachers who participated in the study; preparation of the interview schedule, using two preliminary pilot studies; how the interviews were conducted; and the analysis of recorded material. Data generated from interviews does not readily lend itself to immediate analysis particularly by computer. Responses are often not logical in presentation and can be vague or widely variable. Therefore, the taped interviews were transcribed verbatim and key response statements analysed. See Appendix (ii) for examples of transcribed interviews.

One of the first tasks was to establish the proportion of subjects and the number of times the term 'relationships' was spontaneously used to describe teaching, before being asked about it in Question seven. Secondly, to identify the practical interpretations teachers placed upon relationships. It was necessary to identify clusters of major categories and more detailed characteristic sub-categories made in reply to questions on the interview schedule. These were then allocated a computer code and processed to

identify those characteristics which were raised most frequently and which appeared prominent in teachers' thinking. Answers to Questions one, two, three, four, five and six, were used to arrive at a view teachers have of their work and to what extent relational aspects occur in comparison with other things. The remaining questions were used as main categories to analyse data more systematically in respect of relationships. Sub-categories were derived from actual subject responses.

Results from the recorded interviews are shown in Chapter Eight. They are presented in table form indicating frequency of responses and proportion of subjects mentioning each category. Actual verbatim responses are included as examples to indicate the nature of each sub-category because these were often derived from responses. Additional extended extracts from interviews are included to reveal wider characteristics of interview material. See Appendix (ii) for examples of transcribed interviews.

In Chapter Nine results are summarised and some general conclusions arrived at. The main points of interest being : did teachers spontaneously think in terms of relationships? If they did what were their conceptions of a relationship? What specific examples did teachers give to illustrate a relationship? What benefits derive from using relationships? How were relationships established? In the second part of the conclusion, some of the issues raised are discussed in terms of teacher training. For example, does teacher thinking about relationships have any implications for teacher training courses?

Chapter 1. The Importance of Personal Relationships
between Teachers and Pupils:

- (i) Introduction.
- (ii) Teacher-Pupil relationships:
- (iii) Personal relationships and the notion of the 'good' teacher.
- (iv) Personal relationships and the personal authority of teachers:
- (v) Personal relationships and teacher effectiveness:

(i) Introduction

Relationships have been studied in a number of disciplines within the social sciences in situations where there are regular sequences of interaction, and where individuals form some kind of bond or link between one another. This bond or link will partly reflect the social context they are in and the people themselves.

Carl Rogers in 'Client Centred Therapy' (1965) advocated a more personalised approach to psychotherapy and counselling. In his programme, the therapist uses a relationship-centred approach through which he can get 'closer' to the 'client'. Using this technique, conditions encouraging empathy and trust can be facilitated as the relationship progresses. Rogers (1965, 1969, 1970) suggests that meaningful progress can only be accomplished when an 'acceptant' relationship is identified by both parties. This has implications for teacher-pupil interaction.

Clinical psychology, in particular its humanistic sector, has studied relationships. Research has been conducted into the nature of relationships and their potential therapeutic value (Rogers, 1982). Duck and Allison (1978) have experimented to test conditions that create and affect relationships, such as the nature of the environment, length of interaction, regularity of interaction and personal qualities participants bring to the relationship.

Within sociology and anthropology, studies have been carried out into the conduct of relationships. Research such as: 'Reciprocity and Complementarity' in relationships (Gouldner, 1960); 'Exchange Theory' in relationships (Homans, 1961); 'Equity Theory' in relationships (Adams, 1970) are concerned with the working of a relationship, almost exclusively between two people. Descriptions of relationships frequently reflect the balance or imbalance which may exist, particularly where there is a power difference between participants, as in teaching.

In social psychology, researchers have studied several areas of relationships and related issues. Although the majority of this research deals with dyad relationships; certain aspects have some applicability to teacher-pupil relationships. Those studies dealing with: 'initial attraction' (Huston, 1974; Duck, 1977; Mikula and Stroebe, 1977; Berscheid and Walster, 1978; Burgess and Huston, 1979); 'interpersonal attraction' (Byrne, 1971; Duck, 1973; Clore, 1975; Kelley, 1979) and 'relationship breakdown' (La Gaipa, 1972) are the most difficult to adapt to the study of teacher-pupil relationships because they emphasise a two person relationship, frequently male-female. However, other research has produced results which have more applicability to teaching situations. these include : the dynamics of real-life relationships (McCall, 1970; Feger, 1978; Wiggins, 1979) and the development of relationships (Duck, 1976; Burgess and Huston, 1979; Hinde, 1979; Kelley, 1979). This type of research has produced concepts and frameworks which can be useful in the analysis of relationships in teaching.

These research examples will be discussed more fully later in the study when their ideas and proposals will be assessed in connection with teacher-pupil relationships. The latter examples tend to have greater relevance to teaching situations.

(ii) Teacher-Pupil Relationships

The importance of teacher-pupil relationships has been noted for some time (Torgeson, 1937; Prescott; 1938; Bush, 1942; Tideman, 1942). These preliminary studies suggested there were educational benefits to be derived from relationships, with particular reference to increased teacher effectiveness and pupil motivation. Since these early studies, dealing with American Junior High Schools, there has been increasing use of the term covering a wider area of influence.

Teacher-pupil relationships is used in a number of studies across a range of educational themes, where it is believed to have an influential effect on teacher-pupil outcomes. From a number of researchers have come numerous reports concerning the use of personal relationships by

teachers in their day-to-day interaction with pupils. The range of situations in which they are important and degree of influence which relationships are thought to bring is great. A number of the main areas in which relationships are considered significant is given below. Certain of these themes will be discussed later in more detail.

- (a) Ensuring pupil individuality. Gracey (1976), using class teacher and pupil reports, believes that the use of personal relationships enables pupils to feel as individuals and not just one of many in a school.
- (b) Child-centred education. Green (1975), based on findings from teacher interviews, describes the use of teaching methods using personal relationships, moving away from didactic-authoritarian approaches toward concern for the pupil as a person.
- (c) Survival of the teacher. Woods (1980), using self-reports and observation, describes negotiation within teacher-pupil relationships as a means of surviving the pressures of teaching, instead of aiming for educational goals which are unobtainable.
- (d) Control. Shipman (1975) argues that control should be based on personal authority derived from a relationship.
- (e) Socialisation. Wilson (1976) talks of assisting the socialisation of pupils using teacher-pupil relationships, part of the 'hidden curriculum'.
- (f) Notion of the good teacher. Grace (1978) speaks of head teachers' conceptions of good teachers/teaching frequently linked to teachers using relationships.
- (g) Facilitating learning. Moustakas (1956), using non-experimental observations, believes that pupils can learn more, and efficiently, when they are part of a good teacher-pupil relationship.
- (h) Effectiveness. Goodlet (1972) and Cleugh (1971), using reports and observation, believe that teachers who use personal relationships in teaching are more effective in teaching information, knowledge and skills.

Relationships are considered influential in these eight categories:

However, the number of categories can be reduced to three in which the teacher prefigures because he is the central figure who instigates and experiences relationships at first hand:

- (i) Notion of the 'good' teacher and general teaching. (a,b)
- (ii) Personal authority of the teacher. (c,d)
- (iii) Effectiveness of the teacher. (e,f,g,h)

The above categories encapsulate themes raised earlier a-h. These themes are positioned in brackets beside those teacher characteristics where there is some correspondence. The above categories will now be discussed with reference to the influence of personal relationships:

(iii) Personal Relationships and the notion of the 'good' teacher.

Ideologies exist which frequently have practical and material implications for teaching style. One such proposal for the influence of teaching style is Bennett's 'Teaching Style and Pupil Progress' (1976). Similar changes in thinking on one level and school practice on the other stemmed from the Plowden Report (1967), which sought to bring new perspectives into the teaching of young children. Of specific interest were ideas on various issues such as: child-centredness; informal teaching methods; progressive innovation or general changes in the conception of teacher-pupil relationships in schools. Research following Plowden (Shipman, 1975; Pollard, 1980; Woods, 1980) describe 'good' teaching in terms of elements of personal relationships.

Recently, there have been attempts to re-define 'right' social relations in the pedagogic process (Brophy and Good, 1967; Souper, 1967; Hargreaves, 1972; Bossart, 1980). In the past the 'good' teacher was supposed to be distanced from pupils in all senses: personal, cultural and educational. Contemporary ideologies, however, describe rapport, dialogue and weak role definitions (Lortie, 1977).

Grace's (1978) research involved headteachers' constructions of the

'good' teacher. The responses to the label 'good' could be grouped into two categories:-

- (1) Those concerning excellence of teaching and learning in a particular subject - 'pedagogic competence'.
- (2) Those concerning excellence in social relationships and general organisation - 'interpersonal and organisational competence'.

Grace (1978) cites numerous examples from interviews with headteachers which illustrate that personal relationship styles of teaching are increasingly being identified in connection with attributes of 'good' teaching.

Examples

"rapport and involvement."

"an exceptional relationship with pupils."

"an exceptionally good teacher was based on perceived strengths in interpersonal relations and in general control."

"develops a very close relationship."

When summarising some of these responses, Grace highlights points of similarity with regard to the conception of a 'good' teacher:-

- (a) All possessed likeable personalities.
- (b) All talked to children.
- (c) All were willing to give time and involvement.

At the same time, a new dimension of educational research, termed 'new sociology of education', offered a more radical orientation of thoughts on education. In primary schools particularly, classroom organisation was seen to shift from a formal authoritarian stance, to one stressing open space, integration and increased personal relationships (Sharp and Green, 1975). This research arrives at similar conclusions to Shipman (1975). Namely, that good teaching, as identified by headteachers, is bound-up with the teacher's ability to handle relationships with pupils.

(iv) Personal Relationships and the personal authority of teachers.

Control is an area of concern for teachers (Wragg, 1973; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979; Payne and Hustler, 1980). Control may be viewed as coping with an incident, fracture or disturbance in the teacher's method of working, or maintaining one's power in a situation where pupils are trying to usurp it. As two subjects commented:-

"Well I'm not looking forward to tomorrow because I've my worst class. Today's lesson ended in catastrophe. Nothing got done apart from violent conflict. God I wish tomorrow was my last day. Perhaps I'm exaggerating the discipline problem. Other staff seem puzzled when I go on about it. Is it just me? I mustn't have the same personal authority to control the kids as they have. I still believe caning is wrong but at the moment in this school it seems the only way. If I didn't use the cane pupils would think me different and totally reject me. I can see the positive side of caning. Some teachers like Mr. Graham* have a good personal relationship with his pupils because it is understood between them that the cane is used only as a last resort. He is in a secure position and kids know he won't cane unreasonably."

(Female, 26 years, Geography, School A, Experience 2)

"I suppose right from the beginning your main thoughts are will I be able to control these children. Will they respect me and my authority. In once sense although not always a fair one I will be judged by the head, other staff and the kids in terms of my ability to control classes. It can be bloody difficult and a hell of a strain to exert your personal authority and control a class of up to thirty children four times per day. What's more things have changed which makes the work even more difficult. I've been teaching for ten years and even I have noticed the shift in attitudes to authority in society and in schools. Changing the school leaving age and banning the cane make children less inclined to accept the authority of a teacher. It seems to me that we are being asked to change from one idea of a teacher to another but without any guidance as to what this is. Okay so I'm expected to change from a traditional and paternalistic teacher - what do I change to?"

(Female, 34 years, Languages, School A, Experience 3)

Waller (1932) observed teachers using techniques to secure control under these headings:-

- (1) Command.
- (2) Punishment.
- (3) Management (manipulation of pupils).
- (4) Temper.

(5) Appeal:

'Command', 'Punishment' and 'Temper' are survival strategies where domination by the teacher is the major characteristic. The others; 'Management' and 'Appeal', are survival strategies which employ negotiation. Control not only involves handling an incident but also avoiding the incident or disguising the full implications-seriousness of the situation, so as to 'ride it out'. This point is illustrated by the following respondent:

"With this particular bad class I had to change my level of acceptable behaviour. I had been used to total control of the classroom situation like working in silence - absolute silence when I talked. But with this low ability fifth year group I got lumbered with in their last term all these practices went out of the window. I can see the funny side of it now but at the time it was grim. The best part of it was I had to teach them a Law and Order module. They knew more about it than me - from first hand experience. Well any ideas of maintaining my authority and control were non-starters because I didn't have the subject expertise - the pupils were the experts. In the end my strategy was to cope and survive the encounters without too much damage to my ego. I lowered my expectations, reduced all the airy-fairy aims and objectives to a simple level and got some written work. That single term was as if I had climbed onto a 'bucking bronco'. I had to work extremely hard to stay on - stay with it - avoiding confrontations - staying cool in times of crisis. I was able to ride it out."

(Male, 25 years, Geography, School B, Experience 2)

In this context, control for the teacher will rest on the kind of relationship which has been established with a pupil and the degree of negotiation involved. Control cannot only be evaluated in terms of orderliness and silence, but also involves personal and relational issues.

This notion is revealed by the following respondent:

"It's better for me if I have an understanding with a pupil or a class. Most times I can handle a discipline problem based on my rapport with them. For one thing it's too time consuming to involve Heads of Year or a Senior Teacher, it's too bureaucratic. If I've built-up a good relationship with a pupil I can appeal using that to obtain a desired result. In a majority of cases it works. Using a relationship I can see reason with pupils and I'm usually successful."

(Male, 34 years, History, School B, Experience 4)

Shipman (1975) refers to a new definition of 'schooling'. A clear definition of this concept is difficult because it has many facets and adherents. However, at the core of this notion is the belief in the

increasing dependence on personal relationships.

The nature and acceptance of order within the classroom is a central issue. If order rests with the personal authority of teachers, the pupils need to accept the legitimacy of this order for personal relationship orientated teaching to work. Obviously, external rewards and punishments must not be neglected in defining the classroom situation, but these sanctions cannot be completely separated from the central theme of getting the teacher's personal authority accepted.

An attempt to facilitate the acceptance of the teacher's personal authority is presented by House and Lapan (1971). They present the following guidelines or set of goals for the acceptance of a teacher's personal authority:-

- (1) a set of rules for pupils.
- (2) a set of rules for teachers.
- (3) a 'hassle-free' environment.
- (4) a teacher should be consistent.
- (5) a lot depends on the individual and situation.
- (6) a teacher should talk with pupils.

Along similar lines, De Flaminis (1976) suggests that the use by teachers of persuasion, 'situational contracting', or 'relational contracting', makes pupils more willing to change towards a desired behaviour. Situational contracting occurs when teachers use negotiation with pupils to deal with an issue. The form of negotiation and eventual contract arrived at depends very much on the nature of the situation a teacher is confronted with, such as problems over work and behavioural problems. The final decision will rest with the situation and the nature of the problem. Relational contracting uses the points raised above, but in addition, there is the development of a personal relationship or understanding which can be brought to bear to resolve problems.

Figure 1.

Teacher Responses to Misbehaviour. Adapted from De Flaminis 1976

<u>Pupils</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Definitions</u>
Are unwilling when	use authority	Teacher uses authority of greater status or implicit threat of coercion.
Are unwilling when	use coercion	Teacher uses force or pupil accepts lesser of two evils.
Are willing when	use persuasion	Pupil understands as logically more desirable than own judgement.
Are willing when	use situational contracting	Teacher bestows upon pupil some benefit in exchange for acceptable behaviour.
Are willing when	use relational contracting	Accomplished by long-standing arrangement where teacher has bestowed benefit in advance of misbehaviour.
Are unwitting	use manipulation	Unwitting substitution by pupils of teacher's judgement for their own; accompanied when the pupil only sees the elements of environment the teacher wants them to see.

The above framework suggests that pupils react unfavourably to teachers using their status position or coercion to ensure a course of action; but are more willing to work, accept a course of action and teachers' decisions when they discuss a situation with pupils, to arrive at a compromise. Where there is a long-standing personal relationship, it permits some give and take, an exchange of benefits. De Flaminis (1976) is of the opinion that negotiation and relationships are useful in order to ensure pupil co-operation and for the teacher to carry out his tasks effectively. Similar aspects of an individual teacher's ability to cope with problems is illustrated by the following respondent:

"Problems of order or control really rest with the individual teacher. A lot has to do with the personal authority of the teacher and how it is used. Take this school, there is a long and laborious framework for handling pupils who misbehave. It's so long-winded that the time-lag between the incident and a punishment is too much for the class teacher who might get the pupil twice a week. It's just not on. Apart from assault next week will do. I've noticed that those teachers who are considered to have good control or authority rarely resort to the more obvious forms like corporal punishment, they use their personal contact with pupils to handle a situation. To a certain extent I can do that where I've built-up a relationship with a pupil. I can use it to diffuse a problem situation without bringing in other staff and implementing formal school procedures. You see this way its immediate, no time-lag."

(Male, 34 years, History, School B, Experience 4)

Bernstein (1971) relates the use of personal relationships to the development of curriculum knowledge. He proposes that where there is use of relationships, a teacher can reduce class barriers and enhance the transmission of knowledge which a pupil might otherwise confuse, reject or disvalue. The implications from this proposal are that the teacher's personal interaction and authority with the child is more important than the institutionalised power allocated to the teacher, and that this personal authority is a crucial and effective means of teaching certain aspects of curriculum knowledge.

In Teacher Effectiveness Training (Gordon,1974) teachers are taught substitutes for power and authority and methods which will give them more not less influence. "The traditional language of power is replaced by the language of non-power." (1) Teachers following this method of training reflect a reduction in the use of terms such as:-

'control, direct, punish, threaten, setting limits, being tough, scolding, demanding, policing, enforcing, laying down the law, reprimanding and ordering'.

1. Thomas Gordon, T.E.T. Teacher Effectiveness Training (1974),p16

In their place, other terms are encouraged such as:-

'problem solving, conflict resolution, influencing, confronting; collaboration, joint decision making; working out contracts, mutual agreements, negotiating, meeting needs and working things through'.

Wilson (1976) also emphasises personal relations between teacher and working class pupil as being the basis of professional skill. If the teacher is to act as a socialising agent and improve the transmission of knowledge he must be in a position to foster a sustained relationship with the child. Ideally, the teacher should occupy a central position in a pupil's world in order to convey values, standards and attitudes in a convenient and natural way.

Bernstein (1971) and Sharp and Green (1975) are of the opinion that a change has occurred in both the curriculum and in teaching. They highlight the possibility that survival strategies founded on domination are becoming counter productive and need to be superseded by more negotiated strategies.

(v) Personal Relationships and Teacher Effectiveness

One contributing factor to teaching which is effective and brings rewards, is the degree of success the teacher has in establishing a particular kind of relationship with pupils in which empathy, trust and negotiation are highlighted (Rogers, 1961,1965,1969,1983; Lortie, 1977; Woods, 1977). The quality of teacher-pupil relationships is perhaps more important than what is being taught or how it is being taught.

Gordon (1974) makes an important distinction between teaching and learning. In essence, they are two different activities because the process of teaching is conducted by one person, whereas the process of learning is carried out by another. For both to be effective, a relationship of some kind needs to exist between the two, frequently a personal relationship where individual characteristics are used to further teaching.

Much of the work of Gordon involves dealing with the communication skills required by teachers in order to establish relationships. His training schemes are based on the assumption that the quality of the teacher-pupil relationship is vital if teachers are to be effective in teaching any subject.

At a more practical level, some researchers propose that the teacher in a classroom situation, to be effective, does not merely teach a subject; the teacher adds something to the information he is teaching (Richardson, 1948; Deutsch, 1960; Cleugh, 1971; Goodlet, 1972;). This idea is entailed in the theory of social exchange developed by Homans (1961). The imparting of information can be accomplished even though it may not be immediately attractive or relevant to the pupils. According to Homans, "the continuance of social intercourse depends upon recognition of the principle of distributive justice; the parties involved must feel that they are getting roughly equal profit from the relationship." (2) The principle of distributive justice does not necessarily mean arriving at a democratic teaching regime, rather satisfaction being obtained from the manner in which the pupils are led and treated.

References have been made to the use of personal relationships over some period of time, but noticeably in recent years the citing of the term has increased. As early as 1942, Bush and Tiedeman were particularly interested in teacher-pupil relationships and their affects on the education process. Evans (1959) also drew attention to the use of personal relationships in aiding teachers to get 'closer' to handicapped or maladjusted children. Moustakas (1956), on the basis of non-experimental observations, concluded that the conditions of teacher-learner interaction best suited to learning and development were optimally met by interpersonal relationships; situations in which there was freedom of expression; where an

1. George C. Homans, *Social Behaviour: its Elementary Forms* (1961) P106

individual could state his ideas and thoughts without fear of censure or criticism, where expression of feelings lead to their exploration aiding development of self.

Rogers (1969) proposes that initiation of learning not only rests upon the skills and knowledge of the teacher, detailed curricula planning or the use of audio-visual aids, but attitudinal qualities which are brought to and exist in the personal relationship between the facilitator (teacher) and the learner (pupil). Blake (1979) believes that personal relationships are a vital and positive force in making life more meaningful for both teachers and pupils. He suggests that teachers, to be effective, require 'self-awareness, self-confidence, patience, good judgement, adaptability, good understanding and communication.' In particular, Blake emphasises the importance of the 'master teacher'; someone with a rare ability to relate to pupils in a distinctive way.

According to Palomares and Ball (1974) some of the capabilities these 'master teachers' possess are:-

- (1) The desire to encourage pupils to express their feelings and ideas as a valid part of the learning process.
- (2) Careful attention to and acceptance of the feelings and thoughts pupils express.
- (3) The ability to establish a co-operative rather than a competitive atmosphere in the classroom.
- (4) The capacity to reinforce positive behaviour.
- (5) Patience.
- (6) The expectation that pupils will learn.
- (7) High esteem for each individual pupil.

Gracey (1976) proposes that the teacher should learn to perceive and relate to pupils as individuals rather than as members of the class group. This individual relationship is conceived of as a precondition to genuine interaction and necessary to enhance effectiveness. Walker and

Adelman (1975) in their study 'Strawberries', were struck by the warmth and individuality of teacher relationships with children. Walker and Adelman's teachers were not all strong personalities in the performance sense, but they did have strong relationships with the children they taught. A similar point is made by the following respondent:

"I suppose the most obvious benefit is for the teacher though pupils benefit as well. You become more effective at your work. When you've got a situation where one person is teaching material and another is learning it there must be some sort of relationship for it to take place. Obviously if the relationship is a good one progress is made more quickly than if it's a poor relationship. I think it has to do with you as a person because when you're putting information across inevitably you're projecting yourself and it's that the kids identify with."

(Male, 34 years, Chemistry, School B, Experience 4)

Woods (1980) proposes that teachers are increasingly being pressurised, often requiring commitment to the school system. These pressures can stem from curriculum change, disillusioned pupils and changing attitudes to punishment. He sees the maintenance of the 'self' as an important feature. To the teacher, effectiveness may simply mean developing survival strategies. Woods (1980) highlights eight categories in connection with these survival strategies:-

- (a) Domination.
- (b) Negotiation.
- (c) Socialisation.
- (d) Fraternalisation.
- (e) Absence or removal.
- (f) Ritual or routine.
- (g) Occupational therapy.
- (h) Morale boosting.

It is possible to identify evidence of the use of a personal relationship orientation in some of these categories. In order to successfully pursue some of these strategies (b,d, and h), some personal relationship skills would seem to be useful. Woods appears to be suggesting via these

strategies that a teacher may be able to function more effectively; that effectiveness can be translated into improved learning capacity on the part of children, better classroom discipline and job satisfaction.

According to Lacey (1970) and Pollard (1980) the teacher will employ those strategies which are effective and have a high degree of practical usefulness. Similarly, probationary teachers will, under pressure, move from idealistic enterprises to more methodical procedures, such as organising the class and its movements in which control of pupils is often uppermost in their minds.

Continuing this practical theme, Wilson (1962) and Harvey (1966) recommend that teachers reduce the 'distance' between themselves and their pupils, in order to achieve greater rapport and understanding. However, they further believe there are constraints on how far this strategy can be implemented because of large classes and the time consuming nature of building-up relationships. Nevertheless, Wilson (1962) is still in favour of the teacher making the effort, as any understanding gained would be helpful in defining 'non-routine' situations, especially those involving unusual or disorderly behaviour, what Cooley (1909) called 'social understanding'.

Rogers (1969) cites testimony from teachers who have experienced relational training. They suggest that pupils who create problems are more sensitive to interpersonal relationships than others. Rogers believes improvements in the area of interpersonal relationships enable 'real' teaching to take place.

According to Grace (1978) and Partington and Hinchcliffe (1979) the supreme skill of teaching is that of establishing personal relationships with pupils. It is felt through this technique, the teaching situation could be used to its optimum capacity and potential. Their collective view is that effective relationships should assume priority in any programme of management skills.

Chapter 2. Conceptions of Teacher-Pupil Relationships
in Educational Research.

- (i) General problems in the use of the term 'relationships' in educational literature.
- (ii) Examples of the term 'relationships' in educational literature.
- (iii) The term 'relationships' used in a 'taken for granted' manner.
- (v) Difficulties in the study of relationships.

(i) General problems in the use of the term 'relationships'
in educational literature

The term 'relationships' has been used for some time in connection with teachers and teaching. Within the last fifteen years, this and other related terms have been used increasingly to describe teaching, with particular emphasis on preferred teaching styles (Hargreaves, 1972; Brophy and Good, 1974; Sharp and Green, 1975; Bennett, 1976; Hannam et al., 1976; Lortie, 1977; Shipman, 1977; Edwards, 1980):

The term 'relationships' is frequently being used in educational research in an attempt to describe the point of contact or the degree of interaction between teachers and pupils (Brophy and Good, 1974; Hargreaves, 1972; Morrison, 1972; Hannam et al., 1976). However, the manner in which the concept is used and the framework into which it is put varies considerably.

In the past, much research into teacher-pupil contact has been based upon no agreed conception of the term 'relationships'. It has come to mean all things to all men. It is a widely used concept but it is used in differing contexts, with different meanings. (Gergen, 1973; Raush, 1977; Sampson, 1978).

Previous research which takes teacher-pupil interaction as one of its themes has not been successful in delimiting or specifying the term in a way which is useful and meaningful for teachers, who, after all, will be undertaking the activity. (Bush, 1942; Tiedeman, 1942; Moustakas, 1956; Evans, 1959; Cleugh, 1971; Wilson, 1976; Lortie, 1977; Woods, 1980).

There has been a tendency to perceive the teacher in a manner following role theory: as a 'manager', 'organiser' and 'decision maker' (Neugarten, 1967; Westwood, 1967; Walberg, 1967; Morrison, 1972; Brophy and Good, 1974; Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Eggleston, 1979; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979). This method of analysing the teacher implies a patterning of responses toward pupils on a less than individual level.

It is often the case that the term 'relationships' is used in place of another term to refer to aspects of interaction, with the implication that it has the same meanings and values attached to it. Thus, it is important to avoid confusing relationships and interaction or accepting that they are one and the same thing.

It is equally important when studying teacher-pupil relationships to analyse, describe and define the term from a practical teaching perspective. It is futile to advocate the acceptance of teacher-pupil relationships if teachers do not clearly understand what they actually entail, or are not provided with the practical methods to successfully undertake and carry them out.

Research which has been conducted into teacher-pupil interaction and which uses the term 'relationships', frequently makes assertions as to the effectiveness and importance of those relationships. Notwithstanding the view that these conclusions are correct, such research has not been successful in clarifying elements in the study of relationships (Ruddock, 1969; Morrison and McIntyre, 1972; Brophy and Good, 1974; Hannam et al., 1976; Walker and Adelman, 1976; Pollard, 1980; Woods, 1980).

First, it is necessary to identify the essential differences between interaction in its basic form and a relationship. Previous research has not distinguished between the two terms, indeed they are frequently used interchangeably to describe any and all teacher-pupil contact.

Second, at an obvious and basic level, what is a 'relationship' in teaching? We are often presented with an ideal image of a relationship in teaching (Brophy and Good, 1974; Souper, 1976; Blake, 1979), but the form and content of the relationship is not outlined or described from the point of view of the teacher or pupils.

Third, the phrase 'good relationship' is often used to illustrate good or competent teaching, which enables the teacher to get the most out of his pupils (Lortie, 1977). However, it is not clear what a 'good relationship' is in teaching, or the contexts and situations in which it is applied.

A 'good relationship' is too often restricted to a narrow conception, usually related to discipline and control (Hargreaves, 1967,1972; Hannam et al.). Research has so far not identified elements of a 'good relationship' in either wide terms or specifically connected to the teacher.

Fourth, in keeping with the notion of a 'good relationship', there is the added implication that such a relationship is beneficial. But who benefits? Is it mainly the teacher, the pupils, or do they both receive mutual and reciprocal benefits? Apart from the benefits connected to discipline, and attempts to show increased learning on the part of pupils, there have been few studies which have tried to recognise more wide-ranging, perhaps personal benefits on the part of teachers (Lortie, 1977; Woods, 1980).

Fifth, research has pointed to the importance of relationships in teaching and the possible benefits which may accrue, but it is not made clear how 'good relationships' or for that matter any 'relationship' occurs or becomes established.

The inference that a relationship develops out of and during interaction is not sufficient to enable teachers to improve their techniques. Some studies (Harvey, 1966; Gordon, 1974; Burns, 1976; Gracey, 1976; Lortie, 1977; Grace, 1978) have highlighted the personal qualities and dispositions of teachers with respect to their teaching styles, but it is still not clear to what extent the teacher is responsible for the establishment of relationships in teaching. Similarly, it is unclear whether it is teachers' or pupils' behaviour to one another which is important or, whether it is their attitudes to one another which is significant in the development of relationships.

The term 'relationships' is frequently used in educational research and literature in order to focus attention on the interaction which takes place between teacher and pupil (Hargreaves, 1972; Hannam et al., 1976; Brophy and Good 1974; Morrison and McIntyre, 1972). In addition,

although not specified in the title, other researchers have used the term 'relationships' as a concept to analyse teachers and the actions involved in teaching. (Morrison, 1972; Gracey, 1972; Shipman, 1975; Souper, 1976; House and Lapan, 1978; Grace, 1978; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979; Pollard, 1979; Green, 1980; Woods, 1980). However, each account varies in its use and application of the term, which emphasises that there is no agreed conception of relationships as it is now portrayed in educational literature.

Despite the increased frequency of its use and the importance it is held in for numerous areas of education, the term still lacks clear definition. The proliferation in the use of relationships as a concept in order to analyse and describe teaching, together with its wide-ranging application, has not resulted in the term becoming clearer or more precise in its use. Instead, the term relationships remains both muddled and vague in its use and application. These deficiencies in research ensure that there are still gaps in our knowledge of relationships and in particular how they affect teachers and their teaching.

ii) Examples of relationships in educational research

a. Hargreaves - Social Relations in a Secondary School.

Hargreaves (1967) uses a similar term, 'relations', in his title but uses the concept relationships when discussing teacher-pupil contact. He tends to use the concept as an after-thought to describe a relationship that already exists or has been arrived at between teacher and pupil.

It is proposed that teachers' perceptions of their pupils, which are congruent with themselves, or an 'ideal' pupil image, will result in one form of a relationship; and a different relationship will occur otherwise. The term relationships is used as a short-hand device in order to encapsulate the process involving the reciprocal meta-perceptions (1) of teachers and pupils.

1. A person's field of experience is occupied not only by his direct view of himself and 'others' but what Laing et al (1966) calls metal-perspectives - my view of the other's view of me: how I think you see me.

b. Hargreaves, Interpersonal Relations and Education.

Hargreaves (1972) has moved a stage further from his position in Social Relations in a Secondary School. He is specifically attempting to understand the overall teacher-pupil relationship as it is experienced by the teacher or pupil. In the context of teacher-pupil relationships, he focuses attention upon the 'climate' of the classroom, or how the situation is being defined by the participants in order to arrive at styles of interaction.

For Hargreaves (1972), the central issue in the teacher-pupil relationship derives from the significant power difference between the two. In short the teacher's power, emanating from status, traditional authority and expertise, enables him to take the initiative in defining the situation and the process of interaction which takes place. The teacher is in a strong position to determine and enforce his own definition of the situation on pupils. Hargreaves (1972) proposes that a pupil's classroom behaviour is a result of responding to the teacher's interpretations of his role and his teaching style.

The essential step-forward that Hargreaves (1972) has proposed is the positioning of teacher-pupil relationships firmly in the classroom context and the establishment of relationships through interpretation and interaction. Any variation in the relationship will be caused by differences in the teacher's perception of his role and how he subsequently defines the situation. In one situation, Waller (1932) suggests increasing formality in the teacher-pupil relationship to maintain social distance, will in turn increase discipline.

Despite having at our disposal the context and some of the variables involved in teacher-pupil relationships, we still have gaps in our knowledge and understanding relating to the term itself. From Hargreaves (1972) study, we are simply left with the implied inference that relationships are linked to a teacher's perception of his role. This can lead to formality and 'non-involvement' so as not to lose respect.

Hargreaves (1967,1972) work is important because it focuses attention on teacher-pupil relations. It emphasises teacher style, teacher effectiveness

and pupil progress. However, a relationship, its exact establishment, development and form is not made clear. The distinction between a 'good', indifferent or 'bad relationship' is not elaborated on.

c. Hannam et al. *The First Year of Teaching*

In this book, a primer for the first year of teaching, one of the chapters is entitled 'Relations with Pupils'. In the introduction, it is suggested that primary concern lies with the establishment of 'good order' and being judged on one's ability to 'control' a class; although "It is a truism that successful teaching depends on a good relationship between teacher and taught."⁽¹⁾

However, in attempting to be more precise as to what counts as a 'good relationship' it merely points to generalities of a societal nature. The implications are that changes in attitude from authoritarian and paternalistic patterns of teaching, to those which stress active participation with pupils will aid learning. In addition, great store is placed upon the teacher's personality and his reactions to frustration and anxiety.

This interpretation of relationships, although on the right lines, is not sufficiently specific to be of use to the teacher. It is too general and bound up in personality traits. Chapter four in *The First Year of Teaching* does not make a contribution to our knowledge about relationships. It is merely using the term to mention certain issues which although important, are not the whole story of relationships.

d. Brophy and Good, *Teacher-Student Relationships:*

Causes and Consequences.

Brophy and Good (1974) fail to make sufficient distinction between interaction and a relationship. They seem to accept, without really questioning the assumption, that a relationship will stem from repeated interactions. A 'good' or 'bad relationship' may be the result, but the explanation for the

1. Charles Hannam et al., *The First Year of Teaching* (1972), p58.

difference fails to clarify the position of teacher, pupil or the organisational structure.

According to these authors, teacher-pupil relationships are believed to be a positive and potent force in education but the establishment of these 'good relationships' is not examined in a practical way. Much of the onus for relationships is thought to reside with the personal qualities of teachers, such as warmth and empathy, facilitate the development of relationships. In particular, they place stress on counselling and the importance of pupil individuality.

These researchers highlight the existence of teacher-pupil relationships and they identify some of the benefits to be derived from them. However, they are less successful in examining the meaning a relationship has for teachers or the practical means to establish them. The implication is that relationships are essentially a personal strategy for each teacher to reflect upon. In Brophy and Good's (1974) study, relationships are portrayed akin to counselling and as a force to encourage teachers to treat pupils as persons.

e. Morrison and McIntyre, *Teachers and Teaching*.

As in the previous example, there is a specific chapter allocated to 'Teachers' Roles and Relationships'. One of the problems this raises is the connection between roles and relationships. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Six of the study.

The variables identified in this study, such as type of school, group-streaming of pupils and expectations of the teacher, comprise only the surface layer of teacher-pupil relationships and just to discuss these would be a superficial analysis. It is the interaction within the confines of the classroom which is of importance. Yet, this aspect is only mentioned in passing. "Most teachers spend most of their working time in the classroom alone with their pupils and it is what happens during this time which determines what effects they have on their pupils."(1)

1. Arnold Morrison and Donald McIntyre, *Teachers and Teaching* (1972) pl39.

'Affiliation' for Morrison and McIntyre (1973) is the search for 'close personal relationships' and 'dominance' is characterised by an effort to control the attitudes, thoughts and views of others. The school provides the opportunities for both. These are simply categories of implied actions. The expression 'close personal relationships' is neither clarified nor elaborated upon.

Morrison and McIntyre (1973) highlight the connection between role interpretation, teaching attitudes and style. Within this area, relationships are believed to be important, but again, the exact nature of the relationship and how it is formulated is not described. As in other studies (Ryans, 1960; Harvey, 1966), the imposition of a category system does not improve our knowledge. Relationships are not sufficiently described and so remain vague and of little use to the teacher.

(iii) The term 'relationships' used in a 'taken for granted' manner

In addition to teacher-pupil relationships being used in different ways with different causes and effects, the term is often used in a 'short-hand' or 'ideal-type' fashion, in order to describe teacher-pupil interaction. Used in this way, the term becomes even less clear and more ambiguous.

The ambiguity of the concept relates to the lack of research into the meaning of relationships for the participants concerned. Much of contemporary research into teachers and teaching is interested in what takes place at the 'chalk face', in the classroom. This is common to a large proportion of the research (Pidgeon, 1970; Nash, 1976; Pollard, 1980; Adelman 1980; Woods, 1980).

In their concern to 'get where the action is', researchers undertaking interaction analysis, tend to use the term 'relationships' as a 'short-hand' or 'ideal-type' model, in order to assist their explanation. However, such methods are not without misleading complications. The concept is used without specifying its meaning from the teacher's standpoint. In a sense, it is the 'taken for granted' aspects of the teacher's everyday situation which is of importance and yet which has been largely ignored with regard to relationships.

Examples of short-hand use

Adelman (1980), in discussing humour, uses the term 'relationships' to describe teacher-pupil interaction. Humour is used in the context of a relationship. It is used as an example when there is closer contact between teacher and pupil. But the nature of the relationship, its establishment, form and structure is not discussed. It is as if the term 'relationship' is used as a 'short-hand' or symbolic description of teacher-pupil contact. For Walker and Goodson (1977) humour and joking are a way into a personal relationship but the nature of this 'intimate' relationship is not discussed.

In a similar manner, Woods (1980) uses the term 'relationships' to assist in the explanation of teachers' anxieties. One focus of attention is the issues which make teachers anxious about teaching, particularly coping with pupils. However, anxiety in teachers is simply discussed against a relational background. It is as if relationships are an independent variable used to assess the degree of anxiety in teachers. But there is little attempt to examine the range of relationships which might be possible. Relationships are identified by Woods (1980) as being important in respect of the coping strategies of teachers, though the term 'relationship' is used merely as a 'short-hand' concept.

From another area, a study by Harvey et al (1966) presents an analysis of teacher personalities in terms of belief or construct systems, ranging from 'concreteness' to 'abstractness'. 'Abstractness' manifests itself in a more flexible belief system and is associated with greater interaction and involvement with pupils; requiring a more detailed perception of their needs. Importance is placed upon relaxed classroom relationships, task involvement and pupil participation. Yet, no insights are presented as to what a relaxed classroom relationship is, what characterises it and whether it rests purely on the teacher's personality. We are left with the impression that relationships somehow arise from the nature of the teacher, the nature of the pupils and the organisation of the school.

These examples illustrate the 'taken for granted' aspects of teacher-pupil contact in which relationships are left without enough description or clarification.

(v) Difficulties in the study of relationships

Concern has already been expressed over the imprecision and lack of consensus in the use of the term 'relationships'; and there is considerable disagreement over the use of relationships in social psychology when used to describe dyads, triads and small group interaction (Marlowe and Gergen, 1969; Duck, 1973; Huston, 1974; Roloff, 1976; Gadlin, 1977; Berscheid and Walster, 1978; Rodin, 1978; Burgess and Huston, 1979; Kelley, 1979; Foot et al, 1980).

There are issues remaining in both theoretical and operational definitions of the concept together with issues which are of importance in real-life situations. These are two areas requiring careful consideration if research is to be of practical value.

At present, knowledge of personal relationships is an ad hoc collection which fails to present an integrated body of information. Certain explanations are proposed to account for the disjointed state of knowledge. For example, that relationships represent something amorphous and therefore inaccessible to scientific investigation, or at least not amenable to study in a 'respectable' manner. If more were known about relationships, disagreements might be less but the lack of theoretical or operational consensus prevents the acquisition of such knowledge.

A further problem which complicates the study of relationships is the variety of forms in which they may occur. Historical and societal changes can affect relationships (Gergen, 1973; Gadlin, 1977; Sampson, 1978; Wiggins, 1979). Research evidence also indicates cross-cultural and intra-cultural differences in the ways that personal relationships are conceived (Jones et al., 1961; Jones and Davis, 1965; Jones and Nisbett, 1972; Levinger and Snoek, 1972; Boissevain, 1974; Kerckhoff, 1974; Rosenblatt, 1974; Clark and Mills, 1979). These variations challenge the study of relationships.

Complications inhibiting the study of relationships exist not only at cultural, sub-cultural and historical levels within relationships themselves but also in how researchers conceptualise them (Pearson, 1974; Raush, 1977; Sampson, 1978). The ideology of individualism may press a researcher to search for the determinants of relationships in the individual attitudes, values and traits of the participants (Sampson, 1978). Whereas, one who promotes a collectivist ideology may be more disposed to enquire into socio-economic or group processes for the determinants of the same relationship.

Research into relationships has primarily been concerned with only a small range and spectrum of relationships, consisting of highly intimate, enduring and voluntary relationships, involving friendship, courtship and marriage. Insufficient research has been carried out into relationships where personal, social and role aspects are involved (McCall, 1970; Duck, 1973; Gergen, 1973; Duck, 1977; Sampson, 1978; Hinde, 1979; Wiggins, 1979).

Relationships tend to evade norms and highly institutionalised practices. This makes their study more complex. In 'close' relationships, understanding and commitment can enable members to improvise, what Weber (1949) termed 'substantively rational' solutions. The achievement of improvisation may be at the expense of formal rationality, making the identification of actions and thoughts more difficult. One problem is that recent research into interpersonal phenomena has been too bound-up with role theory (Hargreaves, 1967 & 1972; Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Brophy and Good, 1974).

Within recent years, there has been increasing use of the term 'relationships', particularly in connection with and to indicate 'progressive' teaching. The use of relationships in this context of teaching is highlighted by:-

- a. Gracey (1976) - when encouraging pupil individuality in the education process.
- b. Green (1977) - when describing child-centred education.
- c. Shipman (1975) - when suggesting a new definition of schooling incorporating pupil individuality, child-centred methods and the personal authority of teachers

based on their relationships with pupils.

Putting these goals and objectives into teaching practice will be difficult because, as already outlined above, we do not know enough about relationships in teaching.

This lack of congruence in the use of relationships ensures that when it is used in educational literature, it is not as effective as it could be. It will not be readily apparent which of the following the term is used to highlight.

- a. Role consensus.
- b. Role discord.
- c. Teacher characteristics.
- d. Pupil characteristics.
- e. Definition of the situation.
- f. Nature of relationships.

There is both a high incidence in the use of relationships and the degree of importance attached to them in educational literature. However, this concern for their implementation by teachers is not reflected in the position of relationships in teacher training courses. Apart from a few notable exceptions involved in innovation (North East London Polytechnic, Gorbett, 1975), the study and application of relationships in teaching is not evident when one views the volume of criticism levelled by first year teachers at training course programmes (Kounin, 1970; Paisey, 1975; Hanson and Herrington, 1975; Naish and Hartnett, 1975; Lacey, 1977). At present, the training of relationship skills does not constitute a significant element in training courses nor does it appear to be either a standard or recognised part of teacher training (Taylor and Dale, 1971; Jeffreys, 1975; Desforges and McNamara, 1979).

In its present use, the concept of 'relationships' as a means of analysing and describing actions between teachers and pupils still remains vague and therefore of little use for researchers who are interested in teacher-pupil interaction; for teachers who may want the skills and expertise to handle pupils more effectively; for teacher-trainers who may want to prepare their students more practically.

Chapter 3. The Nature of Relationships

- (i) The nature of relationships in general.
- (ii) The nature of relationships in teaching.
- (iii) Methods of studying relationships.
- (iv) Important distinctions in the study of relationships:
 - a. Interaction and Relationships.
 - b. Relationships - Role and Personal.
 - c. Reciprocity in relationships and teaching.
- (v) Relationships and teaching.
- (vi) The position of the Teacher.

(i) The nature of relationships in general

It is important to be clear about relationships in general and how they affect teaching in particular. A relationship can be considered as a socio-emotional bond that unites two or more people around some shared concern. It requires investment and commitment from both parties, leading to the existence of some kind of attachment. It often enables or facilitates problem solving and goal attainment.

Relationships occur between people under several conditions. One person may be aroused by another with like feelings, a sense of likeness; an alliance develops. They may be 'good' or 'bad', brief or enduring, swift or cautiously built. What is usually called a 'good relationship' is thought to provide the stimulus and motivation by which both persons feel sustained, cared for, helped and understood.

The give and take which often epitomises relationships need not be equal. Even in relationships characterised by mutuality and reciprocity, there are times when one person is giving more than the other. On the whole, relationships respect the self and provide a sense of security.

Many of the words and phrases used in the context of relationship interaction are those concerned with an individual's personality. However, a relationship is not just interaction between personalities. It also involves the agency of role entering into it. These two aspects are intertwined, in that a personality can develop during a relationship. Duck (1973) sees a relationship as central to personality development. In this sense, personality may be seen as a system of relationships experienced through time and encouraged in each current situation.

Social psychologists like Michael Argyle (1967 & 1972) suggest that relationships may have three levels originating from different perspectives. One view would suggest that relationships comprise the interaction between different personalities; another would propose that a relationship manifests itself via role recognition and participation; while a third would contend that

relationships have a content of their own; which encapsulates complex processes and procedures. (Gergen, 1973; Gadlin, 1977; Sampson, 1978; Foot et al, 1980).

(ii) The nature of relationships in teaching

Essentially, teaching can be considered a social process in that it cannot occur or take place except through interpersonal exchange (Bossert, 1980). Interpersonal relationships which develop within teaching will have normative and social features often reflecting the broader social and moral order in which teaching takes place.

The nature of this dimension of teaching suggests that variations in the social organisation of schools may be connected to variations in interpersonal relationships (Getzels and Thelen, 1960). At the heart of a social psychological interpretation of teaching lies the connection between social, organisational and psychological variables as they operate on the teaching process (Morrison and McIntyre, 1972, 1973):

One interpretation of teaching sees it as a series of relationships. Teachers perform numerous activities as individuals in their teaching role, interacting with people in other roles. Significant among these other roles is the role of the teacher. This set of activities is defined normatively and open to sanction, but also involves establishing norms and sanctions for others, mainly pupils.

Fundamentally, a relationship is based on reciprocity (Duck, 1973; Hinde, 1979). A commitment on the part of the teacher requires commitment from his pupils. A desire to be fair to his pupils by the teacher hopefully results in a good response from the class.

(iii) Methods of studying relationships

The ways in which the development of relationships may be mapped: the behaviour people use, their feelings, their thoughts, or the ways in which individuals move from one level of relationship to another, are beginning to receive attention (Argyle, 1967; McCall, 1970; Duck, 1973; Hinde, 1979; Kelley 1979; Wiggins, 1979).

Interest in relationships is frequently presented in stage form; the establishment of relationships together with the middle and end points. Studies suggest that relationships comprise and progress through different stages, where different factors are at work (Murstein, 1972; La Gaipa and Bigelow, 1972; Levinger, 1974; Morine and Vallance, 1975; Morton, 1976; Roloff, 1976; Duck, 1977; Rodin, 1978). Duck (1977) believes that it is more accurate to talk of stage theories as 'stage and sequence' because the stages follow a set pattern.

Several social psychologists and sociologists have attempted to present a framework explaining growth in intimacy levels and how individuals define, refine, redefine and extend their relationship (Huston, 1974; Miller, 1976; Roloff, 1976). Altman (1974) proposes a definition of a relationship by behavioural means, in which increasing intimacy is communicated by people.

Morton, Alexander and Altman (1976) suggest that individuals try to achieve mutuality or consensus about a relationship definition. These researchers propose a distinction between the content of a relationship and its form, and that communication is important to define the form of the relationship in multi-modal, multi-verbal ways: verbal and non-verbal.

An attempt was made by Levinger and Snoek (1972) to identify the behaviours that help to define the level of a relationship for the participants. Using types of communication, they suggested three levels as being appropriate:-

- Level 1 Unilateral.
- Level 2 Defined by role requirements only.
- Level 3 Self disclosure about personal feelings.

Development of a relationship, according to these studies, can be mapped with reference to the behaviours and communication processes that are exchanged by the participants. Such a framework would seem to be suitable for the analysis of teacher-pupil relationships, as many of these features correspond.

An initial point of enquiry regarding a framework for the study of relationships is presented by Argyle (1967), when he puts into categories the degree of significance relationships have for people. His list is composed of seven

'motivational sources'.

1. Non-social drives which can produce interaction - biological needs for food and water.
2. Dependency - protection and guidance from those in authority or with power.
3. Affiliation - acceptance by others, illustrated by warm and friendly responses.
4. Dominance - acceptance by others as leaders/decision makers.
5. Sex - social interaction with the opposite sex.
6. Aggression.
7. Self esteem ego identity - acceptance of your self image by others.

Although these are considered to be 'motivational sources' which cause individuals to become involved with one another and not categories or descriptions of relationships, it is possible to incorporate 'dominance' and 'dependence' as relationship descriptions within teaching.

Despite differences in the methods of studying relationships (Huston, 1974; Clore et al., 1975; Altman et al., 1976; Miller, 1976; Roloff, 1976; Morton et al., 1976; Gadlin, 1977; Raush, 1977; Feger, 1978; Sampson, 1978; Burgess and Houston, 1979; Kelley, 1979), certain common issues can be identified:-

- a. A relationship implies a degree of intermittent interaction between people.
- b. A relationship exchange takes place over time.
- c. A relationship exchange has a degree of reciprocity; i.e. the behaviour of 'A' takes note of the behaviour of 'B'.
- d. A relationship often, although not exclusively, involves co-operation.
- e. A relationship as used in everyday speech; implies a sense of continuity between interactions.
- f. A relationship interaction can have a compounding affect. Each interaction is affected by prior ones, which in turn influence interactions in the future

- g. A relationship exists in a context and must be understood with reference to that context.
- h. A relationship reflects the extent to which 'A' responds to 'B', as a function of what 'A' is, e.g. a teacher.

First, to be of any use, a description of relationships must try and deal with personal relationships and with more formal role relationships. Second, a relationship between individuals has many sub-components comprising the whole. It is likely to be affected by what actually happens, what the participants perceived as happened, which includes comparing it with what they think ought to have happened (Duval and Wicklund, 1972; Clark and Joyce, 1975; Clark and Peterson, 1976).

Hinde (1979) has proposed a framework of eight categories, which he suggests are important in describing relationships. They seem to have the benefit of moving from the more gross, role embodiments of a relationship, to those dimensions involving thoughts and feelings of a personal kind. What follows is an amended presentation of these categories which can be useful in the analysis of teacher-pupil relationships:

Figure 2. Description of Relationships 'A'

Content of Interaction

Refers to what the participants do together, such as doctor-patient and teacher-pupil. Large-scale societal use, not what people actually do, but what they are expected to do.

Diversity of Interactions

The more different things people do together, the more they reveal themselves to each other; common experiences, e.g. teacher-pupil in school, on school outing, holiday, fieldwork, talk and questioning.

Quality of Interactions

What people do together, teacher-pupil, may be less important than how they do it. The quality of the actions and communication can be important,

as can the characteristics-style of the interaction; the pitch of the voice and mannerisms used.

Relative Frequency and Patterning of Interactions

Refers to the patterning of responses based on multiple criteria. Evaluating a relationship may be based on many dimensions : the number of occasions the participants meet, the intervals between each contact, whether there are large or small gaps in contact.

Reciprocity versus Complementarity

Whereas similar teacher-pupil behaviour in an interaction is rare, a complementary sequence is more probable, involving teacher dominance and pupil subordination; i.e. both are complementary to the sequence of teaching.

Intimacy

This refers to the degree of self-disclosure between people. The extent to which a teacher reveals items of information about himself on a continuum from being a 'discloser' to a 'non-discloser'.

Interpersonal Perception

Whether the perception between people, of themselves and by others, are congruent or not; thereby affecting the relationship.

Commitment

How, and to what extent, the participants are committed to the relationship; continuing so as to optimise its qualities. This aspect has an important influence on the 'others' believability and trust etc.

In a similar fashion, McCall et al. (1970), in seeking to understand the range of social relationships, believe it is possible to think in terms of various analytical variables or dimensions in which relationships can be compared:-

Figure 3: Description of Relationships 'B'

1. Intimacy - the breadth and depth of self-involvement of members in the relationship.

2. Duration - measured in terms of time or number of encounters.
3. Formality - the degree to which the social relationship is structured by some role relationship.
4. Embeddedness - the extent to which the relationship is embedded within an organisation, such as a school or factory.
5. Actuality - the degree of manifestation in concrete encounters, rather than just on a symbolic level.
6. Reciprocity - the degree to which both participants in a relationship recognise the probability of recurring inter-active situations, in which they can anticipate certain actions and responses of a beneficial kind.
7. Differentiation - the degree to which members are distinguished from one another within organisations in terms of power, status and affect.

Both types of analysis emphasise certain significant aspects of a relationship. In particular, 'Intimacy', occurs in both lists, referring to the degree of self-disclosure and self-involvement of an individual. This aspect is of significance for many teachers, in deciding the extent to which they disclose elements of their true self to pupils.

Some teachers may feel it is bad practice to reveal anything of themselves. Instead, they prefer to present a mask or facade to pupils. Others would contend that in order to gain the confidence and trust of pupils you must be yourself, without false affectations. Opting to be

yourself then poses an additional question. How much do you disclose? The decision to be yourself requires judgement from teachers on the amount of information they give to pupils about their attitudes and values regarding their work and philosophy of life etc. In addition, it can be an indication to the pupils and the teacher of his commitment and involvement in the teaching role.

Reciprocity in both frameworks takes the above theme a stage further, in considering the degree of co-operation and concurrency existing between persons in a relationship. Although, in teaching, the relationship is usually not balanced in a purely equal manner, 'one good turn deserves another', being rather complementary, where a teacher instigates the form of the relationship and a pupil follows with the appropriate actions.

Both lists focus on concrete relationships which people encounter and the methods used to handle them. Hinde (1976) refers to the 'Quality' of a relationship when describing what people specifically do, and the general organisation and style of the relationship. Similarly, McCall (1970) in speaking of 'Actuality', is referring to actual encounters which people negotiate in a practical way, and not just the symbolism of a relationship. They are both interested in grounding the relationship in real situations.

Hinde's (1979) framework can be used more effectively to study the form of the relationship itself, the meaning it has for the participants. Whereas, McCall's (1970) framework is more inclined to place a relationship into its social context, including external constraints, such as the organisation and its formal, role requirements.

These lists can be combined to produce the following framework which could be useful in the study of teacher-pupil relationships.

Figure 4. Description of Relationships 'C'

Actual content of a relationship.

This would refer to the concrete examples a teacher or pupil believed existed. It might be expected to include readily identifiable features of

pupil work, academic progress and control. Teachers may think about a relationship in terms of some kind of rapport, a working relationship, connected to their ability to put across information. In general, how lessons run, disjointedly or smoothly.

Diversity of a relationship.

This would refer to a wider range of examples and could reveal issues such as teacher-pupil talk or teacher-pupil humour. The different situations teachers and pupils find themselves in both inside and outside the classroom may help to encourage a relationship. Items such as helping pupils as individuals or giving advice or guidance to them.

Formality - Intimacy

This would refer to the teacher's interpretation of his job and its role properties. If a teacher is influenced more by a narrow, role view of his job, he may be less disposed to disclosing himself or developing a personal relationship, preferring formality. On the other hand, if a teacher is influenced less by his role and prefers relationships in his teaching, he can become more of a person to his pupils, developing a closer and deeper understanding of his pupils on which to base his teaching; becoming more intimate. In this context, understanding should be apparent.

Reciprocity - Complementarity

This would refer to the teacher's expectations of pupil responses. Whether they see them as reciprocal in the sense of a 'give and take' format, or complementary, where the teacher sets the ground rules. Teachers might be expected to describe reciprocal issues when relationships are highly thought of, and complementary when role influences are uppermost in their thinking.

Quality of a relationship

This would refer to the means by which a relationship was achieved.

Although McCall (1970) discusses features of 'embeddedness', i.e. the influence of organisational features, it may be more pertinent to study the teacher's methods of establishing a relationship by being fair, genuine, treating pupils as individuals and being himself, in order to achieve respect. Teacher understanding of pupils, pupil understanding of teachers and mutual understanding should be apparent, but the exact quality of the relationship will be dependent upon the way the teacher establishes it and which features he stresses.

The nature of the category dimensions outlined above are in no sense absolute, rather a convenient way to categorise information. Indeed, these categories may be at a finer level than those most often used in everyday speech because they focus on issues which may be more complex than characteristics used in studies of non-verbal communication. Any description tends to be selective and omissions are apparent in the above outline of categories. Some of these include : the personalities of participants; their past experience; the relationships past and possible future.

Despite the differences in these frameworks for the study of relationships, there are points of similarity. They direct attention to distinctions concerning relationships. These include:-

1. That there are differences between an interaction and a relationship.
2. That a relationship is between two or more individuals, not just between two roles.
3. That there are differences between a role relationship and a personal relationship.
4. That the participant's symbolisation of the relationship is significant.
5. That probably there is a fit between peoples' roles and/or selves.
6. That there are distinctions between behavioural and cognitive aspects of a relationship.

(iv) Important distinctions in the study of relationshipsa. Interaction and Relationships

Denzin (1970); in his definition of social relationships, includes some relationship distinctions, "a symbolically recognised probability of recurring interaction between two persons as distinctive individuals, based on some functional fit between their respective roles and/or selves."(1)

In order to distinguish between interaction and a relationship, interaction may be considered on a number of levels. In one sense, it can be conceived of as the study of interpersonal behaviour. Alternatively, it can encapsulate the behaviour of others. Essentially, the relationship between two people can be regarded as the paradigm for the interactive process.

Although the terms relationship and interaction are frequently used interchangeably or in tandem, there is a case for making distinctions between them. First, an interaction need not necessarily involve a bond or attitude of a personal kind. Second, an interaction involves a more limited span of time compared to a relationship. Third, even a series of independent interactions does not always constitute a relationship. Fourth, relationships can be an on-going feature even when the participants are not in face-to-face contact. Fifth, relationships have more than one focus compared to an interaction. Sixth, interactions are more frequently of a behavioural nature compared to a relationship, whereas relationship behaviour can be understood in terms of its social meaning or cognitive aspects for the participants. Seventh, relationships are dynamic and seldom static because each interaction can alter the course and tone of future relational meetings.

Thus, any account of interpersonal relationships using overt behaviour alone will be insufficient. This is an important issue which need to be

(1) Norman K. Denzin, Rules of Conduct and the Study of Deviant Behaviour : Some Notes on the Social Relationship (1970), in George J. McCall, Social Relationships, p. 172.

emphasised. "Relationships have both behavioural and affective/cognitive aspects; they depend on interactions yet involve more than interactions; their parts must be studied but so must the whole; they must be related to the personality of the participants and to the social context in which they exist." (1)

The nature of personal relationships necessarily involves behavioural and cognitive components. In connection with the first component, the behavioural study of relationships may provide the primary source of data, but there will be periods of time when the participants are not in contact and yet the relationship is still in existence and continuing to evolve. In this sense, what actually takes place during a relationship interaction may be less important than the thoughts of individuals on what happened and the perceptions of others (Jones et al., 1961; Levinger and Breedlove, 1966; Mutstein, 1971; Jones and Nisbett, 1972; La Gaipa and Bigelow, 1972; Quick and Jacob, 1973; Morine and Vallance, 1975; Wish, 1976). Any evaluation of a relationship sequence will be important for the future development of that relationship. Therefore, it is necessary for studies of personal relationships not to ignore cognitive aspects.

b. Role and Personal Relationships

In the real world, actual social relationships are a composite of formal and personal relationships. Role relationships involve some knowledge of a personal kind which assists in decisions on courses of action. Similarly, personal relationships may be based on assumptions and knowledge of role.

The organisation of a relationship can comprise structure and form. First, relationships frequently include elements of 'ascription', e.g. stemming from the social positions the people occupy, such as a teacher-pupil relationship. Second, many social relationships involve 'commitment'. Commitments can be considered to be a strategy for increasing and ensuring the depend-

(1) George J. McCall, *Social Relationships* (1970), p 22.

ability of a source to obtain exchange rewards. But sometimes they can evolve from moral convictions. Third, 'investment', is a powerful bond between people; when they expend scarce resources of money, time and life-chances.

Investment can be described in terms of normative standards which are believed to be implicit in most social relationships, what Gouldner (1960) refers to as the 'norm of reciprocity', a requirement that one should display some consideration for others. Fourth, 'attachment', in which there is greater involvement in the relationship, but the individuals concerned are more vulnerable to change. Finally, 'reward dependability', which McCall (1970) sees as the major reason for the existence and continuation of relationships. This he suggests results from a continual need for role support and social exchange; people seek recurring sources for them. When people meet, the exchange of social commodities often leads them to establish further and more potent bonds (Goffman, 1961; Denzin, 1970; McCall, 1970; McCall M, 1970).

The shape of a relationship is perhaps easier to define where the relationship is formal; where it can be thought of as a match between a pair of social roles. In talking about social roles, there are commonly held sets of expectations about conduct, rights and duties. The degree of 'fit' between roles, in many respects, reflects the functional fit of the social roles and, as a result, the form of the interaction may be constrained by the salient conceptions of the role relationship. A formal relationship can be said to be bounded by the role relationships between members. So, although it is not identical to a formal relationship, it can affect its structure. But both role/formal areas can help to define a personal relationship.

McCall (1970) defines a personal relationship "as a fit between the persons that the members of a relationship present to one another." (1)

(1) George J. McCall, *Social Relationships* (1970), p 11.

Although both social roles and positions are involved; it is the self-conceptions which are also significant. Here, ideal roles are individually adapted and re-structured by the people involved, in which the functional fit may be less obvious and more problematic. The shape and form of the relationship will be significantly influenced by the functional fit of personas (Strauss, 1959; McCall G, 1970; McCall M, 1970; Denzin, 1970; Burgess and Huston, 1979; Wiggins, 1979).

In one sense, all social relationships are part personal and formal. Members of relationships interact both on the basis of role relationships and personal knowledge. Where a relationship is personal, or based on recognition by each other of the other, the relationship can be said to exist to provide role support for each other.

The role relationship can only be a guide to the interaction because participants gradually identify the 'others' self-conceptions through their reports during interaction. Increasingly, the role relationship become modified in a personalised way.

It would appear from the above discussion that the main bond in a formal relationship could be 'ascription', whereas in personal relationships it may be 'attachment'. We can envisage 'reward dependability', 'investment' and 'commitment' in both types of relationship but a bond of 'attachment' manifested in a personal relationship.

There are various methods in which relationships can be measured:-

Figure 5. Measurement of Relationships

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|---|---|
| 1. | Affect structure | - | sociometric tests of liking and bonds between people. |
| 2. | Status structure | - | respect generated between people. |
| 3. | Power structure | - | power to exact compliance, power differentials. |

4. Authority structure - right to exact compliance, more clear in a formal relationship.

(After McCall, 1970)

Other methods of studying relationships involve identification of 'boundary rules'. According to McCall (1970), boundary rules are norms that reinforce or affect the focus on relationships; enabling work or transactions to be done. Goffman (1961) discusses three types of boundary rules : 'inhibitory rules', involving the screening out of irrelevant detail which might make the focus on the relationship more difficult; 'facilitating rules' or 'realizable' resources, in which all aspects of maintaining order which may be present are used; 'rules of privacy', concerning what is disclosed, such as norms regulating an acceptable amount of involvement with outsiders.

Strauss (1959) has suggested that people involved in relationships generally know what to expect of each other, within broad limits. In this sense, boundary rules are not so carefully set, they already exist and are known. The problem is basically one of deciding the nature of the identities being presented from those in the store of knowledge. (see Schutz, 1932, 1973)

Within the context of the above categories, it is important to understand the evaluation placed upon a relationship along the formal-informal continuum. A useful interpretation of the dynamics of interpersonal relationships depends on full descriptions of how each participant perceives the relationship, although it is often difficult to differentiate this aspect from how he would like the relationship to be (La Gaipa and Bigelow, 1972; Murstein, 1972; Quick and Jacob, 1973; Huston, 1974; Kerckhoff, 1974; Clore, 1975; Berscheid and Walster, 1978; Kelley and Thibaut, 1978; Clark and Mills, 1979; Kelley, 1979).

The above theories share similar assumptions; that social behaviour is

to a large extent, regulated by the rewards, costs or expectations of rewards and costs, resulting from relationships (Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964; Kelley and Thibaut, 1978). While some exchange theorists stress the rewards and costs which may be derived from role relationships, others, (Kelley and Thibaut, 1978; Kelley, 1979) emphasise the interdependency apparent in many personal relationships; mutual satisfaction from successful interaction and continuity of the relationship.

c. Reciprocity in Relationships and Teaching

Reciprocity is used in studies of both interaction and personal relationships, and is held to be a key concept by exchange theorists in the development of most social relationships (Murstein, 1971; Quick and Jacob, 1973; Clore, 1975; Kelley and Thibaut, 1978; Rodin, 1978; Kelley, 1979). It is therefore necessary to be more clear about the meanings attributed to it by researchers and the extent to which it can be useful in describing teaching.

In a Parsonian sense, reciprocity can be considered as part of the 'grammar' of social relationships, referring to the mediation of interaction among people. Reciprocity can be a generalised symbolic medium of communication. This involves the principle of social exchange, which includes the duties and rights connected with certain roles. Gouldner (1960) argues that reciprocity is wider in context and application than just to particular others. It is a generalised commitment on a universal level. This view assumes that reciprocity is almost a moral norm, internalised by an individual, becoming part of the social order.

In a wider sense, however, reciprocity can provide the basis for structured relationships. Even in the specific teacher-pupil situation, it is often the initial response one person makes to another, which sets the rules for the future social relationship. Encounters can then either lead to obvious conflict or hostility, or the mutual exchange of acceptance cues. A teacher who works hard by marking books conscientiously or attempting to enrich

the lessons with visual aids may desire a return from the pupils of hard work; interest and a positive response pattern. In this context, reciprocity can be considered part of the continuous emergence of the social structure including its reconfirmation.

If an individual teacher attempts to maximise his gratification at the expense of others (the pupils), it has obvious consequences for the social relationship. It can be argued that power has a determining influence over the nature and degree of reciprocity operating within a social setting. (Parsons, 1959; Gouldner, 1960; Blau, 1964; Brittain, 1973):

Parsons (1959), in his functionalist interpretation, proposes that the social order is maintained by the exchange of gratification. However, the exercise of reciprocity becomes more complicated where there is the question of power.

The term reciprocity implies a moral imperative to return the benefits received from others (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959; Homans, 1961; Laing et al., 1966; McCall and Simmons, 1966; Mead, 1967; Goffman, 1970; Nicholson, 1970; Nisbet, 1970; Brittan, 1973). Obligations and favours are often defined in terms of a socialisation context in relation to 'particular' others. Reciprocity has particular relevance and meaning for the teaching situation as a power element in a social relationship. Where there is an interactive sequence in which the actors believe reciprocity has broken down, it may be perceived as exploitation of the power relationship.

On one level, reciprocity is an interpersonal tie. But on another level, reciprocity can become institutionalised in a society. At a direct level, it is located in the role-taking process, which simply implies the ability to take another's point of view; taking into account the other's definition of the situation, but with the added implication that reciprocity is negotiable at a basic level.

The ability or capacity to forecast another's behaviour may derive from the personality of one person or his experiences, suggesting an understanding

based on an exchange process in which some sort of cost-benefit or obligation-duty mechanism is at work. However, there are situations which go beyond these mechanisms with the implication that reciprocity is at the heart of understanding between social actors; a degree of mutuality which may go beyond a role-relationship derived from attachments to social positions, but a relationship which nevertheless is dependent on the nature of the role-taking process. A fundamental assumption which is at the core of role and personal relationships is the nature of the social bond which is to be investigated (McCall and Simmons, 1966; McCall, 1970; Nisbet, 1970).

In certain circumstances, reciprocity may be ignored when role obligations and rules are believed to impinge too much. Situations involving a power dimension may completely negate reciprocity. Reciprocal benefits may not accrue equally. Indeed, the relationship can be exploitive, as is often the case in a teaching context.

Reciprocity connotes that each party in a relationship has rights and duties. Thus, reciprocity is significant for the investigation of role systems. Complementarity, however, implies that one's rights are another's obligations and vice versa. According to Gouldner's (1960) interpretation, reciprocity exists where there is equality of obligation and each party has similar rights and duties. However, in the minds of some teachers, complementarity is probably more applicable in a teaching situation, where they are facing large numbers of 'others' in the form of pupils. Complementarity is therefore appropriate in traditional adult-child relationships and reciprocity in relationships where there is assumed equality.

(v) Relationships and teaching

Teaching has a special position in the job market, in that it is particularly personal (Bossert 1980). It is often claimed that the modern teacher should cultivate personal relationships with their pupils and that pupils protest that their teachers' attitudes are too impersonal (Brophy and Good, 1974; Downie et al., 1974; Gracey, 1976; Lortie, 1977; Grace, 1978; Blake, 1979).

A teacher-pupil connection can be expressed as a role-relationship of a particular kind; which can be presented in various ways. Superior-subordinate roles can be said to exist *de facto* or *de jure*. The latter may be more useful as it takes a neutral stance in order to analyse the attitude a teacher has towards it.

The nature of the teacher-pupil situation can be described as a particular kind of role-relationship. Here, what is of importance is the attitude of the participants toward their role-relationship; how they perceive it and others (Laing et al., 1966).

Broadly speaking we can classify three ways of looking at other people:-

1. As generic human beings.
2. As individuals belonging to a general type or class of people.
3. As individuals.

These are not mutually exclusive. It would be possible to perceive a person in terms of more than one category.

In a situation where a teacher utilises a more informal teacher-pupil relationship; one interpretation assumes that he evaluates and 'weighs-up' the rewards from teaching with one style; linked to the costs of coping with familiarity from some children (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959; Blau, 1964; Joyce et al., 1979; Foot et al., 1980). A description of personal relationships in teaching, as with other areas within organisations, can involve positive and negative feedback. The teacher, by implementing a regime highlighted by caring, consideration and understanding, may be faced by rejection and hostility from his pupils. This is a most tantalising aspect of teacher-pupil relationships; the desire on the part of the teacher to be committed and involved, yet encountering negative responses and disruption. It is as if the teacher had inadvertently carried the seeds of his own destruction.

Impression formation appears to be important in the development of a

relationship, beyond the critical first stage and on to a more meaningful content. In describing this process, Sharp and Green (1975) and Hargreaves (1972) use terms which, although at first sight seem different, nevertheless, correspond to the formal/informal-role/personal dichotomy.

Three stages can be identified in respect of impression formation. First impressions are a starting point common to a number of interactions. These are then elaborated upon as situations become more complex and meaningful. The next two stages are not sequential, but the end point of two different routes which lead from the shared starting point of the first impression. Both of these two latter stages describe the kind of relationship which is believed to exist between teacher and pupil. The nature and extent of these two types of teacher-pupil relationships were initially set out by Schutz (1932, 1973), but have been more fully discussed in an educational context by Hargreaves (1972 and Sharp and Green (1975). However, the management of the first impression is not expanded upon but is assumed to be critical.

The first type of relationship is described as 'consociate' and is used to describe the kind of relationship that arises between two people in direct face-to-face contact. In this type of relationship, each participant is able to produce a description of the other person which is based upon the impressions they actually react to. The other person in the relationship becomes a unique individual and not just one of many. The second kind of relationship, a 'contemporary' relationship, mainly characterises a situation in which people are not in direct face-to-face contact, but react according to their impression of the other person rather than to actually perceived features.

Presented in this way, the two concepts, 'consociate' and 'contemporary', may describe the nature of a relationship over time. In the case of a teacher, during actual interaction, he will be engaging in a consociate relationship with a pupil. Later, when the pupil is no longer present, when thinking about the pupil, the relationship becomes a contemporary one.

Hargreaves (1972) suggests that the two types of relationship reflect the extremes of a continuum, involving a number of stages in between. He makes the point that the existence of a continuum requires researchers to be careful in interpreting the data they collect. Instead of considering consociate and contemporary relationships as opposite elements of a continuum, it would be just as relevant to use them in descriptions of the nature, form and content of relationships.

The distinction between contemporary-consociate is used differently by Sharp and Green (1975). These researchers use the terms to refer to the more global nature of relationships between teacher and pupil, with increased emphasis on the teacher's attitudes and values.

Used in this way, a 'consociate' relationship implies that teacher and pupil are close, with the teacher being prepared to continuously revise his thoughts of the pupil resulting from the day-to-day interactions. In a 'contemporary' relationship, the teacher is believed to hold a more static and unfavourable impression of the pupil, who may encounter difficulties in changing from it, if, as is contended, teacher-pupil interactions are determined by impression formation on the part of the teacher, and not on what the pupil does. Sharp and Green (1975) significantly direct attention to the importance of relationships and the type of teacher-pupil interaction that might take place.

So far, the available evidence suggests that teachers' perceptions of their pupils have an effect upon the type of teacher-pupil relationships that develop (Hargreaves, 1972; Sharp and Green, 1975). Pupils who are positively perceived become part of a 'consociate' relationship, in which they are given the opportunity to develop progressively in the eyes of the teacher. Negatively perceived pupils enter into a 'contemporary' relationship, in which they have little chance of developing or changing the impression.

(vi) The position of the teacher

Teachers do 'people work', in that there is a high degree of interaction

between themselves and others. But, they do it under special circumstances. This is illustrated by non-voluntary attendance of pupils in the teacher-pupil relationship; especially the difficulty of extracting work from usually immature workers. Each of these characteristics influences the relational features faced by classroom teachers. They may be prepared to overcome them because of the benefits they believe stem from using this approach.

Pupils, the 'clients' of teachers, unlike those in other interpersonal situations; have no control with regard to attending school until the age of sixteen; and no say about which teacher they are assigned. Similarly, teachers have little choice over which classes and therefore pupils they will have to deal with. The absence of any degree of voluntarism in teach-pupil relationships means that neither brings already existing bonds to the creation of the relationship (i.e. in the case of taking a class for the first time).

In such a context; it is a problem for the teacher, as he perceives his role, to make the links which will ensure not only compliance but interest. Thus; teachers are often faced with the task of motivating their pupils. The forming of good relationships is one important means of achieving this goal in a potentially non-compliant and hostile atmosphere.

One feature which is often overlooked in decision making and formulating of goals is that, in a practical sense, relationships must usually be managed in a group context. Other social interactions are either on a one-to-one basis or in small manageable groups. The teacher is facing much larger numbers and his attempts to control and relate to them is continually restricted by the 'classness' nature of the situation (Payne and Hustler, 1980).

Teachers; for the most part, do not immediately establish distinct and separate interpersonal relationships with each pupil. It is sometimes the case that because of the involuntary nature of relationships and the constraint of dealing with large groups rather than with individual pupils, teachers may find it difficult to take relationships with pupils for granted.

In establishing and maintaining relationships, the teacher, according to

Lortie (1975), is undertaking an important craft item of teaching. In the eyes of his respondents; it is an integral part of being a teacher and can be considered; in the context of subject instruction, as a criterion of a good teacher. A further point which has been raised by Lortie and which appears elsewhere (Sharp and Green, 1975; Gracey, 1976; Grace, 1978; Blake, 1979) is that teachers do not view any relationship as an automatic outcome of teaching seen in terms of 'good'.

Relationships do not appear to be 'taken for granted' aspects of teaching by teachers themselves. It can be said that all teachers and pupils have a relationship in a more superficial and constrained manner, but the meaning attached to the term in this context and by Lortie's (1977) teachers, implies a contact in which pupils react favourably to instruction and work. Where teachers exhibit this ability to form relationships; they are often singled out for esteem by their colleagues (House and Lapan, 1978).

However, the various components of the teacher's role do not display complete compatibility with the notion of relational teaching as expressed in research (Harvey et al., 1966; Hargreaves, 1972; Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Brophy and Good, 1974; Downie et al., 1974; Hannam et al., 1976). There is some agreement that the teacher must be able to establish and maintain classroom control; most teaching practices reinforce this ethic. Waller's (1932) argument; that the teacher must be seen to be in charge, is probably as true today as when he wrote it.

In addition to keeping control; the teacher is expected to obtain work from his pupils. All activities must end in the goal of producing 'learning'. An idealised summary of teaching behaviour might concern itself with:-

1. Purposeful activity - with a view to learning.
2. Control and discipline - to facilitate the above.

These two statements would then need to be considered in the light of somewhat immature and diverse pupils. In keeping with this view, the teacher

needs to be a manager of people and objects, supervising activities and co-ordinating pupil effort; whilst being flexible enough to cope with any emergencies. In order to accomplish such disparate job components, much effort is put into the establishment of rules for classes. As Smith and Geoffrey (1968) say, they 'groove' the pupils into the regular patterns of action - a working relationship.

Incorporating a personal relationship approach into teaching may enable a teacher to accomplish those goals he believes are the most important. This can entail academic/intellectual development of children, or their personal/emotional development. Pupils can be considered as individuals and their progress monitored accordingly. In treating pupils as individuals, the teacher may be more successful in engendering trust and encouraging the process of reciprocal understanding.

Chapter 4. The Importance of Teachers' Thinking about Relationships.

- (i) The importance of teachers' thinking:
 - a. Implicit teaching beliefs - mental scripts.
 - b. Teacher thoughts and actions.
 - c. Teacher thoughts - access to practical knowledge.
 - d. Status of teacher knowledge.
- (ii) Other influences on teacher style and practice.
- (iii) The importance of teachers' thinking about role.
- (iv) The importance of teachers' thinking about relationships:
 - a. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their style of teaching.
 - b. Teachers' thinking about role may influence their style of teaching.
 - c. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their control.
 - d. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their effectiveness.

(i) The importance of teachers' thinking

Jackson (1979) believes that attempts to describe and explain the teaching process often concentrate on actual teaching occasions when teachers and pupils are face-to-face. Although a valuable approach, it would be misleading to accept the teacher's behaviour during lessons as representing all the conceptual requirements in the practice of teaching.

In order to understand classroom processes, enquiry should also be made into what the teacher does and thinks before and after a class, including goals set before a lesson and their evaluation after its completion. There is a difference between a teacher in an empty classroom waiting for pupils and thinking about the forthcoming lesson, compared to when the room is full of pupils or after they have left. His thoughts may be on how successful the lesson was personally or in terms of learning. Indeed, research work has been based on 'typical' classroom situations and has avoided those which are partly novel and potentially stressful, as when a teacher meets a class for the first time.

Clark and Yinger (1977) review a number of recent studies involving teacher thinking which propose that teachers' thoughts and actions are influenced by a set of beliefs which are often unconscious. These unconscious beliefs may help to form the behavioural-practical world of the classroom. This follows a cognitive information approach which is concerned with issues such as teacher judgement, decision making and planning. It is hoped that the study of teachers' thinking processes will help to provide greater understanding of those which guide teacher behaviour.

This view of teaching developed from earlier research which studied teacher behaviour (Biddle and Thomas, 1966; Rosenthine, 1971; Dunkin and Biddle, 1974). Results from this type of research are not sufficient to account for the processes which teachers believe guide their behaviour, because each class is different and is encountered under varying constraints and opportunities. Teacher behaviour may need to change accordingly to

make it more appropriate to the setting. It is individual teachers who make these adjustments and adaptations, involving decisions and thoughts about appropriateness and definition of the situation. Therefore, if research is to be more effectively put into practice in a particular situation, it is necessary to know how teachers think about salient features of their work : exercising judgements, making decisions and thoughts expressed.

In line with this view of teaching, attempts have been made to apply appropriate descriptive concepts to teachers, such as clinical information processor (Shavelson, 1973; Clark and Joyce, 1975); planner (Yinger, 1977); diagnostician (Visonhaler, Wagner and Elstein, 1977) and problem solver (Joyce and Harootunian, 1964). Whichever description is applicable, mental processes underpinning behaviour appear to be a central focus of study. Research has often utilised teacher self-reports of thought processes (Clark and Peterson, 1976; Morine and Vallence, 1975; Bussis, Chittenden and Amarel, 1976). An increasingly held view suggests that people's actions are affected by what they think (Johnson, 1955, 1972; Clark and Yinger, 1977; Joyce et al., 1977; Yinger, 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Yonemura, 1982). In studying social reality, it has meaning, relevance and structure to those living, acting and thinking in it.

Research has studied four areas of teachers' lives using their mental thought processes : teacher planning, teacher judgement, teacher interactive decision making and teachers' implicit theories or perspectives. Obtaining teacher thoughts is important because it enables access to decisions concerning interaction with pupils and, in so doing, reveals some aspects of their implicit perspectives held about teaching.

An advantage of viewing teaching as a decision making process is seeing the teacher as an active agent who selects a teaching strategy or goal. This perspective requires the teacher to integrate large amounts of information from a variety of sources, combined with his own beliefs.

According to Tesser (1976) people have organised knowledge structures

called 'schemas'. During thought 'schemas' make some beliefs salient and provide rules for making inferences. 'Schema-directed' thought tends to result in a set of cognitions which are more consistent with the original schemas and so more consistent to explain actions. Recent research has supported the hypothesis that merely thinking about some attitude object tends to produce consequences in terms of beliefs and behaviour (Tesser and Cowan, 1977). If this is the case, we should be more aware of peoples' thinking and how it may affect their judgements and decisions, particularly in connection with 'others'.

The actions of individuals in their experiential world need not unfold in a completely haphazard way. They can be marked by particular patterns and degrees of coherence, to an extent that they are open to interpretation and understanding (Bandler et al., 1968; Kahnemann and Tversky, 1973; Tversky and Kahnemann, 1974; Arkin and Duval, 1975; Garland, 1975; Clark and Peterson, 1976). In this way, an individual's experiential world is open to description. It comprises both material objects such as objects, events and persons, and thoughts, feelings and purposes which influence the perception of such objects, events and persons.

a. Implicit teaching beliefs - mental scripts

Work carried out by Clark and Yinger (1977) and Yonemura (1982) suggests that teachers have both implicit and explicit 'theories-in-use' concerning a host of decisions to do with their work : how best to start a new teaching year; how to group children; how to handle critical episodes; how to effect a successful classroom routine.

Many judgements and decision making processes exercised by teachers tend to derive from experience and their interpretation of it. Therefore, it is important to study how teachers make sense of their world. The study of teacher thinking is partly based on the assumption that, when encountering a problem situation, the teacher makes reference to a personal perspective (Janesick, 1977), or implicit theory (N.I.E., 1975); or conceptual system

(Duffy, 1977), or belief system (Brophy and Good, 1974); or personal construct (Kelly, 1954) about teaching and pupils. In this way, the teacher will only define those elements of the situation which he considers important, and the order in which they should be considered important.

According to Janesick (1977) "a perspective is a reflective, socially derived interpretation of that which the teacher encounters that then serves as a basis for the action he or she constructs." (1) These belief structures may be modified during interaction but it allows teachers to make sense of their world, to interpret it and behave rationally within it. Duffy (1977) found, via a proposition sort, a variation of Kelly's Role Repertory Grid (1955), that teachers' thinking became reflected and manifested in their teaching actions.

Gage believes (1979) that a substantive direction for research in teaching is the concern with the teachers' implicit theory of teaching. The theory is implicit because the teacher may not be able to easily articulate it. Such a theory takes the form of a hierarchially structured set of beliefs about what the proper ends and means of teaching are, the characteristics of the pupils, methods of learning, and the ways in which all of these interact.

According to Gage (1979), this implicit theory, in which a conception of relationships can be part, enables the teacher to manage a situation in which he faces numerous problems, or sequences of decision making which confront him throughout the school day. On these occasions, time is at a premium, the teacher cannot deliberate over his actions or seek out elaborate reasoning processes to successfully deal with interactions with pupils. They tend, therefore, to rely upon general principles or guidelines (Joyce et al., 1966, 1972; Duval and Wicklund, 1972; Clark and Joyce, 1975; Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Clark and Peterson, 1976; Clark and Yinger, 1977; Yinger, 1977).

The conduct of teachers can then be explored via the structure of

(1) Victor Janesick, *An ethnographic study of a teacher's classroom perspective* (1977), Doctoral Dissertation, Michigan State University.

implicit theory used by them to cope. These can be concerned with practical matters such as the construction of objectives, the understanding of pupils' readiness to learn, and the organisation of a classroom. Teachers' thoughts about these matters accumulate into an holistic conception of their role, the role of the pupil and the nature of education.

More recently, research has begun to study the attitudes, expectations and perceptions of teachers; and how these cognitive structures influence their pupils, especially educational performance (Pidgeon, 1970; Brophy and Good, 1974; Nash, 1976; Clark and Yinger, 1977; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983). On the one hand these studies emphasise the interactive nature of learning and the emergence of behaviour problems, and on the other, propose the perception of patterns of failure and deviance on the effectiveness of interpersonal processes.

Perceptual frameworks or personal construct systems may be said to comprise an up-to-date model which has been erected by individuals from their past experiences. These make sense of and aid increased predictability in their current experiences of everyday life, together with the objects and people they encounter. These include : assumptions, attitudes, beliefs, expectations and thoughts; and are built-up by personal experience, shared or reported by others. Hence, they are composed of shared professional beliefs and idiosyncratic ones. These cognitions act as filters on incoming data which provide an individual with an overall approach, or which enables anticipation of the future (Nisbett and Schacter, 1966; Cottrell and Wack, 1967; Marlowe and Gergen, 1969; Morine and Vallenge, 1975; Miller, 1976; Nisbett and Wilson, 1977; Visonhaler et al., 1977).

Research on teachers' planning has shown that instructional tasks, in the form of 'mental scripts' or 'images', are utilised as a mental plan to assist interactive teaching (Abelson, 1976; Schank and Abelson, 1977; Morine and Dershimer, 1978-79). These tasks tend to be routinised (Joyce, 1978-79) but these routines assist in reducing conscious decision making during interactive

teaching (Mackay, 1977; Mackay and Marland, 1978; Joyce, 1978-79; Clark and Yinger, 1979). In another sense, routines reduce the information-processing load on the teacher by making the sequence of activities and pupils' behaviour more predictable.

Research which sets out to present policies for the practice of teaching is not a guarantee that practice will be so influenced. For research to affect practice it must be identified as significantly real for teachers and be modifiable in order to adapt to current teaching circumstances. As Fenstermacher (1980) has argued, teachers must first become aware of their subjective beliefs about teaching before adopting research proposals. Such beliefs should then be open to empirical verification in the form of practical research findings. If the belief is substantiated, it becomes objective; if it fails to be verified, it suggests grounds for change in the belief. Objectively held beliefs can then constitute reasonable grounds for action.

b. Teacher thoughts and actions.

Research frequently refers to teacher behaviour in connection with pupil interaction (Kounin, 1967; Bishop and Levey, 1968; Sandefur, 1969; Rosenshine, 1971; Rosenshine and Furst, 1971; Campbell, 1972; Nuthall and Church, 1973; Cortis, 1975; Paisey, 1975; Bennett, 1976; Baumgart, 1977; Stott, 1977; Landy, 1978). However, it also appears significant that the actions of teachers are influenced by what they think (Clark and Yinger, 1977; Yinger, 1977; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983). If this aspect is ignored, observed or intended behaviour will become 'thoughtless' and will fail to utilise the teacher's most human and natural abilities.

A further assumption proposes that a teacher's actions are guided by his thoughts, judgements and decisions. If this is not the case then teachers become automata of some kind with mechanistic responses.

Research into teaching is needed to examine teachers' thoughts and the link between thoughts and actions. Not relying on behaviour alone has been justified on several grounds: First, it is argued that a solely behavioural

model is conceptually narrow because it cannot always account for variations in teacher behaviour which arise from differences in their goals, judgements and decisions (Clark and Joyce, 1975; Clark and Peterson, 1976; Yinger, 1977; Nisbett and Wilson, 1977; Yonemura, 1982).

A second justification stems from the research literature which proposes that linking teachers' thoughts to their actions will provide a good basis for educating teachers and implementing educational change (Gorbutt, 1975; Elbas, 1983). It is suggested that teachers' thoughts will reveal salient features of teaching.

Research on the thought processes of teachers relies on two fundamental assumptions. The first acknowledges that teachers are rational professionals who are similar to other professionals, in that they make numerous judgements and carry out decisions in a changing, complex environment (Shavelson, 1973, 1976; Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Clark, 1978-79). The second assumption of thought rationality concerns the teacher's intentions for their judgements and decisions, rather than their behaviour.

Two reasons can be proposed for intentionality. Some teaching situations are critical, requiring an immediate rather than a considered-reflective response; a process which will probably by-pass the rational processing of information, leading to an informed judgement or decision. A second reason concerns the capacity of the human mind to formulate and solve complex problems. This capacity may be very small in comparison with the 'ideal' model of rationality (Tversky and Kahneman, 1977; Yinger, 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Yonemura, 1982).

More realistically, an individual teacher probably constructs a simplified model of the real situation in which the teacher behaves rationally within its confines. This conception of teachers is more in line with the notion of 'bounded rationality', in which an individual is rational within the parameters of their information processing capabilities (Kahneman and Tversky, 1973; Joyce et al., 1977; Visonhaler et al., 1977). Perhaps in place of

teachers behaving rationally, it would be more appropriate, in the light of 'bounded rationality', to speak of teachers behaving in a reasonable manner when making judgements and decisions about relationships.

The conceptual basis of research on teachers' thoughts is shown in Fig. 6. It illustrates the socio-psychological foundations of previous and current research. Such an overview of the conceptual schemas reveals how research studies teachers' integration of information about pupils, the subject matter and the school environment, in order to reach a decision on which their behaviour is based.

A relevant psychological principle underlying Fig. 6. is the ability of teachers to process all the available information in their environment. It is a limited capacity because people, in general, tend to process information sequentially rather than simultaneously, using short-term memory (Newell and Simon, 1972). As a result of the limitation placed upon information-processing procedures, people selectively perceive and interpret those portions of the available information which is considered salient, in keeping with their goals and simplified construction of reality.

Heuristics are implicit rules, inductive reasoning from past experience, used in order to select information, classify objects or persons, or revise their knowledge. A basic assumption is that teachers' thoughts and judgements guide their teaching behaviour (Yinger, 1977; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983).

Research indicates that teachers' judgements about students' reading ability influenced their decisions about streaming (Shavelson and Borko, 1979; Borko, Shavelson and Stern, 1980). Other research illustrates how pupil responses and concern for individual pupils are affected by teacher thoughts and beliefs (Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Shavelson and Atwood, 1977; Shavelson, Atwood and Borko, 1977).

Frequently, the study of teaching has concentrated on the end product of teaching, usually in terms of the effectiveness of teaching curricula

ANTECEDENT CONDITIONSInformation about pupils

- a. Ability
- b. Participation
- c. Behaviour
- d. Rumour

Nature of instructional task

- a. Goals
- b. Subject matter
- c. Pupils
- d. Activities

Classroom/School environment

- a. Grouping
- b. Streaming
- c. Mixed ability
- d. Extra class pressure

Teacher Characteristics

- a. Beliefs
- b. Conceptions of subject matter
- c. Image of self

Teacher Evaluation

- a. of judgements
- b. of decisions
- c. of teaching strategies

TEACHER COGNITIVE PROCESSESInformation: its selection and integration

- a. Availability
- b. Representativeness
- c. Salience

Inferences

- a. Judgements
- b. Expectations
- c. Hypotheses
- d. Decisions

CONSEQUENCES FOR TEACHERSPlanning for Instruction

- a. Selection of activities
- b. Selection of knowledge for pupils

Interaction with pupils

- a. Teaching routines
- b. Teaching problems
- c. Relationship issues

FIGURE 6. Principles underlying Teacher Thinking.

knowledge (Heil et al., 1960; Hughes, 1963; Gage, 1968; Povey, 1975; Gordon and Gross, 1978; Schulmeister, 1978; Shavelson, Atwood and Russo, 1977). Just as important is an understanding of why teachers operate in the ways they do; concentrating on the issues which the teachers themselves think are influencing their style of teaching. In this context, one area of attention is the experience of teachers in their practical work situation (Campbell, 1972; Bussis et al., 1976; Eggleston, 1979; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983).

Denscombe (1980) provides a valuable conceptual tool when he discusses 'competent membership' of an organisation. It is a framework which distinguishes between being an official member of an organisation (a teacher), but which does not bestow competence, a quality or skill accomplished by action. The essential feature is not the knowledge of a formal framework for work but the manner in which it is thought about and interpreted.

Using this distinction, competence stems from action and not the status of a qualification or title. Because the notion of 'competent membership' rests within an action framework, it focuses attention on the routine, some would say trivial aspects of work, but nevertheless, routine-practical features of work which demonstrate competence in the esteemed practical world of teaching. Therefore, it is necessary to obtain detailed descriptions of teachers' work, activities and thoughts.

Seeking to elicit individual teachers interpretations in no way precludes the identification of patterns of work knowledge, nor does it reduce it to the point where it is highly personalised. Arriving at patterns of understanding can be considered an important step toward a perspective of the work ethic involved in teaching, a view often held at an implicit level by those participating in it (Clark and Yinger, 1977; Yinger, 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983).

For a number of reasons utilising a framework based on 'competent membership' enables research into teaching to become more aware of the

subjective interpretations and thinking of the participants involved. It encourages research on the teacher's understanding of situations, identifying reasons for actions. It proposes that teachers hold common views of situations, notwithstanding differences in personality. The pattern of understanding and interpretation should be considered as a manifestation of teacher culture, rather than principles from within an organisation. Analysis of this nature establishes teacher competence as being a product of the ad hoc socialisation process, which for teaching staff is at the 'chalk-face'.

c: Teacher thoughts-access to practical knowledge

It may be useful to consider thoughts relating to practical issues. Instead of focusing on the relevance of a generalised set of knowledge and its possible elaboration, we need to be equally aware of thoughts confronting practical knowledge which lead to consistent practice. One example would be the clarity of terms used by teachers in practice, such as teacher-pupil relationships.

Teachers hold predominantly practical knowledge. In order to accomplish their many practical tasks, teachers have an understanding about their work which is practically orientated. It is important that this practical knowledge, as it relates to teacher-pupil relationships, is revealed for both teachers themselves and for those teacher-educators who prepare training programmes.

When teachers carry out their work they reveal wide-ranging knowledge which changes and develops with experience. This knowledge includes : first-hand experience of pupils; styles of instructional techniques and classroom management skills. In addition, the teacher is aware of the social structure of the school; its requirements and what is essential for survival and success within it. Teachers also have at their disposal theoretical knowledge of subject matter, learning theory and child development.

Both theoretical and experiential knowledge will be integrated in terms of the personal beliefs and values required in practical situations. Thoughts

generated by teachers and the knowledge bound up in them may be referred to as 'practical knowledge', because it focuses attention on actions and decision making as they relate to the practical situations they derive from.

Certain assumptions underlie the views mentioned above. First, teachers use practical knowledge when teaching. Second, access to this knowledge can be obtained by investigating the thinking of teachers at work. In this sense, knowledge is how to do things, how to establish and use relationships with pupils.

This knowledge is important because of the manner in which it is obtained. Teachers do not have specialised methods through which practical knowledge is gained or extended. It is derived via observation, comparison, trial and error and its effectiveness with particular problems. Practical knowledge about relationships will, in part, be an intuitive and reflective process, emphasising goals and beliefs which are considered salient for teachers (Clark and Yinger, 1977; Joyce et al., 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Yonemura, 1982).

Teachers' thoughts can generate knowledge about teaching which can operate at different levels. Elbaz (1983) proposes three levels of teacher thought:-

1. Rules of practice - specific directives.
2. Practical principles - intermediate level.
3. Images - broad statements.

Certain situations which a teacher confronts can be very specific, in which a clear rule is adopted by the teacher for its solution, such as at the beginning of the school year when rules for the presentation of work are issued. At an intermediate level, teachers may think about a more generalised aspect of their teaching, such as trying to make pupils happy and motivated. At a more abstract level, a thought pattern, which is the least explicit, incorporates the teacher's feelings and values. These arise

from images of how teaching should be, using past experience and theoretical knowledge.

Each of these three levels represents different methods of mediating between thought and action. A rule of practice, at a basic level, is a guideline on or from which the teacher acts; it exists and he follows its dictates. An image, conversely, is something a teacher responds to rather than acting from.

Of the three, the 'image' is not the least useful in terms of thought processes. It enables us to reveal some of the essential aspects of teaching seen through the perceptions of teachers themselves. 'Images' may include value judgements but, nevertheless, they contribute towards how teachers think about aspects of their work which are important to them. They concern issues such as the degree of emphasis placed upon instructional or relational teaching.

It may be that the most generalised feature of teacher knowledge, the 'image', contributes the main ordering feature of rules and principles employed in practice. Decisions concerning learning and instruction may frequently be made at an intuitive level, the level of an image, before then being formulated into a rule or principle to be put into practice.

d. Status of Teacher Knowledge

Research into teaching, as in classroom research, has tended to view teachers in a fragmented way and from a negative position. In particular, psychologists have interpreted the psychology of teachers and teaching in a negative fashion via Hawthorn effects, Rosenthal effects and Halo effects (Elbáz, 1983). This perspective only reinforces the interpretation of the teacher as merely an instrument; albeit an instrument judged mainly in terms of qualities and standards of his work. Hence, the concern voiced by some appertains to methods of improving training, such as introducing competency-based teaching as one means of raising the quality of the teacher product (Sorenson, 1963; Rosencranz and Biddle, 1964; Rosenshine

and Furst, 1971; Apple, 1972; Gordon, 1974; Norris, 1975; Ebel, 1976; Shavelson and Atwood Russo, 1977; Schulmeister, 1978). In failing to view teachers in relation to their knowledge and work, these approaches see teachers in passive, and dependent moulds often as unsuccessful participants in the educational enterprise.

Experienced teachers are neglected as sources of knowledge about practical teaching, both for their own use and for other teachers' professional development. On the rare occasions when they are consulted their accounts become either under-utilised or are presented in an unimaginative and unproductive manner; (Brophy and Good, 1974; Hannam et al., 1976).

One inherent problem is the profession's own perception of what counts as valid knowledge, thought to reside in the possession of experts, particularly those with a scientific orientation. A second obstacle results from the organisational structure of schools into hierarchical, bureaucratic institutions, in which teachers are at the bottom end of the power structure.

The failure to appreciate the potential value of teachers' thoughts, and the knowledge generated, has probably been a contributor to teachers not developing a systematic body of knowledge of use within the context of teaching. Any skills acquired tend to be isolated in neat compartments rather than rigorously applied to an understanding of teaching. During a teaching career, there are few opportunities to compare experience in an organised way, in which some benefit can be gained.

Placed against prevailing educational thought, which proposes that knowledge should be obtained via 'scientific' personnel, experiential knowledge receives low validation (Harre and Secord, 1972). Thus, a situation is created in which teachers are not encouraged to exchange practical knowledge in a systematic way, nor are their thoughts given a practical valuation to promote it (Hannett and Naish, 1980).

The above is a mistaken image of teachers and their thoughts. It is a mistaken belief premised on the way in which teachers have been viewed

in the past. If these conceptions are put aside, a very different picture of teacher knowledge becomes apparent:

Reid (1975) in discussing actual curriculum practice, highlights teachers as major sources of curriculum stability because they have a stable body of ideas about how and what to teach. Reid's analysis clearly illustrates the shift from viewing the teacher as an obstructor of teaching change to one providing continuity, enabling change to occur in a rational manner. Hunt (1976), viewing teachers as people, regards as primary the thoughts of teachers and their approach to work. Both these studies see the teacher as holding and using knowledge. What emerges is a study of teaching which takes into consideration the work actually done by teachers:

Studies which have considered what teachers do have drawn attention to teachers' knowledge in various forms. Bussis, Chittenden and Amarel (1976), using in-depth interviews, have investigated what they call 'teachers understandings' and Barnes, Keddie and Esland (1976) are concerned with the teacher's linguistic expression in shaping interaction with pupils. Both these studies convey the assumptions and implicit values in the thoughts of teachers which are brought to and which influence their work. Teachers, researchers and teacher educators need to be aware of these.

Yonemura (1982) even proposes that stimulating intuition, beliefs and thoughts to a conscious level is useful for two reasons. Firstly, it enables the teacher to make a critical evaluation of his work, whilst being able to experience some self-appreciation for the future. Secondly, experienced teachers are in a good position to help each other in furtherance of their professional development.

All too often, the importance of capitalising on teacher strengths has been acknowledged, but only in the form of lip-service. It has not been made a priority in teaching studies (Wragg, 1983). In studying teacher thinking, it is hoped to make researchers and trainers more aware of the thoughts and beliefs teachers bring to their work in general and teacher-

pupil interaction in particular.

What seems to be an important factor, which will enable further understanding of teacher work, is the notion of teachers' knowledge. It is through teachers' thinking that access to this knowledge can be gained. Research into teachers' thinking has received only recent and spasmodic attention (Clark and Yinger, 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Yonemura, 1982; Elbaz, 1983). In order to utilise teachers' thinking, it needs to be accepted that they have a body of knowledge and expertise essential to their work and not in any way diminished in status.

Research into teacher thinking has made a promising start in searching for an understanding of why teachers do what they do. It is an interesting possibility because it unites thought, instruction and behaviour, which come together in the minds of teachers when they act and make decisions.

(ii) Other influences on Teacher style and practice

Teacher thinking is not the only influence on teaching style. Frequently, teachers settle into an habitual pattern of work practice in which thought may take a secondary role (Scanlon, 1973).

When teachers begin to teach, they may 'try out' a number of strategies. Those which are considered to be successful will be persevered with, whereas those which are believed to be unsatisfactory will be discarded, akin to a policy of survival of the fittest.

In selecting a style of teaching which he finds acceptable, in terms of the perception of the teaching role, a teacher, perhaps under the force of circumstance, may feel constrained to adopt and maintain a particular style of teaching. This may simply be a teaching style in which he is comfortable and secure, to the extent that he feels loath to change giving the matter little thought, preferring the pattern of teaching resulting from habit.

(iii) The importance of teachers' thinking about role

It seems that many of the decisions and thoughts made by teachers depend upon what conception they hold about their role. Attitudes and beliefs about teaching in general and goals and style in particular, reflect the image a teacher has of his role (Kelsall, 1968; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969; Ruddock, 1969; Sandefur, 1969; Gibson, 1970; Bidwell, 1973):

The importance of what role conception the teacher has can be appreciated when two different kinds can be identified. One is where instructional and task related goals and activities are emphasised; and the other is where socio-emotional and individualistic goals are stressed. Teacher thinking about role can vary therefore from being wide-ranging and general in content to being narrow and prescribed.

The way in which a teacher thinks about his occupational role:-

1. socio-emotional versus academic-intellectual.
2. individualistic versus task and goals.
3. wide-ranging versus narrow.

Can they become part of his teaching style, his actions, his control and effectiveness:

Basically, an academic-intellectual and goal orientated conception reveals a more narrow interpretation of teaching where examination results are paramount as a measure of success. Pupils need to pass tests and achieve results as a recordable and valid measure of progress. In contrast, socio-emotional and individualism is a wider interpretation of the teaching role, encompassing concern for the progress of each pupil at an individual level; the development of mature thought and actions, together with proficiency and confidence in speech and interaction:

Thus, the way a teacher thinks about his role can have far-reaching implications on the way he puts into practice his teaching style and how he organises his interaction with pupils:

For Hargreaves (1972) role conflicts and dilemmas can be connected

with basic differences in goals of education at both a personal and structural level. These conflicts include egalitarianism and individual growth being at odds with the goals of efficient differentiation and teaching of skills for the job market.

- (iv) The importance of teachers' thinking about relationships.
- a. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their teaching style.
 - b. Teachers' other thinking about role may influence their teaching style.
 - c. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their control.
 - d. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their effectiveness.
- a. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their style of teaching.

In its broadest context, we are fundamentally concerned with the means by which teachers achieve their goals. We should, as Woods (1980) suggests, no longer accept what teachers seem to be or what they are supposed to do. The realities of their situation may well present other implications. In this context, 'teaching' and 'learning' may be fronts behind which teachers strive to survive via various strategies which become more important than teaching.

The importance of teaching style is illustrated in the interpretation of findings from Withall (1949), Thelen (1950) and Schmuck (1966). These studies indicate the flow of effect, in terms of behaviour and treatment, from the teacher's style to the observed pattern of pupil interaction. We require to know the effects of such phenomena, their rate or degree of affect.

Numerous attempts have been made to identify generalised character-

istics of teacher style, particularly those which bear on the performance of pupils (Lewin, Lippit and White; 1943; Getzels, 1960; Ryan, 1960; Harvey et al.; 1966; Bennett and Jordan, 1975; Bennett; 1976 & 78; Bruner, 1976; Stott, 1977). An attempt at categorising styles of teaching was proposed by Getzels (1960), his dimensions being applied to behaviour in social organisations. He differentiated between:-

1. Nomothetic - role-centred behaviour.
2. Ideographic - person-centred behaviour.

Teachers who emphasise the importance of pupils knowing how to behave in classrooms, attach importance to the nomothetic dimension and to a clear definition of the complementary roles of pupil and teacher. In this style, rules are issued by the teacher and pupils are expected to conform. Here, the teacher would utilise a more formally constrained mode of working relationship with his pupils. Those teachers who stress the ideographic aspect of classroom activity, accept variations in pupils' behaviour according to their personal needs and they (the teacher) attempt to adapt their behaviour to meet those needs. Using this style, the roles are less clearly defined. There is greater emphasis upon negotiation and understanding of the individuals being dealt with.

It is not easy to divide teachers into groups. They may use both styles at the same time, according to the class, or use both at different stages of the relationship; nomothetic at the beginning of a relationship, for the teacher's own security, to assist in future structured relationships and then move to an ideographic style as his confidence increases.

The work of Harvey et al., (1966) reveals some connection between teacher personalities and their thinking about 'abstractness-concreteness' belief systems. 'Concreteness can be defined as a disposition towards fixed and definite beliefs about authority and task concerns; and preference for a 'simple-structure environment'. Teachers with this belief system are

more likely to select the goals to be attained and the means to achieve them; and be less tolerant of pupils who stray from the expected path. They are more likely to make greater use of rules and procedures.

'Abstractness' on the other hand; is characterised by teacher flexibility and sophisticated belief systems together with preference for a 'complex-structure environment'. Teachers favouring this system are believed to exhibit greater warmth to their pupils, understanding their needs and being flexible enough to meet those demands with a relaxed classroom relationship.

One general rule of thumb about starting to teach is that you should never smile but begin strictly and ease-up later (Hannam et al., 1976; Marland, 1976). This may be understood to mean that the teacher should establish formal or institutionally prescribed relationships, before attempting to enter a personal relationship with pupils. A new class can be viewed in terms of a series of perception thresholds to be crossed before entering into a more personal relationship style. This is supposed to make children understand that there are practical outcomes, forming a foundation on which further relationships are based.

However, a surface image may not reveal a complete commitment to a formal-informal style. Some teachers may be informal because they are always joking; but they are in fact using jokes and humour to keep their pupils within tightly prescribed guidelines of interaction (Woods, 1976; Adelman, 1977; Stebbins, 1980). Through using such a strategy, teachers are able to give the immediate appearance of informality, without taking any of the risks and strain involved by fundamentally opening their style. We are faced by a dual image or dichotomy which may seem to be paradoxical:-

1. Person as a teacher.
2. Person as a person who is teaching.

Some teachers would accept this dual image, others would see only one.

Studies in which there is concern for pupils and relationships (Ruddock,

1969; Hargeaves, 1972; Brophy and Good, 1974; Downie et al., 1974; Shipman, 1975; Lortie, 1977; Rogers, 1983), suggest an association with:-

1. more pleasant socio-emotional climate in the classroom; less conflict and anxiety among pupils.
2. more frequent pupil interaction, wider dispersion of social power, personal responsibility for action.

(Glidewell et al., 1966)

Shipman (1975) also proposes a dichotomy of teaching styles in which a relationship strategy can be identified as part of its composition. Unlike the above examples, Shipman suggests that it is the influence of the school which has a significant effect on the particular method of teaching employed by teachers.

FIGURE 7.

Teacher styles (after Shipman, 1975)

<u>Instrumental</u>	<u>Expressive</u>
1. striving to complete tasks.	smooth out personal difficulties.
2. accepting only right answers.	know pupils as persons.
3. define situation	treating pupils as active not passive.
4. stress on achievement	treat pupils on emotional-social side.
5. detached	laughing-joking, rewards involved.

Elements of a personal relationship pattern of teaching can be identified in the 'expressive' category of Shipman's (1975) dichotomy.

What are the reasons behind a teacher's choice of teaching styles and strategies? Several possible motives have emerged up to this point which may be presented as follows:-

1. the influence of the school.
2. the personality attributes of the teacher.
3. the degree of self-esteem, security and self-fulfilment a teacher has.

Peter Woods (1980) places emphasis upon 'commitment' and 'accommodation' by modern teaching staff. These are important to this aspect of teaching style because they are concepts which illustrate the teacher's flexibility to contemporary problems. In particular, they emphasise the overcoming of problems, both structural and personal. The solving or riding of problem in a rational way can produce enhanced self-satisfaction and self-esteem. Whichever the teacher thinks is the more important will influence the teaching behaviour he exhibits.

Lortie (1975) believes 'psychic' rewards are important. The teacher derives them from his own sentiments which rotate around classroom events and relationships with pupils. Classroom life is believed to influence much of what teachers feel about their work. Lortie proposes that teachers have particular concern with classroom phenomena which can be related to interpersonal relationships. This fits in with his aim to improve the psychic rewards he derives from the classroom. Therefore we may say that the reward system of teachers puts high value on psychic rewards. Unlike other kinds of benefits, they are not fixed or automatic. It would seem that they are not ubiquitous, but a scarce resource based on fragile relationships.

Pollard (1980) is also interested in changing situations and survival within classrooms. In his opinion, survival demands of different situations are influenced not only by structural and material factors but also the social adaptations of the participants. In other words, the process of interpersonal relationships aids the social structure of the classroom. According to Pollard's (1980) study, thinking about and giving personal relationships priority helps teachers to meet the demands from changing situations.

Stebbins (1974) and Adelman (1977) both refer to the use of humour by teachers as a good indication of their teaching style where relationships are used. Both these researchers use humour as an index of the teacher's position vis a vis formal and informal role structures. It appears that the use of humour and jokes indicate whether teachers are 'close' to their pupils

and whether they use relationships in their teaching. 'Having a joke' with pupils was frequently cited as an example of a relationship and illustrated a greater degree of intimacy and interaction. Stebbins (1974) suggests a personal relationship may enable the teacher to go beyond, or step outside, the formal role structure. As Goffman (1971) indicates, the standard roles available to individuals in an organisation or system may inhibit their expression of self.

In this sense, personal relationships can have functional consequences for the management of teaching situations. It is Stebbin's (1974) contention that humour and relationships are important 'type sign' vehicles that teachers may use to correct or supplement information about themselves disclosed in earlier behaviour. If, as is often suggested, teachers are the significant element of classroom activity, then the use of relationships can be viewed as an advantageous strategy (Hargreaves, 1967 & 1972).

Adelman (1980) takes this issue a stage further and analyses humour via Bernstein's (1971) conceptions of strong and weak frame classifications. In particular, he believes that some teachers do not have personal relationships in class because they think their role identity will be threatened by the breaking of frame. This is a useful analogy because it is another indicator of teaching style. Those teachers who use personal relationships should tend to have weak frames of classification, and 'transgression' of a boundary between frames is not thought destructive to their role or self.

Teachers' thinking about relationships in their teaching style is nowhere more important than when they are in contact with pupils. Giving praise or approval in a classroom is an inherent part of a relationship; it would be very difficult to abandon. It also tends to be personal; when approving or disapproving a pupil's work, it is difficult to detach this from the pupils as persons.

In a sense, it is very problematic whether a teacher can give pure feedback about a pupil's work or learning without conveying a value judge-

ment of the person. Perhaps only in an impersonal relationship can the feedback be distanced from the person presenting the work. Increasingly, however, teachers are being encouraged to make 'good personal relationships' with their pupils, with the possible result of increasing the extent to which the feedback they offer is loaded with person approval (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Hannam et al., 1976). "The more personal the teacher-pupil relationship is, the more approval-loaded the feedback becomes." (1)

Carl Rogers (1961, 1969, 1983) provides a possible solution to the problem entailing a re-interpretation of teacher-pupil role relationship thinking. His development of a form of psychotherapy, known as 'Non-directive' or 'Client-centred' therapy, entails: genuine respect for those you are dealing with as people; belief in the person as a source of his own growth; belief that self-realisation is promoted in non-threatening personal relationships. He encourages teachers to think in these terms:-

1. Assumed - person seeking help understands the factors causing him distress and has the capacity to overcome them.
2. Assumed - the capacity or powers in the client can become effective if the therapist creates a relationship which is characterised by respect, warmth and acceptance.

In this context, the therapist (teacher) approaches the client (pupil) with regard and concern in order to create a warm 'acceptant relationship' using the skill of empathy. According to Rogers (1983), the onus lies on the teacher's shoulders. It requires a change in teacher thinking from one involving evaluation and motivational aspects to another in which the development of an 'acceptant' relationship is promoted.

Rogers (1983) makes a distinction between 'acceptant' and 'approval' relationships. 'Acceptant' is the value to the learner as a person without rejection of his feelings or ideas; it is 'unconditional positive regard'; there

(1) David H. Hargreaves, *Interpersonal Relations and Education* (1972), p202.

are no conditional strings attached. 'Approval' is more conditionally based, something which is won or merited.

Teachers in a 'traditional' classroom have thoughts about the nature of teaching, learning, roles and relationships; which have significant consequences on what they do. Not all these consequences are obvious. Others, involving 'taken-for-granted' thoughts, are more hidden.

Carl Rogers (1961) provides a theoretical framework of teacher thoughts as they are supposed to apply to teacher-pupil relationships:-

FIGURE 8: Theoretical Teacher Thoughts

1. Belief that the pupil wants to learn, has a natural propensity to learn, to find out, to progress; the teacher therefore does not need to motivate.
2. Belief that pupils learn most effectively when the material is recognised as relevant to them.
3. Belief that the provision of learning rests on the nature of the teacher-pupil relationship e.g. belief that the facilitation of learning aided by non-threatening 'acceptant' relationship comprises four elements:-
 - a. teacher values the pupil - respect for the individuality of each pupil.
 - b. teacher trusts the pupil - belief that pupils desire to learn.
 - c. teacher empathises with the pupil, seeks to be aware of pupils' feelings, to understand through good listening.
 - d. teacher is himself, to be genuine and honest, a real person not a performer with a mask.

Some of these elements may be evident in a teacher's approach and teaching style, but others may not be viable in a general teaching situation.

b. Teachers' thinking about role may influence their style of teaching.

Increasing demands on the teacher from curriculum development; examination change and corporal punishment; may make him more aware of his role position. In this respect, the teacher operates in an arena permeated by reformist educational theory and institutional development (Shipman, 1975), a system highlighted by dynamic change. One conclusion reached by Woods (1979) is that the pressures on the teacher's 'accommodation' capabilities have increased, and are likely to go on increasing.

Of course the pressures differ according to the type of school and teacher commitment. Therefore, we may perceive a situation in which a teacher, although strongly committed, is having to cope with difficult and problem classes. Survival problems include 'adaptation' and 'accommodation', to which his thinking may turn more to role terms than teacher-pupil relationships.

Teachers' thinking about their role and its context may also have an influence on their teaching style, other than their thinking about relationships. In this sense, the many and varied constraints placed upon the teacher may force him to shift his focus of thinking from teacher-pupil relationships to issues concerning role, context, teaching culture and self.

Increasingly, Woods (1979) suggests the teacher, through 'commitment' and 'accommodation', reaches compromise solutions because of the constraints placed upon him. Commitment refers to how individuals are prepared to give their energy and loyalty to social systems; more precisely the attachment of personality to social relations which are seen as self-expressive. This is a useful conception because it has links with the maintenance of self within the system. In addition; the cognition can refer to commitment to a social system role. Accommodation is more specific and refers to the solution or riding out of problems caused by an organisation i.e. a school. Increasing pressure towards accommodation can be identified through the constraints of: increasing length of teaching day; increasing reduction of

resources; increasing significance of examinations; raising of the school leaving age; progressive education movement; debate over the aims of comprehensive education.

In many respects, schools, despite having a degree of independence from society are, nevertheless, interdependent with respect to various trends within it:-

1. Ethos of egalitarianism - equality of education.
2. Media influence.
3. Curriculum development.

These provide additional constraints on how the teacher views his role and relationships. Schools themselves can also influence the form of social and professional relationships, providing a framework for what is approved or disapproved for teachers and pupils i.e. the role image they should follow, such as whether the school is streamed or the pastoral arrangements.

At a more abstract level, Bernstein (1971) suggests that the selection and organisation of knowledge within a school can influence the interaction of teachers and pupils. He distinguishes between 'Collection' and 'Integrated' type curricula:-

FIGURE 9. Curricula Types

1. Collection type - clear boundaries, knowledge insulated.
2. Integrated type - open relation between contents.
3. Framing - degree of control teachers and pupils have in the selection, organisation and transmitting of knowledge.

The type of knowledge framing curricula used by the school can, according to Morrison and McIntyre (1973), influence teaching style.

In a similar manner, Denscombe (1980) proposes that environmental issues and teachers' perceptions of their task are important in determining

their teaching style. For example:-

1. Staff-pupil ratio - where there are large numbers of pupils and large numbers of classes, the teacher is not familiar with the circumstances of each child.
2. Group management techniques - Where actions are not suited to the personal needs of individual pupils, actions are required to cover the class as a whole.
3. Resources - this includes both materials and time-tabling.

Essentially, because classroom events are multi-dimensional with simultaneous actions, often of an unpredictable nature, teachers' actions tend to be routinised, involving subconscious decisions and lines of action. For these reasons many of the decisions and actions adopted can be thought of as ruled-based. However, as Hargreaves (1972) and Pollard (1980) point out, coping strategies of teachers imply that they do not act alone but rather within a cultural context, drawing on collective cultural resources as a basis for decisions and actions. Teachers may refrain from personal relationships where they are not part of the pattern of teaching.

In discussing teachers' thinking about their role, Hammersley (1980) points to the aggregation of cultural factors forming a 'technology' of 'teachers' practices. In particular, he emphasises the environment in which teachers do their work as being important, together with a framework of rule norms which pattern teaching.

Hargreaves (1972) proposes three aspects which can comprise teachers' thinking about their role : status within a culture, social relationships and competence. Much depends upon whether teachers have high concern for their professional image in society.

The nature and level of professionalism is likely to vary in response to the esteem in which education is held at any one time, together with the demand for teachers. Pollard (1980) makes the point that a teacher's

perception of his professionalism is part of the macro-structural conditions in teaching. One perception of professionalism can be identified at the micro-level, where most teachers will develop some form of relationship with pupils. Such influences can be seen to form a particular type of role set.

Teachers probably develop modes of activity which they consider possible under existing circumstances. Perhaps being realists, their judgement is based on what they have to cope with in the real world.

c. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their control.

The control of pupils is particularly the concern of probationary or inexperienced teachers. An initial teaching experience may engender confrontation and conflicting role demands, especially in respect of pupil control. It is the non-voluntary nature of pupil participation which highlights the importance of pupil control and teacher relationships within it.

A totally professional relationship may be difficult to standardise and implement in the situation because:-

1. The teacher is dealing with large numbers of sometimes unwilling participants.
2. Education can be conceived of as more than the mere transmission of knowledge.

A traditional school image envisages a highly controlled environment where the maintenance of order is paramount and where there is a rigid hierarchy, whereas, less formal schools espouse greater co-operation and interaction between teacher and pupil. New teachers placed into such ideal-dichotomous surroundings may often become socialised into the ethos of a school organisation, in order to conform to the consensus. These organisational norms may be at variance with those acquired during training.

As indicated by Willower, Hoy and Eidell (1967), "the internalised ideal images of the teacher role may be in conflict with the norms and values of the school sub-culture." (1) The effectiveness of this induced consensus can be attributed to the correlation made in many schools that equates ability to control with ability to teach.

Hoy (1968) in an investigation of pupil control ideology, made a distinction between 'custodial' and 'humanistic' thinking of teachers and how this influenced teacher-pupil 'power relations'. Custodial, he believes, is representative of the traditional school where there is a rigid and highly controlled environment concerned primarily with the maintenance of order, almost an autocratic organisation in which a teacher-pupil status hierarchy is rigidly set. In contrast, humanistic thinking sees the school as a social and educational community in which pupils learn through co-operative interaction and a supportive setting.

Shipman (1975), for example, views the school as an agency of control and identifies discipline as a primary concern of the teacher. However, the nature of order and control within schools is not so easily described in this macro way. If all schools were classified as agencies of control, this would not explain the nature of order within each one. This may vary according to the way teacher-pupil relationships are organised and thought about. There may be differences between schools in their degree of commitment to relationships and how relationships are conceptualised. This leads us to believe that the nature of order within each school will be subtly different.

As a starting point in the study of control authority in teaching, whether from a personal relationship point of view, or that of role, we can use the 'ideal type' model of Max Weber (1949). He identified three bases for the analysis of authority:-

(1) W.K. Hoy, The influence of experience on the beginning teacher (1968) p. 316.

1. Rational-legal - obedience to rules and procedures laid down independent of individuals participating, i.e. Waller's 'institutional authority' associated with the growth of bureaucracy.
2. Traditional - loyalty to long-established ways of doing things, i.e. sacred authority is seen as natural, things have always been done that way - ethos of the school.

"Both rational-legal and traditional authority are impersonal, normative and institutional, derived from law and custom." (1) Weber's third ideal type, is in direct contrast to the other two.

3. Charismatic - it is based on authority legitimated by the influence of the leader deriving from charisma or personality.

It is the last category which has general applicability for teachers. It has relevance in that teachers can operate on two levels of authority : the formal authority granted by the local education authority and statute; and informal authority which has, as its foundation, the personal relationships the teacher establishes with his pupils.

Weber's analysis is too narrow. In reality, teachers may use a combination of all three category types. Similarly, Parsons (1959) notion of 'professional authority' or competence based skills will not be a total explanation. These concepts seem to imply that the whole profession has a coherent attitude towards the control and authority structure within schools. This picture is a misrepresentation. However, control and authority based on a relationship orientated teaching style will enable greater insight into a teacher's attitude structure and levels of solutions which can be applied by

(1) Marten D. Shipman, *The Sociology of the School* (1975), p. 127.

such an approach.

Waller (1932), in his observations, identified five ideal type techniques used by teachers to secure control:-

1. Command.
2. Punishment.
3. Management or manipulation of persons and groups.
4. Temper.
5. Appeal.

These types can be re-grouped under more general strategies. Command, punishment and temper are examples of teacher domination; whilst the others highlight the use of a negotiated strategy and personal relationships.

Usually, the formal organisation of teaching situations affects sanctioning and prescribes conditions under which teaching is supposed to occur:-

1. Differences between teacher and pupils stemming from official standing.
2. Differences in the right to sanction. Content and force of sanctions.

We can propose certain differences in social tie or in control of sanctions, resulting from differences of personal traits as between teacher and pupil. Aspects of their formally organised relationship (differences of power-authority derived from the teacher's official status) intrude; as do patterns of activity from the wider social setting in which teachers and pupils are a part, such as scheduled examinations, set school curriculum and collective norms of society.

In particular, sanctioning can play an explanatory role in the personal influence perspective (Wallace, 1966; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). Approval, esteem and respect are among the most powerful sanctions which indicate and affect the solidarity of social relationships. It would appear in teacher-pupil interaction that the greater amount of 'solidarity' sanctions are those in the teacher's own hands; the sanctioning activities are of his own making.

In any social relationship the tie between 'A' and 'B' rests not only on sanctions 'A' can employ, but also on functional limits set on the relationship and extent of purposefulness on which the relationship is formed. For example, the more purposeful 'B' is, the more instrumental the relationship and the more narrow its scope. This is illustrated by the competence of 'A' to perform a task, such as a teacher's command of his subject matter.

Teacher-pupil interactions are asymmetrical; they are relations of differential power and dependence. (Hargreaves, 1972). In this context teacher characteristics which either gain or lose the positive sentiments of learners are significant. Bidwell (1973) proposes that younger pupils, and an elementary curriculum, result in teachers having substantial personal influence on pupils. Furthermore, as these conditions disappear, 'lesson content' respect based on a teacher's subject expertise will become more prominent for teacher-pupil relations.

In the classroom situation the teacher-pupil relationship can be perceived as one of superior-subordinate, in which the teacher possesses a high power component. This power is derived from several sources and includes age differentials, although the main source of power is societal, sanctioned and legally bestowed. There are commonly held expectations that the teacher will do something to make the student learn, that he will present knowledge which the student ought to know.

The teacher's actions in the interactive situation carry a high potency, always with the latent power of punishment even ultimate removal from the classroom. This interpretation of teacher influence appears to recognise the reality of the superior-subordinate relationship, with the power component held by the teacher.

Informal authority can, in two respects, be more potent than rational-legal and traditional. Authority based on the individual's use of relationships can, on some occasions, be more powerful. It can be useful in defusing a potentially high conflict situation. Secondly, it is probably used more

frequently than resorting to more 'public' punishment such as detention or corporal punishment.

In this context, Woods (1980) concept of 'accommodation' is relevant because it implies going beyond the official means of control; not totally relying on a punishment structure but developing survival strategies. This is where a relationship strategy may be of use. Strategies for survival may involve more than a means of control. Control does not necessarily involve punishment, it can be defined as being able to successfully cope with a difficult situation which disturbs the teacher's peace of mind.

Teachers may feel challenged in areas of traditional and institutional authority. There has been a climate of change, illustrated by a reduction in external support for the teacher in areas of:-

1. Discipline - corporal punishment.
2. Curriculum development.

In respect of the first area, any diminution of corporal punishment or its eventual banning, may lead to increased emphasis on personal relationships and a clearer understanding of pupils in order to maintain control and authority.

Shipman (1975) believes "there is a dependence on personal relations as a source of authority." (1) Pupils may be aware of two facets of the situation. The first is the relationship they have with the teacher and the second is the power a teacher can ultimately use.

In his analysis of the interpersonal nature of power relationships, Hargreaves (1972) represents the sequence as a dyad: A's power over B is equal to B's dependence on A, illustrating power relations during interaction. Hargreaves (1972) identifies five different types of social power:-

1. Reward power.
2. Coercive power.
3. Referent power - hero worship or admiration.

(1) Shipman (1975), p. 128.

4. Expert power - recognition of specialist knowledge.
5. Legitimate power - the right to prescribe behaviour onto others.

A teacher can hold one or more of these powers. However, these five categories of power do not take into account the distinction between formal-informal structures apparent in organisations. The varieties of social power in a teacher-pupil relationship may refer more to a formal than informal relationship. Whereas some aspects of the teacher's coercive and reward power are formal, certain others are informal because they are not formally prescribed rights. In particular, the teacher has no formal referent power but may cultivate it on an individual and personal basis.

Hargreaves (1972) has tried to take this issue a stage further in utilising Kelman's (1961) three attitude processes to expand the interpretation of teacher-pupil relationships, where control and authority are uppermost in teachers' thinking.

'Compliance' is based on the control aspect a teacher has over his class, a 'pleasing teacher' orientation, usually derived from teacher scrutiny. This is a stagnating situation because teacher and pupil, through the use of rewards and punishments, may fail to move into another form of teacher-pupil relationship in which trust is used. The teacher may feel constrained to maintain a reward-punishment system, in the belief that abandonment would result in pupils not meeting his expectations.

In 'identification' the pupil accepts the assumptions and evaluations of the teacher as to what 'good' pupils do. There is an area of common ground from which the teacher can function without engendering fear or guilt in himself or the pupils. Frequently, both types of relationship can be found in the same classroom, where different pupils react to the teacher, or pupils swing from one to another, from one occasion to another.

'Internalisation' is the perfect or ideal teacher-pupil relationship. Essentially, the pupil can be trusted without resort to threats to produce conformity. It is through appeals to rationality that acceptance is obtained.

In this form of relationship, teachers and pupils share the same values and means to achieve goals.

These categories are useful because they can be visualised as stages of increasing cognitive complexity, in an attempt to account for social influence within teaching, whilst being aware of the formal-informal range. Kelman's (1961) analysis suggests that teachers can only rely on appeals to reason, or their personal qualities, if the pupils are at the right stage to accept internalisation. Younger or immature pupils may require a compliance relationship structure. How the changes between compliance, identification and internalisation are to be brought about by teachers, in respect of their relationships with pupils, is important from a practical perspective.

One method of accomplishing this transition between stages is envisaged by Pollard (1982). He sees the use by teachers of routines and procedures, as a means to establish authority with a large number of children. But children, in turn, will 'test' the teacher at various times to ascertain that a rule still exists. A gradual stabilisation of relationships should occur, enabling teachers and pupils to get to know each other.

The establishment of a relationship is part of the system of behavioural understanding. The rules, expectations and understandings which accompany certain situations, become a 'taken for granted' structuring of social action. This arrival at a working consensus is part of a negotiated order, an agreement in which teachers and pupils understand and accept differences in power which divides them.

Classrooms can be viewed as places where relationships of a superior-subordinate shape and of an interpersonal nature are developing. In other words, the participants will be adapting to different levels. Pollard (1980) also believes that consideration of the 'social' adaptations of people to their circumstances is an important aspect in understanding classroom situations.

A systematically organised strategy in respect of control, power and authority, develops over time and becomes a routinised existence for the

teacher. Increasing stress and resentment often arises in 'cover' situations when an absent colleague means a new situation with unknown children. It is a potentially stressful time because the covering teacher may have no relationship style of authority to use. He is forced into adopting a formalised system with which he is perhaps unfamiliar.

In a 'normal' teaching situation, the 'getting to know each other' period in September becomes crucial for the construction of behaviour and meaning which will operate in a classroom. It is up to the teacher to provide a framework of routines, procedures and rules which are presented as 'the way things are going to be'.

Routines and procedures are logical steps when an individual teacher is dealing with large numbers of children. Such a strategy may be seen as a defence against pressure of numbers (Payne and Hustler, 1980). In their view firmly established relationships reflect the increasing acceptance of a negotiated system of behavioural understandings which can be used in a variety of situations with pupils.

Systems and strategies governing rules, expectations and understandings begin to emerge in an intersubjective manner. The individuals involved take on assumptions concerning their reality, which crystallise the social framework of a situation, and a consensus or working consensus is arrived at. A working or class consensus is the result of many different aspects fusing together. It takes into account differences in behaviour, knowledge and experience.

The exact values placed upon formal/informal authority may reflect the thinking of teachers, whether they are primarily concerned with role relationships or personal relationships in the context of classroom control.



- d. Teachers' thinking about relationships may influence their effectiveness.

Research into teaching sometimes asks the question what makes a 'good' or effective teacher? Effectiveness is frequently presented in terms of pupil learning and performance. Degrees of learning are approached in different ways by social scientists : psychologists stress the characteristics of individuals; sociologists emphasise home background; social psychologists study "the interactional here-and-now of classroom relationships between teacher and pupil." (1)

Recent research on teaching has tended to follow two branches of enquiry. One is the criterion of effectiveness paradigm and the other is the teaching process paradigm. The first uses pupil outcomes, usually achievement, as a measure of teacher effectiveness, whereas the teaching process paradigm highlights various aspects of teacher and pupil behaviour. Neither research paradigm has clearly identified features of teaching which can lead directly to training methodology (Schulmeister, 1978).

Identifying what counts as teacher competence is not straightforward, as Rosencranz and Biddle (1964) point out when presenting three definitions:-

FIGURE 10. Teacher Competence

- Definition 1 Teacher competence is the ability of teachers to accomplish the (unspecified) goals of education, and is measured best by examination of previous experience or of demonstrated level of achievement.
- Definition 2 Teacher competence is a characteristic of teacher personality that leads to achievement of some (usually unspecified) goals of education. This is best measured by personality tests.

(1) Hargreaves, op. cit., p. 153.

Definition 3 Teacher competence is teacher behaviour that achieves a given educational goal.

Before competence can be judged, an agreed set of goals must first be established. The problem is also complicated because of the variety of outcomes which may result from teacher behaviour.

The Kansas City Teacher Role Studies (1960) (1) discovered two main characteristics of teachers and effectiveness. First, there exists broad teacher role stereotypes that are shared by nearly everyone. Second, there are significant differences among people regarding specific attributes of the teacher's role.

It is not clear what makes an effective teacher, or a teacher with good skills in teaching. Criteria can be wide-ranging from whether pupils are happy and contented, whether teachers achieve promotion, through to success by pupils in examinations. The relative importance of criteria is not something absolute because it partly depends upon the subjective evaluations of interested parties. It is fairly clear that some criteria are open to objective assessment, whereas others are extremely difficult to measure.

One set of criteria which has been utilised in assessing teachers involves their attitudes, opinions, values and personalities; where it is thought that a particular trait, such as 'child-centred' or 'authoritarian' teaching, is characteristic of a 'good' or 'bad' teacher. The Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory is one such measure of teachers' attitudes.

Oliver and Butcher (1962) have been able to develop a series of educational attitudes from their work in Britain:-

1. Naturalism versus Idealism.
2. Radicalism versus Conservatism.
3. Theoretical versus Practical.

(1) See Rosencranz and Biddle (1964) for extended discussion of this study.

Measures such as these have only limited applicability. They enable the identification of opinion change over time and between countries but are not successful indicators of the classroom effectiveness of teachers.

The teaching process or competence model is important for two main reasons. First, because it uses teacher-pupil interaction in which thinking about relationships can be influential. Second, this type of research can result in generalisations of a practical nature which can lead to the objectification of craft knowledge (McNamara and Desforges, 1978; Desforges and McNamara, 1979).

The development of a model for teacher education, called 'competency' or 'performance-based' teacher education, has implications for research in teacher effectiveness (Bellack, 1963; Bidwell, 1973; Dunkin and Biddle, 1974; Palomares and Ball, 1974; Argyris and Schon, 1975; Elliott and Labbett, 1975; Norris, 1975). This model assumes that the effective teacher differs from the ineffective mainly because he has command of a larger range of competencies - skills, abilities and knowledge - that contribute to effective teaching. The number of such competencies is believed to be large, to the extent that no individual needs to possess them all. However, some are seen as being basic or fundamental that every effective teacher should possess.

At least, the teaching process approach emphasises what teachers and pupils do, rather than assuming what happens in classrooms. In particular, following the idea of social skills in teaching, this approach develops a consideration of teacher actions and thoughts, as a set of specialised techniques to be considered during interaction with pupils (Runkel, 1958).

It is necessary to continue with the teacher competence model, despite associated problems, because of its grounding in teaching practice. The function of teachers is still to transmit 'knowledge' and prepare pupils for society. Therefore, any improvements must come through the profession itself.

Rogers (1982), a social psychologist, emphasises the expectancy process of teachers; in which expectations are believed to influence a pupil's level of performance; concerned in some way with interpersonal attraction and influence. He particularly stresses the importance of intentions, feelings and thoughts which people bring to their interactions. Significant differences in teachers' thinking are important. Whether we concentrate on competence, effectiveness or teacher characteristics, thoughts about roles and relationships can be salient.

Research has pointed to the importance of teacher pupil relationships in teaching, where staff become more effective in many areas of their work (Rogers, 1969; Gordon, 1974; Palomares and Ball, 1974; Edwards, 1980; Rogers, 1982). This emphasises the manner in which teachers think and conduct their personal relationships with pupils. In particular, the above research suggests that where a teacher attempts to personalise his relationships, going outside or beyond a role relationship, there are benefits for both teacher and pupil.

According to Gage's (1972) research, the aspects of teacher behaviour thought ideal or best-suited to effectiveness were:-

1. teacher enjoys funny remark of pupil.
2. teacher praises what pupils say in class.
3. teacher gives general advice in school.
4. teacher explains information clearly.
5. teacher suggests ways of studying.
6. teacher talks to pupils after school.

These exhibit relationship items in which the teacher is believed to be more effective with his pupils.

Burns (1976) differentiates 'effective' from 'ineffective' teachers using the following criteria:-

1. Willingness to be more flexible.

2. Ability to personalise their teaching.
3. Reinforcing attitude.
4. Emotional adjustment.
5. Informal conversational teaching manner.

It is not certain what causes these differences in teaching style. Ryan (1961) reported that effective teaching correlated with those teachers with dominant self-confidence. Similarly, Coombs (1964) proposed that those teachers rated as 'good' by their colleagues perceived themselves as being able to cope with most contingencies. (Use of British Ethnocentrism Scale 24 - Semantic Differential and Educational Attitudes Scale:26). One tentative proposal is that a teaching strategy is not an unlimited choice but, according to the evidence of Burns (1976), is influenced by self-evaluation and the way teachers think about their relations with pupils.

A number of studies have illustrated the enhancement of teacher competence and effectiveness, where teachers have thought positively and implemented strategies incorporating relationships.

Gordon (1974), in describing his Teacher Effectiveness Training scheme, believes a teacher-pupil relationship to be an important element for effectiveness, requiring skills to accomplish them. There are benefits and rewards to be obtained from using relationships. These include: no resentment over differences of opinion on work; increased motivation; improved pupil participation; co-operation; decision making; fostering responsibility and maturity in pupils.

In a similar manner, Blake (1979) encourages his teacher-students to think in terms of relationships in education. He proposes that relationships stimulate motivation and greater work satisfaction for pupils and teachers; they are able to work to their optimum potential.

When delineating their Educational Objectives Domain, Palomares and Ball (1974), propose certain pupil actions which are a response to, and reflection of, teacher thinking about relationships:

FIGURE 11. Education Objectives Domain

1. Attending - refers to pupils willingness to listen to classroom phenomena.
2. Participating - refers to involvement on the part of pupils; both attending to phenomena and reacting to it.
3. Accepting - to do with the worth or value a pupil attaches to a particular phenomena.
4. Synthesising - concerned with bringing together different values, resolving them; making them internally consistent.

In their summary, Palomares and Ball (1974) believe that successful leadership in teaching depends upon relationships with others. A good 'leader-teacher' is neither dictatorial nor 'wishy washy', he is humanistic with insight into human behaviour; he is democratic but prepared to use authority when necessary.

Using research findings drawn from psychotherapy, Carl Rogers (1969) presents a description of attitudes concerning relationships in teaching and how they can be effective for teachers. He presents certain attitudinal qualities which facilitate learning. First, a basic attitude is 'realness' or 'genuineness'. Here, the teacher should present himself as a real person, in the sense that he is entering into a relationship without projecting a front or facade, and in this way is more likely to be effective. It means the teacher comes into a more direct personal encounter with the pupil, a meeting on a one-to-one basis. Essentially, this refers to being yourself before pupils, behaving naturally.

In this context, the teacher becomes more real as a person to his pupils, revealing feelings of enthusiasm, boredom, interest, anger, sensitivity and sympathy. This sense of 'realness' can permit the teacher to be critical of

pupil work in an objective fashion; without implying criticism of the pupil.

Essentially, Rogers (1961) believes teachers can only facilitate learning where involvement in actual learning comes from pupils. He suggests that significant learning in an educational setting will only be effective where there is minimal threat to the learner. A situation of this nature can be achieved when the teacher presents a positive front and an atmosphere of 'acceptance'; only then will the pupil be in a situation to clearly express any doubts, difficulties or uncertainties he has about problems and so come to terms with them with the help of the teacher.

An element which is believed to establish a relationship for self-initiated learning is termed 'empathic' understanding'. Here, the teacher has the ability to understand the pupil's reactions from the 'inside', appreciating how the pupil views the learning process he is in.

The attitudinal qualities cited above may be effective in psychotherapy, but they run counter to the general tendency of teachers to present themselves to their pupils in simple role terms. It is perhaps customary for teachers to deliberately emphasise a mask, role or facade of being 'the teacher'.

Research by Emmerling (1961) illustrates how teachers who thought individual student needs and interests important and who were interested in relationships were designated 'open' or 'positively' orientated. These teacher groups were highly rated when the Barrett-Lenard Relationship Inventory was administered; they were perceived as significantly more real, projecting a more acceptant, more empathic understanding in their teaching style.

Asprey's (1965) rating of teachers, using tape-recordings of two weeks interaction in reading lessons, selected teachers for their 'genuineness', 'positive regard', 'degree of empathic understanding' and other relational qualities. Their classes showed greater gains in reading achievement (Stanford Achievement Test), compared to those teachers not selected.

It has been cogently argued (Moore, 1971; Elliott and Adelman, 1973) that there is a need to train teachers to be autonomous through developing

competence; a 'conscious self-monitoring'; rather than to specify general teaching competences through which desired learning outcomes could be predicted.

One teacher training programme which attempts to analyse the current issues in teaching and make its own course ethos is in operation at the North East London Polytechnic. The view increasingly held by trainers at N.E.L.P. and other institutions is that to promote efficient and effective teaching a new model of a teacher should be established, not one based on the teacher as an 'educated amateur' but on the conception of a teacher as a skilled, thinking craftsman in teaching.

Teachers, in order to be effective, competent and display good craft knowledge, require a variety of skill dimensions at their disposal. However, what comes out of research, is the importance of personal relationship skills in teacher-pupil contact (Evans, 1959; Shipman, 1975; House and Lapan, 1978; Edwards, 1980).

Anderson et al., (1945-6), suggest that a more democratic-personal involvement produces more co-operation and superior staff-pupil relations. Shipman (1975) proposes that classes develop behaviour patterns which respond to this style of teaching, and suggested it was more prudent for that style to encourage individual involvement. Edwards (1980) believes teachers would be more effective in the transmission of knowledge if their social relationships were more balanced. He contends that there are causal connections between the structure of personal relationships and the structure of communication. Evans (1959), in a restricted sense, proposes that teacher-pupil relationships are important because they have an influence on the intellectual and social development of children. He was particularly concerned with mal-adjusted children where he believed a relationship pattern would benefit the teaching situation.

The forming and use of relationships can be viewed as an aid to improve different elements of teaching. According to reports of teachers and pupils,

it makes them more effective in the classroom, more competent in the eyes of pupils, other staff and heads; and could be a useful skill in the creation of craft knowledge.

Chapter 5. The Importance of Salience.

- (i) The nature of salience.
- (ii) The likely importance of teachers' salience.

(i) The Nature of Saliency

There is interest within social psychology concerning issues of causal perception - how someone abstracts information from the immediate environment and pieces it together in order to make judgements about what causes things to happen and what causes people to behave as they do (Jones et al., 1961; Jones and Davis, 1965; Nisbett and Schacter, 1966; Darley and Berscheid, 1967; Jones and Nisbett, 1972; Boissevain, 1974; Nisbett and Wilson, 1977; Clark and Mills, 1979; Nisbett and Ross, 1980). Part of this interest is how satisfactory is the 'social perceivers' search (Tesser and Cowan, 1977). It was Heider (1958), who promoted these ideas in the 'Psychology of Interpersonal Relations'. He proposed that an understanding of how people assess causality could be uncovered via a 'lens' (1) model of perception.

Two lines of research have evolved from this idea. One compares the social perceiver to a naive scientist (Kelley, 1967), in which causes and effects are scrutinised for co-variation. The second line of research suggests that rather than using a 'scientific-like' process (Garland, Hardy and Stephenson, 1975; Kelley, 1977), many social perceivers seek instead single, although sufficient and salient explanations for behaviour; frequently the first satisfactory one encountered (Jones and Davis, 1965; Kanouse, 1972).

When people form and elaborate an initial impression of others, there are particular problems involved. The person perception process involves confronting an overwhelming amount of raw data. An individual is simply unable to allocate equal attention and thought to every item, syllable and act they observe. In order to comprehend and make sense of what they encounter, it is necessary to select the particular pieces of information we designate important and to which we are going to give our attention (Jones and Davis, 1965; Ross et al., 1969; Huston, 1974; Kerkhoff, 1974; Wish et al., 1976; Berscheid and Walster, 1978). As Rogers (1982) proposes, the

(1) A lens model for assessing causality implies focusing on narrow pieces of information considered significant. See Taylor and Fiske (1978).

selection and impression formation procedure is not passive, the individual perceiver will be constantly making his own unique contribution to the form and framing of the final impression.

Cognitive research into judgements has found that subjects, instead of utilising consensus information logically, seem to be more influenced by single pieces of 'colorful' information (Kahnemann and Tversky, 1973; Nisbett et al., 1976). Peoples' subjective evaluations are often arrived at without reviewing all the evidence which has relevance to a particular problem. They frequently use the information which is most salient or available, i.e. that information which is most readily brought to mind (Tversky and Kahnemann, 1974). Kanouse (1972), has suggested that :

"Individuals may be primarily motivated to seek a single, sufficient, or satisfactory explanation for any given event, rather than one which is the best of all possible explanations... when more than one explanation is potentially available to an individual, which one he adopts may depend primarily on which of the various possible explanations is most salient." (1)

The notion of salience as a factor influencing judgements and thinking has appeared frequently in social psychological literature (Bandler, 1968; Duval and Wicklund, 1972; Nisbett, 1972; Arkin and Duval, 1975; Salanik and Conway, 1975; Taylor and Fiske, 1975; Pryor and Kriss, 1977). Cognitions which are salient are believed to receive a disproportionate amount of attention, relating salience to attribution processes; where people or aspects of the environment that are considered salient are believed to receive more causal ascriptions or attributions.

An individual will carry a great deal of knowledge and information about his social position and those he is in contact with. However, not all of this information will be considered important or salient (Bandler, 1968; Kanouse, 1972; Kelley, 1973; Arkin and Duval, 1975; Garland, 1975). It is necessary to obtain those thoughts which are salient and avoid the others which are not. People will tend to place different weight to physical and

(1) Dan E. Kanouse, Language, labelling and attribution (1972), p.131.

social data in relation to the data's salience and vividness. Accordingly, information which is attended to, stored and retrieved will be in proportion to its sensory, cognitive, and affective salience.

Evidence concerning salient stimuli and its use in causal inference has mainly come from research on self-perception (Kiesler, Nisbett and Zana, 1969). One conclusion drawn from these studies is that making a cognition or behaviour salient will influence the subject's attitudes and behaviour (Bandler, Madaras and Bein, 1968; Davison and Valins, 1969; Ross, Rodin and Zimbardo, 1969; Storms and Nisbett, 1970).

Only salient considerations will be important enough to influence actions. Whereas people may have a great deal of information in their minds, most of it is rarely salient. This means that it is all too easy for researchers to obtain the least salient knowledge about teachers.

Taylor and Fiske (1978) believe that individuals frequently respond to the most salient stimuli but without much thought. Their contention is that the causal attributions made by people in their social environments, regarding opinions and impressions, are often influenced by apparently trivial but highly salient information. These attributions, opinions and impressions can be called 'top of the head' phenomena. As the name implies, the answer or observation has little considered thought but is a response based on the first thing that came to mind. The implication is that the subject has allocated little time to the matter, the only data available is that derived from the immediate situation. These researchers propose that social psychologists study 'top of the head' phenomena because when individuals respond with little thought to the most salient stimuli in their environment, it mirrors reality. They suggest that 'top of the head' phenomena relate particularly to self-perception and the perception of others and that such phenomena are more common than perhaps is realised by people.

In general, if attributions are mediated by the information that pre-figures in a subject's visual and cognitive field, then attention to one item

should influence the perception of causality. If you attend to one part of the environment to the relative exclusion of another, the information from the attended part should be the most salient. Information from the attended part can provide a basis for an explanation adopted in deciding causality in a situation. Points of view or attention, such as the use of personal relationships, may determine what information is salient. Perceptually salient information will then prefigure in subsequent causal explanations. Increased involvement in a situation may increase the strength of salience effects such as in the case of a committed teacher.

Critics of differential attention-causality may refer to the nature of superficial processing of information, although, everyday judgements frequently are superficial. What Taylor and Fiske (1978) propose is that a so-called trivial judgement, once based on attentional phenomena, becomes entrenched and reinforced rather than reconsidered. Consequently, what are considered to be carefully judged thoughts may result from phenomena which on reflection seem trivial salience effects.

There are certain implications that follow from a consideration of salience. First, it implies that people frequently utilise banal and trivial social cues in order to arrive at what appear to be sophisticated conclusions. A second implication is that this cognitive procedure is done without apparent awareness, in an almost automatic manner. Langer (1978) proposes that people react to social situations using 'scripts', an automatic set sequence of procedures - verbal and behavioural - for commonly occurring situations.

(ii) The likely importance of teachers' salience

Teachers probably combine a mass of information into a few inferences or estimates about pupils. They may differ in the information they attend to. Their inferences about pupils, events and relationships will be based on what they consider is salient.

There are teacher differences in the selection of pupil characteristics

to attend to. Firstly, some teachers consistently select and react to certain characteristics which other teachers either ignore or react to differently. These can be called inter-teacher differences. Secondly, some teachers may allocate more or less attention to particular pieces of information at different times. These intra-teacher effects may appear and operate over extended time periods, such as the transition from probationary teacher, or be short when a teacher's emotions change over a few days.

This active contribution, or the selection of significant pieces of information by which we appraise other people, is not a deliberate action. The majority of the selection process will be carried out subconsciously, without full awareness that it is going on. What determines the selection process? Stable characteristics of the individual perceiver or temporary states?

We should be particularly interested in the stable characteristics of teachers because these should have the greatest effects over the longest time on pupils. Researchers such as Nash (1973) and Taylor (1976), concentrate on most frequently mentioned characteristics. Sharp and Green (1975) studied the perception-ideologies of teachers from one school. Differences in belief system regarding deprivation and impoverishment were found to be reflected in differences in teaching behaviour.

Pollard (1982) has argued that research into teaching should be able to analyse actions and knowledge which arise within classroom contexts, together with the processes, as part of human thought consciousness. An investigation of this sort is not the focus of either Hargreaves (1972), or Woods (1980), but nevertheless seems to be amenable to study. In this respect, it is feasible to use the concept of 'interests' from the work of Schutz (1973), or what Pollard calls 'interests-at-hand'. These terms appear related to motivational relevance and salience. As Schutz (1973) proposes :

"... motivational relevance is governed by a person's interest at a particular time and in a particular situation. Accordingly, he singles out the elements present in the situation which serve to define the situation for him in the light of his purposes on hand." (1)

FIGURE 12. Teachers' Interests-at-hand

particular
time and situation $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ interests-at-hand $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ salience $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1cm}}$ actions

(adapted from Pollard, 1982)

Pollard (1982) suggests that particular 'interests-at-hand' become activated through the impact of situational constraints and dilemmas affecting the actors within teaching situations. But as they do, they reflect thought, being the product of particular self-conceptions and self-presentations. This research, dealing with primary school teachers, discovered important teacher 'interests-at-hand' concerning matters of self-image, workload, health and stress, enjoyment, order and instruction. (See figure 12)

From studies originally completed in cognitive and social psychology, ideas relating to thinking processes and notions of salience and 'interests' have begun to be utilised by researchers in an educational context (Sharp and Green, 1975; Pollard, 1982; Elbaz, 1983): This can have important consequences. Studying salience through teacher thoughts is important because it identifies those features of teaching which are noticeable or prominent in the minds of teachers. If issues are uppermost and thus salient in the minds of teachers, it suggests that they may be significant in their teaching method.

The study of teacher thinking enables the identification of those salient but 'taken-for-granted' aspects of teaching which are prominent in influencing teacher behaviour. Those features which are at the forefront of teachers' thinking are valuable because they are noticed by practising teachers. If

(1) Alfred Schutz, *On phenomenology and social relations* (1970).
The selected writings of Alfred Schutz edited by H.R. Wagner, p. 22.

there are features which are prominent in their thinking, there is more likelihood that they will be incorporated into practical methods of teaching.

Salient thoughts of teachers are their own and do not reflect an imposed set of ideas from researchers. It is salience in the minds of teachers themselves and not from a distanced third party.

Chapter 6. The Role Approach to Teacher-Pupil Relationships

- (i) Teaching as role interpretations
- (ii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher as a 'Manager'
- (iii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher as a
'Decision Maker'
- (iv) Theoretical and practical problems in the use of role
for studying Teacher-Pupil Relationships

(i) Teaching as role interpretations

The decision to present teaching in largely social psychological terms seems justified on a number of grounds. Historically, some of the most influential ways of looking at teaching have developed from psychological work on leadership styles, group behaviour, attitudes and role behaviour (Lippett, 1943; Becker and Green, 1960; Biddle, 1961; Jones, 1961). More recently, there has been stimulus from social psychology, again towards the use of observational techniques and the application of analytical and experimental procedures, in the study of social and professional skills and the processes of interaction in groups (Nash, 1973; Walker and Adelman, 1975; Delamont and Hamilton, 1976; Stubbs and Delamont, 1976; Wish et al, 1976; Walker and Goodson, 1977; Yinger; 1977).

These links represent a common concern for interpersonal behaviour and shared interests in processes of cognitive and affective influence, group relationships, socialisation, and the behaviours and perceptions of people in their various professional roles.

Role theory has proved to be a popular method of investigation and has generated useful conceptual tools for studying teachers. It is through the elaboration of concepts, such as role strain, role set and role conflict, that role theory has offered a most cogent way of looking at issues arising out of the attitudes and expectations held by different groups in contact with teachers.

There has been a neglect of the study of relationships after the pioneering work of Cooley (1909), Simmel (1950), Waller (1938) and Weber (1947). The main diversion away from relationships was role theory. It changed the focus from relations among persons to relations "among social roles as abstract patterns of expectations, rights, and duties."⁽¹⁾

1. McCall, op. cit., p4

Role does not have any clear definition. It is used in a variety of ways by both sociologists and psychologists (Biddle, 1961; Turner, 1962; Rosencranz and Biddle, 1964; Biddle and Thomas, 1966). In general, however, the concept is used to refer to behavioural expectations connected to a position. In essence, a role is a set of guide-lines, a set of prescribed expectations associated with a position. The person engaged in the role is displaying a role performance which may or may not conform to expectations.

Role theory, as presented in research, reveals different conceptions of role as it applies to teachers in their interaction with pupils: role set, role strain and role conflict (Becker and Greer, 1960; Biddle, 1961 & 1966; Jones, 1961; Wilson, 1962; Sorenson et al., 1963; Adams, 1970 & 1972; Gibson, 1970; Kounin, 1970; Morrison and McIntyre, 1972). These interpretations of teaching role also imply differences in the behaviour of teachers varying with their conception of role. However, research does not seem to accomplish a consideration of non-role relationships. Previous role research has not been successful in describing or accounting for those teachers who incorporate personal relationships in their teaching (Wilson, 1962; Biddle, 1966; Adams, 1970 & 1972; Kounin, 1970; Morrison and McIntyre, 1972 & 1973) and who adopt a style of teaching based more on the teacher's thinking about relationships with pupils than that prescribed in role terms.

A relationship is between two or more individuals, not the abstract roles they are representing. The role relationship is only one influence among many which affects the form of an overall relationship. If the role relationship becomes the main constraint on the form of interaction, it can be expressed as a formal relationship, but where knowledge of individuals is the main influence on the form of interaction, we can refer to it as a personal relationship between two or more persons.

The constraints and demands imposed on teachers ensure that change is continual in teaching. It often means that such changes may go beyond the existing interpretation of the role. In those situations where the individual fails to comply with expected role performance, the theory is not able to deal with changes in prescribed conditions. Role theory, as presently formulated, does not concern itself sufficiently with the cognitive or behavioural aspects of non-role relationships, in which teacher-pupil relationships are a significant feature.

A traditional area for research has been the teacher and role he displays when teaching, at the point of contact with pupils. The interaction has been portrayed as a series of role components, such as manager, decision maker, controller or organiser (Wilson, 1962; Joyce and Harootunian, 1964; Perry, 1969; Whitfield, 1972; Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Eggleston, 1979). However, are the conceptions of each of these sub-roles, as used by the researcher, congruent with the teacher's own thoughts about his role? Any incongruity could cast doubt on elaborate schemas presented for the analysis of teaching actions.

The presentation of the teacher in role terms as a manager, organiser and decision maker, suggests that researchers also have different conceptions of the teacher's role (Blyth, 1965; Kounin, 1967; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969; Westwood, 1975; Payne and Hustler, 1980). It implies that there is more than one teacher role, which results in researchers concentrating on one or other of these role interpretations. This approach to the study of teaching does not take sufficient consideration of the teacher's own interpretation of his role, whether wide or narrow. Similarly, it is less successful in accounting for non-role actions undertaken by teachers.

Presenting teachers in role terms, with the teacher as manager, decision maker and organiser, tends to emphasise only part of what he does. Such a representation mainly concerns itself with practical

matters such as: formal control situations; the organisation of the physical classroom and its artifacts; decisions about pupil readiness to learn and curriculum matters. The teacher, in this context, is viewed by researchers in a more prescribed manner, following expected patterns of work activity. This conception is less successful in describing and accounting for teacher thinking and actions concerning relationships, which are wider interpretations than role, and which may take a non-role orientation.

(ii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher as a 'Manager'

We can identify elements and qualities in the teacher's area of influence to which role theory has proposed some explanations of teachers at work. It is possible to substitute for supervision and co-ordination, the concept of management, a manager of people and ideas. Research has attempted to analyse teachers' contact with pupils in these areas (Wilson, 1962; Rosencranz and Biddle, 1964; Kounin, 1967; Richardson, 1967; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969; Ruddock, 1969; Morrison and McIntyre, 1972-73; Shipman, 1975; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979). Interaction has been described and outlined using those sub-role components which supposedly make up a teacher.

Kounin (1970) believes that there are specific managerial skills which become independent of the subject being taught, yet which become significant determinants of classroom behaviour. From his research, Kounin concluded that the successful teacher was one who held the initiative, managed the class, gained and maintained control and knew how to regain control when necessary.

This line of research views the teacher as a manager. Westbury's (1977) definition illustrates this view - "Teaching can in fact be seen as the management of the attention and time of students vis-a-vis the primary educational ends of the classroom."(1)

Walberg (1977) proposes a framework for the management of interaction with pupils, which draws attention to intentions and actions - see Figure 13.

Morrison and McIntyre (1973) present management as a series of actions which encapsulates some of the points raised above. They present a wide-ranging view of management in teaching:-

1. John Westbury, *Conventional Classrooms, 'open' classrooms and the technology of teaching* (1973), p114.

Figure 13. Management of Interaction

1. Teacher perceives class using:
 - (a) current information
 - (b) conscious memory
 - (c) past situationthen decides to act.
2. Pupils perceive the act:
 - (a) produce intention
 - (b) respond with an act
3. Teacher reflects on this act:
 - (a) assimilates pupils' acts
 - (b) may continue or reformulate his next action.

1. Actions of the teacher or school which produce prior organisation of teacher-pupil contact and interactions e.g. groupings, timetabling, rules and rituals.
2. Actions where the teacher's primary purpose or main talk is to establish conditions important for instruction. These are not just academic but social, involving 'commands' or 'requests' to follow procedures and desist from disruptive behaviour.
3. Actions which aim to 'regulate' pupils' social behaviour, though often with instructional aspects, e.g. directing an academic question to an inattentive pupil.
4. Actions which reinforce the authority of the teacher, e.g. refusing requests from pupils or deciding the seating arrangements in the classroom.
5. Actions which are derived from psychological principles or from the teacher's 'common-sense knowledge', e.g. behavioural control, physical punishment or reinforcement methods.
6. Actions which stem from general theories and values concerning teaching, teachers and human relations.

It can be argued that such a view of classroom management is too wide, general and unwieldy. Perhaps management should be reduced to describing the more overt acts, such as managing objects, space and time and a different concept could be introduced to concern itself with the interaction of teacher and pupil.

Management and instruction are so often inextricably linked that it is difficult to clearly differentiate between their components. This is particularly the case with skillful teaching because teacher-pupil understanding may have been built up gradually. In this sense, identifiable

managerial actions may become largely unnecessary, or they become totally subsumed within the complete activity of teaching. Here, the notion of classroom management becomes imprecise and does not assist the evaluation of teacher-pupil interaction.

As a concept, management may be more pertinent in the analysis of inexperienced teachers, where there are 'control' difficulties, in order to achieve and maintain social control, and where there may be more overt evidence of attempts to impose a routine or structure upon activities. The more experienced teacher may proceed through lines of thought and sequences of action in an almost automatic or unconscious manner, making the identification of management techniques obscure.

In the past, good class control was often equated with a mediocre lesson for 'spurious respectability'. Here, domination and quietness were the primary goals and educational content a subsidiary element. Adverse publicity about 'difficult' schools has had an unsettling effect on students (Weaver, 1970; Cleugh, 1971; Wragg, 1973; Jeffreys, 1975; Leach, 1977; Preece, 1979). Furthermore, changes in curriculum design and subject groups, such as mixed ability grouping, require different management techniques from those used in streamed classes. These varied organisational features may be an added source of difficulty for the poor manager (Sorenson, et al., 1963; Kohl, 1970; Kounin, 1970; Scott, 1977).

The term 'management' describes a useful method of enquiry into teaching only at the basic instructional level. It assists in the explanation of procedures, such as informing, explaining and questioning, but is superficial when trying to describe and account for more personal aspects of teacher-pupil interaction.

Additional problems are associated with the role of manager. The term is used at different levels. Research work referring to this

sub-role often leads to confusion (Becker and Greer, 1960; Adams, 1970, 1972; Lortie, 1977). It is used interchangeably to refer to actors, time and objects. Reference is often made to the management of children, both physically and cognitively; of time, the allocation to topics or subjects and objects; and of the furniture and other props in the classroom.

Management is often presented as various actions within classrooms, and as such, it has aroused interest (Kounin, 1970; Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979). It is concerned with practical matters as appertain to the teacher in the context of the classroom. However, the term does not accurately investigate or reflect the cognitions of teachers themselves which teaching as social contact reflects. Management is only one part of teaching but it has been over-elaborated and over-extended to include aspects of teaching which it fails to provide a satisfactory explanation for.

In their analysis and discussion of management, Morrison and McIntyre (1973) use two concepts to illustrate the apparent wide-ranging nature of management and the need to be more specific about the management of interaction with pupils. 'Affiliation' is exemplified by the desire to foster personal relationships (1) and also for physical contact. 'Dominance' is revealed in attempts to control the attitudes, thoughts and behaviour of others, indirectly and/or directly to receive recognition and prestige. 'Affiliation' and 'dominance' are significant concepts because they connect social and professional interaction, which can be identified in the teacher's position.

The teacher is a focal point of tendencies toward 'affiliation' and 'dominance'. In some respects, a teacher can be conceived as being torn between both elements, or at least trying to maintain a discrete and

1. Morrison and McIntyre do not describe this term.

subtle balance in the management of children. One interpretation of management would seem to be eminently personal and social, more in keeping with a personal relationship perspective, the other being objective and temporal.

Management may be cumbersome on two levels. First, being too generalistic, it does not lend itself to research. Second, its professional application is also restricted. This term lacks the degree of specificity needed by teachers and their trainers.

Morrison and McIntyre (1973) discuss 'affiliation' in terms of personal relationships, seeing it as "a means of access to management issues and as a useful basis for professional training."⁽¹⁾ Within the rather nebulous concept of management, personal relationships are believed to be particularly important in the area of 'affiliation', so perhaps some stress should be placed upon the management of personal relationships as distinct from the management of time-tables and curricula.

Management concerns itself with numerous routine actions undertaken everyday by the teacher. These activities may be necessary but rather mechanical, and, on the face of it, not requiring specific skills of instruction, such as clerical duties, distribution of materials and control over allocation of time. They are not instructional per se but may facilitate instruction. Perhaps management is more relevant when discussed in these terms than in dealing with teacher-pupil interaction.

An essential part of teacher work is to routinely deal with varied numbers of pupils, up to thirty per class. However, experienced teachers seem to manage classes in an almost 'taken-for-granted', subconscious manner. They may become aware of difficult situations in class, but, for most of their teaching, conditions for establishing and maintaining order are not immediately apparent. The covert management of pupils is neglected by role theory. Within a teacher's professional

1. Morrison and McIntyre, op. cit., p146.

competence and expertise, they are essential skills for carrying out tasks (Payne, 1976; Denscombe, 1977, 1980; Payne and Hustler, 1980). Management skills are significant because they are not always the product of training colleges. Similarly, ascription of societal authority and power does not ensure skillful managerial techniques.

It is necessary to investigate the routine ways in which teachers handle and control pupils. The 'taken-for-granted' nature of the issue is not easily clarified by expectations of role theory but further research should not be deflected on the grounds of obviousness or triviality. Frequently, classroom daily life is not easy to describe or explain, it often requires going beyond role presentation.

Classroom management has provided a useful starting point for the investigation of teacher-pupil interaction. However, it has been less successful in accounting for teachers' thoughts about their relationships with pupils, an area which lies somewhat outside the role interpretation of management.

(iii) Difficulties in presenting the teacher
as a 'Decision Maker'

The sub-role of a teacher, presented as a decision maker, can be considered as complementary to teacher-pupil relationships (Yinger, 1977; Walberg, 1977; Eggleston, 1979; Shavelson and Stern, 1981, Elbaz, 1983). A theme in both interpretations views the teacher in contact and interacting with pupils. They can be complementary in the sense that teacher decision making may be a prelude to the forming of relationships. The factors used to arrive at a decision, together with the salience attached to them, represent important aspects of teaching (Clark and Joyce, 1975; Clark and Peterson, 1976).

When teachers are viewed in a decision making role, they are seen as active agents in the classroom setting. A decision making role model is useful because it identifies some significant types of information that might influence teachers, such as the nature of educational beliefs and the nature of instructional tasks and educational goals. In this sense, the model offers a broader perspective of the teacher-learning process than more traditional role approaches.

McDonald (1965) identified decision making as a skill. He presents a model of teaching as a decision making process. This is a more dynamic interpretation, as it proposes a process of making plans to meet the contingencies of a situation together with their implementation, evaluation and possible revision. It has advantages over conventional role theory because it emphasises the alteration of teacher behaviour and pays increased attention to teachers' beliefs, thoughts and intellectual processes related to teaching behaviour. Furthermore, it provides teachers with opportunities to formulate their own teaching in terms of the patterns of rules they incorporate.

The decision making role model focuses attention on the differences between teachers in terms of choice of methods, materials and reactions to groups of pupils (Clark and Joyce, 1975; Denscombe, 1980; Payne and Hustler, 1980). In emphasising the importance of considering individual differences in teachers, the model alludes to optimal methods to make instructional and managerial decisions.

Identifying teaching skills which involve decision rules may not have general applicability or behavioural implications. Rather, such decision rules may indicate ways of categorising common teaching situations. (Perry, 1969). In this way, a series of decision rules may be used in deciding a course of action. This requires teacher trainers to be aware of both teaching skills and decision making processes in the classroom.

Essentially, the representation of teachers as decision makers tends to concentrate on decisions concerning learning tasks, learning artefacts, learning time and learning readiness. However, this model in its present formulation is not used to analyse decisions connected with teacher-pupil interaction (Shulman and Elstein, 1975; Visonhaler et al., 1977; Walberg, 1977; Yinger, 1977).

In particular, teacher-pupil relationships are a significant gap in role theory. Personal relationships are an important element during interaction but, as presently constituted, decision making role theory has not considered salient features of relationships, such as teachers' decisions dealing with establishment of relationships; decisions concerning nature of relationships and decisions concerning amount of reciprocity, disclosure and openness which is to be accepted. Nor does role theory describe the content of relationships or consequences which teachers derive from them.

(iv) Theoretical and practical problems in the use of role to study teacher-pupil relationships

One area of difficulty concerns the concept of role itself. Deficiencies have been encountered in analysing the operational use of the term, and even the theoretical formulations contain ambiguities and problematic variables (Sorenson et al., 1963; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969; Ruddock, 1969; Taylor, 1979).

As disagreements emerged over role definitions, it was realised that far from being a scarce and rare event, their occurrence was sufficiently frequent to encourage a re-evaluation of their use in sociology and psychology (Sorenson et al., 1963; Rosencranz and Biddle, 1964; Ruddock, 1969; Kelsall, 1968; Shavelson, 1973; Shipman, 1975).

A difficulty derives from use of the term 'role' as a common-sense figure of speech. Newcomb (1967) believes the term should be used in respect of a "limited set of behaviours tied together by a common understanding of the functions of a position."⁽¹⁾ The implications of this definition seem to exclude the diffuse nature and evaluations of teaching presented by past research and indicated by teacher thinking (Biddle and Thomas, 1964; Ruddock, 1969; Gibson, 1970; Adams, 1972; Morine and Vallance, 1975; Clark and Yinger, 1977; Yinger, 1977; Shavelson and Stern, 1981, Yonemura, 1982).

Problems of role theory can be discussed in terms of: difficulties in restricting teaching to a single role; immediacy of role change in a teaching context; different expectations of role; difficulties deriving from role clarity, role conflict and role ambiguity; importance of individual differences and thinking by teachers where non-role relationships and actions are involved.

1. T.M. Newcomb, Social Psychological theory: integrating individual and social approaches (1967) in Hollander and Hunt (eds) Current Perspectives in Social Psychology.

Teaching is not one role but many. Studies have frequently attempted to identify teacher roles and sub-roles representing tasks which teachers perform. Sorenson et al. (1963) propose six main sub-roles:-

- Adviser - recommending
- Counsellor - moral guidance about self
- Disciplinarian - clarifying rules, administering punishment
- Information-giver - directing learning
- Motivator - stimulating activity
- Referrer - help from outside sources

Similarly, Blyth (1965) using primary school teachers, suggests a further six:-

- Instructor
- Parent-substitute
- Organiser
- Value-bearer
- Classifier
- Welfare worker

Westood (1967) and Havighurst and Neugarten (1967) identified at least three sub-components of the teacher's role:-

- Mediator of learning
- Disciplinarian
- Parent substitute

Despite the wide-ranging nature of these lists, they do not encompass all teachers or all actions which teachers carry out. Certain non-role behaviours are omitted, such as using personal relationships.

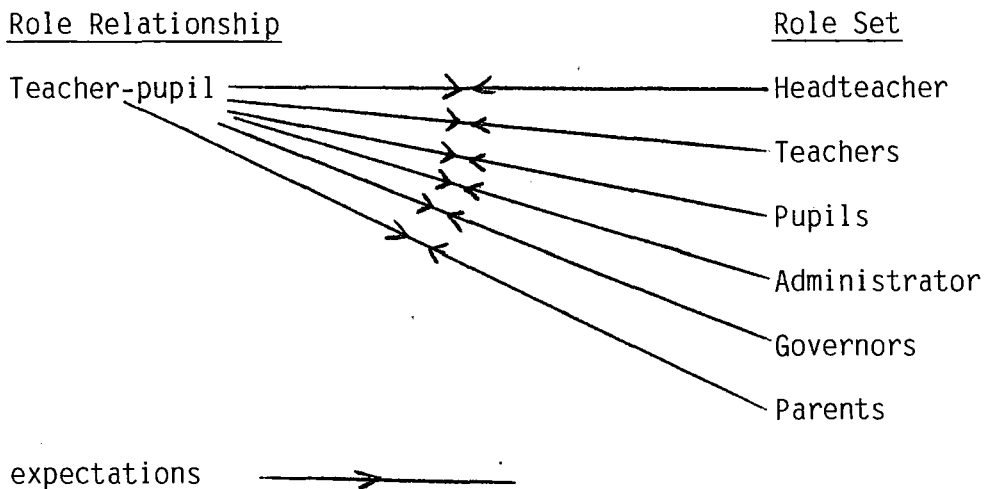
An individual not only plays many parts in his life, he changes from moment to moment. This particularly applies to a teacher where, in a short space of time, he can be involved in:-

- (a) a talking activity
- (b) a disciplining activity
- (c) a joking activity
- (d) an organising activity

Lortie (1977) proposes that a teacher may be playing many roles simultaneously when following a set curricula. In these terms, the conception of the teacher as a classroom manager is only partly correct.

A teacher's thoughts and behaviour are also dependent upon the social and organisational framework within which he works. In particular, the formal and informal relationships he has with headteacher, colleagues, pupils and parents. These people feature in his work and can influence his thinking about the teaching role and what it should entail. This social and organisational framework can be presented as:

Figure 14. Role Relationships



A teacher's role is linked to other role positions, each with an expectation of his behaviour. It seems likely that the teacher will face conflicting elements and be unable to satisfy all expectations. In this situation, role strain or role conflict may occur (Turner, 1962; Sorenson, 1963; Hargreaves, 1972).

Role strain may arise when there is lack of consensus over expectations of a role. Teachers exhibit a variety of opinions and thoughts about their role, particularly the nature of the relationship between teacher and pupil. The terms 'traditional' and 'progressive' can be attached to this aspect of role (Morrison and McIntyre, 1972- 1973).

The teacher can be considered to be part of a role set involving teacher, pupil, parent, colleague, headteacher and bureaucratic superior. All of these sub-components of the role set have some rights in connection with the teacher. When research has been carried out into role expectations, it has revealed that actors are often confronted with both conflicting expectations and solutions for action (Hargreaves, 1972; Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Lortie, 1977; Rogers, 1982).

Conflict may occur between:-

1. Expectations of different individuals and organisations performing roles in relation to the actor.
2. Expectations of one or more actors and his own role conception.
3. Differences between different parts of the actor's own role definition:-
 - (a) teacher likes praise and learning
 - (b) teacher dislikes cane

Role strain can also arise when the expectations are vague and unclear. Lack of role clarity is particularly relevant to teaching because many of the expectations are so general and non-specific; "it is often unclear which expectations should apply in a given situation and which expectations should be given priority."⁽¹⁾

¹. Hargreaves, op. cit., p78.

Role behaviour can refer to what people actually do. It can also refer to what people are expected to do. A role can be regarded as something observable, yet the seen event often needs to be interpreted. Alternatively, 'role expectations' may constitute a set of ideas in an individual's mind and how he thinks about them.

One type of role strain has its origins in the personal qualities of the individual and relates to the conflict between self and the role. It is believed that role contributes to one's self-image to the extent that it is important to maintain congruence between self and role. In this context, a teacher's thinking about his role and his reactions to it are important (Jones and Davis, 1965; Clark and Peterson, 1976; Janesick, 1977).

Role performance and behaviour which does not fit a role interpretation, such as non-role relationships, may be more influenced by the way people think about themselves. The concept or image of a teacher's role may depend upon the degree of self-confidence a person possesses. Studies have investigated whether individuals with a positive and strong self-concept may be more flexible and so be able to function more competently during times of role convergence and stress; so as not to produce role conflict (Hart, 1934; Bousfield, 1940; Witty, 1947; Ryans, 1961; Coombs, 1965; Burns, 1976). A negative self-image is described in terms of rigidity and inflexibility in teaching style, producing problems in making immediate decisions, together with a lack of organisational-management skills.

Another area of concern is the theoretical underpinning of role theory caused by 'role ambiguity'. Role ambiguity is conceived of as a function of discrepancies between the information available to a position occupant and that necessary for the adequate performance of that role (Kahn, 1966). Efficiency of goal directed behaviour is based on

the predictability of future events. However, in teaching, the teacher may have only limited control over future outcomes.

Role performances of people are different. Two teachers, in the same subject, with similar qualifications, with classes of the same age, background and ability, in the same school, create different role performances (Hargreaves, 1972). It would seem that role theory is valuable to distinguish differences between disparate role positions but less successful in distinguishing different performances of the same role.

There seem to be relatively few things in which there is agreement for what the actor must or must not do. Rather, there are more occasions when there is a generalised prescription for 'preferred' behaviour, or even none at all. Many teachers deviate from preferred behaviour and include their own 'extras' drawn from their thinking, often wider than what the role requires: joking, caring and personal relationships.

Role performance is not simply a matter of interpretation. Roles are not as direct as that. An actor must perceive and integrate them into a framework which might be called his conception of the role, which can then become an important influence on his role performance. Therefore the guidelines of a role are superficial requiring more than interpretation, but also by necessity, improvisation and construction.

Just because individuals perform many roles, it does not mean a person is merely a composite of roles, or that behaviour is role determined. The minutiae of behaviour encompassed by an individual cannot be prescribed by role theory in this way. Indeed, most of our interactions are not in terms of roles, we treat people as individuals. Those we do not know, where the interaction is short, can be called a role relationship. Others with whom we interact regularly may be called more of a

personal relationship. Frequently, these two perspectives clash. Some occupational roles prefer detachment from people in the belief that personal involvement inhibits the role performance.

In this context, teachers find themselves in a dilemma. Hargreaves (1972), proposes "that the more we interact with another person, the less our relationship can be executed or analysed in role terms."⁽¹⁾ The longer and more often teachers interact with their pupils, the more personal relationships become less amenable to role analysis. In this respect, Goffman (1961), has directed attention to the apparent disparity between 'role obligation' and 'actual' role performance.

The concept of role has been useful in the analysis of the preliminary stages of human interaction but it is not adequate to deal with the dynamic aspects which occur within interaction and specific non-role behaviours. During interaction, the specific behaviours which are exhibited would seem to be less influenced by role performance expectations.

Interaction analysis using role theory takes a 'scientific' approach to classroom behaviour in which teachers and pupils are treated as objects but which takes little account of the meanings which both give to their interaction. We need to be aware of the overall teacher-pupil relationship as it is experienced by the teacher because relationships may not only influence meaning within an interaction but the whole conduct of the interaction; an influence not immediately obvious to us or identifiable by the traditional methods of role theory.

Role theory faces difficulties on a number of levels in the analysis of teaching actions and beliefs. First, there are inherent problems in the theoretical formulations as they apply to teaching concerning role

1. Hargreaves (1972), p98.

definition. Second, the sub-roles used such as manager, controller and decision maker are not totally suitable to evaluate and describe teacher-pupil relationships, particularly teacher thinking about them. Third, role theory does not contribute to the current debate about the movement toward a skills approach and enhanced techniques required in the practice of teaching (Denscombe, 1977; McNamara and Desforjes, 1978; Desforjes and McNamara, 1979). The roles proposed for the teacher are at present muddled with no clear picture for either students in training or inexperienced teachers.

Chapter 7. Methods

- (i) Introduction
- (ii) Interview considerations
- (iii) Subjects
- (iv) Interview schedule
- (v) Procedure
- (vi) Analysis

(i) Introduction

Earlier chapters have pointed to the importance of relationships in teacher-pupil interaction and those areas of teaching in which personal relationships are believed to make a successful contribution, for example notions of the 'good' teacher, teacher control and teacher effectiveness. However, despite claims for their influence within teaching, there are still gaps in our knowledge of relationships.

The meaning of the term is not clear. It is confused with other concepts, notably interaction. Relationships in teaching can be a composite of role and personal elements. Little is known about teacher interpretations: do teachers think relationships are a significant element in their work? What does a relationship mean to teachers? What benefits accrue from using relationships? How are relationships established by teachers?

This study attempts to obtain information about teachers' thinking regarding their work and interaction with pupils; in particular, to enquire into teachers' thoughts about the term 'relationships'. This has been undertaken by using an interview technique with practising teachers of varying ages, experience and subject expertise. To gain insights into the 'real' teaching world, it is important that thinking is rendered in the words of teachers themselves. In this way, commentaries may reveal issues considered important by teachers.

Harre and Secord (1972) in their methodological appraisal of the social sciences, believe that increased accuracy and improved descriptions of social behaviour can be derived by simply asking people involved in the acts. Their argument is espoused in the 'open souls doctrine'. At its core is the belief that people should be treated as conscious, reflective human beings and therefore acceptance of their commentaries upon their actions as relevant though refinable reports of phenomena.

Essentially, the very nature of social behaviour is bound up in language. Indeed, much behaviour is linguistically mediated and thus not directly observable. Therefore, a person's use of ordinary language in accounting, explaining and describing his own actions and thoughts, whether after the event or in preparation, should be considered an acceptable element. Furthermore, studies deriving data couched in ordinary language terms are open to analysis by means of coding systems. As such, these coded materials can be used in conjunction with conventional statistics. To make the most of ordinary language evaluation of teachers in classroom contexts, communication must be established which utilises ideas, phrases and concepts which they can identify with, in the sense that they comprise an essential component of teacher thinking about their tasks. Rather than provide the participants with the researchers' own words and trait terms, together with a numerical scale, it is important to obtain knowledge about how people conceive of themselves, others, issues and situations in terms of ordinary language.

From a research perspective, strategies used by teachers take on a pattern and degree of coherence which enables them to be conceptualised and operationalised. They can be considered not as isolated gambits but definite packages of actions based on individual intentions, beliefs and attitudes. The kind of analysis undertaken in this study required open-ended, detailed data in which categories and findings emerged from reflections of how teachers saw their world.

In this study, the teacher was viewed as an autonomous agent whose role can be shaped by classroom experience. The aim was to identify salient classroom knowledge held and used by teachers, with particular reference to their experiential knowledge of teacher-pupil relationships. Essentially, it makes teachers an important element in the process of research, rather than merely a passive observer and consumer of research.

However, research should go beyond the collection of teacher accounts. It requires the development of ways to categorise data which reflects the categories of teachers. Teachers' conceptions are important for classroom research and future change because:-

- (i) The interaction of teachers and pupils is a process in which both impose their own perception of people and events creating their own personal view.
- (ii) Teaching is practical and therefore rests on general beliefs about tasks and relationships.
- (iii) Interaction is mainly symbolic through the use of language. In this way, rule-making and negotiation structure relations.

An interview approach was chosen because teacher conceptions of relationships were required in their own words, the kind of responses which would not lend themselves to a questionnaire format. In this context, the quality of response was also an important element. Descriptions of relationships, the meaning for teachers and establishment of relationships lend themselves to the spoken word in an interview situation, where the interviewer can follow-up salient issues. Interviews were taped to eliminate the need for note taking and increase the accuracy of responses. In addition, the tone and intensity of respondents were recorded.

Two pilot studies were used to assess whether questions on the interview schedule received relevant answers. These indicated that subjects understood the questions and were able to give answers based on their thinking about issues and experiences in teaching. After both pilot studies, the interview schedule was altered in the light of the kind of responses obtained. The third and final version of the interview schedule was then used for fifty subjects.

The taped interviews were transcribed verbatim in terms of responses to questions. These responses were then studied to assess whether categories could be identified using the actual phrasing of respondents. Finally, categories, sub-categories and detailed groups were allocated a computer code for further analysis (see Appendix iii).

(ii) Interview Considerations

An interview inquiring into the thoughts of another person is perhaps more complex than observed and observer. It could be described as involving an observer and a person responding to an observer. Any responses can result from behaviour of the interviewer and characteristics of the interviewee. It is conceivable that relatively small changes in the behaviour of an interviewer could produce pronounced changes in the interviewee.

A number of pertinent issues have bearing on the interview situation. However, there are few clear-cut explanations about interview phenomena. For example, why should a respondent consent to be interviewed? What does he get out of it? Teachers may have participated in this study because they were colleagues of the interviewer; because of a friendship between the interviewer and themselves or because they were being given the opportunity to present views and opinions about their work. Those teachers who took part were not 'close' friends of the interviewer.

To what extent does a subject automatically try to conform to what he thinks the interviewer wants to hear? Studies have pointed to the way interviewers influence their subjects in covert and powerful ways, such as the 'social desirability variable'. This suggests that much of what the interviewee says may be strongly influenced by his conception of the social desirability of saying it (Edwards, 1953; Merton et al., 1956); Richardson et al., 1965; Gordon, 1969). If this is the case, should the interviewer try to minimise interaction with subjects?

Some participants may be anxious about putting their thoughts on 'record'. For some, the interview may be a potentially stressful situation. In this study, subjects volunteered so they were aware of the

position they would be placed in. They would have avoided the study if conditions were thought to be too stressful. However, it was necessary to reduce anxiety over ability to give answers by ensuring confidentiality and avoidance of technical questions.

In this study, the exact nature of questions was not revealed to respondents, only that their general attitudes about teaching were being sought. The first half of the interview schedule contained questions which required descriptions of classes, days and advice, without giving clues to the nature of the study concerning relationships. The phrasing of questions hopefully gave respondents no awareness of the interviews' real interest, so reducing any influences on responses.

How well equipped are respondents to answer set questions, taking into account memory and understanding of what the questions call for? In situations such as interviews, where aural understanding is essential, it is important for questions to be phrased in everyday language which the respondent is familiar with. In this way, the interviewee may be in a better position to answer with confidence, without the need to waffle or make up information. The variability of respondents in articulating their thoughts, their memory, their interest in the study and what they get out of being interviewed are all part of the interviewing process. In a sense, each interview is a micro study in itself.

A weakness of the interview is interviewer bias, which may stem from the aim of being flexible during its course. If the interviewer's approach is too variable he is likely to complicate the interpretation of results or even project his own personality into the situation via intonation, emphasis, gestures, facial expression and various subtle cues, so influencing responses. Research has shown that interviewers tend to obtain data agreeing with their personal convictions (Hanson and Marks, 1958; Lenski and Leggett, 1960; Williams, 1965; Fowler, 1967;

Cosper, 1972). Unless the interviewer can portray a uniform pattern of behaviour and method, numerous additional variables will be introduced.

What should be the extent of rigidity or flexibility within the interview situation? Should the interviewer use standard wording for all questions so that every respondent receives the same stimulus, so reducing differences connected to the interviewer? Implicit in this approach is that beliefs of respondents will be inferred to be a product of their different attitudes if all other factors are held constant.

A specific issue is the choice between fixed-alternative questions and open or open-ended questions, such as "What do you like about...?" or "What do you think about ...?" As used in this study, such questions may be more difficult to analyse. However, they constitute a useful device enabling the researcher to learn things he did not anticipate in fixed questions. The choice may not be as stark as whether to have one type of question or another, but what proportion of each type to include.

Denzin (1970) discusses three approaches to interviewing: 'Standardized', 'Semi-standardized' and 'Unstandardized'. The decision of which approach to use can depend on justification and discovery. The 'unstandardized' approach gives the interviewer maximum flexibility to follow up ideas. The 'standardized' approach aids uniform responses, which allow easier analysis. The 'semi-standardized' interview ideally attempts to achieve the best of the other two. It can involve the interviewer having a number of specific questions to ask, but in addition, allows freedom to follow up ideas which he thinks are important. Follow-up questions can be used either during or after the interview. This latter approach was used in this study because of the potential wide-ranging nature of responses to open-ended questions. Additional prompts were used to clarify issues.

Despite problems in carrying out interviews, they permit subjects to give answers couched in their own words and phrases. Recording them on tape enables all the responses to be recorded and the interviewer can pay full attention to the answers before deciding to continue or clarify specific points.

(iii) Subjects

A group of respondents for both pilot studies and the main body of research were obtained from two comprehensive schools. Teachers from secondary schools (pupils aged 11-18 years) were chosen as research has been predominantly concerned with secondary education.

Schools A and B are under the same education authority, so major differences concerning educational policy affecting the subjects did not emerge. The schools, nevertheless, exhibited differences in catchment area, organisation and perhaps ethos. (See Appendix i for a more detailed account of each school).

The method in which subjects were approached and selected needed to ensure that they did not know the full extent of the research orientation. In order that they should not be unduly influenced, subjects were unaware that conceptualisation of relationships was at the heart of the study.

First, access to both schools was obtained by writing to the head teachers explaining that a research project was being undertaken into teacher attitudes but no reference was made to the term 'relationships'. It was made clear that both schools would remain anonymous in the reporting of results, as would the identity of individual subjects.

Second, a teaching colleague from school B and myself in school A enquired whether teaching staff would participate in research into teachers' attitudes and views. A preliminary list of willing participants was compiled, ranked in chronological order. Those who did agree, did so at various times over a period of three weeks. Again, no reference was made to the term 'relationships', merely that general views were needed without complicated or technical jargon being involved.

Both myself and the colleague who assisted me were thirty-two years of age when the study was carried out. We had taught Geography and History respectively for eight years. I carried out recruitment in school A and my female assistant did the same in school B. We were acquainted with a wide range of teachers, because we were not too far removed from those who were young and inexperienced and those who were older and more experienced. In this manner, initial lists of subjects were drawn up for both schools; approximately ten in school A and fifteen in school B.

To conduct Pilot Study 1, the first five names on the lists were selected (three from school A and two from school B). The next ten subjects in order of appearance on the lists (five from school A and five from school B) were used for Pilot Study 2.

It was decided that twenty-five subjects from each school should be used for the main body of research. This necessitated further recruitment of participating teachers, which was undertaken in the same manner as above. A staffroom display of the research outline and lists of potential teacher interviewees was rejected, on the grounds that it may have tempted teachers to enquire the true nature of the study from those already interviewed. Over-subscription occurred and three subjects from school B, last on the list, were interviewed but omitted from the results of the study.

The selection of twenty-five subjects from each school represented approximately a third of teaching staff from school A and a quarter of teaching staff from school B. These subjects provided a good coverage of:-

- (a) Subject expertise
- (b) Teaching experience
- (c) Sex of teacher
- (d) Age of teacher

These variables could be important. They may be responsible for differences in teachers' attitudes and thoughts. For example, female teachers may be more inclined towards relationships with pupils than males (Turner, 1962); young teachers may differ in their answers from older staff.

Inclusion in the study occurred principally from teachers volunteering, depending on their random positions in compiled lists of participants. Teachers who did participate fairly accurately represented teaching staff in both schools in terms of experience and subjects taught.

In this respect:-

1. Major subjects on the curriculum were represented.
2. There was no disproportionate difference between male and female teachers; there was a similar distribution of male and female teachers on the staffs of both schools.

(See Table 1 page 153 for details of respondents).

Table 1: Details of Respondents

<u>Number</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Experience</u>
(1)	Male	27 years	English	A	4 years Code 2
(2)	Male	31 years	Biology	A	7 years Code 3
(3)	Female	34 years	Languages (H.O.D.)	A	10 years Code 3
(4)	Male	28 years	Languages	A	4 years Code 2
(5)	Female	30 years	Languages	B	8 years Code 3
(6)	Male	34 years	Chemistry	B	12 years Code 4
(7)	Male	25 years	Geography	B	4 years Code 2
(8)	Male	34 years	History	B	12 years Code 4
(9)	Female	33 years	English	B	8 years Code 3
(10)	Female	35 years	Mathematics	B	10 years Code 3
(11)	Female	33 years	Remedial	B	10 years Code 3
(12)	Female	22 years	Remedial	B	1 year Code 1
(13)	Female	35 years	Remedial	B	1 year Code 1
(14)	Male	35 years	Mathematics	B	13 years Code 4
(15)	Male	45 years	History (H.O.D.)	B	24 years Code 5
(16)	Female	25 years	Languages	B	4 years Code 2
(17)	Female	24 years	Chemistry	B	3 years Code 2
(18)	Male	24 years	Humanities	B	2 years Code 1
(19)	Male	40 years	Physics	A	5 years Code 2
(20)	Female	35 years	Biology	A	3 years Code 2
(21)	Male	31 years	Geography	B	8 years Code 3
(22)	Male	30 years	Art	A	7 years Code 3
(23)	Female	25 years	Religious Education	B	3 years Code 2
(24)	Female	35 years	Remedial	B	15 years Code 4
(25)	Male	23 years	Geography	B	1 year Code 1

Table 1 (continued)

<u>Number</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Experience</u>
(26)	Female	32 years	English	B	10 years Code 3
(27)	Male	40 years	Chemistry	B	5 years Code 2
(28)	Female	25 years	Art	A	3 years Code 2
(29)	Male	25 years	Tech. Graphics	A	2 years Code 1
(30)	Male	35 years	Geography (H.O.D.)	A	12 years Code 4
(31)	Female	25 years	Music	B	4 years Code 2
(32)	Male	34 years	Chemistry	A	11 years Code 4
(33)	Male	33 years	Mathematics	B	5 years Code 2
(34)	Male	32 years	Art	A	10 years Code 3
(35)	Female	33 years	English	B	12 years Code 4
(36)	Male	27 years	History	A	3 years Code 2
(37)	Male	28 years	Tech. Graphics	A	4 years Code 2
(38)	Female	27 years	Biology	A	4 years Code 2
(39)	Male	27 years	English	A	5 years Code 2
(40)	Male	27 years	History	A	5 years Code 2
(41)	Female	24 years	English	A	1½ years Code 1
(42)	Male	25 years	Mathematics	A	2 years Code 1
(43)	Female	34 years	Biology	B	10 years Code 3
(44)	Male	30 years	English	A	7 years Code 3
(45)	Male	32 years	Mathematics	A	8 years Code 3
(46)	Female	26 years	Geography	A	4 years Code 2
(47)	Male	28 years	Biology	B	7 years Code 3
(48)	Male	27 years	English	A	5 years Code 2
(49)	Male	32 years	Biology	A	9 years Code 3
(50)	Male	35 years	Biology	A	12 years Code 4

H.O.D. = Head of Department

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents between Schools and Teaching Subjects

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
School A	19	6	25
School B	10	15	25
<u>Teaching Subjects</u>			<u>No. of Respondents</u>
English (Language)			8
Modern Languages			4
Science (Biology, Chemistry and Physics)			12
Humanities (Geography, History and Religious Education)			11
Mathematics			5
Remedial			4
Art			3
Technology			2
Music			1
			<u>50</u>

(iv) Interview Schedule

Questions thought suitable for the interview schedule had emerged from the initial review of educational literature concerning relationships in teaching and issues surrounding taped interviews. Essentially, the aim was to make questions open-ended in order to assess spontaneous salience without undue influence, and discover what teachers' attitudes and thoughts were.

In the final version of the interview schedule, (see 'Third Revision of Questions' page 160) the first six questions were deliberately broad to reduce the chances of influencing salience.

Two earlier versions of the interview schedule were tested before reaching the final draft. The first version (see page 158) differed in the overall structure and positioning of the questions, particularly Question seven a.b.c.

The earlier versions were different in two ways. First, the question regarding subjects' thoughts on personal relationships occurred much earlier than in the final schedule, coming as it did immediately after questions concerning 'good' and 'bad' classes. Initially, it was thought sufficient to give subjects two questions where they could use the term 'relationships', before being specifically asked about it. However, after the first pilot study and discussion of results, respondents (five subjects in Pilot Study 1) claimed they used relationships in teaching almost in an unconscious manner. With this point in mind, subjects were given more opportunities to use the term as a spontaneous manifestation of their thoughts. This was achieved by rearranging the question order. Two more questions were added to the introduction, which made no mention of relationships. These additional questions were suitable because they were broad; they provided further occasions for respondents to use the term 'relationships' spontaneously.

Second, Question seven in the first pilot, dealing with 'control', 'making things clear' and 'caring' in a relationship, was moved to Question nine in the second. This new position was thought to be more appropriate, as the question required specific answers. It was more precise about relationships than others and, being positioned at the end of a sequence about the nature of relationships in teaching, anticipated that respondents would have a sharper image of the term and be able to answer with increased clarity.

Between the 'Second Revision of Questions' in Pilot Study 2 and the 'Third Revision of Questions' in the main body of research, there were two changes in the interview schedule. The first concerned inclusion of two additional questions. They did not imply a fundamental shift in the quality and type of responses being sought, but were merely a further extension of the belief expressed earlier, that teachers often use relationships or a similar style of teaching in a sub-conscious manner.

These two additional questions:-

Ques. 3. "Sometimes we have good or bad days in our job.

What would be examples of these for you?"

Ques. 4. "What gives you most satisfaction in your teaching?"

allowed the respondents to discuss their role within an interactive sequence which could be viewed in relational terms. This type of question illustrates how teachers define their situation.

First draft of interview schedule

1. Think of a class you consider 'good' in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it.
2. Think of a class you dislike in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it.
3. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?
4. What would be examples of a relationship?
5. How would you go about establishing a relationship?
6. Should a teacher attempt to form a relationship?
If so, why is it important to do so?
7. a) What do you think about control in a relationship?
b. What do you think about 'making things clear' in a relationship?
c) What do you think about caring in a relationship?
8. a. When meeting a class for the first time, are there any special things you do?
b. What is uppermost in your mind when you meet this class for the first time?
9. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary or student-teacher, what would you stress as being important?
10. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship?
Are there any disadvantages or problems?
11. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would subscribe to, or would you expect major differences of opinion?

Second draft of interview schedule

1. Think of a class you consider 'good' in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it.
2. Think of a class you consider bad or dislike in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it.
3. When meeting a class for the first time, are there any special things you do? What is uppermost in your mind when you meet this class for the first time?
4. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary or student-teacher about teaching, what would you stress as being important?
5. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?
6. What would be examples of a relationship?
7. How do you go about establishing a relationship?
8. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship?
Are there any disadvantages or problems?
9. What do you think about control in a relationship?
What do you think about 'making things clear' in a relationship?
What do you think about caring in a relationship?
10. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would agree to, or would you expect major differences of opinion?

Third and final version of interview schedule

1. Think of a class you consider 'good' in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind.
2. Think of a class you consider bad or dislike in some way:
Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind.
3. Sometimes we have good or bad days in our job.
What would be examples of these for you?
4. What gives you most satisfaction in your teaching?
5. When meeting a class for the first time are there any special things you do? What is uppermost in your mind when you meet this class for the first time?
6. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary teacher or student-teacher about teaching, what would you stress as being important?
7. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?
8. What would be examples of a good relationship for you?
9. How do you go about establishing a relationship?
10. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship?
Are there any disadvantages or problems?
11. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would agree to, or, would you expect major differences of opinion?

A second change involved the total deletion of Question seven a.b.c. Originally, the question had been included because the three areas: 'control', 'making things clear' and 'caring', were considered to be at the heart of relationships in teaching in research by Downie et al., 1972 and Hinde, 1979. Each was seen as an essential component in the establishment and exercise of relationships. This notion of their importance was not fundamentally incorrect, but the responses were not significantly enlightening in each of the areas. Two issues complicated the situation: lack of respondents' thoughts and views about each of the areas; repetition of previously raised information.

When the second pilot version was tested responses to Question nine were along the lines of "oh yes it is important", an implied assumption that these areas were important because they were being inquired about. It was not feasible to place the question before number five because it referred to relationships; deleting the term 'relationships' would have created uncertainty about the applicability of any responses to a relationship approach.

Fortunately, the problem was partially resolved. It was discovered that many respondents used similar phrases and ideas as expressed in Question nine, but in response to Question seven and eight, particularly Question seven. Indeed, the points used in Question nine were raised by subjects in a voluntary way without specifically being asked. For this reason the question was deleted.

The final version was basically an interview of two parts. In the first half, questions were a balanced mix of general unstructured questions which permitted subjects to express their thoughts while, at the same time, providing specific information on likes, dislikes and contact issues e.g. do they use the term 'relationships' in a voluntary way to describe these thoughts? Answers portrayed an image of how teachers defined their teaching situation, particularly their contact with children.

'Funnel-type' questions were utilised in this study. Using this technique, the interviewer may start with broad, general questions leading to increasingly specific ones. According to Kahn and Cannell (1957) this method generates information useful in determining the respondent's frame of reference and prevents earlier questions from preconditioning or biasing later responses. Questions in this type of sequence start as open-ended and conclude with 'closed' or 'fixed-alternative' items.

From Question seven onwards, the aim was to discover subjects' attitudes and views about the main issue: To what extent were relationships used by teachers? How were relationships formed and what were the results of using them?

All questions in the final version of the interview schedule (see page 160) were uncomplicated and permitted respondents to answer in a cogent and relevant manner. In this sense, although the questions were to a large degree open-ended, subjects tended to focus upon clear and delimiting features, making their identification easier than anticipated. At the outset, the problem of respondents wandering from the crux of the question was considered. However, this rarely occurred.

(v) Procedure

A list of teachers was compiled and subjects were contacted to arrange interviews. All subjects except two were interviewed at their place of work. The others were interviewed at home.

To obtain natural answers it was decided to collect data by interview. Interviews were tape-recorded to eliminate note taking and permit respondents to talk fluently.

When data is collected using an interview technique, it permits reduction, if not the elimination, of a major questionnaire limitation, namely lack of response due to the subject's inability to understand questions. Through an interview, the respondent's level of understanding can be assessed and, if necessary, explanations can be provided.

In many contexts, the interview is often superior to other data-gathering devices. One obvious reason is that people are usually more willing to talk than write. If an interviewer is able to gain a rapport, gaining the interviewee's confidence, certain types of confidential information may be obtained where there may be a reluctance to put it in writing.

Butcher, Fritz and Quanrantelli (1956) contend that tape-recording does not increase respondent resistance or significantly affect interview data. Indeed, tape-recording permits the interviewer to give his full attention to respondents. A second advantage is that complete recordings of replies are made, thus eliminating bias due to the interviewer's conscious or unconscious selection of what to record.

Taped interviews are convenient, inexpensive and obviate the necessity to write, which may distract interviewer and subjects. Interviews on tape can be replayed as often as necessary for complete and objective analysis at a later time. Voice tones and emotional responses are preserved by tape, although this kind of detail was not used in this study.

From past studies (Rice, Shapiro and Eberhart, 1962) there is evidence of 'interviewer effects' operating on data collection. To reduce this problem, an attempt was made to standardise the interviewer's impact on subjects by following a routine or set of procedures. In this study one person conducted all the interviews in both schools in order to eliminate any potential differences caused by a change in interviewer.

1. At first meeting

It was important to reduce any anxiety and avoid situations which were threatening or embarrassing. Anxiety was reduced by ensuring confidentiality and stressing avoidance of technical jargon.

- (a) The contact point was usually the staff room of the school.
- (b) Subjects were thanked for participating in the study.
- (c) Anonymity was assured regarding their responses; subjects were recorded as a number code.
- (d) Subjects were asked to choose the place of interview. They invariably chose their own classroom. Similarly, they sat at their desks. This ensured that subjects were in familiar, even 'strong' settings and would therefore not feel uncomfortable or at a disadvantage.

2. The interview

- (a) Subjects were informed that the questions involved everyday language and excluded any abstract or technical jargon.
- (b) Subjects were told that their responses were important as practising teachers and of potential value to future teacher training. This was an attempt to encourage

subjects to make comments which they believed and thought about as part of their own teaching approach, and which would be more reliable and valid.

- (c) Subjects were given the microphone so that they controlled the speed and pace of their responses. This was to prevent them from feeling rushed into answering.
- (d) They could stop the interview at any point. This was done to prevent subjects from feeling threatened or pressurised into answering immediately or under duress. However, most respondents answered with a high degree of fluency and did not stop recording. During interviews, only two subjects stopped to play back answers before continuing.
- (e) During the interview, the interviewer tried not to interrupt and made a conscious effort to give positive reinforcement to responses by giving verbal cues, such as "yes", "I see", "I understand" and "good". As much as possible, negative indications were not transmitted verbally to subjects.

3. End of interview

- (a) At the end of interviews, subjects were asked if they wished to hear the tape played back in full or in part. Three respondents requested specific sections.
- (b) It was made clear that they could hear the recorded tape or make a copy of it.
- (c) The participants were requested not to discuss the nature of the questions they had been asked or specific points with their colleagues, on the grounds that it could influence or distort future interview data.

On average, the interviews took between twenty and twenty-five minutes to complete.

Teachers who participated in this study appeared to give the questions careful consideration and tried to give clear accounts of their thoughts about issues within the context of practical teaching. They attached importance to being asked about items relevant to their work. The experience gave them a sense of being significant because they were being asked and consulted, e.g. "it's nice to know we're thought to be an important part of teaching".(1) Several teachers expressed interest in the issues raised and particularly desired to know whether their responses were 'normal' i.e. giving responses similar to the majority of their colleagues.

Because the interviewer at the beginning of the interviews suggested that their views were important and useful, teachers took the questions seriously and responded accordingly. There was no evidence to indicate that participants were deliberately giving false information. The construction of the interview schedule, in part, avoided this possibility. If the subjects did not know the true nature of the study, their answers to at least the first half of the questions should not have been unduly misrepresentative of their true beliefs. Indeed, genuine interest and enthusiasm transmitted by teachers during the interviews suggested an attempt to present their real views.

In one respect, the subjects knew that a fellow teacher was carrying out the research. For some, a colleague from their own school, for others a colleague in the same authority. Consequently, respondents may have felt more at ease talking to another teacher; a teacher who had

1. Interview number 34.

experienced similar problems, crises, trials and tribulations. Thus, interviews could be frank and to the point because the interviewer, in their minds, had encountered similar vicissitudes and was aware of their position. In this context, subjects may have been prepared to disclose more detailed and intimate information than if an 'outside' researcher had conducted the study.

(vi) Analysis

First, a selection of five interviews were randomly selected and transcribed verbatim to evaluate types and nature of the responses made to questions. The aim at this stage was to judge whether commentaries could be partitioned into concise statements which retained the meaning and wording of the subjects' original replies. (See Appendix ii for examples of interview transcripts).

Second, when it was ascertained that replies could be transcribed into a series of single line statements, remaining interviews were transcribed verbatim in the order taken. Every response made by interviewees to questions was transcribed verbatim, ready for further analysis.

As suggested earlier, data generated via interviews does not lend itself to immediate analysis, particularly by computer. In order to prepare the verbal data for computer analysis, it was necessary to identify important and frequently occurring category and sub-category responses. The arrangement and format of the interview schedule suggested that answers to the first six questions would be more difficult to analyse because they were open-ended, requiring general thoughts about the conduct of teaching. From these questions a general attitude to teaching work was obtained. However, the descriptions were likely, at times, to be vague and widely variable.

The second half of the interview schedule was more exact in type of response required. Here, questions in their own right were used as general category headings for responses. However, it was necessary to analyse these responses to identify points of difference and similarity. Teacher responses formed the basis of sub-categories, reflecting dissimilarity and agreement.

The first six questions on the interview schedule had a dual purpose. They provided an opportunity for respondents to spontaneously use the term 'relationship' to describe teacher-pupil interaction, giving some indication whether it was a salient feature in their thinking. Secondly, responses illustrated the specific attributes of 'good' and 'bad' classes, advice and satisfaction derived from work. It was important to establish the number of teachers who spontaneously mentioned the term 'relationships' and number of times it was used before being specifically asked about in Question seven. In this context, the term was identified in the form of:-

- (a) Relationship
- (b) Relational
- (c) Working relationship
- (d) Rapport

Responses to Question seven, "What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?", provided the first reactions to the term. Answers to this question gave two main pieces of information. First, initial responses provided an indication whether subjects were in favour, disapproved or neutral about relationships. Second, in answering this question, respondents gave clues to how relationships were thought of, how they were conceptualised in either instructional or socio-emotional terms.

Interview questions provided the main categories for data analysis, but sub-categories were derived from phrases used by respondents. Salient sub-categories emerged from clusters of responses. Replies were examined in order to identify responses which were similar and occurred on several occasions. A preliminary draft of possible sub-categories was produced and then reformulated. (See list of preliminary categories page 171). These were amended because they appeared too arbitrary and

did not adequately reflect respondents' statements. In some respects, they were not sufficiently wide-ranging to encompass most meanings provided through the interviews; they were not differentiated to identify significant group trends.

In the second version of sub-categories, responses to questions were analysed in greater detail. For example, Question seven of the interview schedule was the first which specifically asked about personal relationships. These responses may have been at different levels of meaning. Respondents may have indicated how they rated the importance of personal relationships by revealing whether they were in favour of them, against their use or saw limited use. In addition, in their answers, teachers revealed more subjective interpretations of relationships. Although these responses were positive or negative, they were specific and referred to actual experiences of relationships. To cope with this latter area, responses were labelled 'Policy Statements' either 'Positive' or 'Negative', but actual sub-categories came from subject responses. This was important because the aim of the study was to establish whether relationships were salient in the thinking of teachers, together with their interpretations of the term. Therefore it was necessary to utilise their comments in the organisation of descriptive categories. (See computer codes Appendix iii).

The remaining questions of the schedule, eight, nine and ten provided the main categories for analysis of information. For example, Question eight was concerned with 'Examples' of relationships. Here, responses were divided into two sets of two groups. First, where responses highlighted a 'Teacher' or 'Pupil' orientation, and second where responses reflected an 'Instructional' or 'Relational' aspect. These two sub-categories were to indicate which aspect of teaching

Table 3: Preliminary List of Categories for Analysis of Data

Question 1: Classes/individuals mentioned?

Behaviour of pupils
Attitudes of pupils
Ability of pupils
Personality of pupils

Question 2: Classes/individuals mentioned?

Behaviour of pupils
Attitudes of pupils
Ability of pupils
Personality of pupils

Question 3: Personal aspects

Organisational aspects
Control
Pupil work and learning
Pupil response

Question 4: Personal aspects

Work aspects

Question 5: Rules issued to pupils

Expectations of pupils
Strictness/authority aspects
Knowledge of pupils

Question 6: Discipline

Organisation and planning of lessons
Level of teaching

Question 7: Nature of first reaction

In favour/not in favour of relationships

Table 3 (continued)

Question 8: Teacher examples

Pupil examples

Work examples

Other examples

Question 9: Importance of first meeting

First impressions of teacher-pupil

Clear rules/expectations

Respect/fairness

Question 10: Teacher benefits

Pupil benefits

Work benefits

Personal benefits

Question 11: Similar/differences

Age differences

Sex differences

Personality differences

tended to be emphasised. The 'Instructional' sub-category derived from words such as:-

"academic, progress, examination success, instruction, results and work".

Whereas, the 'Relational' sub-category reflected words such as:-

"rapport, understanding, contact, involvement and interaction".

Question nine considered the conditions teachers thought important for the establishment of relationships. Responses to this question were handled in two ways. First, when checking verbatim responses, three broad variables became apparent in the establishment of relationships: the teacher; organisation of the school; and time. In terms of frequency of responses for these groups, aspects of the teacher prefigured. Second, statements made in connection with this group were re-analysed and divided into three additional groups labelled 'Teacher Professionalism', 'Teacher Traits' and 'Teacher Treatment', using the phrases of subjects to arrive at detailed characteristics in each group. (See computer codes for complete lists of detailed characteristics Appendix iii).

Question ten dealt with the effects or outcomes of a relationship. Responses were divided into three broad sub-categories: 'Instructional Outcomes'; 'Relational Outcomes' and 'Negative Outcomes'. Subject responses were used to provide sub-groups of these outcomes in terms of advantages identified by teachers. As in Question eight, a comparison was made between 'Teacher' and 'Pupil' statements to obtain some indication as to who benefits most from a relationship. (See computer codes for extended list of sub-categories Appendix iii).

After important clusters of responses were identified, including major categories, sub-categories and more detailed characteristics, they were allocated a computer code number (Appendix iii). Using the format

shown in Appendix iii each subject's verbatim responses were checked using the grid, i.e. whether they made a statement reflecting the grid sub-categories. The computer was then able to provide the frequency of responses and proportion of subjects mentioning each statement.

Chapter 8. Results

Presentation of Results

The data which was obtained from the taped interviews is presented in a number of different ways. Apart from the way teachers viewed their work, which used the combined results of questions one to six inclusive, the remaining questions formed the basis of the results. For example, conceptions of a relationship questions seven and eight, establishment of relationships question nine and the advantages of relationships question ten. However, sub-categories used in each were derived from subject responses.

Data from the interviews is presented in the following ways: First, a brief summary of the result together with the source of the information and part of the interview schedule it was obtained from. Second, examples of sub-categories are provided using verbatim phrases and sentences from the interviewees. The number in brackets at the end of each statement refers to the interview number (see Table 1 page 153). At various points, extended extracts from the interviews are included to illuminate specific issues. Third, the data is presented in tabular form showing sub-categories of responses. All tables, with the exception of 8.11, which used frequency of responses, present the proportion of subjects who mentioned each sub-category. When answering each question subjects could make more than one response and use more than one sub-category. In Appendix ii there are three examples of transcribed interviews to illustrate the nature of responses.

8.10 The Salience of Teacher-Pupil Relations

It seemed that relationships were salient for the majority of teachers.

Relationships were regarded as salient for any teacher who spontaneously mentioned the term before it was raised in Question seven.

The terms 'relationships' and 'relations' were counted as indicating that they were salient for teachers.

62% of participating teachers spontaneously mentioned relationships.

8.11 Relative Salience of Teacher-Pupil Relations and other Aspects of the Job

It seemed that teacher-pupil relations were commonly more salient than other aspects of the job.

Salience was assessed by counting the number of mentions of an aspect before Question seven.

Aspects were derived from the wording of subjects' responses.

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Academic

Here, the passing on of school subject information was central; children were believed to have understood it.

"taught them something for their exam" (25)

"when I feel I have in fact taught them something" (21)

"academic achievement" (38)

Behaviour of Pupils

Behavioural problems not interfering with or detracting from the lesson.

"no behavioural distractions" (33)

"people behave properly" (35)

Control by Teacher

Where the teacher has not had to enforce or impose the custodial function.

"haven't had to get excited or annoyed" (16)

"not having to shout too much" (31)

"not telling people off, being a policeman" (49)

Relational

Outcomes other than pure academic/intellectual improvement.

"completely involved with the children" (34)

"relationship being successfully carried out" (39)

"a good understanding between teacher and pupil" (45)

Response from pupils

Favourable reaction from pupils to a lesson.

"they generally respond, talk to me" (25)

"getting some interest" (31)

"some kind of positive feedback from the pupils" (39)

Table 8.11: Relative Salience of Teacher-Pupil Relations

Frequency of responses to each sub-category in reply to all questions before number seven.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>
Relational Aspects	292
Academic Aspects	208
Response by pupils	147
Behaviour of pupils	102
Control by teachers	96

8.12 Terms in which teachers saw their work

It appeared that teachers have a wider interpretation of teaching than just attainment of results. Each aspect of teaching was regarded as salient for any teacher who spontaneously mentioned it before Question seven. Each subject could make more than one response for each category and use more than one category. The following subject had this to say:

"emmm well could be one of many things really. I suppose if you've got something over to a group of kids that have had difficulty, then you feel you've achieved something with them academically or alternatively emmmm it could be just that they come and ask you something not necessarily about the work but they come and ask your opinion on something. Y'know they want to know what you feel about something. Then you think ahh well you know at least they're interested that can sometimes make you feel good."

Prompt - Is there one thing which stands out?

"Well at first I thought it would be the subject. I thought it would be biology the teaching of it but it isn't in fact it's the kids themselves, it's getting to know them and emmm just the relationship you build up with kids y'know. I mean you could have really quite a good laugh during the day and most days I go home reasonably satisfied and that to me is the important bit of teaching."

(Female, 25 years, Biology, School A, Experience 2)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

No 'hassle' or interruptions

"being able to teach without being side-tracked" (24)

"I have actually taught without being hassled" (12)

Mutual enjoyment

"pupils and myself have enjoyed solving a problem" (27)

"both of us have had fun from tackling an issue" (43)

Meeting needs of pupils

"I must be able to meet their needs" (28)

"be able to represent information and skills they want" (25)

Teacher communication and negotiation

"you must be seen to talk over important issues" (33)

"the kids work better if they have talked over things" (11)

Co-operation between teacher and pupil

"show how give and take is reasonable and fair" (21)

"co-operation should come naturally out of your pattern of work" (26)

Give guidance to pupils

"hope I'm able to give some guidance to pupils on their careers" (13)

"help pupils with problems not just concerning academic work" (9)

Influence pupils

"show pupils alternative ways of thinking and doing things" (3)

"present arguments to show rational thought" (22)

Table 8.12: Terms in which teachers saw their work

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category
in response to all questions before question seven

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Relational Aspects	71.0
Academic Aspects	53.5
Response by pupils	40.0
Behaviour of pupils	30.0
Control by teachers	27.0
No hassle or interruption	22.0
Mutual enjoyment	21.0
Meeting needs of pupils	14.0
Teacher communication and negotiation	14.0
Co-operation between teacher and pupil	12.0
Give guidance to pupils	8.0
Influence pupils	8.0

8.13 Teacher reaction to the term 'Personal Relationships'

It seemed that the term 'Personal Relationships' was not favourably viewed by the majority of teachers, in terms of their total commitment. Reaction to the term 'Personal Relationships' was assessed by the initial response of subjects when raised in Question seven - 'What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?' One respondent had this to say:

"Some form of relationship where there's some form of communication other than through the book. I find in a school of this size in the number of people I teach you can find yourself simply communicating with people through the written word and never actually speaking to them for weeks and weeks on end, so that just talking to them and finding some excuse or remembering that you haven't spoken to that person for some time is perhaps very important, and more so if that child is with-drawn or unhappy or you know there's some reason for perhaps ummm not ignoring them. And I base that upon very sad cries I've heard from a lot of children in this room over the years of it's so big nobody cares and I feel that quite strongly. You've got to have a personal relationship with pupils in order to communicate with them."

(Female, 33 years, English, School B, Experience 4)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

In favour

"very important" (11)

"personal relationship very important" (46)

"definitely in favour of them" (24)

Limited use

"very limited" (7)

"need them in some form" (31)

"can have one in a limited form" (14)

Possibility

"only on a few occasions" (43)

"with older children, not as a general rule" (40)

"not always possible" (48)

Against use

"not in general teaching" (21)

"not on the whole possible" (22)

"don't see any value" (34)

Table 8.13: Teacher reaction to the term 'Personal Relationships'

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category
in response to Question seven of the interview schedule

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
In favour	40.0
Limited use	14.0
Possibility of use	38.0
Against use	8.0

8.14 Advantages of a 'good' relationship

The results indicated that teachers in this study think they benefitted more than pupils from a 'good' relationship and that they obtained more instructional advantages of a practical kind than relational ones.

Table 8.14: Advantages of a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each category in response to Question ten of the interview schedule.

<u>Categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Teacher Advantages	24.0
Pupil Advantages	17.0
Instructional Advantages	35.0
Relational Advantages	24.0

8.15 Teacher Advantages in a 'good' relationship

It seemed that advantages for teachers were seen as practical teaching outcomes, accompanied by a sense of self-fulfilment. One respondent expressed her opinion as follows:

"I suppose it helps me in my job. I needn't be the formal teacher always laying down the law, y'know being in the teacher role. We can go beyond that. I suppose it means I can be more of myself .. more natural and I think that makes me a better teacher in getting ideas and information across. You can begin to understand them as people."

(Female, 28 years, Biology, School B, Experience 3)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Practical Teaching

"better results" (44)

"easy to pass on knowledge" (22)

"put information across" (47)

Control of pupils

"better control" (14)

"easier control" (11)

"able to control and check" (37)

Teacher understanding of pupils

"understand pupils more" (13)

"understand their problems more" (19)

"enables you to understand pupils" (48)

Enjoyment

"I enjoy teaching this way" (18)

"I enjoy it" (29)

"It's more enjoyable this way" (42)

Teacher satisfaction

"more satisfying for me" (13)

"makes teaching more satisfying" (23)

"makes the work more personally satisfying" (33)

Self-fulfilment

"makes teaching more interesting" (7)

"makes it pleasant to teach" (11)

"I am content, makes me happy in my job" (40)

Teacher relaxation

"I am less tense" (1)

"I am more calm and at ease" (38)

"able to relax more" (41)

Table 8.15: Teacher Advantages in a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question ten of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Practical Teaching	32.0
Control of pupils	30.0
Teacher understanding of pupils	26.0
Teacher enjoyment	22.0
Self-fulfilment	20.0
Self-satisfaction	12.0
Teacher relaxation	12.0

8.16 Pupil Advantages in a 'good' relationship

Teachers appeared to see pupil advantages in terms of progress and learning, although there seemed to be some awareness of advantages other than pure academic achievement, such as individual and personal improvement of pupils. One subject expressed her thoughts in the following terms:

"I think it helps the pupils. They are part of a better atmosphere with a teacher who believes in teaching this way. There is less pressure on them to always succeed; they are put in a different light. Kids seem to appreciate that they are thought of as an individual. They tend to respond better to lessons when they have a rapport with the teacher. It doesn't always work this way but I just feel it's better all round."

(Female, 35 years, Remedial, School B, Experience 3)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Pupil Progress (academic)

"extra information on how the pupils in your subject are progressing" (45)

"better results from pupils" (33)

"being able to get pupils through exams" (27)

Pupil Progress (personal)

"draw on real enthusiasm" (19)

"helps them to relate to an adult" (19)

"better preparation for future adult contacts" (35)

Pupil Learning

"helps learning process" (16)

"helps them to learn" (40)

"they understand more easily" (48)

Pupil Enjoyment

"pupils get enjoyment" (31)

"pupils enjoy being taught this way" (29)

"It makes pupils happy to come in to lessons" (41)

Pupil understanding of teachers

"pupils seem to understand what you're trying to do, work for them" (36)

"they just seem to be aware of what I'm trying to do for them" (39)

"children get a better understanding of the teacher as an adult" (49)

Pupil Feedback

"the kids are more prepared to work for you" (3)

"pupils give more effort" (41)

"the pupils co-operate more so that there's more feedback" (5)

Table 8.16: Pupil Advantages in a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question ten of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Pupil Progress (academic)	40.0
Pupil Progress (personal)	14.0
Pupil Learning	24.0
Pupil Enjoyment	24.0
Pupil Feedback	16.0
Pupil understanding of teachers	6.0

8.17 Instructional Advantages in a 'good' relationship

It seemed that good relationships were emphasised in practical outcomes in which relationships helped teachers to get the job done. One subject described it as follows:

"Building up a rapport or a relationship can help your teaching in a number of ways. In one way it can help you to be better in handling pupils, to control them more efficiently. In another it can improve your actual teaching technique. You can become more effective in getting ideas and information across. If you've established a good understanding, pupils will be more prepared to take in what you've got to say. This can be helpful when both you and the pupils know a particular topic is not particularly relevant but they accept the need to complete any task because of the rapport you've built up; this has paved the way for progress to be made."

(Male, 40 years, Physics, School A, Experience 2)

Table 8.17: Instructional Advantages in a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question ten of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Pupil Progress	40.0
Practical Teaching	32.0
Control of Pupils	30.0
Pupil Learning	24.0
Pupil Feedback	16.0

8.18 Relational Advantages in a 'good' relationship

The results seemed to suggest that in this area relational interpretation of advantages was broad but with emphasis placed upon the understanding of others. One respondent has this to say:

"With my first years I try to encourage their imagination with art. That is the bond between us. They enjoy the lessons and I enjoy working with them - their ideas. In this way a relationship is established. Isn't that supposed to be a new way of teaching? It's not all that new but it's still something important which I've personally discovered. You see things which happen in a classroom all depend on the kind of relationship you manage to build up with pupils and classes. With some groups it takes some time to establish any kind of relationship. With different classes you use different tactics - shock, humour, interest. Once you have accomplished the difficult part of establishing a relationship which can take about a term, you can relax more, be yourself and your dealings with the kids improve. I'm sure the kids respect you for it. They begin to realise that sir is not just a teacher, but is a person, which I think encourages them to have confidence in you."

(Male, 32 years, Art, School A, Experience 3)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Mutual understanding between teacher and pupil

"there's much more understanding between each other" (7)

"you tend to have much more mutual understanding" (30)

"I suppose it's just a case of mutual respect" (16)

Teacher understanding of pupils

"you have the opportunity to understand the pupils more fairly" (13)

"well it's a matter of understanding them more" (19)

"you can get closer to them, you're able to understand them" (24)

Communication

"it encourages discussion both in and after lessons" (30)

"it's more pleasant, you're able to talk as a person to pupils" (44)

"with a relationship you are able to communicate much more effectively" (39)

Class atmosphere

"there's a much lighter atmosphere in the classroom" (5)

"it helps to provide a happy working atmosphere in the classroom" (40)

"all I can say is that it's a nice atmosphere" (38)

Pupil understanding of teachers

"pupils understand what you're trying to do, work for them" (36)

"the pupils seem more aware of what I'm trying to do for them" (39)

"I'm sure children get a better understanding of the teacher as an adult" (49)

Table 8.18: Relational Advantages in a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all subjects mentioning each sub-category in response to Question ten of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Mutual understanding between teacher and pupil	28.0
Teacher understanding of pupils	26.0
Communication	24.0
Class atmosphere	20.0
Pupil understanding of teachers	6.0

8.19 Teacher satisfaction from teaching

It seemed that relational aspects were commonly more satisfying than other aspects of the job. This view of teaching is conveyed by the following respondent:

"I think when you are communicating in a one to one situation and you know you're getting through, I get a great deal of satisfaction from that feeling. You see, you're being more like your real self, using your real personality to get through. You're creating an atmosphere in which a good relationship can be formed. It's not the case of acting like a teacher you are being you, surely that's what it really should be about. Personally I feel I'm doing a good job when I can do that. It can be very hard because you must give a lot of your time and show interest and commitment. Sometimes it's just not possible. When I look round the staffroom those who I judge to be good teachers tend to be those who can relate well to pupils."

(Male, 32 years, Mathematics, School A, Experience 3)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Relational

Lessons involving increased involvement on the part of teachers and pupils, and personal understanding.

"simply becoming involved with them in any way" (47)

"I think satisfaction comes when you've reached them on a personal level" (35)

Academic (pupil results/progress)

Success in conveying information, an idea or a technique - a demonstrable success.

"when you know that children will get through their examination" (33)

"I just like examination success" (44)

Gain pupil interest

"I'm satisfied when I've been successful in getting their interest" (27)

"I think when I've made them aware and interested in something" (41)

Response-feedback from pupils

Situations in which pupils give positive feedback to their teachers via responses, talk and questions.

"it shows when pupils are still asking questions at the end of a lesson" (50)

"telling me about some point of interest we have covered, say they've read about something about a topic or seen a T.V. programme" (47)

Communication

"simply talking in a natural and friendly way to pupils" (38)

"being able to communicate with pupils at different levels" (16)

Control by the teacher

"where I need to spend little time on discipline" (1)

"pupils settle quickly into my method of classroom organisation" (22)

Behaviour of pupils

"pupils realise the rules you've imposed and abide by them" (8)

"when pupils appreciate and accept your standards of behaviour" (50)

Table 8.19: Teacher satisfaction from teaching

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question four of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Relational	72.0
Academic - pupil results/progress	56.0
Gain pupil interest	18.0
Response - feedback from pupils	16.0
Communication	12.0
Control by the teacher	8.0
Behaviour of pupils	4.0

8.20 Development of 'good' relationships

It appeared that teachers in this study thought they were in an important position in the development of classroom relationships. The following subject held definite views about the importance of the teacher:

"when you come down to it you can either teach or you can't. It's as simple as that. Some people can teach and we know who they are and others cannot and we know who they are. Really training has very little to do with it. I'm sure you and I would teach the same as we do now even if we hadn't gone to training college. It's what you are which counts."

Prompt: What do you mean by that last point?

"Your personality how you get on with other people, how you respond to them, how you treat them that sort of thing. It probably sounds big headed but some people just have the knack but others struggle and no amount of training will change it."

(Male, 27 years, History, School A, Experience 2)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Teacher's way of working

"my way of working" (2)

"it's just how I work and do things" (6)

"a method of getting involved" (33)

Organisation of school

"size makes it difficult" (7)

"constrained by formal situation and organisation" (18)

"it depends on the organisation of the school" (41)

Teacher personality

"it's simply part of me" (3)

"it's me using my own personality" (25)

"I suppose it's me and the sort of person I am" (28)

Natural/Spontaneous

"not consciously thought of, it happens itself" (16)

"they develop naturally, never really thought of it" (27)

"second nature to me, don't even think about it" (34)

The following interview extract illustrates how teachers are sometimes forced to adopt a style which might be alien to their real selves:

"There was one fourth year C.S.E. class when I started to teach which almost made me give up teaching altogether. It was a mixed ability group so there were some good kids and some horrible ones. I think it was their lack of self-control which was so off-putting and because their behaviour could change so quickly from lesson to lesson. People tended to be sympathetic saying they knew how horrible the class was but apart from that there was not much I could do. To a certain extent I feel I've altered my ideas about teaching to fit the situation I am faced with. If there is a

strong discipline structure with the cane you can't be yourself because the kids will not be expecting something completely different. I suppose you fit the dominant role type in the school. To be honest I don't go in thinking we're all going to be great buddies and have a wonderful time together. I try to be strict and stony-faced but it just doesn't get through to the pupils. There must be something missing - perhaps its through inexperience."

(Female, 25 years, Religious Education, School B, Experience 2)

Table 8.20: Development of 'good' relationships

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question nine of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Teacher's way of working	50.0
Organisation of school	30.0
Teacher personality	28.0
Nature/Spontaneous	26.0

8.21 Significance of teachers in the development of relationships

Results suggested that the teacher, through his personality and way of doing things, appeared to be significant in developing relationships.

Table 8.21: Significance of Teachers in the
Development of Relationships

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question nine in the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Teacher personality	28.0
Teacher's way of working	50.0
	<u>78.0</u>

8.22 (a.b.c.) Personal aspects of the teacher in the development of relationships

In response to Question nine, it seemed that three kinds of personal aspects were important in the development of relationships: how the teacher saw his professional image; their personal traits to get on with others; and the treatment of those others, the pupils. One subject was of the opinion that personality was the main thing:

"When you come right down to it, the nitty-gritty, you can either teach or you can't, it's as simple as that. I wasn't taught how to teach at training college they only gave me the subject and curriculum knowledge. The difficult part of putting the stuff over and relating to kids that's me my personality which does it. That's why I believe a teaching college can only do so much then it's down to the individual. You know as well as I do who the good teachers are in this school, almost without exception it's those who talk to pupils and relate to them building a rapport. I don't mean as equals. It's just a knack you've got or acquire. If you don't have it or can't acquire it you're going to struggle and we know who they are."

(Male, 27 years, History, School A, Experience 2)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Teacher Professionalism

Discipline

"easy really, discipline must be first" (45)

"the first thing you must have is discipline" (2)

Knowledge

"unless you know what you're talking about you're wasting you're time" (6)

"everything starts with the subject base" (28)

Strictness

"I'm a strict disciplinarian right from the first lesson" (17)

"strict, stand no nonsense, no messing around" (24)

Formality

"I think it comes from being very formal" (40)

"it stems from an authoritarian and very formal beginning" (30)

Teacher Traits

Respect

"from respect for what you're doing and how you are doing it" (50)

"It stems from respect, you are working for them" (43)

Naturalness

"you talk like ordinary people" (18)

"show that I'm human, not just for information" (19)

Trust

"trust between you and the children, a trust relationship" (49)

"feeling of trust, I'm helping them, doing my best" (40)

Genuineness

"it comes from being genuine - sincere" (6)

"show you're genuine when you make an effort" (36)

Teacher Treatment

"it's simply a matter of getting involved in any way" (33)

"show that you're really interested" (11)

Communication

"the first step is an ability to communicate" (7)

"you talk, communication is important, built from communicating" (39)

Flexibility

"not being too strictly fixed" (18)

"a gradual process, not all at once, give and take" (31)

Fairness

"treat each person correctly" (20)

"seen to be fair, no favouritism" (32)

One respondent discusses some of these issues in the following terms:

"Although I've only been teaching for a few years there are a few things about being a teacher which have struck home, like contact between pupils and teachers is not clear and simple, something you can tidy up. You have to put up with a great deal of frustration and uncertainty. With experience you come to tolerate uncertainty, you acquire an ability to be flexible and take problems in your stride. I think young or inexperienced teachers much find life hectic like sixty miles an hour."

(Female, 28 years, Biology, School B, Experience 2)

Table 8.22a: 'Teacher Professionalism'

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category
in response to Question nine of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Discipline	26.0
Knowledge	22.0
Strictness	22.0
Formality	14.0

Table 8.22b: 'Teacher Traits'

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question nine of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Naturalness	24.0
Flexibility	18.0
Trust	16.0
Genuine	14.0

Table 8.22c: 'Teacher Treatment'

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Question nine of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Involvement	34.0
Communication	34.0
Respect	24.0
Fairness	16.0

8.23 Teachers' conceptions of a 'good' relationship

It appeared that teachers looked to pupils to reflect the form of the relationship they had initiated. Most of the indicators were pupil orientated. This data was obtained from Questions seven and eight.

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Pupil Talk

"when the children can talk informally to you" (4)

"when pupils ask about a lessonspeak on different levels" (16)

"if they stay behind and talk" (47)

Teacher-pupil Rapport

"friendliness without thinking about distance" (22)

"when I'm interested in them as people" (11)

"there's a certain level of intimacy" (22)

Teacher Response

"when I'm able to relate to a class ... a good feeling" (34)

"when I'm able to become involved with the pupils" (50)

"just talk informally, not too distant" (16)

Pupil Response

"when pupils show interest in what we're doing" (20)

"when they come in full of enthusiasm" (22)

"if they're inclined to ask questions and show interest"
(29)

Pupil Individuality

"it's where I hope to appeal to each person in a class" (1)

"I suppose it's when I give personal attention to pupils"
(49)

"I think to know them as individual people" (11)

Pupil work and co-operation

"it shows when they work voluntarily" (2)

"it's just that the class works in a relaxed way" (7)

"the pupils seem ready and prepared to work" (10)

Trust and confidence between teacher and pupil

"you know when something is good when they rely on what you say" (3)

"there's a certain belief that they know you're working for them" (45)

"they revealed a confidence in me expressed through their thoughts and responses" (45)

Control over pupils

"they know exactly how far to go" (8)

"the pupils know their limits" (23)

"they know and won't overstep the mark" (8)

Results from pupils

"it shows when they get through their exams" (25)

"when I get good results from the class" (25)

"when you know they are going to get through their exam" (27)

Some of these points are apparent in the following extract:

"I suppose I get on really well with my tutor group of first years. I'll miss being their tutor and teaching them for four hours a week because you build up a great rapport with them. You gain each other's confidence. Most of the time the kids were open with me and I think it's important that you are open with them.

Obviously there are limits when it comes to your personal life. I think you have to be honest with them. I talk to pupils about their personal problems if they want to. You've got to show some interest in them or else how can you expect interest from them? During this last year I have become more confident and know the children as people not just as pupils, then you can really build a rapport. Humour is important to do this."

(Female, 25 years, Art, School A, Experience 2)

Table 8.23: Teachers' conceptions of a 'good' relationship

Proportion of all respondents mentioning each sub-category in response to Questions seven and eight of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Pupil Talk	62.0
Teacher-pupil Rapport	58.0
Teacher Response	54.0
Pupil Response	48.0
Pupil Individuality	46.0
Pupil work and co-operation	30.0
Trust and confidence between teacher and pupil	22.0
Control over pupils	16.0
Results from pupils	12.0

8.24 Salient areas of advice to probationary/student teachers

It seemed that teachers in this study saw control and good planning as important attributes of teaching. Practical attributes were stressed more than relational aspects. They suggested that initially, probationary teachers should concentrate on basic routine skills until they gained confidence, and to avoid relationships until these were achieved.

Practical concerns were highlighted by the following respondent:

"Emmm well first of all I think in the way they answer questions. I think if you're not careful you could have chaos by them all speaking out. So you have to say 'if you want to speak your hand must go up you must be given permission' and to get that across errr how to tick them off if they're being naughty or being really horrible errr not to do it individually. I think you can waste a lot of energy by ticking kids off individually sometimes it's much more productive to have a general blast at them... a united assault and that pulls them up (pause) sometimes I find it's a good idea to teach from the back, once you've got them engaged on a piece of work. It's a good idea sometimes to go to the back and watch them there errr you can in some cases get more discipline that way because you can spot the slightest turn of the head and sort of tap them on the shoulder before it turns into a

chat. I would tell a probationer to be stern and keep that up to begin with. You can relax and encourage discussion but this takes weeks, months. I would get them to answer properly, to write clearly on the blackboard and to have things prepared. I think timing a lesson is important and probationers can run out of things. The more errr sorry less academic the child you've got to have more material prepared and that gives you time to stop any discipline problems before they start. So it's get your timing right and obviously the content of the lesson, it's no use them talking about words over their heads."

(Female, 33 years, English, School B, Experience 3)

Examples of sub-categories and subjects' responses.

Discipline and Control

"make sure you're in control of the situation" (4)

"the overall point is discipline" (6)

"you can't teach unless you have discipline" (8)

Preparation and Planning

"to be organised, know exactly what you're doing" (12)

"to be totally prepared, know what you're going to do" (43)

"lessons well prepared, plenty of material" (49)

Teaching Level and Style

"find your own level do not try and impose someone else's style" (1)

"a calm logical approach" (7)

"information, you must pitch it for them to catch it" (7)

Relationship-Rapport

"to try and establish a relationship" (5)

"to establish a relationship" (11)

"if you can, achieve a decent relationship" (13)

Survival

"the hardest thing is just to survive" (18)

"to have survival strategies" (18)

"simply to survive in the classroom situation" (44)

Knowledge

"know the subject, don't go into ad lib" (16)

"you must know what you're talking about" (34)

"you must know your subject" (36)

Liking children

"liking children" (18)

"you must be able to get on with children" (33)

"to like children and treat them as human beings" (11)

Seek advice

"if you have any problem get it sorted out,
contact somebody" (16)

"consult over problems, seek advice" (30)

Like/enjoy the job

"you've got to like the job" (50)

"at the heart of it is to enjoy it" (3)

Personal

"you can either teach or you can't" (36)

"you've got it or you haven't" (36)

One subject was more extreme about advice:

"It's just something you can do or cannot do. What does cabbage taste like I can't explain it. The views I've always had on this is that you can either teach or you can't. You can teach certain people to do the job as best as they can and they'll be limited to the types of pupils they can teach and limited to the types of subjects they can teach. There are teachers who can teach anything to anyone and that's it, you've either got it or you haven't and if they haven't got it and they're out of their depth where they are I recommend they get out."

Prompt - Would you actually say that?

"You see the reason why I think I'm a teacher is because when I was at school there was too many teachers who shouldn't have been there and that's what education is to me and errr if you're not suited for the job, well alright get out there's no - you're not losing any face, in fact you're being quite intelligent yourself by going it."

Prompt - Is there any practical advice you would offer?

"Get to know your subject. Do a fair amount of research. Think about is it presented well, is it clear, is it aimed at the right level?"

(Male, 27 years, History, School A, Experience 2)

Table 8.24: Salient areas of advice to probationary/student teachers

Proportion of all subjects mentioning each sub-category in response to Question six of the interview schedule.

<u>Sub-categories</u>	<u>% of case study</u>
Discipline and Control	76.0
Preparation and Planning	44.0
Teaching Level and Style	34.0
Relationship-Rapport	22.0
Survival	18.0
Knowledge (curriculum)	8.0
Liking Children	8.0
Seek Advice	6.0
Like-enjoy the Job	4.0
Personal	4.0

Chapter 9. (i) Discussion of Results

(ii) Implications for Teacher Training

(i) Conclusion

The results from these teachers were encouraging. Teachers recognised the importance of relations in their teaching compared to other things; teachers thought a lot about relationships; teachers recognised that good relationships assisted them in getting the job done, however they saw their main task; teachers derived some satisfaction from using relationships in their teaching; teachers recognised that it was mainly up to them to foster good relationships with pupils.

However, despite these encouraging signs, areas remain which require change and improvement. Results from this study suggested that teachers have inadequate conceptions of what 'good' relationships were. Their conceptions appeared too concerned with pupil response, pupil behaviour and pupil feedback.

Teachers in this study recognised the importance of teacher-pupil relations in comparison with other things, when they were not prompted. Where teachers could spontaneously mention any aspect of the job, relational responses were the most frequent, 71%, in comparison with other categories: 'Academic', 'Pupil Response', 'Pupil Behaviour' and 'Teacher Control', illustrating the degree of consideration allocated by teachers to this aspect of their work.

Responses to the first six questions of the interview schedule revealed a wide range of issues which teachers thought about. These results suggested that their view of work was not fixed in terms of 'Academic' results or 'Behavioural' control, although these do appear significant, but instead where the teacher is pleased to obtain a greater range of interaction with pupils. In particular, subjects emphasised instances highlighted by 'involvement' with pupils or a 'good understanding' existing between teacher and pupil. It was

noticeable that teachers in this study appreciated pupil response. Positive feedback from pupils was one indication that teachers were performing their tasks well. Although examination success was a tangible gauge of competence in teaching, staff appeared to value genuine interest and responsiveness from pupils as an additional bonus. This may be evidence that they were able to hold pupils' attention and motivate them. One subject described it in the following terms:

"I like pupils coming to see me or to stay behind to ask questions. I don't set out to encourage it to happen it just does. I like to think they have enjoyed what we've been talking about or have been stimulated to ask further information. Most lunch-times or at break kids come in and talk about T.V. Programmes, plays and films they've seen and ask me about them. It's just nice to know you've got their attention."

(Female, 33 years, English, School B, Experience 4)

The importance attached to 'Relational Aspects' in Table 8.11 suggested that good teaching may be connected to the quality of relationships established by teachers. The way in which this group of teachers think about their work reflected some of the issues raised in Gracey's (1976) research. In particular, the appraisal of good teaching in terms of the kind of relationships managed by teachers. Indeed, some qualities envisaged in the 'craftsman' teacher were apparent in these responses.

Table 8.12 revealed categories of responses to the first six questions, additional to the top five. These further indicated the qualities of communicating and negotiating with pupils, together with the need to have a high profile of involvement with them. Some of these items were raised in connection with the notion of the 'good' teacher in Chapter One. This theme is illustrated by the following respondent:

"I just don't understand how some staff can teach without getting involved with pupils. I mean it's an essential part of the job. If you don't show the kids your involvement you can't expect them to show the same sorts of responses. You've got to force the pace. What it boils down to is the teacher has to get involved anyway he can. I usually talk about common interests. I play football

on a lunchtime with them. You see I loom large in their school life I'm not set apart or distanced from them. Now that I think about it these sorts of things help my work in the classroom."

(Male, 32 years, Mathematics, School B, Experience 2)

The majority of teachers in this study described their teaching in terms of relationships. Here, 62% used the term spontaneously when talking about their work. This indicated that relationships were a salient feature of their work. However, a commitment by 62% indicated that many teachers did not think in terms of relationships. Perhaps they should be made more aware of them as they may assist teaching. Certain groups of teachers seemed to think in terms of relationships more than others. For example, four remedial teachers in the study all used the term spontaneously. This may reflect the smaller groups they teach and the more individualised pupil approach used. Similarly, female teachers and younger, less experienced teachers tended to spontaneously use the term 'relationships' more than others. Perhaps future research could pay closer attention to such issues.

Teachers may use relationships in their teaching without using the term. This could explain a slight discrepancy, where 71% thought teacher-pupil relations were important in comparison with other aspects of their work, whereas only 62% actually mentioned the concept. A possible explanation could be that teachers were somewhat 'put off' by the terms 'relationships' and 'personal relationships'.

When specifically asked about personal relationships in teaching, teachers in this study tended to view the term unfavourably. Only 40% indicated they were in favour of personal relationships or considered them important. However, only 8% made it clear that they were against their use. The majority of subjects, 52%, whilst not being totally committed to personal relationships expressed some sympathy, suggesting

there were some instances when they had some use, if only in a limited capacity. One subject expressed his views as follows:

"I don't really know about that. I suppose I'm caught between liking to get to know pupils but not in the way that their liking me back gets in the way of teaching. Mmmm it's difficult to put into words I mean some younger pupils are too immature to appreciate a relationship other than a straightforward teacher-pupil one so I don't even try. With older pupils they can appreciate you as a person your idiosyncracies. I suppose then there is more of a personal relationship but it is not usual in my teaching. That's not to say I can't see the value of them. It's just the means of getting to one which I find a bit unnerving."

(Male, 27 years, English, School A, Experience 2)

In this context, much depends on the subject's initial interpretation of personal relationships. The rather negative fashion in which personal relationships were conceptualised may in part reflect the manner in which they are presented in educational literature. Staff sometimes felt the term had 'liberal' overtones or 'wishy-washy' sentiments from educational policy during the 1970's. As one subject suggested:

"To me it (personal relationships) smacks of favouritism. It reminds me of the liberalised policy for education during the early 70's, you know open plan classrooms, discovery learning, A.S. Neil and all that. I think I relate to classes and pupils but not in the same way as a personal relationship. I can talk to pupils and have a laugh with them but I don't know whether that is one. I don't like kids calling me by my first name that is definitely out."

(Male, 27 years, History, School A, Experience 2)

Another respondent puts it even more strongly:

"No I don't think that's part of my teaching style. It sounds too much like a 'palsy walsy' all good friends together attitude of teaching. Teaching's not like that. I'm not here to build up friendship like those quoted in trendy text books. I mean they're living in cloud cuckoo land. Do you think little Johnny in the first year or big Malcolm in the fifth are going to behave the same towards me if I come on all 'nice-as-ninepence'? No they're going to walk all over me, my life would be pure hell. I try and put over my subject as clearly and sympathetically as I can. I think that's what the pupils want not a patronising or condescending teacher."

(Male, 32 years, Art, School A, Experience 3)

Statements such as these suggested that teachers do try and relate to pupils in various ways, such as communicating on different levels, seeking pupil interest, stimulating pupils and treating them fairly. They may go about this in their own individual fashion which can be a personal approach to teacher-pupil relationships.

Responses to questions concerning 'Good' and 'Bad' classes, 'Good' and 'Bad' days and 'Most Satisfaction', gave some indication of how teachers viewed their work; the priorities and tasks teachers set themselves. In teacher thinking, relational responsibilities were frequent, from which some encouragement can be derived. Teachers perceived one of their major tasks to be the transmission of educational knowledge. Such information may be in the form of ideas, concepts, skills or ways of thinking. In one sense, this is a traditional element of teaching which advocates that teachers are holders of specialised knowledge to which society allocates status and prestige. Added to this, teachers are supposed to have the necessary qualities and training to assist them in transmitting what counts as 'good' knowledge.

Nevertheless, the high rate of responses to relational statements implied that teachers have a wider view of their teaching task. In addition to the passing on of knowledge, teachers thought that their emphasis in teaching was also directed to: promoting pupil interest to a point where they derived the most out of lessons; improving individual pupil progress; encouraging teachers to become more involved with pupils; and the establishment of common ground or interest between teacher and pupil. In this way, both teacher and pupil gained more benefits and enjoyment from interaction.

Teachers can improve their professional competence. Indeed, evidence from this group of teachers suggested they were already utilising some of the skills and techniques promoted by Gordon (1974) in order to

achieve success. Teachers in this study used similar phrases and concepts which were cited earlier: 'influencing', 'co-operation', 'negotiation' and 'mutual agreement'. One respondent expressed her thoughts as follows:

"I suppose ideally you want to teach by consent. Most teachers don't like to be sergeant-major figures bellowing at kids to do things at the double. You try and do things by co-operation. I mean good learning must surely come from teachers and pupils understanding what each other should be doing."

(Female, 25 years, Music, School B, Experience 2)

It appeared that some teachers had a broad perception of their tasks. They appreciated their changing position in schools to a point where pupil response, pupil questioning, pupil interest and pupil enjoyment were considered as important as pure examination success. In response to Question four, teachers in this study frequently indicated that part of their task was to prepare pupils for the real world, which to them meant more than numbers of examination passes and included: good communication, ability to get on with other people, social skills and 'education for life'. Some of these issues were raised by the following subject:

"You see the work I do is completely different from other teachers. I'm the one who has to put back a little bit of confidence into kids who think they have failed - full stop in their school careers. It's the system we're in, examination success status and all that. I try and show pupils that there's more to school and learning where they as persons count. Don't get me wrong I'm not the saviour of disaffected pupils. I just try and get them to realise the importance of how they present themselves to others, their speech, mannerisms and general communication."

(Female, 35 years, Remedial, School B, Experience 3)

This view of teaching is wide and diverse and, in many respects, reflects the changing classroom circumstances in which teachers and pupils find themselves; situations where relationships are becoming

significant features. It may be significant that the four remedial teachers in this study expressed thoughts similar to the ones above regarding teaching social skills, such as presentation of self. Furthermore, all these teachers spontaneously mentioned the term 'relationships' and had a high frequency of 'Relational' statements. Perhaps the nature of the subject, type of pupil and small size of teaching group affords encouragement to use relationships as a teaching style.

Irrespective of whether teachers in this study took a narrow-academic task view of their job, or a wider, personal relationship view, or variations of both, the majority believed that there were specific advantages and benefits to be derived from using relationships; benefits which enabled teachers to do their job. These advantages can be seen in terms of 'Teaching', 'Control' and 'Results'.

Three issues arose from this study. First, use of relationships in getting work done were shown to be practical aspects of teaching, in which outcomes were mostly beneficial for the teacher and instruction. The practical nature of outcomes can reinforce the importance of relationships in the minds of many teachers because they predominantly sought practical solutions to teaching problems. Second, practical advantages of a good relationship can be a useful teaching style, irrespective of how the teacher views his work. Third, these results indicated that the fostering and establishment of relationships was merely another strategy to cope with the teaching situation.

When asked to talk about the advantages of good relationships, teachers highlighted four main areas: 'Teacher', 'Pupil', 'Instructional' and 'Relational', Table 8.14. Of these four, 'Teacher' and 'Instructional' received most responses. Within the 'Teacher' group, two out of eight sub-categories were of a practical nature, regarding conveying information and control over pupils. However, the remaining sub-categories were less overt and more intrinsic and referred to 'Teacher

understanding', 'Teacher enjoyment', 'Teacher satisfaction', 'Teacher self-fulfilment' and 'Teacher relaxation'. Some of these points were raised by the following subject:

"I suppose it's a personal thing about me. I just feel better inside. Put it down to self-satisfaction. You feel good so I don't feel up-tight about a lesson. I'm more relaxed and this helps me to put over a lesson. When I can relate to pupils there's less pressure on me to perform like a heavy-handed teacher. I can be me. I'm sure the lessons benefit from it, I know I do. It's far more enjoyable to teach in this way."

(Male, 40 years, Chemistry, School B, Experience 2)

Table 8.15 revealed that most sub-categories dealt with issues of a very personal nature. But the two sub-categories with most responses were those of a practical kind. It was as if teachers saw practical benefits as being most salient on which was based their more personal ones.

Although receiving 17% of the total number of responses, 'pupil advantages' nevertheless revealed some interesting issues. Teachers in this study thought that on one level pupils benefitted in terms of academic progress and learning whilst on another, gained enjoyment from lessons and an understanding of teachers. If 'Pupil Progress (academic)' and 'Pupil Learning' were aggregated, teachers thought results and learning were important benefits pupils gained from good relationships. These information/knowledge based advantages were equalled by the other more personal and relational aspects attributed to pupils.

If 'Instructional' and 'Relational' advantages of a 'good' relationship are compared 'Instructional' were mentioned more frequently, by over one third of the case study. In addition, the 'Instructional' category had the highest frequency of responses. This kind of result tended to suggest that teachers looked for tangible outcomes from any teaching strategy, including relationships. In particular, they appeared to want demonstrable evidence of success in terms of 'Pupil Progress' and 'Practical Teaching'. In this context, sub-categories such as 'Pupil

Progress' and 'Pupil Learning' reflected attributes of a good relationship raised by Moustakas (1956), Cleugh (1971) and Goodlet (1972), in terms of teacher effectiveness. Similarly, sub-categories of 'Relational' advantages stressed aspects of a 'good' relationship raised by Gracey (1976), when encouraging pupil individuality through improved communication and understanding between teacher and pupil.

The formation of a 'good' relationship may be considered a means to an end. Teachers may prefer a teaching approach which permits work, teaching and control but which is facilitated in a way which is more acceptable to them as people, through the use of relationships. Teacher-pupil relationships embody more than personal factors. An educational relationship is composed of many elements and is influenced by many factors one of which is the personal relationship. What difference is there between a 'good' teacher-pupil relationship and an 'effective' teacher-pupil relationship? The effectiveness of a relationship must be judged in terms of the purpose or purposes for which the relationship was established. In everyday speech we usually refer to the 'goodness' of the relationship as an indication of the harmoniousness of the personal relationship existing between teacher and pupil, their mutual personal liking, the extent to which conflict is absent, the extent to which the pupil thinks the teacher is fair and genuine, the rapport existing between the two. Whether 'effectiveness' and 'goodness' in a relationship are synonymous depends on our interpretation of the aims of education and whether we are looking at the relationship at a given time or over a period of time. Relationships may be different when appraised because effectiveness should be judged in terms of the purposes for which it was established.

From a more individual and personal perspective, the majority of teachers in this study believed they obtained most satisfaction from relational aspects of their work. There is some evidence to confirm an

interest in a task orientation and task completion approach but this was secondary to a more personal style of success in the thinking of these teachers.

When asked what gave them satisfaction in teaching the responses revealed a pattern similar to Table 8.12. Personal satisfaction in teaching seemed to stem from relational aspects, where teachers attempted to involve themselves with pupils or communicate on an individual level with them. This highlighted one important area in teacher-pupil interaction; a situation where a teacher, despite teaching a class of up to thirty pupils, tries to communicate at an individual level to promote interest, involvement and feedback. These results were different when compared to the 'Advantage' section where there was a reversal of 'Academic' and 'Relational' categories. This change in emphasis could stem from being asked about satisfaction which respondents may have answered at a more personal level, with a reduction in role properties.

Another encouraging point which emerged from this study concerned the fostering of relationships and who or what was responsible for them. From these results, the teacher seemed to be in a central position, as a prime mover in the development of relationships. In particular, there appeared to be personal factors operating on three different levels which could contribute towards a teacher-pupil relationship. Personal elements were predominant and are highlighted in other research (Hargreaves, 1967; Burns, 1976; House and Lapan, 1978; Partington and Hinchcliffe, 1979; Lovegrove and Lewis, 1982).

Results from this study indicated that teachers considered themselves to be central figures in the establishment of relationships with pupils. A teacher's method of working and his personality accounted for 78% of responses made to Question nine. Responses made in terms of the 'Organisation of the school' tended to emphasise negative features, such

as restrictions placed on forming relationships, and did not help to describe positive features in the establishment of relationships. If this latter group is omitted, the position of the teacher is even more enhanced. When analysed more closely, the categories of 'Teacher personality' and 'Teachers' way of working', Tables 8.22(a.b.c.), revealed three areas of interest regarding how teachers go about setting the groundwork for a 'good' relationship. These presented an almost idealised image of what the 'good' teacher is like.

The first area is termed 'Teacher Professionalism' and can refer to what teachers are supposed to do with pupils, namely to pass on subject knowledge, to be legally responsible for pupils and to exert control over them. 'Teacher Traits' referred to the individual qualities which teachers thought were important to possess to deal with pupils. Essentially, teacher qualities preferred by respondents was someone who exhibited natural behaviour and emotions, not acting but being genuine. The feeling generated was that pupils can see through staff who are not being themselves but who are putting on a show. In the final group, 'Teacher Treatment', responses referred to how teachers think pupils like to be treated by staff to encourage the establishment of relationships. From the sub-categories mentioned, 'Involvement' and 'Communication' appeared important. One issue which arose during several of the interviews was the high esteem for two members of staff regarding their naturalistic interaction with pupils. It may be significant for future research that both were youth club leaders and were involved with pupils outside of school.

One implication associated with 'Teacher Personality' is that staff should not be aloof and distant from pupils. This point was raised by Evans (1959) when he suggested that reducing teacher-pupil 'distance' would improve the conveyance of information/knowledge. A second issue

concerned being flexible to meet changing circumstances. Woods (1980) proposes that this kind of teacher quality enables staff to cope with increasing pressures being placed upon them.

Perhaps the ideal image of the teacher referred to is not so estranged from reality. Other research by Burns (1976) and Partington and Hinchcliffe (1979) tends to confirm that flexibility of 'self' is an important part of handling the variability that is modern teaching. The sub-categories referring to 'Involvement' and 'Communication' are also reflected in the above research, implying that the contemporary teacher needs to show the pupils his capacity to work for them.

The responses in this section revealed that teachers were competent, in most instances, in understanding the attitudes of children toward them. They seemed aware of the qualities pupils were believed to look for in teachers and just as importantly, they were prepared to exhibit them where possible. In this sense reference to 'Fairness', 'Naturalness' and being 'Genuine' were particularly relevant when compared to Hargreaves (1967) work.

In one respect, teacher characteristics have been mainly associated with the technical side of teaching skills, for example confidence, organisation, efficient correction of work, ability to control the class and presenting the work clearly. However, others related to personality, such as sense of humour, interest in pupils, friendliness, willingness to understand pupils and caring for pupils, are issues concerning personal qualities which appear to reflect a relationship-centred approach to teaching.

A study by Lovegrove and Lewis (1982) used the terms 'liked' and 'good' interchangeably in order to elaborate the more human side of teaching, which these researchers considered an important item in modern teaching. However, many of the features and characteristics arrived at to illustrate 'good' teaching reflect those categories used by subjects

in this study. Typical behaviours connected to 'humanistic' teachers are similar to those who would use relationships. These teachers were seen as calm-rational individuals who made rules clear and explained what they expected from pupils. They took an active role in their involvement with pupils and fairness was a quality often found in many of their management practices.

Teachers in this study suggested that relationships played a part in their teaching situation and how they interacted with pupils. Research from two areas tends to confirm this view, from different sources. House and Lapan (1978) obtained comments from pupil interviews concerning 'Teacher Credibility'. Many of the categories they arrived at are similar to the ideal teacher image mentioned earlier in connection with the establishment of relationships. House and Lapan propose that there is a high degree of congruence between the conception of a teacher who is disposed to the use of relationships and the students' conception of their 'believability-credibility' rating.

These researchers suggest that what teachers do and say makes an important contribution to their ability to communicate or 'reach' pupils in classrooms. Credibility has been labelled in other terms notably status, trustworthiness, charisma, prestige and image. Three important factors were identified by House and Lapan (1978) which led pupils to consider teachers 'credible': 'teacher openness'; 'teacher communication' and 'defining expectation'. These categories are similar to those used by teachers in this study. They become more significant because similarities are revealed between both teacher conceptions in this study and pupil conceptions in House and Lapan's study, which suggests some convergence in the definition of the teaching situation.

Research by Grace (1978) involved interviewing head teachers in an attempt to define a 'good' teacher. In these interviews, references

were made to relational competence as a quality in their assessment of 'good' teaching. The definition of a 'good' teacher was not judged on matters peripheral to the essential needs of teaching but was viewed by the heads in connection with the immediacy of the school situation, 'the imperatives of the situation'.

When commenting on how they conceived a 'good' relationship and giving examples to illustrate one, teachers in this study tended to cite pupil examples. This may be considered a somewhat narrow conception of the attributes of a 'good' relationship. Interaction and teacher-pupil rapport were prominent and suggested that teachers were not just aware of control, results and work, but other aspects of their teaching. However, other conceptions were predominantly concerned with notions of how pupils 'Respond' and 'Talk'. Six out of the nine sub-categories were pupil orientated. Perhaps this should not be surprising as pupils are one of the main methods of judging the success of a relationship. A teacher can use his own feelings and intuitions to gauge how his relations with pupils are proceeding. However, pupil examples may more accurately reflect a 'good' relationship because the teacher is using evidence based on the actions of others as well as himself. These conceptions, with pupil examples highlighted, were still what teachers think, although they revealed examples which have behavioural and practical features, and which can be readily available in their memory and not just fabricated.

The sub-categories of responses were similar to issues raised in Chapter One regarding the nature of 'good' relationships. Gracey (1976) suggested that pupil individuality was enhanced, which is proposed by teachers in this study. Shipman (1975) advocated increased teacher control, a feature which is raised here by teachers. A 'good' relationship is also considered to promote communication and effectiveness, again both issues were contained in responses to Questions seven and eight.

Table 8.23 indicated the amount of consideration allocated to communication between teacher and pupil. One method of ascertaining a relationship was thought to be the amount of 'Pupil Talk', both formally and informally, that goes on between them. Similarly, 'Teacher' and 'Pupil Response' can reveal the amount of interest each is showing to the other perhaps in a reciprocal fashion. The sub-category 'Teacher-Pupil Rapport' encapsulated some of the more vague statements but which gave further indication of levels of communication and 'getting on'. Responses of this nature seemed to propose a bond between teacher and pupil in which the constraints of role appeared less restrictive. There was the belief that a teacher-pupil relationship of this kind brought out the best in both parties, along the lines indicated by Rogers (1965, 1969).

When left to their own devices, teachers failed to use the term 'relationships' as much as might be expected. Whereas a majority of teachers in this study used the term spontaneously, a higher proportion saw their work in relational terms. The difference between these results may be due to teachers thinking it unfashionable to talk about relationships or being seen to be too committed. Along similar lines, some teachers were apprehensive or 'put off' by the terms 'relationships' and 'personal relationships'. This could stem from a rather misconceived conceptualisation of relationships. Many teachers used a relationship orientation in their teaching in an almost sub-conscious manner, but when specifically asked about relationships, they reacted differently and more defensively. It was as if the term had been newly contaminated with a meaning to which they disagreed.

It can be suggested that some teachers conceptualise the term from its use in literature. It is often associated with 'liberal' or 'anti-authoritarian' styles of teaching and therefore for some teachers there

was a stigma attached to the concept. The results from this study indicated that teachers who think in terms of relationships were not radical, wishing to subvert the practice of teaching, rather they saw relationships as an element in teaching which assisted and maintained existing standards of discipline and instruction; a means to an end but from a more humane standpoint.

Interesting results were obtained from the advice teachers in this study thought they would give to new or probationary teachers. In Table 8.24 it was immediately apparent that 'Discipline and Control' and 'Preparation and Planning' mainly occupied their thoughts. This suggested that they viewed good practice in terms of control and organisation, whereas rapport and relationships was relegated to fifth position. It can be proposed that most teachers in this study believed new or probationary teachers were ill-equipped to establish, maintain or promote relationships in their teaching; that they should not be attempted until staff were sufficiently proficient in other areas of work. This point of view may help to explain the caution of teachers in advising probationers to encourage relationships in their teaching.

Thinking along these lines points to the nature of change in teacher training. Teachers in this study may think about and use relationships in their teaching but they are somehow not applicable to new teachers and probationers. At a time when there is vocal support for new and probationary teachers to seek advice and guidance from their teaching colleagues (Scanlon, 1973; Desforges and McNamara, 1978, 1979), subjects in this study seemed reluctant to pass on the wealth of their experiences. Only two responses suggested that probationary teachers should seek advice from others, often they were more concerned to emphasise the solving of problems from the individual's own practical standpoint. It would seem that a great deal of liaison needs to be stimulated between

those researchers who propose close ties between practising teachers and trainees, and the seasoned practitioners they are advocating should pass on their hand-won experience.

In his research, Turner (1982) asked his interviewees the advice they would give to probationers. Some of the responses were similar to those in this study. One feature of the responses in Turner's work was the stress placed upon discipline. All the subjects made some comment about it in terms of "Be strict at all times it's worth it."⁽¹⁾ Second in terms of importance was the advice for hard work and commitment specified by preparation, planning and organisation. These issues are in accord with the points raised by respondents in this study, where the two main sub-categories of advice in numerical terms were the same. Indeed, in this study the subjects were even more conscious of promoting good teaching discipline to the extent of adopting an authoritarian stance.

There seems to be two elements comprising relationships with pupils, both linked to each other. One is the relationship with an individual pupil and the other is with the class as a whole. Examples of satisfaction from a 'good' relationship frequently reflected individual relations. It seems likely that individual relationships are used to understand pupils. A teacher therefore needs to be aware of the establishment of individual relationships, together with knowledge of the nature of group relations. Here, some understanding of group processes may be of assistance in the training of teachers. Procedures which were raised by respondents in this study included:-

1. Use of pupil's names.
2. Knowledge of home background.
3. Avoidance of public confrontation with pupils.

1. Michael Turner, The Deep End, Times Educational Supplement, (1982) p21.

4. Talking to problem pupils alone.
5. Not antagonising the whole class.

Teachers in this study emphasised specific managerial procedures as a foundation for the establishment of relationships with pupils. These included:-

- (a) A clear idea of what should happen in the lesson.
- (b) A contingency plan in case of emergencies.
- (c) A supply of necessary materials: books, paper, pens etc.
- (d) Presenting tasks clearly.
- (e) Allocating sufficient time for task completion.
- (f) Marking any work done by pupils.

A 'good' teacher-pupil relationship seems to stem from teaching competence and sensitivity to pupil needs. The teacher should have clear aims regarding what he is going to do and then follow them through. He should be alert to the changing moods of the class and have the skill to identify individual children. A teacher should enjoy the relationship he establishes but be aware that it should not divert him from the main task of teaching. Essentially, the relationship should be on a contractual basis and not on friendship, though this does not preclude reciprocal liking. A particularly close personal relationship may engender pleasure for both parties, but on the teacher's side this should be tempered with educational principles, such as academic accomplishment and success. However, some teachers, as in this study, derived most satisfaction from their relationships.

(ii) Implications for Teacher Training

A theme which is frequently proposed presents the teacher with a debilitating set of demands but only limited resources and time to carry them out (Scanlon, 1973; Jeffreys, 1975; Mardle and Walker, 1980; Woods, 1980; Pollard, 1982); demands to care for pupils but control them at all costs. Different reactions and solutions from staff are in part a response to these demands. Some teachers try to meet all of them, some 'play' to the audience, others have a 'heads down policy' ignoring all distractions.

One concurrent theme which is becoming increasingly emphasised concerns trying to take the teacher's point of view, to appreciate things from his perspective. House and Lapan (1978) believe that the majority of research in education is not relevant to teaching. They argue that it is incomprehensible to anyone outside the research area. Yet, it would seem from various reports (Pollard, 1980; Woods, 1980) that teaching is becoming more pressurised and stressful, so there should be even more emphasis on understanding and being able to analyse classroom environments, if just for the survival of the teacher.

Teaching is a complex task and much of the knowledge involved in performing it is tacit knowledge, that is knowledge acquired from actually doing the task, by experience. Unlike other employment where interaction is not at the heart of the matter, it is relatively easy to elaborate or transfer knowledge to new workers. In the past this was a major problem encountered by probationary teachers, how to learn from older, more experienced members of staff because teaching does not lend itself satisfactorily to rules.

Criticism has been levelled at college courses where they are inadequate in assisting students how to teach (Weaver, 1970; Turner, 1982;

Taylor, 1983). A frequent concern is that they are too theoretical (Hoy, 1968; Scanlon, 1973). It is proposed that tacit knowledge derives from practising an activity, or at least being coached by an experienced practitioner. It is meaningless to inspire student-teachers with idealistic statements about the profession and its importance, if few means are offered to achieve these goals (McBeth and Morrison, 1972; Haigh, 1972; Argyris and Shon, 1975; Naish and Hartnett, 1975; Pollard, 1983).

One respondent expressed his views in the following manner:

"I don't offer up much hope for them. Seek help from staff they think can help their general teaching. I know that may sound glib because there's a lot more involved. I'm not sure whether probationers realise the gulf which lies between say teaching practice and their first appointment because there's a world of difference. I would tell them not to try and do too much. You know set simple achievable targets. Look at staff who seem to be successful and see if there are any tricks of the trade you can use. At least they'll be methods which have been used in practice."

(Male, 27 years, English, School A, Experience 2)

Deficiencies in passing on tacit knowledge about teaching lie in the lack of a technical vocabulary and technical culture among teachers. There are no common methods of analysing problems as there are in other professions. In teaching, there is no common study of education. The tradition of isolation in the classroom tends to prevent the creation of a common culture. A teacher is usually forced to rely upon himself, bringing his own idiosyncracies to bear on his problems. This individualistic approach to teaching may tend to remain with him throughout his career. He may become the judge of new ideas and practices (Weaver, 1970; Jeffreys, 1975). One subject had this to say:

"When I think about it I wasn't trained in how to teach. Apart from the odd few tips on teaching practice the rest of the course wasn't practically orientated. I was left to myself to sought out how I was going to teach. It's laughable really if it wasn't so serious. My advice would be to forget all the theory and concentrate on simple practical skills. You see I think college courses are O.K. as far as the academic subject matter is concerned but they fail to equip students with the essential

methods of putting information and ideas across. If you don't get it right you may as well be saying mickey mouse mickey mouse over and over again for all the good it'll do."

(Male, 32 years, Art, School A, Experience 3)

The use of relationships was made apparent in the practice of teaching when subjects in this study talked about examples of relationships and how they were established. Cultivating personal relationships was considered to be both a social skill and part of a person's self-makeup. Instead of being solely individualistic, patterns have been found in respect of relationships. However, training courses do not seem to contain sufficient coverage of the skills required to establish and maintain effective classroom relationships of a practical kind. This may be one reason why training courses are criticised. Invariably, the criticisms propose that training courses fail to equip students with the social skills which are important in teacher-pupil relationships and generally, course work is insufficiently couched in practical terms (Coombs, 1965; Hanson and Herrington, 1974; Brown, 1975; Desforges and McNamara, 1975; Elliott and Labbett, 1975; Jeffreys, 1975; Collins, 1982; McNamara and Bolger, 1982; D.E.S. Reports, 1982, 1983b). Some of these issues were raised by this respondent:

"I'd tell them to get back to basics. I'd remind them that their training course material might sound good in theory but they're not facing theoretical pupils. I suppose I'd tell them not to try too much too quickly. I'd explain that they must be in complete control of everything so the more simple and straightforward the lesson the less can go wrong. When you come down to it you can't relate to pupils straightaway, anyway training courses don't deal with relationships with kids. So to start off a teacher must show they're organised that they've done it before y'know it's not new. Only then will they gain the confidence of the pupils."

(Male, 28 years, Technology, School A, Experience 2)

More specifically, there has been criticism of the professional content of education taught in courses. Morrison and McIntyre (1972) suggest that training programmes are inadequate on three different levels:-

1. Conceptual level - lack of clarity in the objectives of training programmes and the kind of learning which parts of the programme are trying to promote.
2. Empirical level - inadequacy of teacher-education programmes in important areas of effectiveness and skills.
3. Professional consensus and co-operation - evidence of failure of communication between teacher trainers and school teachers.

Unfortunately, teachers must work within constraints often not of their own creation. To some extent, opportunities for creating good working and personal relationships are not lacking, but are usually not taken because there is not enough concern to produce new policies, or because teachers find it difficult to translate policy skills into practice through lack of guidance or training in the required skills.

The above argument suggests that training colleges and university departments need to adapt and change their programmes more in keeping with the practicalities of teaching. This move for change has three main proponents: Desforges and McNamara (1977, 1978, 1979) who advocate the preparation of teachers using 'craft knowledge' and Denscombe (1980) who describes a 'hidden pedagogy'.

Both these points of view have similarities in that they envisage improvement in teaching following a skills/techniques approach, which derives from utilising experiential knowledge of teachers. Desforges and McNamara (1977, 1978, 1979) present a framework based on the scrutiny of actual teaching responses, whereas Denscombe's (1980) is a more

implicit foundation for practical teaching. Personal relationships seem to be a part of both conceptions of teaching skills because both interpretations rely upon the actions and thinking of existing teachers to reveal insights into patterns and routines of teaching.

Desforges and McNamara (1979) emphasise the need for training students or new teachers to talk and discuss specific problems and procedures with established teachers, which at present is informal, infrequent and often irrelevant to create craft knowledge. Through this style of approach, these researchers believe craft knowledge can be 'acquired', objectified', 'codefied' and 'analysed'. They suggest probationary teachers may then become more competent, having some knowledge of critical skills based on real issues rather than pure theory.

In place of existing training methods, Desforges and McNamara (1978, 1979) propose the development of a system of instruction based on the realities of classroom practice, to be obtained via interviews of experienced teachers, in order to arrive at knowledge which would supplement the training and practice of teachers. Attempts at compiling a knowledge of theory which, although academically excellent, does not facilitate the advancement of educational practice, is rejected by these researchers and others (Jackson, 1968; Wilson, 1972, 1976; Tizard, 1974; Bronfenbrenner, 1976).

The study of relationships helps to illuminate several useful and practical issues. An investigation into teacher-pupil relationships is one area of 'craft knowledge' propounded by Desforges and McNamara (1978), referred to under the headings 'interaction based on ecological studies' and 'interpersonal interaction and social skills'. These they suggest are viable areas of study to elaborate 'craft knowledge'. This study of teacher-pupil relationships has attempted to provide some of the experiential craft knowledge of practising teachers, such as: What

makes a 'good' or 'bad' day in teaching? What gives most satisfaction? Teachers' thinking about the description, evaluation and organisation of relationships in their teaching.

Situations in which practical necessities are paramount have meant that classroom experience has generated a series of pragmatic beliefs grounded in the job, which are often at odds with conventional theory, what Denscombe (1980) describes as a 'hidden pedagogy'. It is this practical area of a teacher's work which training courses seem to have marginal influence on. Specifically, the course content and structure appear to be quickly jettisoned upon entering the classroom, where control is espoused by peers as being important.

According to Denscombe the 'hidden pedagogy' "is an implicit theory of teaching..."(1) which suggests being made aware of salient aspects of work by teachers. The 'hidden pedagogy' describes classroom experience in which personal relationships seem to play an important part in directing the attitudes and work of teachers. In this study, relationships provided teachers with an important component of their teaching when in contact with pupils and so may comprise an element in the 'hidden pedagogy'. It can be more amenable to the recurring demands of working in classrooms and can partly reflect a relationship used as a means to define the situation teachers are in and a guide to their teaching.

It is in this context that the study of relationships can enable progress to be made. On one level they specifically emerge from teacher-pupil interaction and so have firm foundations in the practicalities of teaching. At another level they assist in pupil control, an important consideration for teachers. Teacher-pupil relationships would seem to

1. Martyn Denscombe, *The 'Hidden Pedagogy' and its implications for Teacher Training* (1982), p250.

be a suitable conceptual tool to investigate the actions of teachers when in contact with pupils, to aggregate the objectification of 'craft knowledge' and identification of salient relationship features which may make up an element of the 'hidden pedagogy'.

The studies of Desforges and McNamara (1977, 1978, 1979) and Denscombe (1980) advocate increased involvement of the practices and thinking of teachers in the development of training courses. This line of argument emphasises the importance of the teacher in educational and teaching research. Similarly, both research perspectives recognise the influence of specific personal qualities in the teacher which aid professional competence and effectiveness. Results from this study revealed a similar pattern. The teachers involved were of the opinion that personal qualities such as 'fairness', 'genuine' and being 'natural' were necessary in the development of relationships with pupils.

Proposals made by H.M. Inspectorate (1982) reflect the views of Desforges and McNamara and those raised in this study. Firstly, greater utilisation of practising teachers as one reform in teacher training. Secondly, selection of potential teachers based more on their personal qualities. Thirdly, the improvement of management skills, the contact between teachers and pupils, relating to the total organisation of interaction in terms of its relational and physical properties.

It is only recently that attention has been placed on people as individuals in selection for teacher training. Future selection of teachers may involve attention to candidates' personal qualities as well as their formal academic qualifications. In their 1982 report, H.M. Inspectorate refer to personality traits as being important along with academic achievement for success in teaching. This issue was raised by teachers in this study when referring to the establishment of relationships.

Another benefit would be improved teacher training courses which gave potential teachers advice and tuition in a programme designed to deal with the establishment and management of relationships. One respondent was aware of her lack of skill in this area:

"When I started to teach I had a terrible first few weeks trying to get myself into some sort of relationship with the children. I seemed to be getting nowhere fast with very little help with discipline. Great we were told what we shouldn't do - send a pupil out of class, send a pupil to the headmaster's office. But what do you do in a serious situation when a pupil has become dangerous to you or other pupils? I wanted to get a positive relationship with the pupils. I thought to myself if we find something really exciting and interesting to do we'll get to know each other. But it wasn't as easy as that. I really did want to form a good relationship with the children but when it came down to it I didn't know how."

(Female, 24 years, English, School A, Experience 1)

Even though fostering, implementation and use of relationships seem connected with an individual's personal approach, there may be specific skills which can be identified and capitalised on. Using a skills approach could be one way to improve training, and thereby practical teaching.

Despite encouraging signs from teachers concerning relationships, there are still improvements which could be made. In addition to improving programmes, it may be necessary to improve teachers' conceptions of good relationships. In order to rectify this situation, teacher training programmes and In-Service courses may need to incorporate procedures which encourage teachers to use relationships and be more aware of them in their teaching. Second, the composition, nature and type of course will need to be carefully thought out and organised to overcome the negative images which some teachers associate with relationships. Alternatively, teacher training courses could improve the ability of teachers to establish relationships, in which they hold the initiative.

The identification of an inadequate conception of what a good relationship is, the extent to which a significant minority did not think in terms of relationships, and a majority who were not totally in favour of personal relationships, emphasises the importance of changes to and improvements in training. Also implied, is that training programmes may need to be carefully thought out and formulated in order to gain the interest, respect and enthusiasm of trainee teachers to accept relationship skills. Course content and structure will similarly need to illustrate the key position of the teacher in relationships and the practical results which can be derived. Both areas of concern require subtle approaches to overcome issues of interpretation and self-doubt expressed by some teachers.

Teachers in this study revealed a commitment to relationships in teaching but a reticence toward the term itself. Thus, on one level, ideas for changes in training incorporating relational techniques have a good chance of being well received and potentially successful. On another level, training will need to be subtle, perceptive and relevant so that teachers are not discouraged by the concept but use relationships for improved teaching. One way to change the image of relationships in the minds of teachers may be to ground them in skills, emphasising their practical qualities.

Changing training methods to include relational skills may partly solve one area of concern. Training courses do not seem to contain sufficient coverage of the skills required to establish and maintain effective classroom relationships of a practical kind. This may be one reason why courses are criticised and found wanting by students and researchers (Weaver, 1970; McBeth and Morrison, 1972; Scanlon, 1973; Hanson and Herrington, 1974; Argyris and Schon, 1975; Naish and Hartnett, 1975; Carr, 1980; Brook, 1981; Wadd, 1982).

One possible starting point for changes in teacher training is suggested by Morrison and McIntyre (1973) when they propose that social psychologists like Argyle (1967) bring relevant ideas to teaching. The analogy is that teaching performances involving relationships require basic social and professional skills which need to become part of teacher training. These researchers contend that strategies involving relationships not only require training in different skills but higher levels of skill than those in formal classrooms.

To partly resolve this situation, pre-service and In-Service training could place more emphasis on the psychology of interpersonal relationships, together with behavioural implications of various methods of organising and communicating instruction. In this sense, departments are not co-ordinated in respect of course content. Students may only receive a fragmented and disjointed view of teacher-pupil interaction and the ensuing relationship (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973; Tizard, 1974; Entwistle, 1976).

A second area for possible inclusion in a revised training course involving relationships is presented by Desforges and McNamara (1978, 1979). Their reference to a 'craft knowledge' approach with emphasis placed upon 'interpersonal interaction and social skills' in teacher training, seems to be a step in the right direction to encourage practical relationship training, and to close the gap between educational theory and contextual practice.

Teacher trainers could perhaps consider the following preliminary suggestions for improved teacher training based on some of the points raised above.

1. Increased attention to a student teacher's personal characteristics, regarding self image, flexibility and ability to interact with children.

2. Identify specific pedagogic skills of a practical kind involving teacher-pupil relationships.
3. Present relational pedagogic skills on video tape for student appraisal.
4. Identify specific classroom organisational skills and present actual teaching examples on video tape.
5. Allow student teachers to work with small groups of children to practise skills. Video tape and compare with experienced teachers.
6. Secondment of experienced teachers to training college staff, to be responsible for programmes of managerial and relationship skills.

Further research is necessary to elaborate areas of relationships in teaching. Research could investigate the following issues:-

- A. Whether the term 'relationship' is used by teachers in other types of schools: primary, junior or middle.
- B. To compare the behavioural aspects of teachers using relationships with their thinking.
- C. To establish whether teacher thinking changes over time.
- D. To discover whether the age, sex or subject specialism of the teacher has any influence on his thinking toward relationships.
- E. To discover what pupils think about relationships with teaching staff.

To accomplish these tasks there would appear to be some argument for developing a range of teacher researchers committed to working on classroom relationships.

This is a preliminary study for the articulation of teacher thoughts as they apply to relationships. It is a starting point for a clearer understanding of the practical issues which are highlighted in teacher thinking. Research of this nature reveals that it is important for teachers to be aware of and articulate their own thoughts as they apply to the practicalities of teaching. It is hoped that the categories used in this study can be used as an initial starting point for future research.

APPENDICES

- Appendix (i) Details of Schools A and B from which teachers were interviewed
- Appendix (ii) Three transcribed teacher interviews
- Appendix (iii) Computer codes used to analyse interviews and the categories they referred to

Appendix (i)

School A

This purpose-built, co-educational secondary modern school was opened in 1959 to serve the needs of local council housing estates. It is situated on the southern periphery of a large industrial town.

At its inception, the school had a four form entry. Pupils left at the end of their fourth year after taking 'Northern Counties' examinations. Originally, the school population was under five hundred. It developed a small voluntary fifth form with the introduction of C.S.E. examinations in 1965-66.

Introduction of comprehensive education and the raising of the school leaving age in 1973 resulted in reorganisation in terms of numbers and structure. Improved provision was made for C.S.E. and G.C.E. examinations, including a restructured curriculum with greater emphasis upon science subjects, together with the introduction of pastoral and progress tutors.

The introduction of a sixth form in 1978 had a considerable impact on the running of the school. Council and private house building within the catchment area ensured growth of the school's role. School A has an eight form entry, with approximately 1,250 pupils and 65 staff.

Pupils are in mixed ability tutor groups throughout their school career. They are banded in English, Mathematics and Science according to ability, but placed in mixed ability groups for Geography, History and Religious Education during their first three years. They are 'set' in the fourth year according to examination options.

School B

This school is situated near the centre of the same town as School A. However, it has followed a distinctly different pattern of evolution and development. Historically, it was a boys' Grammar-Technical following the 1944 Education Act.

The school serves a mixed catchment area, ranging from high status private housing to council owned property and flats. It operated on a split site until 1984. A small annex, situated three quarters of a mile from the main purpose-built block, functioned as the 'lower' school. Like many schools in the town, it is affected by falling roles as local residents are being re-housed.

From being a single sex Grammar-Technical with a tradition of excellence in science, notably chemistry, physics and practical subjects, it has changed to a co-educational comprehensive school. It has approximately 1,500 pupils and 85 staff. In addition, it has a long established sixth form, dating back to its Grammar-Technical days.

Streaming is more apparent in this school. Not only is there streaming according to ability in Mathematics, Science and English but also in Geography, History and Languages. 'Express sets' are consciously selected to enable 'bright' pupils to enter for examinations a year earlier.

The school has maintained its position of excellence in respect of science subjects, and is considered to be a place of 'excellence' in the teaching of Chemistry and Physics. Recent results at Ordinary and Advanced level revealed a pass rate higher than the national average. Many Heads of Department are themselves former pupils and teachers from grammar schools.

Appendix (ii)

Transcribed Interview 1

Subject Female, English, 34 years, School B, Experience 3

Question 1. Think of a class you consider good in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"They were always sensible, they never resented if I had to shout at them always willing to get on with their work. They were a very stable very friendly class they were the best behaved class I've ever had. There was a lovely atmosphere in the room. They never resented anything I told them to do or if I told them off they would take it. It was a case of o'h alright. If I came in in a bad mood it was o'h she's in a bad mood today but they would get on with it. They were very understanding...always cheerful."

Prompt - what was the age group?

"They were fifth years last year. I had them in the fourth and fifth years."

Prompt - was it a remedial group?

"Yes it was the bottom stream."

Question 2. Think of a class you consider bad or dislike in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"That's difficult...I couldn't think of a class..."

Prompt - any group of pupils or individuals?

"It's different you see the 'Green' classes which are sort of the next stream up I get a little bit in the fourth year and I always heartily dislike them at the beginning of the fourth year. I hate them but by the end of the fourth year I quite like them. When I get to know them.. because the 'Greens' their behaviour's a lot worse than the bottom stream, they're not as easy to please as the bottom stream and they can be pretty bolshie and it takes a year to get to know each other."

Question 3. Sometimes we have good or bad days in our job.

What would be examples of these for you?

"A good day would be where there is no dramatic problems you know a crisis of some kind or a major confrontation. I hate that it's really a shock to my system. I'm sure it includes working with kids in small

groups where I've made some contact, I mean talking one-to-one. It doesn't necessarily mean covering loads of work or kids getting high marks. I mean it could be something low key and mundane like getting someone to talk. I'd much rather talk over a problem; I don't like to have to shout. No yard duty."

Question 4. What gives you most satisfaction in your teaching?

"I suppose looking back over the year and seeing pupils making some progress. In my subject it's not high academic success it's progress on a personal level. I think mainly with fourth and fifth years it's a matter of getting them to express themselves their thoughts and ideas. I suppose it's an added bonus if you talk to them not just about their it's another way of relating to them."

Question 5. When meeting a class for the first time are there any special things you do? What is uppermost in your mind when you meet this class for the first time?

"I always start off with a new class by being very firm not giving anything at all and tell them how I'd expect them to behave but no sort of friendly chat. I'm never nice to them for months until I've established the discipline and then I relax. Sometimes it takes years or months it varies I always start off poker faced."

Prompt - any examples when they are waiting to come in?

"Oh yes I line them up outside and let them come in, in files and make them stand up...tell them to sit down. I let them sit where they want to sit and see how it goes from there. I tell them I won't allow any shouting or swearing or fighting and they don't write on the outsides of books. That's about it really...I say if they co-operate with me I'll co-operate with them and we'll get on a lot better."

Question 6. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary teacher or student about teaching, what would you stress as being important?

"Well you have to treat them like human beings and it's ...you see I'm very coloured by the fact I teach lower streams all the time you have to give them special treatment really because in the school as a whole they are treated very badly so you've really got to show... alter their confidence but you've also got to enforce discipline because you can't

establish a relationship with a class unless you've got the discipline first. I mean I really enjoy teaching fifth years because by then they know what discipline I expect and then I can relax and then I can get to know them a bit better but you've got to teach them like human beings. If they come in complaining about the way they've been treated I always listen to them, it helps to have someone they can talk to. It's our specific job to be the sort of people that the kid can come and talk to."

Question 7. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?

"Well I think they're very important. When you first see a class as a whole it's just a class. I mean you've got to sort of you know establish your discipline but when you get to know them you find you've got a different relationship with each child. I mean some people you'll never be rude to. I mean some of the boys you can call them all the names under the sun it depends on the child. You react differently to each child depending on your knowledge of their personality. I relate to the individual child rather than the class."

Question 8. What would be examples of a good relationship for you?

"Well for instance if they came in and I had work prepared and somebody mentions you know a personal problem or something that's happened. I'm quite prepared to stop the lesson and talk about that if that's what they're more interested at the time. You know the work doesn't always come first sometimes it does but I'm more interested in them as people you know if they've got problems they can't talk about to anybody else I'll talk about them. Sometimes I'll talk to the class as a whole or sometimes I'll set them work and I'll go and talk to an individual or a group. If they've got something to worry about I'm quite happy to be side-tracked. It's vital to be flexible."

Question 9. How do you go about establishing a relationship?

"Well I think when the class are working or when they're busy I go round and talk to them sort of in small groups and you get to know what they're like and you know encourage them to talk to you cos some of them won't talk in a class situation. They would never speak to you but if you actually go up to them they'll talk to you ... and ask them about what they do out of school their families; just show that you're interested.

I mean once they know that you're actually interested in them as a person then it comes...they're quite happy to form a relationship if they think that you're interested. It's not difficult."

Prompt - How much is it you?

"I must show interest in them first because they're very suspicious, they're very wary and I think it's the way they've been treated possibly in their school lives and sometimes at home but you've got to show the interest. Some of them will start first they'll start the relationship themselves but with the majority of them you've got to show the interest first. If you show you care and they know that you care then you've got their trust."

Question 10. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship? Are there any disadvantages or problems?

"The fifth year who've just left I mean I could walk into a room and they were there. I would sort of mess about and they'd just sort of sit quietly waiting and I would say we're going to do 'so and so' today it wouldn't be a matter of laying down the law it was a very relaxed atmosphere that's how they work. Oh yeah once you've established your relationship with the children I mean how can I put this it's not that discipline relaxes but you don't need the discipline you don't need to go in and sort of shouting and yelling and acting like the gestapo you know you can go in and say now what's the matter with you what's all the noise about why are you fidgety today? You can talk about .. and it ... I mean I don't enjoy shouting at people and getting annoyed with them I mean I'd much rather it was sort of a pleasant atmosphere in the classroom much more enjoyable. I feel that I can work - really - I mean I don't like having to get annoyed with kids I'd rather have a laugh with them than shout at them but they've got to know how far they can go before you can do that otherwise they think you're soft if you start off like that and they can get out of hand. But you've got to be able to control them as well."

Prompt - are there any disadvantages or problems?

"Sometimes they take advantage and if you know I particularly want them to do something and they know that I could be side-tracked and they'll side-track me and then I'll get back to what I want to talk about and they'll keep trying to side-track me. Usually if I think they're sort of over-stepping the mark I usually take them to one side take them on

their own and just talk to them and say look you know you can say this you can say that but you can't say that because I do work at this school I've got to obey the rules and there are certain rules that I have to impose on you. But I normally try and talk to them like that. Sometimes I just shout. I get bad tempered and move them around the classroom but usually talking to them works, usually talking to them is better."

Question 11. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would agree to or would you expect major differences of opinion?

"Oh a lot of difference of opinion. There are very few staff who teach like that in the remedial department. I encourage people to do that but I can't think of many people who would take that attitude. I think some of them are frightened to give anything of themselves to the classes but I mean if you don't give something...I mean obviously it's very limited what you give to a class but if you don't give something you're not going to get anything back. Yes there are some people who would definitely disapprove of my methods but they do work. There might be general agreement over the attitudes but not the practical side of doing it."

Transcribed Interview 2

Subject Male, English, 27 years, School A, Experience 2

Question 1. Think of a class you consider good in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"Well basically it's a literature set doing 'O' level and they combine three good qualities they are biased towards academic work; they're reasonably enthusiastic and they are reasonably sensitive as well to the written word and the combination of the three factors makes them an interesting class to teach. Their sensitivity prompts questions, they raise questions, they're prepared to answer and there is a good process of two-way communication between teacher and class with that particular group; but they're unrepresentative mind they're an elite, a fifth, specially created and creamed - they're not the mainstream type of class."

Question 2. Think of a class you consider bad or dislike in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"Well they're not so much a bad class they are a second year class that I'm thinking of and they could potentially develop into a troublesome class one can see that there are the cliques the groups of potentially troublesome pupils developing at second year level. You can see that there is a group of boys in the class a group of particularly noisy demonstrative boys, they lack the basic sort of self-control that you're looking for in a second year class and also there is the capacity for disobedience amongst certain members of that class it really needs to be controlled otherwise I could see them being a potentially difficult class. Prompt - are they mixed ability?"

"They are a mixed ability class in the second year. It's not academic badness it's from the point of view of simply lack of commitment to the lessons compared to other second year classes in terms of attitude."

Question 3. Sometimes we have good or bad days in our job:

What would be examples of these for you?

"Well sometimes positive feedback from the pupils in terms of they've found something interesting or rewarding or alternatively... I don't see myself specifically being there to necessarily make the lesson

interesting but what I would find also rewarding would be to see someone making very very clear progress. I mean for instance talking about doing a school play, that's one of the rewarding things about that, you can see it now though it's fairly chaotic, I can see it having progressed from a stage whereby they could hardly read through the words to now where they are consciously projecting a particular characterisation on stage. It's the same with teaching if you can see a very definite sign of progress having been made it's rewarding even if the particular child hasn't found the subject interesting. So obviously two things if a child or a class having enjoyed and being stimulated or alternatively clear signs of improvement. Also a sense of repartee if you like with a class, a sense of a relationship being carried out successfully.

Bad days we all have them you come in with a hang-over. The bad days are when you feel that this overpowering sense of failure that absolutely can overcome you and you feel as if no matter what you're it's all so pointless because of very very clear signs that they know what you're there to do and you know what they're there to do and there is no meeting between the two, they're not co-operating and you're not getting over to them what you're wanting them to do and you're feeling this overpowering sense of failure and that creates a bad day. When you're failing to communicate."

Question 4. What gives you most satisfaction in your teaching?

"Being with people who respect what you're doing and appreciate what you're trying to do. Occasionally I suppose we're all guilty of this of not feeling we've done quite our best for somebody and I'm a great believer they'll tell you how to teach and if you're not doing the job properly they'll tell you. This comes over in a disenchantment and dis-orientation with what you're doing and I mean quite obviously you yourself often know you can sense instinctively when you're not doing something the right way and of course you get the feedback from them as well."

Question 5. When meeting a class for the first time are there any special things you do? What is uppermost in your mind?

"Yes I don't smile. I never smile. I smile perhaps six or seven weeks into the term and then have a joke. I lay down a series of instructions regarding the government of my lessons, what I expect from them. I

insist on certain things even like with fifth years backing of books reason being if they respect their books they are far more likely to respect the work and themselves. Also rules particularly with first years don't get up and wander about, stay in your seats put your hand up if you've got anything to ask. I also try to encourage questions even the simplest of questions. It's not just about behaviour I try to start the lessons off with a new class the way I intend to carry them out throughout the year. I like talk, I like to stimulate the two-way process it's got to be constructive. I don't ...I try not to allow any talking in class which isn't directly relevant to the subject."

Prompt - what is uppermost in your mind?

"It depends on who they are. If I've never taken the class before and I've heard something about them it obviously colours your attitude before you go in for instance if they're a bad class or they have the reputation you obviously go in prepared and ready for any potential danger signals coming from them. Likewise if they're a good class there again it tends to colour your thinking before you go in. I mean I find that with the fifth year set I've got that before I go in I know that I'm going to push them on drive them on because they are a good class they've already passed the first half of their exam with flying colours I mean it's coloured my thinking from the start. If I don't I feel as if I've failed them. An anonymous class though I go in with an open mind."

Question 6. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary or student teacher about teaching, what would you stress?

"I would stress having aims very very clear in mind before you start because I found lessons that fail are lessons that you haven't had a very clear aim in mind. Also mind you that doesn't always work because with creative subjects like drama and art and I suppose music perhaps quite often it doesn't if you go in with a set aim in mind before the lesson sometimes it doesn't work due to circumstances that develop in the lesson, the atmosphere, the feelings of the pupils, your feelings; perhaps the idea isn't very good to start with, perhaps the children aren't feeling very receptive and there again that same idea might work perfectly well with another class. With an academic subject Geography or English Language, you have to go in with very clear aims in mind and you have to have had prepared yourself fully to carry out that aim

because if you've done that you should be sufficiently confident to deal with any problems that develop during the lesson any new tangents that a question might take you off at. I mean lesson plans can be self-defeating when it becomes the be-all and end-all that it must follow this structure. If you've got an aim in mind that's the real preparation. Regarding a probationer, I'm very much...not an authoritarian... but I feel that there's a definite level of behaviour that's acceptable and I think the children know that as well. I don't think the teacher is there to win any popularity polls with them. I think students feel they have to be popular with pupils got to make them like me ideas, I don't think that is necessarily important. I would far sooner encourage them to demand the respect of a class and that comes with having an aim in mind and you're there to carry that aim out. I would encourage a student to insist on standards, standards of attentiveness, behaviour."

Question 7. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?

"Personal relationships means exactly that establishing a one-to-one relationship with a pupil. The only problem is that you can't do it with anybody it's sheer size and weight of numbers. You tend to get to know, to establish good relationships with the able ones and the trouble makers now then why not that amorphous body in the middle, the reasonably able none trouble-making plodder. I try to get to those but it's such an impossible task if you teach eight to ten forms, you can't get to know them on a personal basis. But it is invaluable to know them on a personal basis as people not just pupils. If you know them from this angle it facilitates a far more effective classroom relationship."

Question 8. What would be examples of a good relationship for you?

"I've got a close relationship with about five or six members of my form and I've got quite close personal relationships with my sixth form students because I've known them since they were third years. To give a specific example we were studying a novel the other day in which a character is to all intents and purposes extrovert and outgoing but at heart liking solitude and one boy said that's like you which I felt showed he has insight into my character, he knew me as a person not just a teacher."

Question 9. How do you go about establishing a relationship?

"You talk or you try to talk and again it's communication. If you fail to communicate satisfactorily with someone then you don't establish a relationship. Relationships are built out of communication with somebody and let's face it we don't all communicate successfully with everyone. With the ones that you do they are the ones you establish good relationships with. There are those that you've got satisfactory relationships with that you might not be able to communicate fully with but you try."

Question 10. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship? Are there any disadvantages or problems?

"Forming a relationship is important from the point of view of communicating it's as simple as that. Being able to communicate to them fully what you want them to do what... in order to lead them successfully along the right lines. A close relationship is really necessary to fully point somebody along what you consider to be the right lines. I think through having a close relationship with some pupils they realise that I am reasonably sincere about what I'm trying to do and reasonably committed to what I'm trying to do. I don't want them to think that in any way or sense I'm playing at it or going through the motions. Consequently trying to establish that kind of relationship with them they respond favourably. I'm not just talking about being friendly with them but a relationship in which you know them and they know you it enables you to control the situation better I think, an aspect of control being to lead somebody."

Question 11. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would agree to or would you expect major differences?

"I think with most teachers in any school there is a broad consensus. You see I haven't been in another school. I mean my attitudes have changed since I came into teaching. I think you are moulded to a certain extent by the people around you and I think in this school you'd find that there is probably a broad consensus of opinion. There'll be certain areas where particularly individualistic teachers will go off at a tangent and say that's wrong. I would say most people.. teachers in this school will be reasonably authoritarian in their approach to pupils. I would

like to go into another school to see what I could learn, how I would develop differently in a different situation. You could go to a different school under a different regime and you might hear something different but I think overall you would find that most a broad consensus would say the same."

Transcribed Interview 3

Subject Male, Humanities, 24/25 years, School B, Experience 2

Question 1. Think of a class you consider good in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"Well I suppose one of the reasons I think they're good is because there are certain individuals in the class who are quite clever and a good proportion of them are clever and I tend to think of those in thinking of a good class, and also the class as a whole is well behaved and of reasonable academic standard."

Prompt - What age group were they and were they streamed?

"A first year and they were banded, so they were the top band within the year; whether deliberately or accidentally, they tended to be one of the best forms in their year."

Prompt - What immediately came into your mind with the word good?

"In a certain sense things tend to go together. So I think they were academically quite bright, they were interesting to talk to, perhaps for that reason, and they behaved well and were interested. Those three things tended to go together, the behaviour, the intellectual ability and generally interesting personality."

Question 2. Think of a class you consider bad or dislike in some way:

Tell me something/anything about it which comes to mind

"Well the class I've got in mind, what I disliked about them is that I found them very difficult to control, their behaviour, to keep them quiet and to get them interested and because of that I spent all my time in superficial discipline and try to survive in the situation rather than actually dealing with individual children or trying to get through to individuals. I haven't got time to go around and see them all because if I'm with one child then there's half a dozen somewhere else misbehaving and because of that I don't really feel I teach very much. I just cope with the situation and go through certain hoops in a group because that's the easiest way to control them and that's not the way I want to teach."

Question 3. Sometimes we have good or bad days in our job.

What would be examples of these for you?

"Well first of all the absence of disasters, which I think the negative side is quite important. For instance to take classes which are often difficult to teach and find that they're interested and they work quite well. So there is a certain negative element that things which could go wrong don't go wrong; and the other thing which is more positive where I consider it a good day when I'm doing the kind of work with the children where I can go round and see them individually and get some response on a more individual basis and feel quite satisfied that I can get some more personal reaction perhaps from them than I normally would.

A bad day would either be taking a class I disliked or taking good classes, but on some days I find perhaps because what I'm doing or because I'm not properly prepared or because what the children are like; things seem to be more like going through the motions than actually getting through to anyone - and the whole class sit down and they all do what they're supposed to do and you know they're finding it boring too. So a combination of difficult classes, being dull, maybe my fault, maybe theirs."

Question 4. What gives you most satisfaction in your teaching?

"I can think of that in relation to individuals. There was an occasion when a boy brought a note from his mother thanking me for helping him throughout the year; because I helped him quite a lot and he was able to move up into another class, for him that was important. When that happened I was pleased I had done that. Often I feel that kind of thing in relation to individuals. If there's a particular child whose got difficulties I can help and do. I feel quite pleased that progress can be made."

Question 5. When meeting a class for the first time are there any special things you do? What is uppermost in your mind when you meet this class?

What I consider important is to get to know bare details of who they are because I hate teaching anonymous masses. I like to know who the children are. It is very difficult to really do that but I try to get them to talk about themselves in some way which of course is very stylised

and formal and they're not being natural. But at least to find out who they are and what they're interested in and usually I ask them to say something about their interests so that I can get some idea what kind of children they are which of course sounds superficial."

Prompt - Are there any practical things you do when you first meet?

"Well in English I normally like them to do project work at some stage and so on the first day I often mention the project work and say that you're going to do a project on something that's interesting to you. I try to get them to work out their ideas on what they would like to do a project on. The reason I do that is because in doing that I ask them questions like 'what are you really interested in' by them thinking about how they are going to do a project and what subject they're going to choose they then start to become more personal, because you know if they're interested in horse riding or something that will emerge because they're going to do a project on horse riding and I've got them writing this down. I've got time to nip round and see different children under the guise of talking about their project I can talk to them.

Prompt - Is there anything uppermost in your mind when you meet a class for the first time?

"Well before I go in I sometimes think well I should be more strict than I was the year before because you reap the rewards, you pay a price throughout the year for the things you do wrong at the beginning. So I make a resolution about what I'm going to do but in practice when I go in I'm more concerned to have some personal contact and to relate to them as children/people individuals rather than as a big mass. Of course you really can't very much but I tell myself that I'm going to go in and try and be strict and so on but in practice what I actually do is to go in and try and find who people are."

Question 6. If you were asked to give advice to a probationary or student teacher what would you stress as being important?

"I think liking children and trying to...develop a proper relationship with them as individuals I think is what's important. Of course the advice probationers are usually given is you shouldn't smile before Christmas and all that kind of thing. I think all that kind of thing is quite wrong. I also think I'd give them some advice in terms of realism. One of the hardest things to do as a teacher is just to survive in a completely straightforward sense; not just to do a good job or anything but

just to stay sane at the end of the day. I think often when people are trained they are given a very false picture of what they can expect to achieve, that they're geared towards achieving perfection. One of the first things you learn is there's no way you're going to prepare everything meticulously as you do on teaching practice, mark all the books meticulously as you're supposed to do and teach all day long and do extra curricula activities and so on. I think I would try and indicate to them that it is essential to have survival strategies rather than aim at perfection."

Question 7. What do you think about personal relationships in teaching?

"Well what I'd say is this. I mean as a teacher it seems to me you're constrained by the rules of the institution you're in and by the kind of expectations everybody has of teachers including your superiors and the children themselves and so to some extent you're going to be, you're always going to be in a - some degree a formal situation. But it is possible to emphasise that and to put distance between you and the children and to set yourself up very much as an authority figure and certain techniques of teaching fit in with that very well. The traditional class teacher teaching the whole class and they sit in their desks and maybe even a podium. That kind of approach all fits in together it seems to me and that's not what I like. I prefer systems of teaching where you can deal with smaller numbers, small groups or individual children where you organise it in such a way that you're free to move around and among them. It's very difficult to do particularly in a traditional school and also it's difficult to do because it makes more demands of a teacher and you may not be up to doing it, I mean I do find it difficult I have this idea of what I'd like to do but in practice I'm not very good at it. I mean I'd probably be better at being an ordinary formal class teacher but I don't think that's very worthwhile so I tend to do a rather poor job of being the other type of teacher I think it's more difficult to do."

Question 8. What would be examples of a good relationship for you?

"The kind of things I like to happen are for instance I run the school library, well it's not much of a library, but there are a few children who you wouldn't on the face of it think were interested in books who

are always coming to get things on different subjects and I try and - their understandings of things may not be very great - but there are certain children who take an enormous interest in something and I'm able to help them just by bringing them in and showing them different books."

Question 9. How do you go about establishing a relationship?

"I think a lot of that happens by accident in the sense that I'll be teaching and I'll try and get some information and get things done and be like a formal teacher. Something I'll say or some instance will happen and I'll go and talk to that child and I'll forget what I'm supposed to be doing even then it might be quite contrary to the best interests of the lesson the discipline of the class and everything but sometimes you just forget that you're supposed to be a teacher and talk to them like ordinary people and I mean that kind of thing is important. Sometimes it works against you as well you can get a lot of problems through not being too strictly fixed into your role."

Question 10. What do you see as being the benefits from forming a relationship? Are there any disadvantages or problems?

"I think if it's done well then the advantages are that you can draw on the children's real enthusiasms and their real interests and their whole personalities in - partly in the service of what you're trying to do - particularly in a subject like English for instance and if you can do that kind of thing well that - the children aren't just sort of doing as they're told and putting the minimum amount of effort into doing things correctly - will give a lot of themselves. So if you can do it well I think it's very beneficial. It's also a very difficult thing to do well and the disadvantages can be that if you don't do it very well which I don't particularly you can end up with quite a lot of chaos and it may be more kind of economical policy not to try and do it if you fail but I think you know you don't always have as much choice as you think. To some extent the strategies you use are not the matter of choice but you just find yourself doing it whether you want to or not because - I happen to like children so I find it quite hard not to do it really."

Question 11. Do you think your comments are similar to what most teachers would agree to or would you expect major differences of opinion?

"I think it depends on which area of the country you are dealing with and maybe what kind of schools they've got. A lot of people I know who don't teach in this area and teach in areas like Leicestershire where they try to promote that type of approach and some of the schools are organised to facilitate it and the headmaster believes in it and so on. I think then there's a lot of support for it and it works rather well because the whole school is geared to it and everybody tries it and they have all sorts of things which facilitates it like children working in groups team teaching and lots of resources for children to work individually everything is geared towards it and in that sense I think you can see why people are in favour of it. In this kind of area I don't think teachers are in favour of it and the school is not geared to it and the people who try don't generally do particularly well at it. I don't think because you're going against the grain of the school as an institution but what the children think and how they approach things. So I think it's a very difficult thing to do with many differences."

Appendix (iii)

Computer Codes for Interview Data

<u>Category/Sub-category</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
<u>Policy Statements</u>	
<u>Positive Relational Outlook</u>	
Pupil individuality	100
Pupil co-operation in work/progress	110
Relatedness	120
Teacher response	130
<u>Negative Relational Outlook</u>	
Less involvement	140
Personal details	150
Teaching boundaries	160
Teaching consequences	170
<u>Examples of Relationships</u>	
<u>Teacher orientated</u>	
Relaxed	200
Established identity	210
Knowledge	220
<u>Pupil orientated</u>	
Talk	230
Teacher contact	240
Response	250
Results	260
Work	270
Control	280
Teacher/Pupil rapport	290

<u>Category/Sub-category</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
<u>Importance of Relationships</u>	
In favour	300
Limited use	310
Against use	320
Possibility of use	330
<u>Effects of Relationships</u>	
<u>Instructional Outcomes</u>	
Pupil learning or progress facilitated	400
Teacher tasks facilitated	
Teaching	405
Self	410
Control	415
Feedback	420
<u>Relational Outcomes</u>	
Pupil enjoyment	425
Teacher enjoyment	430
Teacher satisfaction	435
Teacher relaxed	440
Class atmosphere	445
Teacher understanding of pupils	450
Pupil understanding of teachers	455
Mutual understanding	460
Communication	465

<u>Category/Sub-category</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
<u>Negative Outcomes</u>	
Familiarity	470
Taking advantage	475
Boundaries	480
Extremes	485
Favouritism	490
Strain	495
<u>Conditions for Establishment</u>	
<u>Teacher</u>	
Personality	500
Way of working	510
<u>Organisation of School</u>	
Size	515
Syllabus	520
Formal situation	525
<u>Time</u>	
Long	530
Short	535
Gradual	540
<u>Aspects of Interaction - Teacher</u>	
Knowledge	545
Discipline	550
Formality	555
Strictness	560

<u>Category/Sub-category</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
<u>Teacher Traits</u>	
Respect	565
Naturalness	570
Genuine	575
Trust	580
<u>Teacher Treatment</u>	
Fairness	585
Involvement	590
Flexibility	595
Communication	596
Neutral responses	597

Computer codes dealing with subject information

<u>Sex</u>		<u>Teaching Experience</u>	
Male	= 1	0 - 2 years	= 1
Female	= 2	3 - 5 years	= 2
<u>Schools</u>		6 - 10 years	= 3
School A	= 1	11 - 15 years	= 4
School B	= 2	16+ years	= 5

Subject teaching codes

Art	= 1	Music	= 7
English	= 2	Religious Education	= 8
Geography	= 3	Remedial	= 9
History	= 4	Sciences	= 10
Languages	= 5	Technology	= 11
Mathematics	= 6	Head of Department	= 12

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

100SAID □ 10	110SAID □ 11	120SAID □ 12	130SAID □ 13	140SAID □ 14	150SAID □ 15	160SAID □ 16	170SAID □ 17		
200SAID □ 18	210SAID □ 19	220SAID □ 20	230SAID □ 21	240SAID □ 22	250SAID □ 23	260SAID □ 24	270SAID □ 25	280SAID □ 26	290SAID □ 27
300SAID □ 28	310SAID □ 29	320SAID □ 30	330SAID □ 31						
400SAID □ 32	401SAID □ 33	402SAID □ 34	405SAID □ 35	410SAID □ 36	415SAID □ 37	420SAID □ 38	425SAID □ 39	430SAID □ 40	435SAID □ 41
440SAID □ 42	445SAID □ 43	450SAID □ 44	455SAID □ 45	460SAID □ 46	465SAID □ 47	470SAID □ 48	475SAID □ 49	480SAID □ 50	485SAID □ 51
490SAID □ 52	495SAID □ 53								
500SAID □ 54	510SAID □ 55	515SAID □ 56	520SAID □ 57	525SAID □ 58	530SAID □ 59	535SAID □ 60	540SAID □ 61	545SAID □ 62	550SAID □ 63
555SAID □ 64	560SAID □ 65	565SAID □ 66	570SAID □ 67	575SAID □ 68	580SAID □ 69	585SAID □ 70	590SAID □ 71	595SAID □ 72	596SAID □ 73
597SAID □ 74									



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abelson, R.P. (1976) 'Script processing in attitude formation and decision making'. In Carroll, J. and Payne, J. (eds.), Cognition and Social Behaviour. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Adams, R.S. (1970) 'Analysing the Teacher's Role', Educational Research, Vol. 12, February 1970, 121-127.
- Adams, R.S. (1972) 'Observational Studies of Teacher Role', International Review of Education, Vol. 18, 440-459.
- Adelman, C. (1977) 'Sociological Constructions: Teachers' Categories', in Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. (eds.), School Experience: Explorations in the Sociology of Education. London: Croom Helm.
- Altman, I. (1974) 'The communication of interpersonal attitudes: an ecological approach', in Huston, E.L. (ed.), Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction. New York: Academic Press.
- Anderson, H.H. (1945) 'Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities I, II, III', Applied Psychology Monographs, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Apple, M. (1972) 'Behaviourism and Conservatism: The Educational Views in Four of the "systems" Models of Teacher Education', in Joyce, B. and Weil, M. (eds.), Perspectives for Reform in Teacher Education. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.
- Argyle, M. (1969) The Self and Interaction. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Argyle, M. (1972) Social Relationships. Open University Press.
- Argyle, M. (1967) The Psychology of Interpersonal Behaviour. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Argyris, C. and Schon, D.A. (1975) Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness. London: Jossey-Bass.
- Ashton, P.M.E. et al., (1982) Teacher Education in the Classroom: Initial and In-service. London: Croom Helm.
- Arkin, R.M. and Duval, S. (1975) 'Focus of attention and causal attributions of actors and observers', Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 11, 427-438.
- Asprey, L. (1965) A Study of Three Facilitative Conditions and Their Relationship to Achievement of Third Grade Students. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of Kentucky.
- Bandler, R.J., Madaras, G.R. and Benn, D.J. (1968) 'Self-observation as a source of pain perception', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, No. 9, 205-209.
- Barnes, D. (1976) From Communication to Curriculum. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Bartlett, F.C. (1932) Remembering. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baumgart, N.L. (1977) 'Designing Research on Teaching Styles', Educational Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, June, 117-127.
- Becker, H.S. and Greer, B. (1960) 'Latent Culture: A Note on the Theory of Latent Social Roles', Administrative Science Quarterly, 5, 304-13.
- Bein, D.J. (1972) 'Self-perception theory', in Berkowitz, L. (ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 16, Academic Press: New York.
- Bellack, A.A. (1963) Theory and Research in Teaching. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Bennett, N. (1976) Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress. London: Open Books.
- Bennett, N. and McNamara, D. (1979) Focus on Teaching: Readings in the observation and conceptualisation of teaching. London: Longman.
- Bennett, S.N. (1978) 'Recent Research on Teaching: A Dream a Belief, and a Model', British Journal of Educational Psychology, No. 48, 127-147.
- Bennett, S.N. and Jordan, J. (1975) 'A Typology of Teaching Styles in Primary Schools', British Journal of Educational Psychology, No. 45 20-28.
- Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1971) The Social Construction of Reality. Allen Lane Penguin.
- Berlo, D.K., Lemert, J.E. and Mertz, R.J. (1970) 'Dimensions for Evaluating the Acceptability of Message Sources', Public Opinion Quarterly, No. 33, 563-576.
- Bernstein, B. (1971) Class, Codes and Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Berscheid, E. and Walster, E.H. (1978) Interpersonal Attraction, 2nd edition. Reading, M.A: Addison-Wesley.
- Biddle, B.J. and Thomas, E. (1961) Studies in the Role of the Public School Teacher. University of Missouri Press.
- Biddle, B.J. and Thomas, E. (1966) Role Theory: concepts and research. New York: Wiley.
- Bidwell, C.E. (1973) 'The Social Psychology of Teaching', in Travers, R.M.W. (ed.), Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Bierschenk, B. (1977) 'A psycho-ecological model for the simulation of interpersonal relations: system development and some empirical results from teacher training', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol. 7, No. 1 Lent Term, 71-85.

- Bishop, A.J. and Levey, L.B. (1968) 'Analysis of Teaching Behaviours', Education for Teaching, Summer 1968, 61-65.
- Bishop, A.J. and Whitfield, R.C. (1972) Situations in Teaching. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Blake, D.L. (1979) Dynamics of human relations in vocational education. The Carroll Press Publishers.
- Blau, P.M. (1964) Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York: Wiley.
- Blumer, H. (1969) Symbolic Interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: PrenticeHall.
- Blyth, W.A.C. (1965) English Primary Education: a sociological description vols. 1 & 2. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Boissevain, J. (1974) Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulations and Coalitions. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Borko, T., Shavelson, R.J. and Stern, P. (1978) 'Teachers' sensitivity to the reliability of information in making causal attribution in an achievement situation', Journal of Educational Psychology, 70, 271-9.
- Bossert, S.T. (1980) Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms: A study of instructional organisation and its consequences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bousfield, W.A. and Sedgwick, C.H.W. (1944) 'An analysis of sequences of restricted associative responses', Journal of General Psychology, 30, 149-165.
- Briar, S. and Miller, H. (1971) Problems and Issues in Social Casework. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Brittain, A. (1973) Meanings and Situations. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1976) 'The experimental ecology of education', Teachers College Record, 78, 2, 157-204.
- Brook, D.J.P. (1981) 'Why theory into practice doesn't normally go', Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol. 5, No. 3, 17-28
- Brookover, W.B. and Gottlieb, D. (1964) A Sociology of Education. New York: American Book Company.
- Brophy, J.E. and Good, T.L. (1974) Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences. New York: Holt Rhinehart and Winston.
- Brown, G. (1975) 'Some case studies of teacher preparation', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 71-85.
- Bruner, J. (1969) 'On Voluntary Action and its Hierarchical Structure', in Koestler, A. and Smithies, J.S. (eds.), Beyond Reductionism: New Perspectives in the Life Sciences, The Alpbach Symposium. London: Hutchinson.

Bruner, J. (1976) 'The styles of teaching', New Society, 29th April, 223-225.

Burgess, R.L. and Huston, T.L. eds., (1979) Social Exchange in Developing Relationships. New York: Academic Press.

Burke, K. (1969) A Grammar of Motives. California: University of California Press.

Burns, R.B. (1976) 'Preferred Teaching Approach in Relation to Self and Other Attitudes', Durham Research Review, Vol. VII, No. 36, 1079-1085.

Burns, R.B. (1978) 'The Relative Effectiveness of Various Incentives and Deterrents as Judged by Pupils and Teachers', Educational Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3, 229-243.

Bush, R.N. (1943) 'A Study of Student-Teacher Relationships', Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 35, 645-656.

Bussis, A.M., Chittenden, E.A. and Amarel, M. (1976) Beyond the surface curriculum: An interview of teachers' understandings. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Butcher, R. and Strauss, A. (1961) 'Professions in Process', American Journal of Sociology, 66, 325-334.

Butcher, R., Fritz, C.E. and Quarantelli, E.L. (1956) 'Tape Recorded Interviews in Social Research', American Sociological Review, 21, 359-64.

Byrne, D. (1971) The attraction paradigm. New York: Academic Press.

Campbell, W.J. (1972) 'The Teacher's View of Teaching Behaviour', International Review of Education, Vol. 18, 540-546.

Cane, B. and Smithers, J. (1971) The Roots of Reading. Slough: N.F.E.R.

Carr, W. (1980) 'The gap between theory and practice', Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol. 4, No. 1, 80-92

Chaiken, A.L. et al. (1978) 'Students' Reactions to Teachers' Physical Attractiveness and Non-verbal Behaviour: Two Exploratory Studies', Psychology in the Schools, Vol. 15, No. 4, 588-595.

Chanan, G. (1976) 'Letters to the Editor', Times Educational Supplement, 3180, 14th May.

Children and their Primary Schools (Plowden) (1967) Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education. London: H.M.S.O.

Cicourel, A. (1964) Method and Measurement in Sociology. New York: Free Press.

Clark, C.M. and Joyce, B.R. (1975) 'Teacher decision making and teacher effectiveness', Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association, Washington

- Clark, C.M. and Peterson, P.L. (1976) 'Teacher stimulated recall of interactive decisions', Paper presented to the American Educational Association, San Francisco.
- Clark, C.M. and Yinger, R.J. (1977) 'Research on Teacher Thinking', Cirriculum Enquiry, Vol. 7, No. 4, 279-304.
- Clark, M.S. and Mills, J. (1979) 'Interpersonal Attraction in Exchange and Communal Relationships', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 37, No. 1.
- Cleugh, M.F. (1971) Discipline and Morale in Schools and Colleges. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Clore, G.L. (1975) Interpersonal Attraction: an overview. Springtown, N.J: General Learning Press.
- Collins, J. (1982) 'Never Mind the Theory', Times Educational Supplement, Sept.
- Cooley, C.H. (1909) Social Organisation, New York: Scribner.
- Coombs, A.W. (1964) 'The personal approach to good teaching', Educational Leadership, 21, 369-377.
- Coombs, A.W. (1965) The Professional Education of Teachers. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Cortis, G.A. (1975) 'Seven Years On - A Longitudinal Study of Teacher Behaviour', Educational Review, Vol. 28, No. 1, 60-101.
- Cosper, R. (1972) 'Interviewer effect in a survey of drinking practices', Sociology Quarterly, 13, 228-236.
- Cottrell, N.B. and Wack, D.L. (1967) 'The emerging effect of cognitive dissonance on dominant and subordinate responses', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 6, 132-138.
- Dale, R. (1972) 'Phenomenological Perspectives and the Sociology of the School', Educational Review, Vol. 25, 175-189.
- Darley, J.M. and Berscheid, E. (1967) 'Increased liking as a result of the anticipation of personal contact', Human Relations, 20, 29-40.
- Davison, G.G. and Valins, S. (1969) 'Maintenance of self-attributed and drug attributed behaviour change', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 11, 25-33.
- Deflaminis, J. (1976) 'Teacher Responses to Classroom Misbehaviour: Influence Methods in a Perilous Equilibrium', Paper presented at the American Educational Research Convention, San Francisco, April.
- Delamont, S. and Hamilton, D. (1976) 'Classroom Research: a cautionary tale', in Stubbs, M. and Delamont, S. (eds.), Explorations in Classroom Observation. Chichester: Wiley and Sons.

Denscombe, M. (1977) The Social Organisation of Teaching: a study of teaching as a practical activity in two London comprehensive schools. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Denscombe, M. (1980) 'The Work Context of Teaching: an analytic framework for the study of teachers in classrooms', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 279-292.

Denzin, N.K. (1970) 'Rules of Conduct and the Study of Deviant Behaviour: Some Notes on the Social Relationship', in McCall, G.J. (ed.), Social Relationships. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Department of Education and Science (1982) The New Teacher in School. London: H.M.S.O.

Department of Education and Science (1983a) Teaching in Schools: the Content of Initial Training. London: H.M.S.O.

Department of Education and Science (1983b) Teaching Quality. London: H.M.S.O.

Desforges, C. and McNamara, D. (1979) 'Theory and Practice: Methodological procedures for the objectification of craft knowledge', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vo. 5, No. 2, 145-152.

Deutch, M. (1960) 'The effects of co-operation and competition upon group process', in Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. (eds.), Group Dynamics: Research and Theory. Chicago: Row Peterson.

Douglas, J.D. (1971) Understanding Everyday Life. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Douglas, M. (1977) Rules and Meanings. Harmondworth: Penguin.

Downie, R.S., Loudfoot, E.M. and Telfer, E. (1974) Education and Personal Relationships. London: Methuen.

Duck, S.W. (1973) Personal relationships and personal constructs: A study of friendship formation. London: Wiley.

Duck, S.W. (1977) The Study of Acquaintance. London: Saxon House.

Duck, S.W. and Allison, D. (1977) 'I like you but I can't live with you: When friends must part', quoted in Duck, S.W. (1978) The Study of Acquaintance. London: Saxon.

Duffy, G. (1977) 'A study of teacher conceptions of reading', Paper presented to the National Reading Conference, New Orleans.

Dunham, J. (1977) 'The Effects of Disruptive Behaviour on Teachers', Educational Review, Vol. 29, No. 3, 181-187.

Dunkin, M.J. and Biddle, B.J. (1974) The study of teaching. New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Duval, S. and Wicklund, R.A. (1972) The theory of objective awareness. New York: Academic Press.

Ebel, R.I. (1967) 'Some limitations of basic research in education', Phi Delta Kappan, 49, 81-84

Ebel, R.L. (1976) 'Evaluating educational programs: Problems and prospects', in Ornstein, A.C. and Miller, S.I. (eds.), Policy Issues in Education. New York: Lexington Books.

Edwards, A.D. (1980) 'Patterns of Power and Authority in Classroom Talk', in Woods, P. (ed.), Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.

Edwards, A.L. (1953) 'The Theory of Decision Making', Psychology Bulletin, 51, 380-417.

Eggleston, J. ed. (1979) Teacher Decision-Making in the Classroom. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Eggleston, J. (1979) 'Evaluating Teachers or Teaching', Forum, Spring, Vol. 21, No. 2, 51-56.

Elbaz, F. (1983) Teacher thinking: A Study of Practical Knowledge. London: Croom Helm.

Elliott, J. and Labbett, B. (1975) 'Teaching Research and Teacher Education: Some comments on Competency Based Teacher Education', Education For Teaching, Spring, No. 96, 51-61

Elliott, J. and Adelman, C. (1975) 'Teachers' accounts and the objectivity of classroom research', London Educational Review, Autumn, Vol. 4, No. 2/3, 29-37.

Emmerling, J. (1961) A Study of the Relationship Between Personality Characteristics of Classroom Teachers and Pupil Perception. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Auburn University, Alabama.

Entwistle, H. (1976) 'Practical and theoretical learning', in Hartnett, A. and Nash, M. (eds.) The Theory and Practice of Education, Vol. 1. London: Heinemann.

Epstein, H.T. (1972) 'An experiment in Education', Nature, January, Vol. 235, 203-205.

Esland, G.M. (1971) 'Teaching and learning as the Organisation of Knowledge', in Young, M.F.D. (Ed.) Knowledge and Control. London: Macmillan.

Evans, K.M. (1959) 'The Teacher-Pupil Relationship', Educational Research, November, Vol. 11, 131-42.

Feger, H. (1978) 'The social structure of small groups: The Role of asymmetric relations', Paper presented at the meeting of the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology, Weimar. Quoted in Duck, S. and Gilmour, R. (eds.), Personal Relationships: Studying Personal Relationships. London: Academic Press.

- Flanders, N. and Nuthall, G. (1972) 'The Classroom Behaviour of Teachers - An Overview', International Review of Education, Vol. 18, 427-429.
- Foot, H.C., Chapman, A.J. and Smith, P. eds. (1980) Friendship and Social Relations in Children. London: Wiley.
- Fowler, F.J. (1967) 'Education, interaction and interview performance', Dissertation Abstracts International, 27-A, 2195.
- Gadlin, H. (1977) 'Private lives and public order: a critical view of the history of intimate relations in the United States', in Lvinger, G. and Raush, H.L. (eds.), Close Relationships: Perspectives on the Meaning of Intimacy. Amherst, M.A: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gage, N.L. (1968) 'An Analytical Approach to Research on Instructional Methods', Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 37, 119-125.
- Gage, N.L. (1972) 'Exploration of teachers' effectiveness in lecturing', in Westbury, I. and Bellack, A.A. (eds.), Research in Classroom Processes: Recent Developments and Next Steps.
- Gage, N.L. (1979) The Scientific Basis of the Art of Teaching. Columbia University: Teachers College Press.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967) Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliff: Prentice Hall.
- Garland, H. et al. (1975) 'Information search as affected by attribution type and response category', Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol. 1, 612-615.
- Gergen, K.J. (1973) 'Social Psychology as History', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 26, 309-320.
- Getzels, J.W. and Thelen, H. (1960) 'The Classroom Group as a Unique Social System', in Henry, N.B. (ed.), Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Vol. 59, part 2, 53-82. University of Chicago Press.
- Getzels, J.W. (1963) 'Conflict and the role behaviour in the educational setting', in Charters, W.W. and Gage, N.L. (eds.), Readings in the Social Psychology of Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gibson, D.R. (1970) 'Role of the Primary and Secondary School Teacher', Educational Research, 13, November, 20-27.
- Glidewell, J. et al. (1966) 'Classroom socialisation and social structure', in Hoffman, M. (ed.), Review of Child Development. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Goffman, E. (1961) Encounters. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill.
- Goffman, E. (1970) Strategic Interaction. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goffman, E. (1971) Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Goodlet, G.R. (1972) 'Classroom behaviour', New Society, Vol. 20, 6th April, 11-13
- Gorbett, D. (1975) 'Redesigning teacher education at North East London Polytechnic', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 47-54.
- Gordon, M. and Gross, R.J. (1978) 'An Exploration of the Interconnecting Perspective of Teaching Style and Teacher Education', Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 10, No. 2, 151-157.
- Gordon, T. (1974) T.E.T. Teacher Effectiveness Training. New York: Wyden Publishing.
- Gouldner, A. (1960) 'The norm of reciprocity: a preliminary statement', American Sociological Review, 25, 161-79.
- Grace, G. (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control: A Study in Urban Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gracey, H. (1976) 'The Craftsman Teachers', in Hammersley, M & Woods, P. (eds.), The Process of Schooling: A Sociological Reader. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul & Open University Press.
- Green, A.G. (1977) 'Structural Features of the Classroom', in Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. (eds.), School Experience: Explorations in the Sociology of Education. London: Croom Helm.
- Haigh, G. (1972) Beginning Teaching. London: Pitman Press.
- Halpin, A.W. (1966) Theory and Research in Administration. New York: MacMillan.
- Hamilton, D. and Delamont, S. (1979) 'Classroom research: a cautionary tale', in Bennett, N. and McNamara, D. (eds.), Focus on Teaching. London: Longmans.
- Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. eds. (1976) The Process of Schooling: A Sociological Reader. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul & Open University Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1980a) 'On interactionist empiricism', in Woods, P. (ed.), Pupil Strategies. London: Croom Helm.
- Hammersley, M. (1980b) 'Classroom ethnography', Educational Analysis, 2:2, 7, 17, 47-74.
- Hannam, C. et al. (1976) The First Year of Teaching. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hansen, R.H. and Marks, E.S. (1958) 'Influence of the interviewer on the accuracy of survey results', Journal of American Statistical Assignments, 53, 635-655.
- Hanson, D. and Herrington, M. (1974) From College to Classroom: The Probationary Year. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Hargreaves, D.H. (1967) Social Relations in a Secondary School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H. (1972) Interpersonal Relations and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harre, R. and Secord, P.F. (1972) The Explanation of Social Behaviour. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harre, R. and Rosser, E. (1975) 'Rules of Disorder', Times Educational Supplement, 25th July, page 11.
- Harre, R. (1977) 'Friendship as an accomplishment: An ethogenic approach to social relationships', in Duck, S.W. (ed.), Theory and practice in interpersonal relationships. London: Academic Press.
- Hart, F.W. (1934) Teachers and Teaching by 10,000 High School Seniors. New York: Macmillan.
- Hartnett, A. and Naish, M. (1980) 'Technicians or Social Bandits? Some Moral and Political Issues in the Education of Teachers', in Woods, P. (ed.), Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.
- Harvey, O.J. et al. (1966) 'Teachers' belief systems and pre-school atmosphere', Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 57, (6) 373-381.
- Hatfield, A. and Traupman, M.K. (1978) 'Equity theory and intimate relationships', in Burgess, R.L. and Huston, T.L. (eds.), Social Exchange in Developing Relationships. New York: Academic Press.
- Havighurst, R.J. and Neugarten, B.L. (1971) Society and Culture, 3rd Edition, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Heider, F. (1958) The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. New York: Wiley.
- Heil, P. (1960) Characteristics of Teacher Behaviour Related to the Achievement of Children in Several Elementary Grades. Office of Education, Washington.
- *Hinde, R.A. (1976) 'On describing relationships', Journal of Child Psychology Psychiatry, 17, 1-19.
- Holt, J. (1969) How Children Fail. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Homans, G.C. (1961) Social Behaviour: its Elementary Forms. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hopwood, W. and Keen, T. (1978) 'Target: A New Approach to the Appraisal of Teaching', PLET, vol. 15, No. 3, 190-196.
- House, E. and Lapan, S.D. (1978) Survival in the Classroom. Negotiating with Kids, Colleagues and Bosses. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- *Hinde, R.A. (1979) Towards Understanding Relationships. London: Academic Press.

- Hoy, W.K. (1968) 'The influence of experience on the beginning teacher', School Review, Vol. 76, 312-323.
- Hughes, M.M. (1963) 'Utah Study of the Assessment of Teaching', in Bellack, A.A. (ed.) Theory and Research in Teaching. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hunt, D. (1976) 'Teachers are Psychologists too: On the Application of Psychology to Education', Canadian Psychological Review, 17, No. 3, July, 210-218.
- Huston, E.L. (1974) 'A perspective on interpersonal attraction', in Huston, E.L. (ed.), Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction. New York: Academic Press.
- Huston, T.L. and Levinger, G. (1978) 'Interpersonal Attraction and Relationships', Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 29, 115-157.
- Hyman, H. (1966) 'Problems in the Collection of Opinion-Research Data', in Secord, P.F. and Backman, C.W. (eds.), Problems in Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Jackson, P.W. (1979) 'The way teaching is', in Bennett, N. and McNamara, D. (eds.), Focus on Teaching: Readings in the Observation and Conceptualisation of Teaching. London: Longman.
- James, G. and Choppin, B. (1976) 'Teachers for Tomorrow', Educational Research, Vol. 19, 184-191.
- Janesick, V. (1977) An ethnographic study of a teacher's classroom perspective. Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University.
- Jeffreys, D. (1975) 'How Psychology fails the Teacher', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 63-69.
- Jeffreys, M.V.C. (1961) Revolution in Teacher Training. London: Pitman.
- Johnson, D.M. (1955) The psychology of thought and judgement. New York: Harper and Row.
- Johnson, D.M. (1972) Systematic introduction to the psychology of thinking. New York: Harper Row.
- Jones, E.E. et al. (1961) 'Role-playing variations and their informational value for person perception', Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 63, 302-310.
- Jones, E.E. and Davis, K.E. (1965) 'From acts to dispositions: The Attribution process in person perception', in Berkowitz, L. (ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 2. New York: Academic Press.
- Jones, E.E. and Nisbett, R.E. (1972) The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behaviour. New York: General Learning Press.
- Joyce, B.R. and Harootunian, B. (1964) 'Teaching as problem solving', Journal of Teacher Education, 15, No. 4, December, 420-427.

Joyce, B., Lamb, H. and Sibol, J. (1966) 'Conceptual development and information processing: a study of teachers', Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 59, 219-222.

Joyce, B.R., Morine-Derschimer, G. and McNair, K. (1977) 'Thought and action in the classroom: The South Bay study', Mimeographed. Stanford, California.

Kahn, R.L. et al. (1966) 'Role Ambiguity', in Secord, P.F. and Backman, C.W. (eds.), Problems in Social Psychology. New York: McGraw Hill.

Kahn, R.L. and Cannell, C.F. (1957) The Dynamics of Interviewing. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kahneman, D. and Tversky, A. (1973) 'On the psychology of prediction', Psychological Review, 80, 237-251.

Kanouse, D.E. (1972) 'Language, labelling and attribution', in Jones, E.E. et al. (eds.), Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behaviour. Morristown, N.J: General Learning Press.

Kanter, R.M. (1974) 'Commitment and Social Organisation', in Field, D. (ed.), Social Psychology for Sociologists. London: Nelson.

Keddie, N.G. (1971) 'The Social Basis of Classroom Knowledge', in Young, M.F.D. (ed.), Knowledge and Control. London: Collier-MacMillan.

Keisler, C.A., Nisbett, R.E. and Zana, M.P. (1969) 'On inferring one's beliefs from one's behaviour', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 11, 321-327.

Kelley, H.H. (1967) 'Attribution theory in social psychology', in Levine, D. (ed.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

Kelley, H.H. (1973) 'The process of Causal attributions', American Psychologist, 28, 107-128.

Kelley, H.H. (1979) Personal Relationships. Hillsdale, N.J: Erlbaum Associates.

Kelley, H.H. and Thibaut, J.W. (1978) Interpersonal Relations. New York: Wiley.

Kelly, G.A. (1954) The Psychology of Personal Constructs. New York: Norton.

Kelman, H.C. (1961) 'Processes of opinion change', Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25, 57-78.

Kelsall, H.M. and Kelsall, R.K. (1968) 'Basic Types of Incompatibility Inherent in Teacher Role', Education for Teaching, Summer, 28-36.

Kerkhoff, A.C. (1974) 'The social context of interpersonal attraction', in Huston, E.L. (ed.), Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction. New York: Academic Press.

Kitwood, T. and Macey, M. (1976) 'Teaching Styles or Research Styles? The Implications of the Bennett Report', Education for Teaching, No. 101, 29-39.

Kohl, H.R. (1970) The Open Classroom. London: Methuen.

Kounin, J.S. (1967) 'An analysis of teachers' managerial techniques', Psychology in the Schools, Vol. 4, 221-227.

Kounin, J.S. (1970) Discipline and Group Management. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lacey, C. (1970) Hightown Grammar: The School as a Social System. Manchester University Press.

Lacey, C. (1977) The Socialisation of Teachers. London: Methuen.

La Gaipa, J.J. and Bigelow, B. (1972) 'The development of friendship expectations', Paper read at the meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Montreal. Quoted in Duck, S. (1977), The Study of Acquaintance. London: Saxon House.

Laing, R.D., Phillipson, H. and Lee, A.R. (1966) Interpersonal Perception. London: Tavistock.

Landy, F. and Landy, A. (1978) 'Dimensions of Teacher Behaviour', Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 63, No. 4, 522-526.

Langer, E.J. (1978) 'Rethinking the role of thought in social interaction', in Harvey, W.J. and Ickes, W.J. (eds.), New Directions in Attribution Research Vol. 2. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Leach, D. (1977) 'Teachers' Perceptions and Problem Pupils', Educational Review, Vol. 29, No. 3, 188-203

Lenski, G.E. and Leggatt, J.C. (1960) 'Caste, class and deference in the research interview', American Journal of Sociology, 65, 463-467.

Levinger, G. (1974) 'A three level approach to attraction: Towards an understanding of pair relatedness', in Huston, H.L. (ed.), Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction. New York: Academic Press.

Levinger, G. and Breedlove, J. (1966) 'Interpersonal attraction and agreement: a study of marriage partners', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 363-372.

Levinger, G. and Snoek, J.D. (1972) Attraction in relationship: A new look at interpersonal attraction. Morristown, N.J: General Learning Press.

Lewin, K., Lippitt, R. and White, R.K. (1943) 'Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour in Experimentally created "social Climates"', Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 10, in Barker, R.G., Kounin, J.S. and Wright, H.F. (eds.), Child Behaviour and Development. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lortie, D.C. (1973) 'Observations on teaching as work', in Travers, R.W.M. (ed.), Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally.

- Lortie, D.C. (1977) Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. University of Chicago Press.
- Lovegrove, M.N. and Lewis, R. (1982) 'Classroom Control Procedures used by relationship-centred teachers', Journal of Education for Teaching, Vol. 8, No. 1, 55-66.
- MacBeth, C. and Morrison, A. (1972) 'Student and Probationer Teachers: Some Observational Data', Durham Research Review, Vol. 6, No. 29, 690-694.
- McCall, G.J. and Simmons, J.L. (1966) Identities and Interactions. New York: Free Press.
- McCall, G.J. ed. (1970) Social Relationships. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.
- McCall, M.M. (1970) 'Boundary Rules in Relationships and Encounters', in McCall, G.J. (ed) Social Relationships. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.
- McDonald, F.J. (1965) Educational Psychology. London: Wadsworth Press.
- McKnight, P.C. (1971) 'Microteaching in teacher training: A review of research', Research in Education, Vol. 6, 24-38.
- McNamara, D. and Bolger, O. (1982) 'What about the Practice', Times Educational Supplement, Sept.
- McNamara, D. and Desforges, C. (1978) 'The social sciences, teacher education and the objectification of craft knowledge', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 4, No. 1, 17-32.
- MacKay, D.M. (1972) 'Formal analysis of communication processes', in Hinde, R.A. (ed.), Nonverbal Communication. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maddox, H. (1968) 'A Descriptive Study of Teaching Practice', Educational Review, Vol. 20, No. 3, 177-190
- Mardle, G. and Walker, M. (1980) 'Strategies and Structure: Some Critical Notes on Teacher Socialisation', in Woods, P. (ed.), Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.
- Margolen, M.H. and Goldman, S. (1974) 'Integrating Relationship and Behaviour Therapy', Clinical Social Work Journal, 2, No. 2, 96-104.
- Marland, M. (1976) The Craft of the Classroom. London: Heinemann.
- Marlowe, D. and Gergen, K. (1969) 'Personality and Social Interaction', in Lindzey, G. and Aronson, E. (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 3. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Mead, G.H. (1967) Mind, Self and Society. University of Chicago Press.
- Meighan, R. (1974) 'Children's Judgements of the Teaching Performance of Student Teachers', Educational Review, Vol. 27, No. 1, 52-60.
- Merton, R. (1956) 'Bureaucratic Structure and Personality' in Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: Free press.

- Meyer, C.H. (1976) Social Work Practice. 2nd Edition. New York: Free Press.
- Mikula, G. and Stroebe, W. eds. (1977) Freundschaft und Ehe. Huber, Berne.
- Miller, G. ed. (1976) Explorations in Interpersonal Communication. New York: Sage.
- Moore, G.A. (1967) Realities of the Urban Classroom. London: Doubleday.
- Morine, G. and Vallance, E. (1975) 'A study of teacher and pupil perceptions of classroom interaction', BTES technical report 75-11-6, San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.
- Morris, V.C. (1961) Philosophy and the American School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. eds. (1972) The Social Psychology of Teaching. Harmondsworth Penguin.
- Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. (1973) Teachers and Teaching, Harmondsworth Penguin.
- Morton, T.L., Alexander, J.F. and Altman, I. (1976) 'Communication and relationship definition', in Miller, G.R. (ed.), Explorations in Interpersonal Communication. New York: Sage.
- Murstein, B.I. (1971) 'Critique of models of dyadic attraction', in Murstein, B.I. (ed.), Theories of attraction and love. New York: Springer.
- Murstein, B.I. (1972) 'Person perception and courtship progress among premarital couples', Journal of Marriage and the Family, 34, 621-626.
- Musgrove, F. and Taylor, P.H. (1969) Society and the Teacher's Role. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Naish, M. and Hartnett, (1975) 'What Theory cannot do for Teachers', Education for Teaching, No. 96, 12-19.
- Nash, R. (1973) Classrooms Observed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Nash, R. (1974) 'Pupils' expectations for their teachers', Research in Education, No. 12, 47-61.
- Nash, R. (1976) Teacher Expectations and Pupil Learning. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Newcomb, T.M. (1950) Social Psychology. New York: Dryden.
- Newcomb, T.M. (1967) 'Social psychological theory: integrating individual and social approaches', in Hollander, E.P. and Hunt, R.G. (eds.), Current Perspectives in Social Psychology. New York: OUP.
- Newell, A. and Simon, H.A. (1972) Human Problem Solving. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall.

- Nicholson, M. (1970) Conflict Analysis. London: English Universities.
- Nisbett, R.A. (1970) The Social Bond. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nisbett, R.E. and Schacter, S. (1966) 'Cognitive manipulation of pain', Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 2, 227-237.
- Nisbett, R.E. (1972) 'Perceiving the causes of one's own behaviour', in Jones, E.E. et al. (eds.), Attribution: Perceiving the Causes of Behaviour. Morristown, N.J: General Learning Press.
- Nisbett, R.E. (1976) 'Popular induction: Information is not necessarily informative', in Carroll, J. and Payne, J. (eds.), Cognitions and Social Behaviour. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nisbett, R.E. and Ross, L. (1980) Human inference: strategies and shortcomings of social judgement. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall.
- Nisbett, R.E. and Wilson, T.D. (1977) 'Telling more than we know: verbal reports on mental processes', Psychological Review, 84, 231-259.
- Norris, R. (1975) 'An examination of schedules of criteria related to teacher competence', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 87-95.
- Nuthall, G. and Church, J. (1973) 'Experimental Studies of Teaching Behaviour', in Chanah, G. (ed.), Towards a Science of Teaching. Slough: N.F.E.R.
- Oliver, R.A.C. and Butcher, H.J. (1962) 'Teachers' attitudes to education: the structure of educational attitudes', British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 1, 56-69.
- Paisey, H.A.G. (1975) Behavioural Strategy of Teachers in Britain and the United States. Windsor: N.F.E.R.
- Palomares, W. and Ball, G. (1974) Human Development Program. California Training Institute.
- Parsons, T. (1951) The Social System. Chicago: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1959) 'The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society', Harvard Educational Review, 29, 297-318.
- Partington, J.A. and Hinchcliffe, G. (1979) 'Some aspects of Classroom Management', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 5, No. 3, 231-241.
- Payne, G.C.F. (1976) 'Making a lesson happen: an ethnomethodological analysis', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (eds.), The Process of Schooling: A Sociological Reader. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul & Open University Press.
- Payne, G.C.F. and Hustler, D. (1980) 'Teaching the class: the practical management of a cohort', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 49-66.

- Pearson, G. (1974) 'Prisons of love: the reification of the family in family therapy', in Armistead, N. (ed.), Reconstructing Social Psychology. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Perlman, H.H. (1979) Relationship The Heart of Helping People. The University of Chicago Press.
- Perry, L.R. (1969) 'Decision making in teaching', Education for Teaching, No. 79, 4-10.
- Pidgeon, D.A. (1970) Expectation and Pupil Performance. Slough: N.F.E.R.
- Pollard, A. (1980) 'Teacher Interests and Changing Situations of Survival Threat in Primary School Classrooms', in Woods, P. (ed.), Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.
- Pollard, A. (1982) 'A Model of Classroom Coping Strategies', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 3, No. 1, 19-37.
- Pollard, A. (1983) 'Practice Makes Perfect', Times Educational Supplement, January.
- Povey, R.M. (1975) 'A Comparison of Three Methods of Evaluating Teaching Performance in a College of Education', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 45, 279-285.
- Preece, P.F.W. (1979) 'Student Teacher Anxiety and Class Control Problems on Teaching Practice: a cross-lagged panel analysis', British Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 5, No. 1, 13-19.
- Prescott, D.A. (1938) 'Emotion and the Educative Process', Committee on the Relation of Emotion to the Educative Process, American Council on Education, 290-300.
- Pryor, J.B. and Kriss, M. (1977) 'The cognitive dynamics of salience in the attribution process', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 49-55.
- Quick, E. and Jacob, T. (1973) 'Marital disturbance in relation to role theory and relationship theory', Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 82, 309-316.
- Raush, H.L. (1977) 'Orientations to the close relationship', in Levinger, G. and Raush, H.L. (eds.), Close Relationships: Perspectives on the Meaning of Intimacy. Amherst, M.A: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Reid, W.A. (1975) Case Studies in Curriculum Change. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rice, T. and Shapiro, L. (1962) 'The Social and Educational Background and Anticipated Career Prospects of a group of Students in a College of Advanced Technology', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 34, 256-67.
- Richardson, E. (1967) Group Study for Teachers. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Richardson, E. (1973) The Teacher, the school and the Task of Management. London: Heinemann.

Richardson, H.M. (1970) 'Commonality of values as a factor in friendships of college and adult women', Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 11, 303-312.

Richey, H.W. and Richey, M.H. (1978) 'Nonverbal Behaviour in the Classroom', Psychology in the Schools, Vol. 15, No. 4, 571-576.

Rist, R.G. (1970) 'Student social class and teacher expectation: the self-fulfilling prophecy in Ghetto Education', Harvard Educational Review, 40, 411-451.

Rock, P. (1979) The Making of Symbolic Interactionism. London: MacMillan.

Rodin, M.J. (1978) 'Liking and disliking: sketch of an alternative view', Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 4, 473-478.

Rogers, C. (1982) A Social Psychology of Schooling. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rogers, C.R. (1961) Personal Thoughts on Teaching and Learning. Quoted in Hargreaves, D.H. (1972) Interpersonal Relations and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rogers, C.R. (1965) Client-Centred Therapy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Rogers, C.R. (1969) Freedom to Learn. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill Publishing.

Rogers, C.R. (1970) Encounter Groups. Allen Lane Penguin Press.

Rogers, C.R. (1983) Freedom to Learn for the Eighties. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill Publishing.

Roloff, M.E. (1976) 'Communication strategies, relationships and relational changes', in Miller, G.R. (ed.), Explorations in Interpersonal Communication. New York: Sage.

Rosenblatt, P.C. (1974) 'Cross-cultural perspective on attraction', in Huston, E.L. (ed.), Foundations of Interpersonal Attraction. New York: Academic Press.

Rosencranz, H.A. and Biddle, B.J. (1964) 'The Role Approach to Teacher Competence', in Biddle, B.J. and Ellena, W.J. (eds.), Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness. New York: Holt, Rinehart Winston.

Rosenshine, B. (1970) 'Enthusiastic teaching: A research review', School Review, Vol. 78, No. 4, 499-514.

Rosenshine, B. (1971) Teaching behaviours and student achievement. Slough: N.F.E.R.

Rosenshine, B. and Furst, N.F. (1971) 'Research on Teacher Performance criteria', in Smith, B.O. (ed.), Research in Teacher Education: A symposium. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.

- Ross, L. Rodin, J. and Zimbardo, P.G. (1969) 'Toward as attribution therapy: The reduction of fear through induced cognitive-emotional misattribution', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 12, 279-288.
- Ruddock, R. (1969) Roles and Relationships. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Runkel, P.J. (1958) 'A brief model for teacher-pupil interaction', in Gage, N.L. (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Ryan, D.G. (1961) 'Some Relationships between Pupil Behaviour and certain Teacher Characteristics', Journal of Educational Psychology, 52, 82-90.
- Salancik, J.R. and Conway, C. (1975) 'Attitude inferences from salient and relevant cognitive content about behaviour', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32, 829-840.
- Sampson, E.E. (1978) 'Scientific paradigms and values. Wanted: a scientific revolution', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, 1332-1343.
- Sandefur, J.R. et al. (1969) 'Teacher Expectation as a Modifier of Teaching Behaviour', Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Final Report. U.S.O.E. Eric Ed 035 598.
- Scanlon, R.L. (1973) 'The perceptual press of classroom constraints', Irish Journal of Education, Vol. 7, 29-39.
- Schank, R.C. and Abelson, R.P. (1977) Scripts, plans, goals and understanding: An inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Schlechty, P.C. (1976) Teaching and Social Behaviour: Toward an Organisational Theory of Instruction. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Schmuk, R. (1966) 'Some aspects of classroom social climate', Psychology in the Schools, 3, 59-65.
- Schulmeister, R. (1978) 'Methodological problems in measuring teaching effectiveness', Research in Education, No. 20, 1-9.
- Schutz, A. (1932) The Phenomenology of the Social World. London: Heinemann.
- Schutz, A. (1967) The Frame of Unstructured Constructs. Collected Papers 1: The Problem of Social Reality. Martinus Nijhoff.
- Schutz, A. (1973) The Structure of the Life-World. London: Heinemann.
- Scott, R.D. (1973) 'The treatment barrier: 1', British Journal of Medical Psychology, 46, 45-55.
- Secord, P.F. and Backman, C.W. (1966) Problems in Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Shadbolt, D.R. (1978) 'Interactive Relationships between Measured Personality and Teaching Strategy Variables', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 48, 227-231.
- Sharp, R. and Green, A. (1975) Education and Social Control. A Study in Progressive Primary Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Shavelson, R.J. (1973) 'What is the basic teaching skill?', Journal of Teacher Education, 24, No. 2, 144-151.
- Shavelson, R.J. and Atwood-Russo, N. (1977) 'Generalizability of Measures of Teacher Effectiveness', Education Research, Vol. 19, No. 3, 171-183.
- Shavelson, R.J., Hubner, J.J. and Stanton, G.C. (1976) 'Self Concept Validation of Construct Interpretations', Review of Educational Research, 46, 407-41.
- Shavelson, R.J. and Stern, P. (1981) 'Research on Teachers' Pedagogical Thoughts, Judgements, Decisions and Behaviour', Review of Educational Research, Vol. 51, No. 4, 455-498.
- Shipman, M.D. (1975) The Sociology of the School. London: Longman.
- Shulman, L.S. and Elstein, A.S. (1975) 'Studies of problem solving, judgement, and decision making', in Kerlinger, F.N. (ed.) Review of research in education, vol. 3. Itaska, III: Peacock.
- Simmel, G. (1950) The Sociology of Georg Simmel. Translated and edited by Kurt Wolf. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Simon, A. and Boyer, E.G. eds. (1968) Mirrors for Behaviour: An Anthology of Observation Instruments. New York: Communication Materials Centre.
- Smith, L.M. and Geoffrey, W. (1968) The Complexities of an Urban Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Smothergill, N.L. et al. (1969) 'The Effects of Manipulation of Teacher Communication Style in the Pre-School', Biennial Meeting of Society for Research in Child Development, Santa Monica College.
- Sorenson, A.G. et al. (1963) 'Divergent concepts of teacher role: an approach to the measurement of teacher effectiveness', Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 54, 287-294.
- Stebbins, R.A. (1975) Teachers and Meaning Definitions of Classroom Situations. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Stebbins, R.A. (1977) 'The Meaning of Academic Performance: How Teachers Define a Classroom Situation', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (eds.), School Experience. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stebbins, R.A. (1980) 'The Role of Humour in Teaching: Strategy and Self-Expression', in Woods, P. (ed.), Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.
- Storms, M.D. and Nisbett, R.E. (1970) 'Insomnia and the attribution process', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 16, 319-328.
- Stott, D. (1977) 'Research in teaching styles', Therapeutic Education, Vol. 5, Part 1, 20-25.

Strauss, A. (1959) Mirrors and Masks. New York: Free Press.

Stubbs, M. and Delamont, S. eds. (1976) Explorations in Classroom Observation. New York: Wiley and Sons.

Taylor, M. (1979) 'Teachers' implicit personality systems: an exploratory study', in Eggleston, J. (ed.), Teacher Decision Making in the Classroom. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Taylor, P.H. (1962) 'Children's Evaluations of the Characteristics of the Good Teacher', British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 32, 258-266.

Taylor, S.E. (1976) 'The development of cognitive social psychology', in Carroll, J. and Payne, J. (eds.), Cognition and Social Behaviour. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Taylor, J.K. and Dale, J.R. (1971) A Survey of Teachers in their First Year of Service. Bristol University Press.

Taylor, S.E. and Fiske, S.T. (1978) 'Salience, Attention, and Attribution: Top of the Head Phenomena', in Berkowitz, L. (ed.) Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 11. New York: Academic Press.

Taylor, W. (1983) 'Teacher education: achievements, shortcomings and prospects', Times Educational Supplement, 13th May.

Tesser, A. (1976) 'Thought and reality constraints as determinants of attitude polarization', Journal of Research in Personality, 10, 183-194.

Tesser, A. and Cowan, C.L. (1977) 'Some attitudinal and cognitive consequences of thought', Journal of Research in Personality, 11, 216-226.

Thelen, H.A. (1950) 'Educational dynamics: Theory and research', Journal of Social Issues, 6(2), 2-95.

Thibaut, J.W. and Kelley, H.H. (1959) The Social Psychology of Groups. New York: Wiley.

Tiedeman, S.C. (1942) 'A Study of Pupil-Teacher Relationships', Journal of Educational Research, vol. 35, 657-664.

Tizard, B. (1974) Early Childhood Education. London: SSRC.

Torgerson, T.L. (1937) 'The Measurement and Prediction of Teaching Ability', Review of Educational Research, vii, June, 246-252.

Turner, M. (1982) 'The Deep End', Times Educational Supplement, Sept.

Turner, R.H. (1962) 'Role Taking: Process versus Conformity', in Rose, A.M. (ed.), Human Behaviour and Social Processes. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1974) 'Judgement under uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases', Science, 185, No. 4517, 1124-1131.

- Visonhaler, J.F., Wagner, C.S. and Elstein, A.S. (1977) The inquiry theory: An information processing approach to clinical solving. Mimeographed. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Institute for Research on Teaching.
- Wadd, K. (1982) 'What Theory into Practice', Educational Review, Vol. 34, No. 3, 219-228.
- Wagner, H.R. ed. (1970) On phenomenology and social relations, the selected writings of Alfred Schutz. University of Chicago Press.
- Walberg, H.J. (1977) 'Decision and Perception: New constructs for research on teaching effects', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, 33-39.
- Walker, R. and Adelman, C. (1975) 'Interaction Analysis in Informal Classrooms: A critical comment on the Flanders System', British Journal of Educational Psychology, 45, 73-76.
- Walker, R. and Goodson, I. (1977) 'Humour in the Classroom', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (eds.), School Experience: Explorations in the Sociology of Education. London: Croom Helm.
- Wallace, W.L. (1966) Student Culture. Chicago: Aldine.
- Waller, W. (1965) The Sociology of Teaching. New York: Wiley.
- Weaver, D.C. (1970) 'The Effect of the First Year of Teaching on Teachers' Attitudes to the Professional Element in Their Initial Training Course', M.Ed. Thesis. British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 40, 352-360.
- Weber, M. (1949) The Methodology of the Social Sciences. New York: Free Press.
- Weinstock, H.R., Starr, R.J. and Fazzaro, C.J. (1974) 'Comparing Secondary Teachers on Logical Consistency in Educational Philosophy and Flexibility in Teaching', Instructional Science, 3, 115-126.
- Westwood, L.J. (1967) 'The Role of the Teacher: parts 1 & 2', Educational Research, Vol. 9, No. 2; Vol. 10, No. 1.
- Whitfield, R.C. (1976) 'Decision making in the classroom - an initial report', Research Intelligence, 2(1) 14-19. British Education Research Association.
- Whitfield, R. (1977) 'A note on research implications of the decision making model of teaching', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol. 7, No. 1, 86-88.
- Wiggins, J.S. (1979) 'Dynamic theories of social relationships and resulting research strategies', in Burgess, R.L. and Huston, T.L. (eds.), Social Exchange in Developing Relationships. New York: Academic Press.
- Williams, J.A. (1965) 'Interviewer-respondent interaction: a study of bias in the information interview', Dissertation Abstracts, 25, 4857.
- Willower, D.J., Hoy, W.K. and Eidell, T.L. (1967) 'The School and Pupil Control Ideology', Pennsylvania State University Studies, Mono No. 24.

Wilson, B.R. (1962) 'The Teacher's Role: A Sociological Analysis', British Journal of Sociology, No. 13, 25-26.

Wilson, T.E. (1976) 'The Halo Effect: Evidence for Unconscious Alteration of Judgements', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, No. 4, 250-256.

Wish, M., Deutsch, M. and Kaplan, S.J. (1976) 'Perceived Dimensions of Interpersonal Relations', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 33, No. 4.

Withall, L. (1949) 'The Development of a Technique for the Measurement of Socio-Educational Climate in Classrooms', Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 17, 97-110.

Wittgenstein, L. (1977) 'Understanding Depends on Tacit Conventions', in Douglas, M. (ed.), Rules and Meanings. Harmondsworth Penguin.

Wolff, K. (1964) A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. New York: Free Press.

Woods, P. (1976) 'Having a Laugh: an antidote to schooling', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (eds.), The Process of Schooling: A Sociological Reader. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Open University Press.

Woods, P. (1977) 'Teaching for Survival', in Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. (eds.), School Experience: Explorations in the Sociology of Education. London: Croom Helm.

Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Woods, P. Ed. (1980) Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School. London: Croom Helm.

Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. eds. (1977) School Experience: Explorations in the Sociology of Education. London: Croom Helm.

Wragg, E.C. (1973) 'A Study of Student Teachers in the Classroom', in Chanan, G. (ed.), Towards a Science of Teaching. Slough: N.F.E.R.

Wragg, E.C. (1982) A Review of Research in Teacher Education. Slough: N.F.E.R.

Wragg, E.C. (1983) Classroom Teaching Skills. London: Croom Helm.

Yinger, R.J. (1977) A Study of teacher planning: Description and theory development using ethnographic and information processing methods. Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University.

Yonemura, M. (1982) 'Teacher Conversations: A Potential Source of their own Professional Growth', Curriculum Enquiry, 12:3, 239-256.

