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OF THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1978

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1978
MIDDLE-AGED EXPERIENCED TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS
OF THEIR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Katherine Kincaid Newman, B.A., M.A.T.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1978

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM

There is a segment of America's schoolteachers who are middle-aged and have logged two and three decades of classroom teaching. They started teaching during a teacher shortage, and have witnessed the post-Sputnik curriculum boom, the liberalism of the 1960's, and the teacher surplus and back-to-basics trend of the 1970's. In their personal lives they have moved through young adulthood into middle age. As teachers they have lived out many annual school year cycles in an occupation in which there is limited advancement. Many have changed in the face of new circumstances, and some have initiated change from within. They have within them a vast accumulation of experience peculiar to their era, age and occupation. Who are these middle-aged experienced teachers, and how have they developed? What is their view of themselves and their life work? The purpose of this exploratory study is to determine some middle-aged teachers' perceptions of their own career development.
Vivid popular images of teacher career development abound, yet they are simplistic, and there is little professional literature to substantiate or refute them. One may well ask whether teachers do indeed change over the course of a career. Several factors make it seem likely that they do: the unique characteristics of their job, their growth and development as adults, and the impact of contemporary history. The study of teaching careers may determine whether important changes do occur and whether there are patterns to these changes. Chapter I contains a delineation of the problem, the purpose of the study, and a rationale for the research.

Popular View of a Teacher's Career

American popular culture knows how a lifetime teacher develops. While the following example portrays a female teacher, the cultural view of male teachers' development is comparable. Having loved and admired her own teachers since kindergarten, the teacher has always wanted to take on teaching as life work. She graduates from college, is thrilled to be accepted for her first position, and enters the classroom full of enthusiasm and energy. Her initial year is difficult. The students like her, because she is young and likes them, but they enjoy causing her as much
trouble as they can. She is surprised, even shocked and depressed, to discover how mischievous, obstreperous and lazy many of the students are. She struggles to reach them personally and motivate them to learn. She either rises above her problems to emerge a fine teacher, or she leaves for some occupation more suitable to her. If she decides to stay, she is the dedicated teacher, capable, confident and likable. She loves her job, gets along with children, and is creative in her teaching. Children know she is full of vitality, and firm but fair.

When culture glances again at the teacher, it is twenty years later, and a transformation has taken place. The friendly pep is gone; she is now methodical and reserved. She knows how to lay down the law in the first class session and enforce it rigorously through the last day of the school year. The students know the limits and what she will do when they overstep them. There is no doubt in her mind about how to teach; as a matter of fact, she worked that out years ago, and has not thought about it since. She uses the same text and assignments every year. Her lesson plans are yellow with age. She applies standards inflexibly. She is predictable, unimaginative, conservative. It is not clear, nor is it important, whether she likes the students, although she does seem to prefer the ones who work hard in her class.
She is not particularly understanding of young people's problems. She knows what she must do to earn her paycheck and to stay in the good graces of the principal, and she directs all her efforts to these ends. The students have the feeling she has been there a hundred years. To them she is a robot who stores herself in the classroom closet every afternoon at three-ten and turns the switch back on the next morning at eight o'clock. To the community she is the butt of cocktail party jokes.

When culture takes a final look at teachers nearing retirement, it notices that two courses of development have taken place. The first is exemplified by the spinster. Having long since resentfully given up her husband hunt, she is like recent Broadway's Miss Margarida:

She is emotionally unstable, self-centered in her speech and action, dogmatic in her pedagogy, and filled with disgust for children. Her moods are unpredictable. One moment she professes love for all; the next, she declares her hate for the students and the school. She paces from side to side, now slamming books on the desk, now swinging her arms frantically. She is the whole focus of her own being: "I know you all want to be Miss Margarida." She makes rules and regulations and proclaims her power by assuring students they will fail. They are nothing to her; she abhors them. They must be silent and passive....Her lectures are senseless and full of digressions. She avoids content because she doesn't know it. She is incompetent and inhumane. (Newman and Applegate, 1978, pp. 3-4)

Unfortunately, her seniority is so firmly established that she is unassailable.
In marked contrast to the intensifying insanity, the public holds another view of teacher career development as holy heavenward progression. Through the years the teacher has become more kindly and self-sacrificing. Her ideals are high and her teaching impeccable. In her devotion to service, she approaches perfection. Descriptions of her are almost poetic:

At nine o'clock each weekday morning for the past forty years Miss Patience Benedict has lovingly greeted the smiling first graders who pass through her classroom door. This untiring woman has read more stories, dried more tears and put on more mittens than any parent ever will. In the children's eager faces she has beheld future doctors, lawyers, merchants and housewives. Miss Patience Benedict has devoted her life to the noble profession of teaching. The children get a solid education under her, and they are happy in her room. The community views her with respect and awe.

Are these popular conceptions of teacher career development as accurate as they are vivid? One might expect professional educational literature to furnish an answer. However, the current state of knowledge falls far short of an adequate description or explanation of long-term teaching careers. Although a few theories account for the process of learning to teach, they do not focus beyond the first few years of a teaching career. There are no major longitudinal studies of teacher career development. While many cross-sectional studies have
included teacher age and experience as variables, they have not consistently identified teacher characteristics according to those variables. Biographies and autobiographies of classroom teachers are almost nonexistent. Where professional literature might provide rich portraits of teacher career development, one is left with the sketched caricatures of popular culture.

Possible Patterns of Teacher Career Development

One might very logically ask whether there is any reason to suppose that there is such a phenomenon as teacher career development. Is there any reason to think that people who have held teaching positions for many years have changed teaching behaviors such as teaching methods or discipline techniques? Would it be reasonable to look for changes in beliefs about the goals of schooling or their own professional goals? Could one expect their attitudes to change, e.g., satisfactions with the job or feelings toward young people? The question, in popular phraseology, is: Has the teacher had twenty years of experience, or one year of experience twenty times?

"Teacher career development" refers to changes in teachers as they engage in the occupation of teaching over a period of time. "Career" in that phrase refers to a particular occupation, in this case, teaching. "Career" will also be used in the study with another meaning.
It will appear in such phrases as "his career" or "their careers" and refers to a combination of an individual's work history, i.e., sequence of jobs held, and his or her job-related beliefs, behaviors and attitudes. The meaning of "career" will be evident from the particular context.

The term "development" at this point must be broadly conceived. It might refer to changes over time in one or more teaching-related beliefs, behaviors or attitudes, or it might refer to progress through a series of discrete ordered stages. It is part of the purpose of this study to arrive at a clearer definition of "development" as used in the term "teacher career development." For the present, it must suffice to say that as used here, it carries some notion of change, but without speculating as to the direction or timing of change.

In an attempt to answer the question of whether patterns of teacher career development exist, three areas will be considered: the nature of the occupation of teaching, adult development, and contemporary history.

The Occupation of Teaching

As a lifelong occupation, teaching differs markedly from other white-collar jobs and from the traditional professions. There is limited advancement in the job (Dreeban, 1970, pp. 20-21, 169 ff.). While a classroom teacher may also acquire the post of department chairperson
or a position in a "better" school, advancement generally means a significant change in the nature of the job. Guidance counselors and principals perform very different duties from their former classroom teaching. Hence, Lortie (1975) identifies classroom teaching as a "notably unstaged" career. Increases in salary are steady but small, and they are not accompanied by increases in status (p. 82). There are no pay incentives, nor are there increased numbers of clients resulting from superior performance. A longer span of service does not bring more independence in determining one's hours, working conditions or vacations. Once hired as a teacher, a person is given little choice of where, when, what, and often how to teach. In teaching, there are none of the typical recognitions within the structure for excellence.

In addition, teaching has traditionally been a temporary occupation designed for unmarried women who would be required to leave their jobs upon marriage (Lortie, 1973, p. 488). Although this pattern is changing, it has persisted up to recent times.

The nature of teaching may facilitate teachers developing "a protective routinized existence" (Sarason, 1971). The constant giving inherent in teaching, with a distinct absence of the corresponding getting (i.e., recognition from students, administrators and parents), results in teachers establishing in their classroom
behavior a routine which reduces the demands on them to give so exhaustively. In view of this, Sarason has wondered whether any condition of the occupation prevents a consequent routinization of thought and action (pp. 167-69).

It seems likely that these distinctive characteristics of teaching might have an effect on the attitudes, beliefs, and actions of teachers who find themselves, through varying degrees of choice, long-term classroom teachers. While persons their age in other careers have advanced "up the ladder," with increasing independence, status and income, teachers see themselves in relatively fixed positions. The effects of these occupational characteristics on teachers over time could be expected to comprise part of teacher career development.

Adult Development

There is a second reason to suppose that there may be patterns of teacher career development. In recent years there has been an increasing recognition that adults pass through phases in their personal development in a manner more similar to child development than had earlier been presumed. Where adulthood was once viewed as a vast unitary period between adolescence and old age, it is now emerging as a series of complex stages (Levinson, 1978). The research has been carried on from
a number of perspectives, e.g., major life achievement (Lehman, 1953), goal setting (Buhler, 1968), psychological health (Vaillant and McArthur, 1972), the subjective "sense of the world" (Gould, 1972). The recent evidence for changing psychological as well as biological states throughout adulthood suggests that such changes might have an impact on the occupational lives of long-term teachers. For example, Gould found a sharp increase in the early forties in his subjects' realization that their personalities were pretty well set. It is possible that this profound change in orientation would have an effect on a teacher's attitude toward professional self or on a willingness to participate in certain types of staff development.

**Contemporary History**

Every era experiences its own technological and social changes, and responds with invigoration or disillusionment, nor have these changes failed to have an impact on schools. In the past forty years, the lives children lead, which form the backdrop for their schooling, have changed significantly. Families are more geographically mobile and less internally stable. Values have changed. Television captures more and more of children's time, intellect and fantasy. Young people are now consumers of tape recorders and calculators.
From the government, schools feel the effects of court decisions and legislation. Court actions since Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka have suddenly and drastically altered staff and student bodies of many schools. Decisions on individuals' rights precisely define particular actions of teachers and administrators. Offers of federal funds entice schools into new curricula.

Schools are not isolated from the changing political and cultural milieu. In the aftermath of Sputnik the nation pressured schools to raise academic standards and stress math and science. The young people of the late 1960's violently brought to school their anger with a war and The System. A disgusted public of the 1970's urges a return to the "basics" for children, and accountability for teachers.

Teachers are forced to react to all these impingements of contemporary history on schools. Each may choose to ignore, reject, or abide by them or to use them creatively. It is likely that teachers' responses to the changing contemporary times would compose a part of their career development.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine some middle-aged experienced teachers' perceptions of their own career development. Specifically, the research questions are as follows:
1. In what respects, if any, do teachers perceive that they have changed their teaching-related beliefs, behaviors and attitudes throughout their years of service?

2. To what factors do they attribute their changes?

3. In what respects do teachers perceive that they have remained the same?

4. Do teachers mentally segment their careers into time blocks? By what criteria?

The study is qualitative exploratory research in which ten teachers who had taught in public schools at least twenty years were intensively interviewed about their career development. A professional biography of each teacher is presented, and summary statements about the group of ten teachers are made.

Rationale for the Study

The nature of the occupation of teaching, knowledge of adult development, and the effects of contemporary history provide grounds for supposing that such a phenomenon as teacher career development exists. There are several reasons for which a study of the phenomenon would be important.

Teachers' Self-Understanding

How teachers feel about themselves is vitally important. For teachers in a culture which thinks of them as being in the midst of long-term transformations into either robots, demons or angels, the alternatives
are disquieting. All are nonhuman; one is mechanical, while the others are respectively subhuman and superhuman. The choices are either undesirable or unattainable; they are not particularly appealing for persons who entered the occupation because they enjoyed working with people and considered themselves basically goodhearted and responsible, although humanly fallible. When teachers see themselves mechanically start their thirtieth school year, or when they see their mistakes as leading them down the demonic road, or if they see their occasional miracles as not reproducible at will, their self-concepts are injured.

In the occupation of teaching there is little sharing among teachers of what they do in the classroom. Teachers, either from fear of exposing weakness or reluctance to seem boastful, keep their failures and successes to themselves. There is even less shared reflection about the effects of the job on them. The ones who become aware of long-term changes in their teaching and their feelings about teaching do not know whether other teachers are having similar experiences. A study of teacher career development can bring out from isolation some teachers' complex reflections on their careers. It can offer its readers in the teaching occupation something with which to compare their own experiences. Teachers who realize that many aspects of their own experience are not unique
come to a better understanding of themselves. This self-understanding may ease and enrich their progress through their work lives, and a more positive self-concept would likely be reflected in more fruitful relationships with children.

Teacher Education

The other area to which knowledge about teacher career development would make a contribution is that of teacher education, from preservice through inservice. The questions of how much training and what kinds of training are effective at each level have accompanied the history of teacher education and are still being variously answered. For example, Haberman (1978) has deplored the weakness of university-based teacher education in the face of preservice teachers' school-based student teaching experience. Teachers find themselves either disillusioned, as Haberman noted, or stimulated to new growth by actual teaching (Ryan et al., 1978). Fuller and Brown (1975) have succinctly put the dilemma of the teacher educator:

The question is: which interventions by which interveners in what situations elicit what responses from which prospective teachers?...The appropriate question at this stage of our knowledge is not "Are we right?", but only "What is out there?" (p. 52)

Current professional frustration with preservice and inservice education stems in part from the void of
knowledge about how teachers actually do learn to teach and how they develop themselves professionally throughout their careers.

Lawrence Cremin (1978), drawing from James Earl Russell's 1898 advocacy of the components of teacher education curriculum, has outlined the qualifications for an educated teacher. Teacher education ought to consist of four components: (1) general culture--a liberal education with thought given to the relationships among the fields of knowledge, (2) special scholarship--the development of expertise in at least one field of study, (3) professional knowledge--humanities, social sciences, behavioral sciences and the study of teaching and learning, and (4) technical skill--the ability to transmit knowledge (pp. 10, 18-21). Traditionally the first three have been undertaken at the preservice level, while the fourth is gained during the inservice period. Does the actual sequence meet the felt needs of developing teachers? How competent do teachers feel in each area at various points in their careers? From what sources do they strengthen themselves? In the absence of knowledge about teacher career development it is difficult to say. It is likely that inservice education would become significantly more effective if it were based on teachers' understandings of their own changing needs.


Distinctiveness of Middle-Aged Experienced Teachers

Having seen how knowledge of teacher career development can be expected to contribute to teachers' self-understanding, as well as providing a firmer foundation for preservice and inservice teacher education, one can now consider why it would be profitable to study middle-aged experienced teachers. The National Education Association Research (1977) statistics for the period 1961 to 1976 indicate that the proportion of teachers with twenty or more years of experience has decreased from 27% to 14%. However, the proportion of teachers with fifteen to nineteen years of experience has increased from 10% to 12%, while teachers with ten to fourteen years have increased from 15% to 17%. The greatest gains have been in the group with five to nine years of experience; it has increased from 19% to almost 30% of the teaching force. The mean in years of teaching experience has decreased from thirteen to ten years (p. 15).

The segment of teachers with over twenty years of experience may remain at about 14%, or it may increase if today's young teachers decide in great numbers to make a career of teaching. Other NEA Research statistics indicate that in 1976, 60% of the teachers polled in the survey planned to remain in teaching until retirement, although almost a third of the 60% intended to stay only until early retirement (p. 41).
There is reason to think that the American teaching force will age again. Grambs and Seelfelt (1977) maintained that decreasing school enrollments are lessening the need for teachers. Further, several factors will keep the present teacher in teaching: increasing numbers of teachers' families dependent on two incomes, short supply of jobs outside of teaching, few other job opportunities for young retirees, the increasing good health of persons over fifty. The authors suggested that the teaching force will be predominantly middle-aged or older by the 1980's (pp. 259-60).

Whether the proportion of more experienced teachers remains constant or increases, it still remains a sizable segment of the teaching force. It is a segment with certain characteristics not shared by the rest of the teaching occupation. It is composed of people who have devoted a significant portion of their working lives to this unstaged occupation. To a certain extent, they are locked in. They are past the common period for moving out of the classroom into administrative positions. To change school systems might bring a loss in pay and retirement benefits. They are unqualified for most jobs outside of teaching. They realize that their vocation is set. The career development of these teachers is likely to
have characteristics quite distinct from development of less experienced teachers.

These middle-aged experienced teachers are distinct in another important way. They are in the midst of their careers. They have accumulated many years of experience and have a perspective on their past, but they are also very much involved in the day-to-day demands of their present teaching. They do not look on their past from the vantage point of one who has retired from teaching or quit. Instead they are fully aware of what it is like to go to school every day and to interact with young people, colleagues and parents. The accounts of their career development are stories without endings. They are stories in which past and present are inextricably intertwined, and anticipations of the future closely related. It is a perspective unattained for young teachers and lost to retired teachers.

**Importance of Teachers' Own Perceptions**

Several reasons have been identified for thinking that middle-aged experienced teachers are a distinctive group and that their career development deserves study. The question can now be raised: What is the purpose for studying teachers' own perceptions of their development?

The study of teacher career development is in a state of infancy. An initial step is to discover the full range
of variables and their relationship to one another. Teachers themselves are an obvious first source of data on what is meaningful to them. What do they see as the periods they have been through? How have they perceived their attitudes changing? What awareness have they had of their reactions to changing times? The information needs to be gathered in detail from many teachers before the potentially important variables can be identified and subjected to verification with statistical significance. Lortie (1973), although not referring directly to career development, summed up the current research need:

Too many studies tell us of relationships between weak, exotic variables and researcher-centered dimensions of sentiment and values; in balance, we have too few studies which explore the subjective world of teachers in terms of their conceptions of what is salient. (p. 490)

Overview of the Study

In Chapter I the topic of study has been introduced and grounds for supposing that there is such a phenomenon have been established. The purpose of the study was stated and a rationale was offered. The distinctiveness of middle-aged experienced teachers and their perceptions were considered.

In Chapter II, professional literature will be reviewed in six areas: teacher career development, characteristics of teachers by age, career development, adult development, contemporary history, and the
occupation of teaching.

Chapter III contains a rationale and description of the methods used to collect and analyze the data. Ten teachers were intensively interviewed. The data were analyzed to yield both a holistic portrait of each teacher and a description of the group.

Chapter IV consists of the findings: ten professional biographies and summary statements about the group's career development.

Chapter V contains a discussion of the major findings, suggestions for further research, and implications for educational community.
CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

There is a particular segment of American teachers who have taught in the classroom for many years and who are likely to have had what could be termed a "career development." Information about the career development of teachers would be a basis for deeper self-understanding on the part of teachers and a foundation for more effective teacher education. The purpose of this study is to determine some middle-aged experienced teachers' perceptions of their own career development.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine what is known about teacher careers, and to investigate some related areas which might be expected to illuminate the phenomenon of teacher career development. Literature on six areas will be examined in order to answer the following questions:

1. Teacher Career Development. On what dimensions has teacher career development been studied and/or speculated about?

2. Characteristics of Teachers by Age. What is the evidence for age-related characteristics of teachers?
3. Career Development. What are current theories of lifelong career development? What stages are posited?

4. Adult Development. In what respects is adult development being studied? What are the stages of development in each relevant dimension?

5. Contemporary History. What are the major events and trends in the history of American education over the past forty years? How have national values evolved? What is the American cultural view of teachers?

6. The Occupation of Teaching. What are the distinctive characteristics of the occupation of teaching from a sociologist's point of view?

Each of the six areas will be approached with the intent of presenting information pertinent to the study of teacher career development and showing the limits of its usefulness.

**Teacher Career Development**

One might expect to find a variety of kinds of literature on teacher career development. Presumably there would be a subject heading in the card catalogue and a descriptor in the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system for teacher career development. Under such a heading one might hope to find longitudinal studies in which the experiences of particular teachers were studied over many years, either through their own self-reports or by interview, observation, and measurement. In addition to longitudinal studies, one might look for studies in which older teachers were asked
to recount and interpret their careers. Based on the studies there might reasonably be descriptive theories of teacher career development, identifying the salient features of development and explaining their course. One might expect to find that paralleling the professional literature would be popular books recounting the careers of individual teachers. The investigator's literature search turned up no library heading for teacher-career development, no long-term longitudinal studies, one study of teachers' recollections of their development, very few theories, and few teachers' narrative accounts. The purpose of this section is to examine what little literature is available, and describe the various conceptualizations of teacher career development which emerge from that literature.

Studies of the Teaching Career

Howard S. Becker's (1952) study, "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," remains a classic study in teaching careers. In the absence of vertical movement within the occupation, Becker sought to identify teachers' efforts to better their work situations horizontally. Through unstructured interviews of sixty teachers, he found that most of the teachers had transferred out of schools in which they perceived great problems with teaching and discipline, and in which they felt that the
students were not morally acceptable to them. Most of the transfers were from lower class schools to middle or upper middle class schools. In contrast, a minority of teachers chose to adjust to the problems of the schools where they were. Once adjusted to their chosen schools, the teachers faced only threats of worsened conditions resulting from a change in social composition of the neighborhood, or from the comings and goings of administrators. Becker conceptualized teacher career development as the adjustments teachers make to their work situations. The adjustments are self-initiated: the teacher chooses to adjust or to make a lateral move. Becker identified some causes of the horizontal moves. His subjects were from a large urban school system; one may ask whether teachers are similarly motivated in their moves from system to system.

Kuhlen (1959), in a major study in teacher career development, focused on teachers' motivations, pressures, satisfactions and dissatisfactions. He conceptualized the course of a career as reflecting a worker's "long-term efforts to effect a reasonable relationship between his motivations and the potential of his occupational environment for satisfying these motivations" (p. 192). Kuhlen expected teaching careers to reflect those efforts in a developmental pattern.
Open-ended interviews were conducted of 649 urban secondary teachers in central New York; they and an additional 203 teachers were administered standardized tests. The data were analyzed in the broad areas of career patterns, sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, contrasts between satisfied and dissatisfied teachers, teachers' consideration of leaving the occupation, when plans to enter teaching were made, and teacher needs and satisfaction with the occupation. Among the findings was that a major characteristic of job sequences was the increasing likelihood with age that teachers were continuously employed in the same job during a given five-year period (p. 196). The early career, in addition to involving a greater number of jobs, was also marked for young men by more nonteaching employment and graduate study (p. 196). Other findings are discussed in the section "Characteristics of Teachers by Age."

Warren A. Peterson (1964) in 1953 interviewed fifty-six urban female high school teachers, aged thirty to seventy, about their work histories, changes in the character of their interactions with students, pressures of the woman-role expectations, and the effects of their social class and rural-urban mobility. The teachers in his study reported feeling more positive about students early in their careers (p. 270). They blamed students
for making their jobs more difficult as the teachers grew older (p. 272). Relationships with students became less intimate and friendly, and more formal (p. 273).

Teachers in the late forties and early fifties were concerned about their declining physical vigor (pp. 273-74), and about the long teaching years ahead of them possibly becoming more difficult (p. 275). They experienced frustration and helplessness worrying about the students "getting worse every year," but were uncertain about whether the phenomenon was due to their own aging or changes in the students (p. 276).

**Narrative Accounts**

Looking for the memoirs, correspondences and reminiscences of teachers, one finds that most of the accounts are written by teachers about short periods of their teaching lives, e.g., the first year, or an atypical group of children, or a year in which social turmoil drastically affected their students. Many of the accounts of school teaching are written by persons who have left the occupation--either in disenchantment, or to get married, or to become school administrators or college professors. The books written by teachers about their long-term experience in the classroom, while few in number, are of interest in showing how teachers think about their careers.
In *Chalkdust on My Shoulder* Charles G. Rousculp (1969) recounted a score of years as a teacher of high school English in Worthington, Ohio. Having seen action in the Pacific foxholes of World War II, Rousculp graduated from Ohio State University and started teaching about 1950. He described various aspects of his teaching: conducting study hall, helping students, teaching a successful unit, dealing with cheating, finding humor in the job. He recounted ways in which he had grown and developed: gaining confidence as a teacher, coming to grips with his own fallibility, developing his goals as a teacher. He recognized the effect of aging on his teaching and faced the fear of losing his capacity to adapt and to accept new challenges (p. 318). He told of his struggle with the choice of whether to remain a classroom teacher and his resolution that "quality and not promotion is the measure of all men" (p. 330). He philosophized on teaching as a calling. Rousculp wrote from the middle of his career, with a commitment to complete a teaching career.

Beatrice Stephens Nathan (1956) related a thirty-one-year teaching career in *Tales of a Teacher*. In contrast to Rousculp, she wrote from her retirement. She offered rich and vivid descriptions of her teaching experiences, beginning with her first year in a one-room schoolhouse in the hills of California in 1915. The book
is organized chronologically, with descriptions for each teaching position of the type of community, the character of the school staff, the lives of the children, the effects of the era on community and school life, and her goals and efforts as a teacher. Although Nathan periodically offered insights into education and schooling gained from her experiences, she was less inclined than Rousculp to philosophize. While Rousculp organized his book by particular aspects of his teaching, Nathan gave a straightforward chronological account. She dealt more with the changing eras than did Rousculp, and less with changes within herself.

Estelle Bell Hicks (1959) entitled her book, *The Golden Apples: Memoirs of a Retired Teacher*. It is a collection of short vignettes, unconnected, from which she purposely omitted events "that tend to depress" (p. 8). She remembered her career as a number of separate incidents which remained salient in her mind, not as an entity of a particular historical period or of an evolving self.

**Theories**

There are a few scholars who have addressed themselves to the notion of developmental stages of teachers. Their work may be called theory only loosely; it does not fully explain or predict. It does offer an idea of the kinds of dimensions which may prove
significant in teacher career development.

In "Developmental Stages of Preschool Teachers," Lilian G. Katz (1972) outlined, from her observations as a teacher educator, four stages from entering the classroom to maturity. In the first stage, Survival, the teacher is concerned with coping until the end of the day or week; she is anxious about her inadequacy; she learns what children are like. In the second stage, Consolidation, the teacher consolidates the gains of the first year; she concentrates on specific tasks and skills she needs to master; she begins to identify unusual children. The third stage, Renewal, takes place the third or fourth year: the teacher gets tired of repetition and looks for new ideas from colleagues and experts. The fourth stage, Maturity, is one in which the teacher asks deeper, more abstract questions, and relates her own experience to these questions.

Also operating from informed speculation, Louis M. Smith (1972) posited several stages of emphasis in teacher career development. He proposed five stages of development: Prepracticum, Apprenticeship, First Year Teaching, Probational Teaching, Professional Career. Through these five periods he followed six categories of emphasis: (1) general liberal arts education and academic specialization, (2) concrete perceptual images of teaching, (3) core interpersonal survival skills, (3.1) classroom
control, (3.2) implementation of the activity structure, (3.3) confidence, (4) idiosyncratic style of teaching, (5) analysis, conceptualization, and inquiry about teaching, (6) nonclassroom roles in teaching. From First Year Teaching through Professional Career, the career emphases decrease in the areas of concrete perceptual images of teaching and core interpersonal survival skills, while the emphases in the other four areas increase.

Frances Fuller and Oliver Bown (1975), drawing both from scholarly speculation and from the research of Fuller and others, identified four stages of teacher development. They are stages of teacher concerns: (1) preteaching concerns, in which preservice teachers identify with the pupils they observe, (2) early concerns about survival, in which they wonder whether they can teach the content and control the class, (3) teaching situation concerns, in which they, as student teachers or newly employed teachers, worry about their competence and feel pressured by the school's demands on them, and (4) concerns about pupils, in which the teachers can now focus on the social and emotional needs of the students and how to meet these needs. The authors used the word "stages" cautiously: research had not yet demonstrated whether the four kinds of concerns were discrete or ordered.
The most serious limitation of the three theories summarized above is that they put into one category most of a career teacher's occupational life. After the initial learning period, there seemed to be a unitary phase of "maturity," lasting from about the fifth through the forty-fifth year of teaching. Perhaps little change was thought to occur, or perhaps changes in mature teachers were considered idiosyncratic. At any rate, the theorists offered dimensions of career development for beginning teachers that may be applicable for experienced teachers as well: the focus and success of a teacher's efforts, the amount and kind of reflection on teaching done by the teacher, and the kinds of concerns and worries felt by the teacher.

In this section information about teacher career development from several sources has been described. Becker, a sociologist, conceptualized teacher career development as the teacher's efforts at horizontal moves until finding a school he or she chooses to adapt in. Kuhlen studied teacher career patterns, motivations and satisfactions. Peterson focused on work histories, perceptions of interactions with students and woman-role expectations. Offering a very different perspective were the first-person accounts by three teachers of their career development. Rousculp thought of his career in terms of his experiences, his reflections, and his
changing self. Nathan related her personal story to the historical times. Hicks recalled her career as a number of isolated outstanding incidents. Some educators' theories of teacher development, in spite of their rudimentary nature, posed some provocative dimensions of development.

Characteristics of Teachers by Age

In the comparative absence of data on teacher career development, it is reasonable to look to cross-sectional studies, with appropriate caveats, in hopes of inferring teacher development. There are many studies of teacher characteristics and attitudes in which teacher age and experience have been variables. One would suppose that if the studies were strong, and the results consistent from study to study and over the course of time, we would be able to identify the uniqueness of various points in a teaching career. However, few studies are methodologically sound, and the composite of results is insufficient for making solid inferences about teacher development. Several of the well-conceptualized studies are worth examining.

David G. Ryans (1960), in his tour de force, Characteristics of Teachers, reported findings from over a hundred related studies of teacher classroom behavior and attitudinal, cognitive, and emotional traits.
Teachers aged fifty-five and older were notably stronger in some characteristics than younger teachers: (a) responsible, systematic businesslike classroom behavior, and (b) learning-centered, traditional educational viewpoints. Older teachers rated lower than younger teachers in (a) understanding, friendly classroom behavior, (b) stimulating, imaginative classroom behavior, and (c) favorable opinions of pupils and favorable opinions of democratic pupil practices. The analysis by years of teaching experience was similar to that by teacher age (p. 289). Ryans warned against inferring teacher development from this cross-sectional data. A further limitation would be that the data were collected a generation ago; characteristics of today's teachers are not necessarily the same.

In 1957 Jackson and Guba reported their administering of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule to 366 public schoolteachers in suburban Chicago. The qualities characterizing those teachers were high deference, orderliness, endurance, low exhibition, and low heterosexuality. The qualities appeared more strongly among experienced teachers, the authors noted (p. 190). The number of years constituting "experienced" was not specified.
For the teachers in Kuhlen's (1959) study, teacher satisfaction generally increased with age. However, evidence from some questions, such as "Would you do it over again?", indicated greater dissatisfaction among older teachers (pp. 197-99). Kuhlen found no evidence of midcareer psychic disturbance (p. 197).

Bienenstok and Sayres (1963) sent questionnaires to 1349 New York state junior high school teachers asking about their satisfactions with teaching. Dissatisfaction increased with age, as did a tendency to emphasize negative pupil characteristics.

Through eight years of research on teacher morale, Rempel and Bentley (1970) and their students developed the ten-factor Purdue Teacher Opinionnaire. Administering it to 3075 Indiana and Oregon teachers, they found that teacher satisfaction increased with both age and experience (p. 538).

Lortie (1975) conducted ninety-four interviews of teachers in his Five Towns study of 1963. Older men teachers (over age forty) worked fewer hours per week outside of school on teaching, yet they accorded teaching a higher proportion of their life space than younger men (p. 94), and were more satisfied (p. 96). Older women were more involved than younger women (p. 94).
Horrocks and Mussman (1970) administered an attitude scale to 1063 Columbus, Ohio, public school teachers and nonteaching personnel. A drop in attitude intensity was taken to indicate motivational disequilibrium, i.e., psychic conflict, frustration and threat. The researchers noted an impressive drop in self-concept intensity over the ten-year block from the early thirties to the early forties, with the early forties being the lowest point of all ages. This, they said, may be evidence of "middlescence" stress.

Corwin (1970) studied teacher militancy, partially through 1500 questionnaires and 737 conversations with personnel in twenty-eight schools; he found older teachers more professionally committed and more militant (p. 176).

Although one may not necessarily generalize findings from twenty-five years ago to the present, nor can one say that age differences in these cross-sectional studies indicate longitudinal changes within teachers, still the findings cited above may be cautiously summarized. Older teachers were found to be more businesslike and orderly, more traditional in their educational viewpoints, and less favorably inclined toward students. It is unclear whether they were more satisfied, less satisfied, or ambivalent about their teaching careers. Whether they
experienced a midlife crisis was also unclear. Older teachers were more militant.

**Career Development**

In a study of teacher career development it is logical to look to career development literature for a framework within which to view teacher development. One would look for ways in which career development is conceptualized and what the stages are. One would also look for some accounting for the differences between the typical hierarchical career, and a "flat" career like teaching. However, the career development literature has several limitations to its usefulness in the present study. It has traditionally focused on the adolescent and early adult years; the interest has been primarily on the processes by which people choose, try out, and commit themselves to occupations. Further, the career development literature applies only to men: the variety of women's work histories has defied clear and simple categorization. A third limitation is that career development literature does not attend to flat careers. Career development tends to be seen as a series of different positions either within or among occupations. With these limitations in mind, several points can be drawn from the career development literature.
Although applying to men and to hierarchical careers, the theory of Donald E. Super (1957a, 1957b, 1963, 1975) is significant for its conceptualization of career development as a lifelong process. Based on Charlotte Buhler's stages of human development, he posited five stages of career development. In the Growth Stage, children are developing self-concepts from their experiences and relationships with others; their occupational preferences are based on their emotional needs and tend either to be fixated or to change fairly often. The Exploratory Stage is primarily the adolescent stage. Through a variety of activities, roles and situations, young people find out about their aptitudes and interests and attempt to find a satisfactory occupation (1975, pp. 28-29). The Establishment Stage, lasting approximately from ages twenty-five to forty-five, is the time of settling for what seems to be the best occupational choice, and stabilizing and advancing in a career. In this stage the self-concept is implemented (1957a, chap. 9; 1975, p. 29).

The Maintenance Stage, from the approximate ages of forty-five to sixty-five, is a period of keeping up. Workers tend to engage in the kinds of activities which got them where they are. They break new ground mainly to hold their own against their younger co-workers.
Maintenance is a period of fruition, if Establishment has been handled successfully, or frustration if the worker has not found a suitable and secure occupation (1957a, pp. 147-53). At about age sixty-five the worker enters the Decline Stage, a decreasing involvement with work and with life itself (1975, p. 30).

Murphy and Burck (1976) suggested incorporating an additional stage into Super's career development sequence. Based on their reviews of several studies (including Horrocks and Mussman, and Gould) they maintained that the time period around the age of forty is characterized by common inner experiences of "decreased positive self-concept, questioning of the meaning of life, examination of personal values, broad dissatisfaction with life, and, finally, stock-taking" (p. 340). They called such a stage Renewal, and placed it between Super's stages of Establishment and Maintenance.

Joseph B. Simons (1966) looked at vocational choice not to find its roots in the life process, but rather "to explain the mystery of the life process" (p. 604). Taking an existentialist point of view, Simons pointed out that success in life is achieved only when life work has brought happiness to the individual. A person's choice of a job is a choice either to be responsible for one's own happiness, or to frustrate one's drive for fulfillment. Examining the major career
development theories in light of his view, Simons maintained that Super's lifetime career developmental stages did not go far enough in showing the relationship between vocational development and personality development. Indeed, the vocational choice is the foundation of the personality.

Virginia Ruth Griffin (1970a, 1970b) has made a significant theoretical effort to develop a model of a male professional's work life. Drawing from scholars on human development and a myriad of researchers on various aspects of adult life, Griffin synthesized a model of six age-related stages of career development. First she identified five major forces shaping a man's life: community, family, work, physical condition, and personality. After examining the relevant literature about the changes of these forces over time, she juxtaposed them into one set of general work life stages summarized below:

Stage 1 (ages 23-25): neophyte in a situation of complex demands; egocentric; testing himself; proving himself on the job; present-oriented; willingly depends on the organization for guidance.

Stage 2 (25-30): resists control of the organization over him; builds his own criteria of work-success for himself; present-oriented; thinks about his own purposes and priorities; pleased by his increasing control of his life and work.

Stage 3 (30-40): achieves a positive independence, an autonomy of purposes and priorities; aims toward higher status and power; both present- and future-oriented (oriented toward his future); deeper
consideration of purposes leads to further education

Stage 4 (40-50): peak of position, power and prestige; has no reason to reconsider his own purposes and priorities; remains loyal to the organization

Stage 5 (50-60): experiences stress, stock-taking and some reorientation; has reached a plateau; aware of his own limitations; turns toward his own inner resources; feels controlled by shortness of time and physical limitations

Stage 6 (60-65): forms reorientations toward work; redefines success; becomes more truly autonomous; concerned with self; tries to develop means to cope with the losses and constraints; tries to justify work life as having been meaningful

Griffin applies her model to the work life of a county agent, whose career is similar to a teacher's in that promotion removes him from doing county agent's work.

This cursory examination of career development literature suggests that there is a basis for believing adult careers to be developmental in nature, although the field is young. Super covered the adult work life with two stages of twenty years each. Although Griffin's stages were more specific and more detailed, they had not been subjected to empirical verification. Holland and Whitney noted in 1969 that few investigations of career development had actually been concerned with the careers or work histories of individuals.
Adult Development

Adult development has been variously studied in terms of biological, social and psychological processes. The intent in this section is not to summarize the knowledge, but rather to point to two dimensions of adult development: Buhler's conceptualization of life span goal setting processes, and Gould's study of adults' subjective sense of the world. The section further includes a consideration of characteristics of the middle-age group as described by psychologists Neugarten and Datan, and social psychologist Havighurst.

Adult Stages

Throughout her career Charlotte Buhler has studied human life spans. In "The Course of Human Life as a Psychological Problem" (1968), she re-examined the data from hundreds of biographies, looking at stages in the life cycle in the light of the concept of intentionality. By "intentionality" Buhler meant "inner coherence" or "an integrating principle" (p. 184). She found, in the biographies and in her clinical work as a psychiatrist, that from the age of about fifty, people begin to think about their lives in terms of whether they have met their goals.

A person's life is permeated by some kind of intentionality, an intentionality directed toward fulfillment. Fulfillment is defined as a closure
experience of an overall feeling of satisfaction, accomplishment and success, which in different individuals is anticipated and visualized differently. (p. 185)

Through five phases of life, the individual pursues life goals; the fulfillment of them unifies and integrates his or her life. The fulfillment seems to take place in three predominant areas of life: activities, personal relationships, and the development of the self.

The first phase of life (up to about age fifteen) is composed of behavior preparatory to the setting of long-range goals. In the second phase (about ages fifteen to twenty-five) the young person thinks of goals tentatively and experimentally. "There is a first grasp of the idea that one's own life belongs to oneself and represents a time unit with a beginning and an end" (p. 189). In the third phase (about ages twenty-five to late forties) more specific goals are set. People attempt to pursue immediate goals and to acquire a clearer notion about intermediate and long-range goals.

The fourth phase of self-assessment, occurring in the climacteric years from about 45-50 to about 60-65 is normally a more comprehensive survey of a person's whole life in retrospect. It comes in a critical period in which many people have to re-orient themselves....In the healthy person, the fourth phase self-assessment includes a stock-taking of the past and leads to revised planning for the future in light of necessary limitations. (p. 196)

The fifth phase (from about late sixties on) finds most people no longer determining life goals. There is "the
gradually-evolving awareness of the past life as a whole resulting essentially in fulfillment or unfulfillment and even despair" (p. 198).

Roger L. Gould (1972) set out to explore the "vague" concept of an individual's sense of the world. By this he meant "the out-of-focus, interior, gut-level organizing percepts of self and nonself, safety, time, size, etc., that make up the background tone of daily living and shape the attitudes and value base from which decisions and action emanate" (p. 524). He conducted two studies, the first in which he analyzed recordings from group therapy sessions, and the second in which he had normal subjects rank order a series of statements. He was able to delineate age groups by their major characteristics. A summary of each group follows:

Ages 16-17: longing to get away from parents; closeness to peers is desired but unstable

Ages 18-21: look to peer group as means to getting away from family; autonomy felt to be established, but in jeopardy

Ages 22-28: feel autonomous; engaged in the work of being adult; no questioning about the course of life; commitment to make marriage work; wish to establish modus vivendi with parents

Ages 29-36: begin to question meaning of life and own course in life; weary of being what others expect; begin to feel that not only own will, but inner forces are controlling as well; identify with own children

Ages 37-43: continue existential questioning with tone of "quiet desperation"; increasing awareness
of a "time squeeze"; sense of "Have I done the right thing?" and "Is there time to change?"; own children seen as emerging end products of their parenting and reflections of their worth; little time left to shape adolescent children, and uncertainty about values by which to shape them; muffled renewal of old conflict with parents; time seen as finite; past, present and future viewed equally; look to spouse for support; work is only hope of compensation, but in a fantasy way--"one last chance to make it big"

Ages 44-50: acceptance that finite time is a reality; feel that personality is set; eager to socialize, but tinged with competitiveness; look for sympathy and affection from spouse in like manner as former dependency on parents; watchful, almost critical of children's adult progress

Ages 51-60: mellowing and warming up; no longer see parents as source of problems; children are sources of comfort and satisfaction; value spouse more; spouse is source of companionship; little concern for past and future; imminent presence of mortality; renewed questioning about the meaningfulness of life as well as a review of one's own work contributions to the world; hunger for personal relationships, but necessity to stay away from emotionally laden topics (pp. 525-27)

Characteristics of Middle Age

Because the subjects of the present study are middle-aged, it is well to cite one study of the middle-aged themselves. Bernice Neugarten has studied extensively the middle-aged and aging. She and Datan (1974) reported on lengthy interviews of one hundred middle-aged, middle class men and women who were highly placed in their occupations. Several characteristics of middle age were identified. People perceive "middle age" not from their chronological age, but from cues from their bodies, careers
and families. They feel a distance from young people, due to the latter's inexperience. Women, not men, define their middle age by the age of their children. For both men and women, the departure of the children from home has both positive and negative aspects. Women feel increased freedom and a sense of self-discovery. Men experience increasing pressure: it is an age to judge whether they have met their career goals. Men, more than women, feel the slowdown of their bodies. In changing time perspective, the middle-aged now think in terms of time-to-live, instead of time-since-birth. Neugarten and Datan noted that these findings are consistent with theories of adult development. These particular findings may not hold true for other social classes, however. The authors maintained that middle age is not a greater time of crisis than other ages; rather, people expect the characteristic changes to occur and they take them in stride.

Robert Havighurst (1972) has chronicled the developmental tasks of humans throughout the life span. For middle age (ages thirty to sixty) the tasks are as follows: (1) assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults, (2) achieving adult social and civic responsibility, (3) reaching and maintaining satisfactory performance in one's occupational career, (4) developing adult leisure-time activities, (5) relating
oneself to one's spouse as a person, (6) accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age, and (7) adjusting to aging parents (pp. 95-106).

Having reviewed briefly the distinctiveness of middle age as a life stage, and having seen how it is placed in the course of adult development, one may infer that it is a ripe time for adults, including teachers, to reflect on their past.

Contemporary History

The lives of teachers are affected by specific historical events as well as the general cultural milieu. It is appropriate to provide some background for the study of teacher career development by briefly sketching the impact of history on the world of education for the period of time in which the teachers in this study chose their careers, began to teach, and have persisted. The changing values of American society are discussed, and then the stereotype of teachers held by the American public is explored.

Impact of Historical Events

Several trends have affected American education in the past forty years. The population boom following World War II contributed to the teacher shortage of the 1950's and 1960's. The decreasing birth rate aided in
turning the tables at the beginning of this decade; in
the past few years teachers have been in surplus. The
population has become increasingly urbanized. Rural
school have consolidated; the one- and two-room
schoolhouses are a phenomenon of the past. Suburban
and (until recently) urban systems have grown; they
have become more centralized and bureaucratized.
Teachers' organizations have grown in membership and in
political strength. Teacher salaries and benefits have
increased dramatically; working conditions such as class
size and teaching load have improved. Teachers have
become militant; the past fifteen years have seen
teacher strikes by both unions and education associations.
Advancing technology has brought changes to American life.
Few homes in 1945 had television; one generation later,
few homes are without it. Many varied mechanical
teaching aids are now at the disposal of teachers.

In the arena of historical events, efforts of the
1950's and 1960's to end racial segregation and
discrimination in housing, voting, transportation and
education had far-reaching effects on schools. Brown
v. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954 declared legally
segregated schools inherently unequal. It and subsequent
court actions have desegregated teachers and students,
often abruptly and with stress. Racial tensions erupted
in riots across the country in the 1960's.

Increasing concern over the rights of students as young citizens has resulted in court cases and legislation dealing with questions of dress, freedom of speech, corporal punishment, suspension and expulsion, and the rights of minorities and the handicapped to education.

Schools were drastically altered by the aftermath of the first Russian satellite in 1957. A year later Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, sending millions of dollars into education in order to produce as quickly as possible the personnel and knowledge needed to compete in the space race. New curricula were introduced speedily and relentlessly. In 1964 was the beginning of another outpouring of federal funds--this time to the schools of the nation's poverty-stricken.

Schools were not immune from the national crisis surrounding the war in Viet Nam. Young against old, conservative against liberal--violence erupted on the streets and in the schools. The nation suffered shock, grief and outrage from the assassinations of three of its heroes. The mid-1970's brought a crisis of a different sort: the country's highest official resigned before he could be impeached.

This tachistoscopic view of history can do no more than be a reminder of some major events and trends of the past decades. This procession of occurrences is woven
into the fabric of American values.

Changing Values

Jacob Getzels (1978), in "The School and the Acquisition of Values," traced the course of American values in recent times. There are two sets of values, he noted. The sacred values--democracy, individualism, equality, human perfectability--are the ones we believe to be the roots of our nation. Secular values, on the other hand, are the ones by which we operate in our day-to-day lives. These, said Getzels, have undergone changes. Traditionally, the secular values were the following: (1) the work-success ethic, i.e., one can and ought to get to the top through hard work, (2) future-time orientation, i.e., the present is to be endured for the sake of the brighter future, (3) independence or the separate self, i.e., the self is of greater importance than the group, and (4) Puritan morality, i.e., hard work, respectability and self-denial should prevail over fun and sociability.

The 1950's gave evidence of changing. The work-success ethic became a sociability ethic: one's life goal was to be happy. The future-time orientation was replaced by a hedonistic present-time orientation. Personal independence became an ethic of group conformity, and Puritan morality gave way to relativism. The years
of the 1960's, Getzels found, evidenced not a maintaining of the new values, nor even a swing back to the old, but rather an emergence of a new set: (1) social responsibility, (2) relevance, (3) personal authenticity, and (4) moral commitment. And what of the 1970's? While his data collection for this decade was only informal, he saw some changes. Most apparent, he noted, is the current uncertainty about values; they seem to be moving in several directions simultaneously. The crucial question is: "What, if any, are the values?" (p. 57).

The Teacher Image in Culture


Although teaching has more members than any other profession, it is the least represented of professions in the media. Teachers are portrayed as tyrannical, dull, and depressed (p. 77). They are rarely successful in love or life; instead they are devoted to their jobs. Few marry; if they do, their mates are not teachers. Teachers are either kindly and impotent or they are powerful and dangerous, but never both good and powerful. American media teachers are never effective in achieving
social good in the community; instead they are handicapped by their own weaknesses and fears (p. 86). Schools in media are rarely shown in financial straits. However, when they are, it is never public responsibility through which they are bailed out. School sports are portrayed much more frequently than study or scholarship. Teachers and students who acquire a great deal of knowledge are shown to become either corrupt or silly.

Gerbner noted that an image in popular media or in literature, while not intended to instruct, composes part of the symbolic environment to which each member of the community is exposed. It is this symbolic environment which partly explains and partly determines the state of American education (p. 68-73).

Summary

American middle-aged teachers have lived out their careers in times of significant historical events, changing values, and a traditional negative popular image of teachers. Gains in professional power and the technological and social progress which have affected teachers in this era must be weighed against the periodic social upheaval which has impinged on school life. As for any generation, the past decades have held both advances and setbacks. In spite of changing times, the image of the teacher in American culture has remained
consistently negative, although negative tinged with the ideal.

The Occupation of Teaching

A teaching career (in the sense of an individual's work history) is distinct from careers in other professions and occupations. Dreeban and Bidwell provide a perspective from the sociology of work.

In The Nature of Teaching Dreeban (1970) outlined several key occupational characteristics of teaching. First, teaching is client-serving. Yet the teacher works with the clients collectively; this poses the problems of how to treat the clients equally and how to control them. Secondly, teachers are publicly employed, and therefore in a vulnerable position: they must personally resolve possible inner conflicts between their loyalty to the standards of their occupational community (teachers), and their dependence upon the approval of the public (pp. 17-21). Third, teaching takes place in a bureaucratized organization (pp. 21-24), but of the type in which loyalties are to the immediate organization rather than to the wide community of teachers, i.e., it is their organizational superiors on whom teachers are dependent for advancement (pp. 174-80). Fourth, teaching is an occupation with an intangible product;
the efforts of the teacher may yield fruit many years later, and in combination with a myriad of other unidentifiable factors (pp. 25-26).

The teacher's work setting itself has several notable characteristics (chap. 3). With respect to the school's ecology, schools are made up of separate classrooms; teachers are isolated, performing their jobs without opportunity to observe each other. With respect to affiliation, teachers are hired; they must resolve any tensions between their autonomy as practitioners and their contractual obligations to their employers. With respect to authority, teachers are subject to the contradictory roles enacted by the principal: policy-making, surveillance, and helping.

Charles Bidwell (1965) maintained that the very work itself is a dilemma. The present is no different from 1932, Bidwell wrote, when Willard Waller noted that the teacher's two main tasks run counter to each other. To both motivate students to learn and to discipline them is a paradox for the teacher (Bidwell, 1965, pp. 978-79). One may infer from Dreeban and Bidwell that the teacher's occupation is charged with tensions: the teacher is subordinate, yet autonomous, independent, but isolated, given a paradoxical task. One may well ask how career teachers live with these tensions for forty years.
Review

Selected literature has been examined in the fields of teacher career development, teacher characteristics by age, career development, adult development, contemporary history, and the occupation of teaching. This review of the literature rests on the assumptions that teacher career development is a nascent field and that it will be multifaceted. These varied writings are intended to provide a context for the central question of the study. The teachers' perceptions of their careers will reflect the themes explored in this chapter.
CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

In Chapter I it was asserted that there is a group of American public school teachers who have taught in the classroom for many years, and that knowledge about their career development would be a foundation for teachers' self-understanding and professional growth. The purpose of this study is to determine some middle-aged experienced teachers' perceptions of their own career development. In Chapter II six areas of professional literature concerning and related to teacher career development were explored: teacher career development, characteristics of teachers by age, career development, adult development, contemporary history, and the occupation of teaching.

The purpose of Chapter III is to explain and offer a rationale for the methodology used in the study. Using a qualitative methodology in order to allow the teachers' own understandings to emerge, the investigator conducted two indepth interviews with each of ten teachers. The sample, interview procedures and interview content will be described. Two kinds of analysis were needed: one in
which each teacher's experience could be analyzed in totality and be presented holistically; the other in which the ten teachers could be compared on various aspects of their career development, aspects arising from the interviews and derived from the literature. The analyses will be described and several methodological issues will be considered.

Rationale for the Methodology

First it is appropriate to establish the broad methodological domain in which this study is situated. Because the purpose of the study is to determine some middle-aged experienced teachers' perceptions of their own career development, the methods of collecting and analyzing the data had to meet these criteria: they had to allow what was most salient to the teachers to emerge, and they had to reveal how the teachers structured their own experiences. Because there is little known about teacher career development, the methodology had to facilitate the exploratory nature of the study, i.e., allow a full range of variables to emerge and show their natural relation to each other. A qualitative methodology was clearly appropriate.

Rist (1977) succinctly described a qualitative orientation in educational research. He noted that
qualitative research values the inner as well as the outer dimension of human behavior. The investigator attempts to gain this inner perspective, the German "verstehen."

Emphasis is placed upon the ability of the researcher to "take the role of the other," to grasp the basic underlying assumptions of behavior through understanding the "definition of the situation" from the view of the participants, and upon the need to understand the perceptions and values given to symbols as they are manipulated by man. Qualitative research is predicted upon the assumption that this method of "inner understanding" enables a comprehension of human behavior in greater depth than is possible from the study of surface behavior, the focus of quantitative methodologies. (p. 44)

Qualitative research may be regarded as having two functions. Some researchers see it only as a prelude to quantitative research; the exploration done in qualitative research results in the discovery of variables whose interrelations are subsequently to be submitted to empirical verification. Others maintain that a qualitative study can be a legitimate end product.

Data Collection

The data were collected in indepth interviews of ten teachers. There were two interviews of each teacher, consisting of an initial unstructured part and a second semistructured part.
Rationale

Several dimensions of the study made indepth interviewing an appropriate method for data collection. Teachers were asked to tell about their career development; some teachers had never given it much thought. An unhurried interview would facilitate their reflection, and an interested listener would provide a motivation for the speaker to reflect.

Teachers shared several kinds of information about their careers. Some of it was public, i.e., what they would not hesitate to tell anyone. Some of it was private and necessitated that the interviewer ensure the teacher of confidentiality. Occasionally the information concerned incidents which had caused the teachers sadness or guilt. If they were to share these personal emotions, it was important that the listener be sympathetic and nonjudgmental. For the teacher to realize that the interviewer had these qualities required that a rapport be built between the teacher and the interviewer. An indepth interview facilitated the development of this rapport.

There were reasons for having two interviews as opposed to one. With a greater number of contacts, both interviews and phone calls, there was greater opportunity for the interviewer and the teacher to build up their
rapport. In addition, there were more chances for the teachers to reflect upon what they said. It is a common phenomenon that after one has heard oneself talk, one is stimulated to new thoughts about what one has said.

The interview format, unstructured followed by semistructured, had several purposes. "Unstructured" refers to an interview in which the topic is introduced (in this case, the teacher's career), and the interviewees discuss it as they wish. In the initial unstructured part of the interviews in this study, the teachers were asked to tell the stories of their teaching careers. The accounts yielded data about what a teaching career meant to each teacher, what points were salient, and how their careers were structured in their minds. The initial unstructured part also helped to develop a rapport between the interviewer and the teacher; it established that the teacher, not the interview questions, was to be the focus of the interviews. The interviewer would be mainly a listener as opposed to a questioner. It indicated to the teachers that they were respected and their answers were considered interesting and valued.

Following the initial unstructured part of the interview was a semistructured part, in which specific questions were asked. "Semistructured" is distinguished from "structured" in that neither the precise questions
nor their order is previously specified. The semistructured approach was taken, as opposed to unstructured, because teachers needed a chance to reflect on aspects of career development which might not have occurred to them in their initial tellings. The fact that the teachers did not mention information initially did not necessarily mean that the information was not salient to them.

The second part of the interviews was semistructured as opposed to structured, because it was important to provide a context in which the investigator, during analysis, could make judgments about the salience of a particular point to the teacher. The interview situation had to allow the teacher to feel free to say, "That question doesn't have significance for me." A semistructured organization also allowed the teacher to take off on any particularly appealing tangent.

Sample

The purpose in selecting the sample of teachers was to obtain a wide variety according to basic demographic variables. It was thought that teachers varying in sex, location of school, and level taught might also vary in the types of career experiences. This section details the criteria for selection into the sample, tells how it was obtained, and describes the characteristics of the
Criteria for sample

There were ten teachers in the sample. Ten was thought to be a large enough number to represent a variety with respect to sex of teacher, levels taught, and location of school. It would allow for tentative generalization of findings to other teachers. The number was at the same time small enough to allow for analysis of each teacher at a depth essential for this type of study.

Only public school teachers were selected. They share a common educational system, distinct from private or parochial systems. Public schools have their own organizational and social milieu. They do not choose their students, and are ever subject to the desires and whims of the public. They experience a particular set of critical educational problems.

The number of years of school teaching experience was a central criterion in selecting the sample. The lower limit of experience was established at twenty years. Twenty years of public school teaching indicates a substantial commitment. By that point teachers have a great amount invested financially in their careers. Because the study focused on teachers in the midst of their careers, the upper limit of years of experience
was fixed so that teachers were not to be close to the normal sixty-five-year-old retirement age. If teachers had taught no more than thirty years, most of them would still be some years short of age sixty-five.

The sample included both men and women. Male and female career patterns are markedly different, and it seemed that accounts of teaching careers would probably vary according to the sex of the teacher.

Teachers from urban, suburban, and rural school systems were selected in order to obtain a variety of experiences in community and school life.

Teachers were chosen from both elementary and secondary levels. Previous research (for example, Ryans, 1960) has indicated differences among teachers according to the level taught.

How sample was obtained

The sample was obtained through a network of the investigator's colleagues. Eight colleagues, who had taught and worked in central Ohio schools were asked for the names of teachers they knew who had more than twenty years of public school teaching experience. To these lists the investigator added one teacher of her acquaintance. Ten teachers were selected to represent similar numbers of men and women, elementary and secondary, urban, suburban, and rural teachers.
One teacher, when contacted, said he had only taught in public schools for nineteen years. Because he had eight years of previous teaching experience on the college level, he was included in the sample. Another teacher had had thirty-one years of experience.

All teachers agreed to participate. After the first interview, one teacher seemed less willing to give her time for the study. She was dropped from the sample and another teacher was selected from the list. This teacher agreed to participate.

There were several reasons for obtaining the sample through a network of colleagues. The rapport between teacher and investigator was likely to be central to the teacher's willingness to share career experiences. When, during the initial contact, the investigator could say that she heard this teacher's name from a mutual acquaintance, the initial contact seemed more personal. An alternative method would have been to obtain a random sample through a school system and contact those teachers; it was important to have the teachers realize that they were regarded as individuals, not names and numbers from a computer. By having eight colleagues in the network used to obtain ten teachers, there was a greater chance to gather a wide range of teaching experiences.
Description of final sample

The final sample consisted of ten public school teachers from central Ohio. Their years of school teaching experience ranged from nineteen to thirty-one. Three teachers had taught additional years in non-public-school situations. There were five men and five women. There were four teachers who had taught primarily in urban systems, four in suburban systems, and two in rural systems. The urban teachers were all from the same system. The suburban teachers were from four different towns. The rural teachers were from one school district. Every teacher taught in a different school. There were three teachers currently teaching at the elementary level, five at junior high, and two at senior high. The current subjects taught by the secondary teachers included math, foreign language, music, science, and vocational agriculture. The teachers ranged in age from forty-three to fifty-nine. Nine were white; one was black. For eight of the teachers, teaching was financially necessary for the support of their households.

A summary of the characteristics of the final sample is shown in Table 1.

Procedures

The data collection consisted of the initial telephone contact, two interviews, and for some teachers
### TABLE 1

**SUMMARY OF SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Financially</th>
<th>Current School</th>
<th>Current Level</th>
<th>Current Subject</th>
<th>Years in School Teaching</th>
<th>Years in Teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>elementary</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WJ</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>jr. high</td>
<td>math</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>jr. high</td>
<td>math</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>sr. high</td>
<td>language</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>suburban</td>
<td>elementary</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JM</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>suburban</td>
<td>jr. high</td>
<td>math</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>suburban</td>
<td>jr. high</td>
<td>music</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>suburban</td>
<td>elementary</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>59</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>rural</td>
<td>jr. high</td>
<td>science</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>rural</td>
<td>sr. high</td>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
intermediate telephone contacts. All contacts were made by the investigator. The interviews were recorded on audio tape. The specific purposes of each contact and a summary of the teachers' responses are described in the following sections.

Initial telephone contact

Each teacher was invited to participate in the study through a telephone call made by the investigator. The purposes of the initial call were (a) to describe the study and the investigator well enough to make the teacher feel comfortable in agreeing to participate, (b) to see that the teacher met the criteria of having taught more than twenty years in public schools, and (c) to set up an interview time. The investigator's part for the initial telephone call was as follows:

This is Kit Newman from Ohio State University. I am working on a dissertation in which I'm talking with teachers who have been in the classroom for more than twenty years. ______ gave me your name. I'm calling to see if you'd be interested in talking with me about your teaching career.

(If the teacher hesitated to accept, the investigator continued as follows:)

What would be involved would be two interviews: the first in which you would tell me about your teaching career, and the second in which I would ask you specific questions. I'm interested in what teaching has been like for you over the years, and how you've felt about it. Have you taught in the classroom for over 20 years in public schools?

(When the teacher agreed to participate, the investigator continued as follows:)

I will be recording this interview on tape; is that all right with you?

I can come to your home or to your school, or you can come over to campus, whatever you prefer. When would be a good time for you?

(The phone calls to the first few teachers included the following point about pay. Because the teachers turned out not to expect any pay, this was dropped from the initial phone call.)

I'm sorry I can't afford to pay you what I know your time is worth, but I will send you copies of whatever articles and books are based on this interview.

A few teachers were interested in a more detailed explanation of the study and of the investigator before agreeing to participate. Straightforward explanations of the study and its purposes were given.

Interview circumstances

Notes were kept after each interview on the following information: date of interview, time, place, room, positions of investigator and interviewee, distractions, teacher's apparent seriousness, success of interview.

The interviews were conducted in a period from February to June, 1978. The interval between the interviews of each teacher varied from one day to three weeks, with an average of ten days between interviews. The length of time between the interviews did not seem to affect the nature of the rapport between the investigator and the teacher, or the information given.
The teachers were interviewed at the places selected by them. Six were interviewed in their homes, three at their schools, and one at the office of his nonteaching job. Eight of the teachers chose to be interviewed in the place where they had been initially contacted. The three teachers who were initially contacted and interviewed at their schools tended to add less personal information during the interviews; however, several teachers interviewed at home gave a minimum of personal information also.

The record of time spent with each teacher included informal chatting both before and after the interviews. The interviews ranged from one to four hours in length; the total time spent with each teacher ranged from two to seven and one-half hours. The average total time spent with each teacher was four hours. The length of time did not appear to affect the amount and kind of information given.

In general, the interview conditions were excellent: they facilitated concentration. The rooms were quiet and there were few interruptions. The few occasions of noise or interruption did not seem to break the teachers' concentration.

With one exception, the teacher and the interviewer sat within six feet of each other, either facing each
other or at right angles. The physical proximity seemed to facilitate both rapport and concentration.

Every teacher was cooperative and seemed to take the interview seriously. For some the seriousness seemed to be a desire to give the investigator what she came for. For others, the seriousness seemed to stem from the task itself; they were apparently enjoying and learning from their own reminiscence and reflection.

Content of interviews

The interviews of each teacher had two parts. In the unstructured first part the teacher was asked, "What is the story of your teaching career? I'm interested in what it's been like, how you've changed, and how you've felt about it." During the first few interviews, the investigator was expecting the teachers to concentrate the accounts on their teaching selves, but as the interviews progressed, it appeared that changes in the era, children, and societal attitudes were salient in the teachers' minds. The opening was amended to the more vague statement: "I'm interested in what it's been like for you, how you've changed, how things have changed."

The investigator originally expected the teachers' accounts of their careers to last the entire first interview, but this occurred only with one teacher. The time it took for each teacher to tell the story of
his or her career ranged from seven minutes to two hours. The end of the telling was usually signaled directly, for example, "So now I've brought you up to date," or the researcher sensed the end by a pause or a tangent. After the initial telling of the teacher's career story, questions were asked seeking more detail about information already given, or requesting clarification about a point not understood.

The second, semistructured part of the interviews consisted of a series of questions designed to cover specific topics relevant to teacher career development. The list of questions could only loosely be termed an interview "schedule"; the teachers were to address all questions, but the order of the questions was not important, nor was the depth in which each teacher addressed them. The interview questions covered topics which were presumably significant in teachers' careers: decision to enter teaching, work history, changes in self and teaching, perceptions of the changing profession. The questions overlapped considerably with interview schedules in two other studies of teachers. Lortie's (1975) Five Towns Interview Outline (pp. 248-59) and Kuhlen's (1959) Career Development Interview Schedule (pp. 207-13) covered demographic data, decision to teach, work history, feelings of success, satisfaction and
commitment, and plans for the future. The interview questions used in this study appear in Appendix A.

Between the first and second interviews of each teacher, a preliminary analysis of the data was conducted. The tape from the first interview was transcribed and examined for particularly salient perceptions which merited pursuing and areas in which information about the teacher's career seemed scanty. Questions from those areas, as well as from the interview topics, formed the basis of the second interview.

At the beginning of the second interview, the teachers were told that this interview would consist of specific questions. It was made clear that they did not have to answer all questions, nor were their comments restricted to these questions. Within reason, tangents and ramblings were encouraged. At the end of the second interview, the teachers were asked whether there was anything else they should have been asked. Several teachers took the opportunity to give personal information about their families, or to reiterate major points, or to summarize their feelings about their careers.

Data Analysis

Congruent with the qualitative methodology for collecting the data is the methodology for analysis.
As Rist (1977) pointed out, a qualitative methodology aims at a holistic analysis in order to avoid the distortion resulting from breaking the data into discrete parts (p. 47). The product of the analysis should bring the reader close to the actual phenomena. This section describes the mechanics of the data analysis and gives an explanation and rationale for the two types of analysis done in the study: the writing of each teacher's professional biography and the group analysis.

Mechanics

The mechanics of the data analysis consisted of several steps. First the audio tapes of the interviews were transcribed onto note cards. The cards for each teacher were numbered consecutively, and each card contained the following identification: the teacher's initials, the tape side from which the note was taken, the counter number from the tape for that particular note, and the note itself. The tapes were not transcribed entirely verbatim. Some parts were summarized. The card indicated whether the note was a direct quotation or a summary. The questions and the comments of the investigator were also included in the notes. The note cards for each teacher were then typed consecutively on regular-sized paper, yielding a rough
transcript for each interview. The note cards themselves were easy to arrange in various orders, depending on the demands of the analysis. The typed transcript provided a way to read through the interview quickly, getting its general sense or looking for particular information. Specific points on the tape were easily accessible.

Writing of the Biographies

It appeared that an appropriate way to convey holistically the teachers' experiences was to write a professional biography of each. Biographies capture what group analysis does not: how teachers' work histories are interwoven with their career goals; a sense of the teachers' personalities; how their world views are related to their careers.

In writing the professional biographies, there were several problems. First, most of the teachers' stories had emerged piecemeal in the interviews. To present stories exactly as they had emerged would be confusing to a reader; however, to reorganize them necessarily involved a judgment about what was most salient and how the careers were mentally structured. The investigator decided to reorganize the piecemeal telling from the interviews, and consciously to use what she knew about the teachers to determine what should be emphasized.
in the biographies.

The second problem was whether the biographies should be organized in a common pattern. The decision was made to organize each one chronologically, including the following: decision to enter teaching, teacher education, first teaching position, each subsequent teaching position (including changes in self and in era), reflections on career and education in general, and plans for the future.

A third decision was whether to distinguish between information volunteered by the teachers and answers to specific questions. In a study of what is salient for the teacher, it seemed important to distinguish between the two, but making the actual distinctions proved difficult. Often one question would lead the teacher into a lengthy and involved response. It was practically impossible to distinguish the point at which an answer ceased to be constrained by the question and was instead governed by the teacher. In certain cases it was obvious that a particular question had no meaning for a teacher; the teacher's response was then not used in the biography.

Another problem was whether to write in the first or the third person. The difficulty with a third person telling is that it assumes the existence of someone in addition to the subject of the story. Of course, an
author is present in any narrative, first or third person, simply in the choice of what is included in the story and how it is organized. After attempting one biography in third person, the investigator judged that a first person telling was closer to the reality of the phenomenon.

A further problem was how the anonymity of the teacher could be protected. Names of persons, schools, and places and some dates were changed.

Each biography was submitted to the teacher for a check on accuracy of fact and tone and its adequacy of anonymity.

Group Analysis

The analysis comparing the ten teachers with each other involved two procedures. The whole process may be compared to the child with the shapeboard. On one hand she has a board with holes of varying sizes and shapes, and on the other hand she is confronted with a collection of various sizes and shapes of wooden blocks. Because she has never played the game before, she does not know whether each block has one and only one hole on the shapeboard. Through a combination of thought and mechanical trial and error, she finally succeeds in getting certain blocks into certain holes. But since it is an old family game and not new from the store, there is no one-for-one match between blocks and holes. At the end of the game,
there are some unfilled holes and some extra blocks. A researcher using a qualitative methodology has raw data as her blocks and knowledge of related literature as her board. The match of areas which emerge from the data and areas suggested by the related literature form her final areas of analysis.

Areas from interview data

The data analysis began with the first teacher interviewed. The interview data of the teacher were approached two ways: first, the data were examined for answers to the original research questions; second, the data were explored for areas of salience to that particular teacher. A list of areas for analysis was then compiled:

1. Teaching positions: calendar years in position, years of experience, teacher age, type of system (public, private, parochial), level taught, grade or subject, geographical location, type of community (urban, suburban, rural)

2. How the teacher says he segments his career in his own mind

3. Level of satisfaction: beginning and present levels, teacher's explanation of level of satisfaction

4. Points of highest satisfaction: when in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

5. Point of lowest satisfaction: when in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

6. Curve of satisfaction, by calendar years, teacher age, and years of experience
7. Points of greatest success: when in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

8. Points of least success: when in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

9. Curve of success, by calendar years, teacher age, and by years of experience

10. Constants in beliefs

11. Constants in behavior

12. Constants in attitudes

13. Changes in beliefs: original belief, new belief, when change made in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

14. Changes in behavior: original behavior, new behavior, when change made in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

15. Changes in attitude: original attitude, new attitude, when change made in career, calendar year, teacher's explanation

16. Present career plans: plans, reasons

After these sixteen areas were established, the analysis of subsequent teachers was conducted according to the constant comparative method as established by Glaser (1965). Information from each teacher was entered in the appropriate areas, and new areas were established for information salient to those teachers. Eventually several areas were dropped when little information appeared in them from subsequent teachers.

The first area of analysis to be dropped was Area 2, "how the teacher says he segments his career in his own mind." The direct question to teachers, "Do you segment
your teaching career in your own mind?" made little sense and was finally dropped from the list of interview questions. The question of how teachers structure their careers was still felt to be important, but was not accessible through direct questioning. It would have to be inferred from other information given by the teacher.

Also dropped as areas of analysis were Areas 7, 8, and 9, all of which deal with relative success during the career. Only one teacher, the first teacher interviewed, saw his success as tied to particular times in his career. All other teachers said that their greater and lesser successes were intermittent.

The final areas to be eliminated were the constants, Areas 10, 11, and 12. The categories had originally been included because it was felt that career development would consist not only of changes but also of elements that had remained the same. The category caused problems for several reasons. There are many constant aspects of people's beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes that are so basic to their being that they do not recognize them. During the interview, if a teacher made a statement about a belief, behavior, or attitude not mentioned as an obvious change, the investigator would ask whether it had remained the same throughout the teacher's career. Usually the teacher would affirm it, but not with enough
conviction to give the investigator confidence in calling it a constant. There seemed to be a wide range of self-perceptions for which teachers had no awareness of whether the perceptions had evolved or been constant. What is constant about teachers was important in the study, but like the segmenting of careers, it had to be inferred from other data.

One major area of analysis was added. This was, "teachers' perceptions of the changing eras." The salience of changing times in the stories of the teachers' career development was striking.

Several of the original areas turned out to be unworkable in their stated form. The distinction among beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes was not useful; many changes in behavior were closely related to changes in belief or attitude. Another problem was that for each teacher change, the original Areas 13, 14 and 15 provided for a description of the original belief, behavior or attitude, the new one, and a specific time when the change occurred. Teachers often gave a current behavior, belief or attitude, but could not supply the original from which the present was a change. They were also for the most part unable to pinpoint the time of the change; perhaps the change had taken place gradually.
The final areas of analysis derived from the interview data were the following:

1. Teaching positions
2. Level of satisfaction, beginning and present
3. Points of highest satisfaction
4. Points of lowest satisfaction
5. Curve of satisfaction
6. Present career plans
7. Teachers' perceptions of changing eras
8. Changes

Areas from literature

Paralleling the process just described was a second method of arriving at areas for analysis. First, the list of interview questions (Appendix A) was perused for potential areas of analysis. Then the literature reviewed in Chapter II was examined for significant areas.

Becker's (1952) study indicated that teachers' reasons for changing schools are a powerful dimension of career development. Teacher career development theorists, Katz (1972), Louis M. Smith (1972), and Fuller and Bown (1975), suggested that career development be thought of in terms of the focus and success of a teacher's efforts, the amount and kind of reflection on teaching done by the teacher, and the kinds of concerns and worries felt by the teacher. Several empirical studies showed differences among ages of teachers in the areas of businesslike and orderly behavior (Jackson and Guba, 1957; Ryans, 1960), educational viewpoints (Ryans), attitudes towards students
(Bienenstok and Sayres, 1963; Ryans), satisfaction (Bienenstok and Sayres; Kuhlen, 1959; Lortie, 1975; Rempel and Bentley, 1970). From the literature on career development, the work of Super (1975) suggested categories of career establishment and maintenance. From Buhler's (1968) work on adult development came areas of individuals' intentionality and its fulfillment. Gould's (1972) work suggested a category of changing world view of teachers with age.

Final areas of analysis

The final areas of analysis were arrived at through a creative combination of the areas from the two analysis processes. Areas derived from the teacher interview data were combined with areas derived from the review of the literature and from the specific interview questions.

A. How teachers mentally structure their careers
   1. Teachers' work histories
      a. Location and moves
      b. Reasons for changing schools
      c. Changes in levels taught
      d. Changes in subjects taught
      e. The road not taken
   2. Satisfaction with teaching
   3. Teachers' perceptions of eras

B. The teaching self
   1. Decision to enter teaching
   2. Teacher education
   3. First year of teaching
   4. Reaching maturity
   5. Long-range changes
   6. Plans for the future

C. Aspects of professional life
   1. Nonschool-time duties
   2. Graduate education
3. Inservice education
4. Professional membership

Problems in Methodology

Validity and Reliability

All studies involve the problem of whether the data is the information which the investigators thought they were getting. Specifically, was the information given by these teachers about their career development correct? Several factors must be considered. First, did the teachers tell the truth, or did some deliberately withhold or alter information? Occasionally during the interview, the investigator sensed that there were things left unsaid; she either probed or concluded that they were things which the teacher for personal reasons did not wish to share. In general, the investigator felt that the teachers were telling the truth.

The second question is whether the teachers told the whole truth. In other words, was there enough time allowed and enough of an inclination on the teacher's part to share what the teacher felt was the whole story? The investigator did have a sense of closure at the end of every second interview.

Another problem is whether the teachers' perceptions of self were "accurate." In other words, would most
people who had known these teachers over the years have agreed with what they said about themselves and their career development? To answer this question one should recall the original purpose of this study: to discover some teachers' perceptions of their own career development. Whether or not these perceptions were accurate from others' point of view is not important. The teachers' own perceptions were considered "accurate" for the purpose of this study.

An additional problem arises from the fact that the teachers were asked to recall information from a time span as long as forty years. It may be argued that memory is often inaccurate. Lieberman and Falk (1971) took a different view of memory. They hypothesized that "an individual's relationship to his own past is dynamic--that he is involved in a process of restructuring, rearranging, or reorganizing his past" (p. 134). The implication for this study is that the way in which the memory "fails" is significant in understanding each teacher. The teachers' present states are more clearly understood when compared to their descriptions of their past. Lieberman and Falk found that information from reminiscence does not duplicate information obtained by other means; reminiscences are a unique source of data (pp. 133-34).
A further issue is the degree to which the teachers' answers were influenced by the investigator. The investigator will address this difficult question by describing herself well enough so that the reader may judge what effect she may have had. The researcher is female and white; she was thirty-two years old but looked younger, and was of average attractiveness. For each interview she was dressed neatly but not in a sophisticated manner. She listened attentively, maintaining eye contact while the teachers talked.

Her stance for the interviews was to listen and accept, to be sympathetic and nonthreatening. She made minimal responses to the information teachers offered; where a response was called for, she agreed where possible, and otherwise said, "I can see your point." She felt that her demeanor was consistent across interviews. The low-key empathy which the investigator showed throughout the interview was replaced by active friendliness in the pre-interview and the post-interview chatting. The investigator felt that all teachers responded personally in a positive manner to her.

Leon Eisenberg (1972) reminded researchers that what they believe about human nature will help determine what they discover about human nature. The investigator of this study believed that every teacher, at some level
of abstraction, likes children and is dedicated to education. She assumed that every teacher would want to participate in the study. She believed that a teacher would only withhold information if it hurt to share that information, and that the teachers' privacy should be respected.

The teachers had certain information about the researcher; one can only guess how they felt about that information. They knew that she was working toward a Ph.D.; in other words, she was farther in her education than they. It is possible that some teachers felt uneasy about this; several expressed feelings that they "should have" had more education.

Secondly, the teachers knew that the researcher had left high school teaching; perhaps they inferred that she did not like teaching or felt "too good for it." The investigator made a point of saying she had taught in the inner city for six years and enjoyed teaching.

Teachers knew that she was a graduate teaching associate in a college of education; many teachers regard people from colleges of education as impractical, even ridiculous, or as deserters of public schools. The investigator made it clear to the teachers that she would share the results of her study with them, in hopes of indicating that she took the teachers and their
experiences in schools very seriously.

A further methodological issue is whether another investigator could duplicate this study. The procedures for data collection are replicable. The self of the investigator is not replicable; it has been stated elsewhere that it is not clear how much effect the interviewer had on the quality and amount of data received. The procedures for data analysis are replicable only to an extent; the investigator's cognition must of necessity have influenced the development of the areas to be analyzed.

Generalizability

The final methodological issue is one of generalizability, i.e., to what extent can these findings be expected to be true of other career teachers? The sample was selected for the purpose of obtaining a wide variety of career public school teachers. As well as the variety in sex, geographical location, level and subject taught, the ten teachers appeared to have a wide range of basic outlooks toward life, philosophies of education and political beliefs. There appear to be no reasons that these teachers would not be representative of teachers elsewhere.

A broader question of generalizability is: How can this study contribute to readers' understanding of teacher
career development? Glaser and Strauss (1970) noted that it is incumbent upon the reader to judge the credibility of a study by making assessments of the researchers' methodology. The reader also "reads between the lines" and engages in what Glaser and Strauss called "the discounting process."

This discounting by the reader takes several forms: the theory is corrected because of onesided research designs, adjusted to fit the diverse conditions of different social structures, invalidated for other structures through the reader's experience or knowledge, and deemed inapplicable to yet other kinds of structures. (pp. 297-98)

Jackson (1968), in *Life in Classrooms*, did not claim generalizability for his findings from interviews with fifty teachers, yet he made a case for the significance of his findings regardless of whether the sample was representative (p. 118). Houle, in *The Inquiring Mind* (1961), conducted indepth interviews of twenty-two people concerning their adult learning. His subjects varied along several demographic dimensions. He noted that a statistical sample would make no sense in his study; there was no way to be certain about which dimensions of the total population should be represented (p. 13).

The study of teacher careers in its nascent state does not lend itself to obtaining a random sample to assure statistical generalizability. Not enough is known about what are the significant variables and how they are
represented in the population of career teachers. The question of generalizability is more relevant for the present study in terms of how readers can create meaning for themselves. The methodology has been made as explicit as possible and the results in the group analysis are supported by data from the professional biographies. Readers are left to judge whether the study is generalizable for their own purposes.

**Summary**

Using a qualitative methodology, the researcher interviewed ten middle-aged experienced public school teachers about their career development. The teachers were selected through a network of the investigator's colleagues; they had from nineteen to thirty-one years of experience, and were male and female, taught at elementary and secondary levels, and were in urban, suburban, and rural schools. In the two intensive interviews, the teachers were asked to tell of their teaching careers and then to answer specific questions about their experiences.

The data consisted of transcripts of the interviews. First a professional biography was written of each teacher. Then the ten teachers were analyzed as a group in areas derived from the interviews themselves and from related literature. There were several
methodological issues involved in the study. The professional biographies and the results of the group analysis are the contents of Chapter IV.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

As noted in Chapter I, it is the purpose of this study to determine some middle-aged experienced teachers' perceptions of their career development. A review of literature in Chapter II indicated that while there is little written specifically about career teachers' development, several fields have potential bearing on the topic. Chapter III covered the methodology of the study. Ten teachers were interviewed in depth; they first told the stories of their own teaching careers and then answered specific related questions. The data were analyzed two ways. In order to convey the totality of each teacher's experience, a professional biography of each was written; then data from all teachers were compared in several areas derived from the interviews and from the professional literature. It is the purpose of Chapter IV to put forth the ten biographies and to give the results of the group analysis.
Professional Biographies

The biographies are arranged in the following order: urban teachers, suburban teachers, rural teachers.

Carol Clements

Capsule description: age 51; started teaching the severely handicapped at a private school in an eastern city in 1945; now teaching third grade in an Ohio city; has taught 30 years; indefinite plans for future

I had a Quaker upbringing, and started college at a Friends' school in the South. I suppose it was sometime during that freshman year that I decided to become a teacher. I was not happy at that college, so at the end of the first year I left, and got a job teaching handicapped children for two years. Because it was a private school, I didn't need a teaching credential. The woman who owned it just showed me what to do. We had physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped children; she took any child whom no other school would take. It was a very interesting experience, and I learned a lot, but I realized that I didn't want to spend my life with handicapped children.

Wanting to finish my A.B., I enrolled in another Friends' college in California. It was a good school and they had an excellent teacher education program. I feel very sure that teaching for two years before going into teacher training made a lot of difference. I had some idea
of what it was all about. There were a lot of things I didn't learn in teacher training, and I expect it was just as well. I graduated in 1950 with a primary-kindergarten certificate. Even though I am qualified to teach through the sixth grade, I prefer the younger children, and have never taught above the third grade.

After I graduated, I taught in Washington, D.C., in a Friends' kindergarten and nursery school. I had ten four- and five-year-olds in kindergarten, and shared a room with another teacher and her ten children. We had small group activities separately, but the children played together. That way there was an interaction of children. I enjoyed it.

Then I taught what they called Transition. Transition was for five- and six-year-olds, and there they began reading readiness. Then they went to first grade when they were six or seven. The thing I approved about that was that they were older before they started formal reading. I have a theory that we are teaching formal reading much too soon now. The older they are when they actually begin to hold a book, the easier reading will be for them. It has always been that as soon as you are six, you begin to read. But half of the children aren't even six mentally. If you start them when they are six or seven, they make just as much progress,
and they'll go faster.

I enjoyed the Friends' school, but I couldn't financially make a go of it because they didn't pay very much. I took a public school position in a suburb of Washington. It was an upper middle class community, and the school system was very progressive. We were well paid. This school system was very much up with the times, and I could teach the way I wanted to, which was the way I had learned in college. To me, 'the most important thing is that the children succeed in reading, that they feel comfortable and know they can read, and can do it easily and smoothly. The school gave us three different reading series, one easier than the others, so that the children who were having trouble would not have to struggle along behind in the regular reading series. This was a good way to teach reading.

I had to make certain changes when I went to public school. Getting used to having more children was one thing. Coming from the ideal life of a Quaker school, I had to come to grips with discipline in the public schools. In some ways you have to negate the humanness of children sometimes, in order to make the group function. There's always a line between what is best for the group and what is best for the individual. You are teaching a group. I had to keep saying to myself that for the good of the
group we had to function this way so that everyone had a chance. When you do that you have to mold the individual.

I remember one piece of wisdom that I learned there. I used to get all nervous because things weren't right or I wasn't ready. One day I became flustered, and the supervisor said, "It's OK, just let the children wait." I had had a tendency to think that I was supposed to do things just right and be prepared all the time--all those things they told you in college. 'It doesn't always work, and sometimes I would get upset. My supervisor said, "It's all right; they can wait. Keep yourself put together." I remember that even now, and when things get harried, the children can just wait. Then we all settle down.

I taught at two different schools in that system. One year they transferred me to another school, but it was no great problem. I decided to go for a master's degree in educational administration. I had friends in Columbus, so I decided to try Ohio State. I came to Columbus to teach and to get my master's at the same time. I finished the degree, but after talking with my principal friends, I changed my mind about going into administration. It wasn't worth the hassle.

Teaching in Columbus was quite a problem. They were teaching reading very differently. There was only one set
of readers, and very little in the building in the way of supplies, so I went out and bought some with my own money. According to the curriculum, all the children had to read the same series, but it was too difficult for many of them. I wanted to get them books that they could read. Even though the university here advocated how to teach reading in the same way I had learned in college, the public schools did not. I'm not too flexible, and I was going to teach reading the way I had been taught to.

In Columbus if a teacher does not follow the curriculum, she's in trouble. My supervisor told the principal that I was deviating, and in June he announced to the faculty, "We've had a good year, except one teacher did not follow the curriculum." Fortunately I had a friend who had been teaching longer than I had. She understood what I was doing, and she went to the principal and said, "Look, I don't think you need to get rid of Miss Clements." If it weren't for her, I might have lost my job. The principal wanted it done the old way, and I couldn't do it the old way. I have never been very orthodox; I do whatever seems right. Finally the supervisor announced to everyone that it would be all right to use the books which the children were comfortable with.
I was at Crane Elementary School for several years. When I started there, it was in a middle class white neighborhood, with many university professors' children. In a few years, they started changing the boundaries, and we got a few black children. That was no problem. Then they changed the boundaries again, and the middle class whites began moving out. We got more Appalachians and blacks of lower class. What happened was that I had to change my standards to meet the level of the children. You can't set high standards that the children are in no way able to meet; that would be frustrating. So you drop standards. You end up finding books they are interested in, and finding ways to get them to come to school.

Many of the children came from homes where there was either no father or no mother. They were often left alone and not cared for. They had no educational stimulation outside of the classroom. Many of them were only used to the belt, or a slap across the face for discipline. You had a different kind of child completely--they were fighting all the way for survival. Many of them should have been in special schools of one sort or another, but those schools were filled.

Having to deal with these problems day after day takes a toll on teachers. This is what many people do not realize. You are in a bind. Naturally I am not
going to slap a child across the face. But for some of them, that was their only way of knowing whether they were right or wrong. Some of my friends were shocked to learn that I started keeping a paddle. But you have to compromise. There is no way of training the parents on how to discipline their children. What am I supposed to do with their children? You are really in a bind.

Another thing people don't realize is that there are certain limits beyond which you cannot go. One father whom the principal had called to the office whipped his child with a belt right there in the office. You know then that you won't call that father again but you still have the problems of the child.

One boy was supposed to go to the school for the emotionally disturbed. I had to get him out of the room every so often, because he'd flare up, so I'd send him down to the principal. One day he came back in from the principal, and went marching across the room: "That God-damn principal!" It just burst forth. I just ignored it, because there's a limit. You've come to the end of the line. There's nothing you can do for that boy. You can't get him in a special class. You can't send him home, because you don't want to rock the boat any more. And the principal has done all he can do. So you have to live with it. A classroom of thirty-five children all with emotional problems can drain a teacher.
I was at Crane School fourteen years, of which about eight were with these poorer children. The thing that really got me moving to apply for a transfer was the change in principals. The key to a successful educational career is the principal. I have been very fortunate my whole life in having excellent principals, except for one year. As long as you know you have support down in the front office when you need it, you feel you can handle any situation because the principal will back you all the way. When you don't have that backing it's pretty frightening because you are all alone with thirty-five kids. You never know which one is going to fly off the handle. The new principal we got at Crane came in and rolled a steamroller over everything. It was his first year, and he didn't bother to find out how we had done it in the past or what the previous principal had done. He just pushed and shoved and never even announced what he was doing. I'm not comfortable working with people like that. I think people, children and teachers alike, should be treated as human beings. That one year was all it took. I asked for a transfer.

It's kind of tricky moving from school to school in Columbus, because when you request a transfer, you can't be assured that you'll get what you want. The man who had been principal at Crane for five years had transferred to Maplewood Elementary School. He was
excellent. He treated his staff as people who knew what they were doing, had some familiarity with children, and did things professionally. I debated whether to request to be transferred to his new school. At first I thought that it would not be quite right, but the more I thought about it, the more I thought that I might as well ask for what I wanted. I guess I had been at Crane for so long that they gave me my first choice. My request for Maplewood School was approved. A lot of people don't get their first choice, but I was lucky. I got what I wanted, which seems to be the way my life goes.

Maplewood is a very good school. They have a high academic rating according to the tests. This is because of the children's background. My friends back in the inner city were surprised when I told them how the Maplewood children would sit down and do their work. Some of the children come from poorer backgrounds, but when you only have a few, you can handle it, because the other children help.

There are a few low-income apartments in our school neighborhood, and I had one girl from there who appeared to be deaf and couldn't read. She had been a behavior problem in her other school, but she was very bright. Her teachers didn't know what to do with her. She was the only student I ever brought into my home.
She had abilities, but no one had ever taught her or given her much background. She did calm down. I put her in the advanced reading group, and then she started to read.

I had another student, a boy, who was also a behavior problem. Everyone in the school knew him, but no one knew what to do with him. I said I'd take him. He would sit in the reading group, and he wouldn't read. The clue to me on him was one day when he used a big fifty-cent word. I thought, if he is unable to read, how come he has such a big vocabulary? I thought there must be something to work on with that kid. So I started yelling at him in the reading group. I screamed at him, "Now you read!" And he read! It wasn't very orthodox, but it worked. I had Jerry a second year when I switched from second to third grade. The principal let me have him again because he said my nerves were better than the other third grade teachers'. This is why I like teaching. This is what makes it so fun, because you do find children like this. It's always a challenge; it's never dull. Last week the fourth grade teacher said to me, "You should have seen Jerry's test. He did remarkably well, and I watched him every minute to see that he didn't cheat. He came out with an excellent score." I said, "Well, I guess that two years of struggle was worth it." Hearing from her that he could read and function was a great
satisfaction to me, as well as knowing that I had saved a boy and helped him along the road.

We teachers feel pretty sure that the children have changed over the past ten years. It is much more difficult to get them to cooperate. Their behavior is going downhill. We're going to see more changes, the more divorces we get. Nobody seems to think about what will happen to the children. Divorces will change their lifestyle and their emotional development. When we grew up, we knew who we were and where we belonged, and we had our place. These children don't. They have very few roots in terms of family and geography. There is high mobility now. It is scary for them when they don't know where they are going or to whom they belong.

Television has had its effect, too. Kids are more aware of the world situation from TV. In so many ways their horizons have been broadened. But they don't really understand it. They are hearing it, but with no comprehension. The curriculum isn't yet geared to the knowledge they learn from TV.

There is also the problem of, "Well, this is kind of dull compared to television." The act of learning to read requires a great deal of concentration. Watching television doesn't require any concentration at all; you just sit there and watch it. When they come to school,
they have been up until eleven o'clock the night before watching television. Then I say, "Now let's read."
They are thinking about a television program, and I am asking them to concentrate on some little word in the book!

In this profession you have to make choices. When I started teaching, I felt that I was supposed to be just perfect. I had more energy. But as you get on in years, you realize that perfection is not of prime importance, so you change. You don't get quite so anxious. When my student teachers come in, they are all eager to have perfect bulletin boards, and all that. That's just fine, and there is nothing wrong with it. Each human being has only a certain amount of energy, and you've got to decide where it is going. I decided that my calmness was more important to those thirty children than bulletin boards or grading a lot of papers. They need me more than things. You continually have to make choices because we are never finished in our profession. There is never a time when you are done. That's something you have to learn--to stop and go home. I have always felt that it is important for a teacher to have her own life outside of teaching, and I am a better teacher for that.

There is one aspect of this profession that can be very discouraging. A great deal of the time you don't
know what you have achieved and what you haven't. You don't know which things the children have picked up or which things you may have said that three years from now they will remember. You have such a small amount of influence, considering all the other influences that come onto your product. You are working with children who are constantly changing and being molded from the outside. It can be very discouraging if you look too closely for end results. I used to say to a friend of mine, "This child isn't making any progress." She reminded me of how the child was last October, and how he had improved. She said, "If you look over the long range, you do see where the children have grown." She was helping me to get perspective. When you are too close to it, you feel you are not achieving.

If you can see the children grow and become solid citizens of the community, then you get a satisfaction, but that's a long way off. It gets pretty hard to work day after day, and not get paid much, and not get much recognition. I have been very fortunate that my principal does recognize teachers' contributions, and so do the parents here. If a teacher needs a lot of recognition, she may be in the wrong field.

Now there's desegregation planned for next year, and this has us worried. The problems are going to be
spread all around the city, and there will be a lot of teachers who won't be able to handle the emotional traumas of the children. I just don't know how it is all going to work out. The children I am teaching now were brought up the way I was, to have respect for themselves and other people. We get along. I don't know how it is going to be when we mix them with children like the ones I had at Crane. We keep hearing that we are going to get extra support, but I haven't seen any signs. We need someone available. Now we only have the principal, and he has two schools. We used to have guidance counselors, but they were taken away from us. They've taken the music and art teachers, too. You are really alone with the problems of your children.

I don't know whether I will be able to handle the desegregation. When I was at Crane, there were times I thought I would completely disintegrate under the emotional stress. I can't see children suffer; that's part of the problem. You've got to be hardhearted to see them suffer and see them unable to learn. You just aren't able to find the magic button. You know you can't do it, so you feel like a failure. You do what you can, but none of it is very good, and by the end of every day you are exhausted.
Here at Maplewood we still only have one adopted reading series, and it is the most difficult series published. Each child is supposed to read from the text whether he can read it or not. As long as I am here where the kids are bright, it's all right. What happens next year with desegregation, when the children cannot read, I don't know. I do know what I will do—the same thing I have done before. I will get books that the children can read. But the children are still supposed to be graded on their ability to read from the adopted series.

Part of my philosophy is to handle only one day, one week, a short piece at a time. I don't know what will come next and what will be expected of me next, so I don't really look to the future much. When I came to this city, it was only going to be for a short while, while I finished my education. But it didn't work that way. I have been here ever since. It took me a while to get used to being in Ohio, although I have gotten to like it here. After you've been teaching a certain length of time in a certain location, you really can't afford to move. You would lose everything you have gained financially. If you go somewhere else to teach, they only give you credit for five years on their salary scale. After about ten years in the city, I came to the conclusion that I wasn't leaving.
I don't know how much longer I will be teaching. In a few years I will be able to take early retirement, but I may be called upon, because of certain responsibilities, to stay here longer and teach. Even before then I may have to leave to care for my father. I will not teach school if I get to the point where I cannot handle the children the way I want to. If I find myself yelling and losing control, or not doing it the way I want, then I'll quit. I've seen too many teachers teach too long; the one next to me is doing it now. It is not fair to the children or to her. The future is not my choice, however. I will teach one year at a time, and then see what I am called upon to do next.

In the meantime, I enjoy the lives of these children. When I talk to them, and see their work and their improvement and their excitement over living, that's enough to go on! I've been very lucky. I couldn't ask for my life to have gone any better.

Wilson Jennings

Capsule description: age 51; started teaching junior high math in 1947 in an Ohio small town; now teaching junior high math in an Ohio city; has taught school 31 years; currently considering taking early retirement

I think of my teaching career in two ways: the schools that I taught at, and what went on in the world and its effect on teachers. I have taught at four schools:
a small town school, an inner city school, and two other urban schools. I started out teaching in 1947, what I call the "good old days." Every year kids came along knowing more; a teacher could do more complex things with them. If the teacher was interesting, or could surprise them, or make math meaningful, the students would work hard. If a child misbehaved, he knew he was wrong and was semiashamed. Then came the rebellion of the 1960's. Students felt that the Establishment was the enemy. They were insolent and rebellious. Now we are in the era of "I have my rights." Kids feel sorry for themselves. There is an atmosphere of permissiveness. The child has his "rights" all strictly enforced, but there has been no increase in his responsibilities. Kids are indifferent; they are no longer coming in better prepared every year. Things have leveled off.

The way I went into teaching was not too intellectual. I had always liked mathematics in high school; then physics and chemistry turned me on to how great mathematics really was. I wanted to do something that involved those ideas. We did not have very good career counseling in those days, and I had heard of engineering and it appealed to me. One day I was riding the streetcar down to the university, and a guy I was talking with told me that there was going to be a surplus of engineers. I decided to try education. I
liked my first education course very much, so I went on. My teacher training program was pretty good. By the time I graduated from the university in 1947, I had no other thought but that teaching would be a lifetime career.

I got my first job in Delavan, an Ohio town of about 20,000. I began at a salary of $1900--not bad. I could have taught in a rinky-dink system someplace at $2300 probably, but this was a very nice school. I was there for five years, teaching seventh and eighth grade math every year, and physics and chemistry one year. I had wanted to teach physics and chemistry every year, but the older teachers had their choice first, and I ended up at the bottom of the deck. But that was no big problem for me. The seventh graders were full of energy; I could turn them on and I knew it. You don't get the same immediate satisfaction from teaching juniors and seniors.

Delavan was an ideal place to begin and a good place to work. The kids were good, and the administration let me do whatever I wanted. I took my science classes to the laboratory rather than have them study only from the book. I was replacing an older teacher who had never used the laboratory. The first year stands out in my mind because I had a good time. I liked teaching, was liked by the students, and didn't have any problems. I felt very successful.
That year I spent many hours preparing lessons. All I had in college was advanced math, but seventh and eighth grade math at that time was consumer math—all applied. I had to think of ways of explaining and demonstrating it, making it meaningful, and humorous too. It was like student teaching, being at your desk for four or five hours planning for the next day. I wanted to make each day as neat as possible. I wanted to consider all the possibilities before I made my plans, and that took time. I did it and had no regrets. The result was some ways of talking about the subject that worked. Then I didn't have to go through the whole list again of, "How can I approach this?" Whenever something went wrong with a presentation, I would spend many hours by myself thinking about it. It was the same way with a discipline problem. I never got much from talking with other teachers. I had to think it out by myself.

I never paddled a kid at Delavan. Of course when you are young and starting out, you are giving it all you have. I had a pretty good sense of humor; I was quick on puns. I would tease kids, not torment them. I never had much trouble with discipline. If I told someone twice and he didn't respond, I took him by the arm and squeezed it, and told him again, and that did it. In an extreme case, I would take him by the shoulder and shake
him. Then it was over with and the child accepted it: "Yeah, I was wrong and I got caught."

While I was at Delavan, the principal pushed me into taking an extracurricular activity, Junior High Y. I didn't want to do it, because junior high kids can't plan for themselves. Frankly, it was a Sunday School class. I disliked it very much.

My wife and I moved to Columbus so that she could get a job, because there were not enough jobs in Delavan for educated people. One day the principal came and told me that people met him on the street and would ask, "Who's this Jennings?" Apparently people resented my living out of town and not spending my money in Delavan. Even though I was never late and never missed a meeting, they thought I should live there. The principal told me that if there were other teachers available for employment, they would fire me. This soured me, so I decided to apply for a job in the Columbus school system.

I got that job in Columbus, with a $700 raise, which was good in those days. I was elated to get a job, but the price I paid was to be assigned to an inner city school. One day that summer I rode down to have a look at Patterson School. I walked around the building and looked in the windows. I didn't see any scratches or
carving, so I thought, "OK. It's old, and the people are poor, but that's all." Was I wrong! When I started there that fall I discovered that they were poor in spirit, too.

Patterson was the second worst junior high school in Columbus, in terms of attacks on teachers. It was three-quarters white and one-quarter black, but both the black and the white students were indifferent about education. The parents didn't care either. I felt like a hypocrite telling the black students to get an education, when everyone knew there were no jobs for them at that time.

My purpose teaching math at Patterson was the same as it had been in Delavan. I wanted to show the usefulness of math and to make kids curious, but it wouldn't work. It was harder to find ways of making math meaningful to them. They had little hope of finding good jobs, they didn't own their own homes, and they would probably never invest money. Even though my methods were not working as well, I didn't give up. I got some results, but it took a lot of time and effort. Like other schools, Patterson was best for the A and B students; it wasn't set up to give every young person successful experiences.

Every damn day it was discipline. When there were only one or two disruptive students, you could get through a lesson. But if three or four or more disturbed the class,
you spent so much time with them that you would lose the momentum of what you had going. Nothing worked then. At some time during every day there was always a big clash. First you would try pleasant suggestions. The rooms were too small to make the kid stand in the corner, and there were too many kids roaming the halls to put a child in the hall. You could send a kid to the office. Then there was paddling. I had never seen a kid paddled before, and it really shook me up. It was abusive, violent. But after a couple of weeks I saw why it was done and I started doing it. I didn't enjoy it, but I had no feeling of guilt. I felt as if the kid had it coming. That was the way life was at that inner city school. Paddling worked, in terms of making the kid shut up, and it relieved the pressure that had built up in me. Of course, a man has to match the students physically and verbally or he loses. Discipline seemed to dominate the day. I felt as if I were playing cop.

Study hall was really terrible. For half the year I would wake up at five o'clock thinking about it. The kids would throw chalk in there, not to show disrespect, but to hurt you. I never got hit, because I learned to keep moving and never to turn my back on too many students. It was very hard to get them to quiet down. In a good school more talking would have been tolerated, but not at
Patterson. A physical education teacher finally came in and showed me how to cope with the study hall. From then on I always stayed in the back of the room. I never let anything escalate. I would do something to deal with the situation, even if I did the wrong thing. I would start with something positive. I could use sign language to tell them to turn around. I made it a policy never to yell unless I absolutely had to. If nothing else worked, I would take the offender by the shoulder to the men's lounge for a good paddling. It worked.

Most teachers serve their time in an inner city school, and then get out. There were some good teachers there, as many as there have been in the other places I have taught. There were also many hardened teachers who were cynical and thought that the kids were hopeless. They went on year after year never changing their dull courses. One of them told me, "I like this school because the parents don't bother you." I saw that I couldn't stay there, because if I did, I would become as sour and bitter as the hardened ones. I knew I could handle the job, but after a while it really began to get to me. One year I had a student who got sick on his way to school every morning. I realized that maybe he felt the same way I did about coming to Patterson. I knew I had to get out of that school. I considered some nonteaching jobs,
but they paid less than teaching did. I applied for a transfer to another city school, but if I had not gotten it, I would have quit.

While I was at Patterson, I read *The Blackboard Jungle*, which had just come out. It seemed very real to me. It was strange when, a few years later, I saw the previews for the movie. I realized that it would look like an exaggeration, just a way to make money, to make the movie exciting. Who would realize how real it was?

During my years at Patterson, I had been working on a master's degree in math education at Ohio State, and I finished that in 1955. It had been difficult to take courses and to teach full time at the same time. I would never do that again. I enjoyed the master's work very much. It was mostly methods of teaching math, with some physics and chemistry methods. I had a couple of philosophy courses which were very interesting too. When I graduated, I recall saying to my professor, "I'll see you again pretty soon." I really meant it, but I never came close. Perhaps this is egotistical, but I felt that after I got my master's I knew more than I could use, considering a teacher's limitations of materials and time and the building. Any further education would have been superfluous.
My transfer finally came through, and I went to Marshall Junior High School. It was located in an upper middle class part of the city. My first year there was just like my first year of teaching--terrific! The school itself was new. The kids were happy about getting a new start; they had always attended school in old buildings. The principal was the best principal I have ever known, and the parents were very supportive. I was happy, the kids were happy, and I kept on looking for better ways to teach, and my methods worked.

My first five years at Marshall were tremendous. I really worked hard, relating math to the American dream of owning a home or to an occupation which these students might go into. As usual, I tried to interest the students in math for its usefulness as well as for its own sake. I don't think I paddled anyone at all. I took a few to the office, and I shook a few up. The kids felt that I was fair, and there were no repercussions from parents. Just being congenial and having a good lesson made things go smoothly. Just a hand motion meaning "turn around" or "shut up" worked. I could put a kid in a corner or outside the door just for one day, and that worked. The kids weren't bad. The ones who misbehaved knew they were wrong.
During those early years at Marshall I felt I had reached maturity as a teacher. I could teach anything about math well, and I was no longer uptight. I would have felt mature earlier, but Patterson was an unusual situation. If I had stayed in Delavan longer or come to Marshall sooner, I think it would have happened sooner. As it was, it took eight or ten years.

After Sputnik went up in 1957, the math curriculum changed. We started accelerating the "gifted." The eighth graders who were either bright or hard workers were taken out of math and were given ninth grade algebra. I enjoyed teaching it. What was supposed to work, did work. The students were quite responsive, intellectually curious, liked applications, and didn't mind studying. It was depressing, though, that we couldn't predict the future. Some of those students dropped to C and D work. It was tearing them up. I couldn't see the advantage of accelerating them, when they didn't know what they wanted to be yet at that age. We were hurting some kids to help others, and I just couldn't buy it. Another disadvantage was that regular eighth grade math became more blah. I liked teaching the algebra, though.

We had a second kind of ability grouping start around 1961. This was a low track, or modified, class. Many of them had not yet mastered their times tables.
What was bad about it was that the kids realized that they were in with "dummies." At their age, ego and identity are very important. All the kids realize the value of intelligence. They put a lot of emphasis on "the smart kids" and "the dumb kids." Tracking created a caste system; it divided kids. The badly behaved kids tended to be in the modified classes too, so the teacher had a lot against him at the start. The kids realized what class they were in on the first day. Some resented it; others felt that school was hopeless and that they were "flops."

The principal always gave the modified classes to the teachers he did not like, so I always escaped. I did have two of them, and I felt successful with them and had fun. It was difficult, because it takes six weeks to convince them that they can learn and that it will be beneficial to be in the modified class. I would tell them, "You're OK. It's the course, not you, that is modified."

The administration had promised to limit the modified class size to about seventeen students, but they never seemed to do it. You need a nice warm relationship or those students don't do well. The modified classes were really not meeting these kids' needs.

I had an extracurricular activity at Marshall. The school had a project of collecting redeemable sales tax
slips. I was in charge, and I had to make up the promotion for the project, package all the stamps, and get them downtown. We made $2000 a year, and used it to buy new audio-visual equipment. I enjoyed doing the promotion; I always put in jokes. "Weather: grade cards today; hot in some places." Of course I hadn't volunteered for this responsibility; you never volunteer for anything! But Marshall also had a Junior High Y, and I knew I didn't want that!

I was at Marshall at its best. After a few years the glamour of the new school wore off; you could see the building running down. The student body was also changing. Lower class students were being bused from further away, and this lowered the scholastic makeup; however, it was still a good school. The worst problem was the overcrowding, though. Students were getting almost inhuman treatment. They were crowded into a study hall which was no more than a storage house. The kids were aware that they were being treated like animals, and they began to destroy the property. There was no dope then; the kids were just smoking behind the building. We were lucky and didn't know it!

I saw all of the changes, and I realized that I was one of the few original teachers remaining at Marshall. The others had gone on to be principals or high school
teachers, or to get married. I began to wonder what was wrong with me. Everyone else seemed more successful. So I asked for a transfer to a new school which would open the following fall. I was hoping for the same kind of rebirth which I had experienced when I came to Marshall Junior High. Boy, was I disappointed!

Hanover Junior High School was a new building, but the students who attended there had gone to a new elementary school too. To them, the building was nothing special. The students were OK, but they were not the balls of fire that the Marshall students had been. They came from ranch-style homes with campers out front, all unpaid for, of course. The principal at Hanover was just ordinary, too. It was all rather disappointing. I had just expected too much. I guess I was trying to guess the future. I don't regret making the transfer; if I hadn't, I probably would have become more and more dissatisfied. I learned something by trying that move.

At any rate, ordinary teaching at Hanover was successful, so it was back to business as usual. What I did worked, and I felt successful. This lasted about two or three years, until the split sessions started.

The time of split sessions at Hanover was very difficult. You just saw kids in a big hurry. There was not enough room for them in the lunch room, so they would
come back to your room during their break. If teachers didn't stay with them, the kids damaged the room. It was tough on them to do a day's work in half a day. When they were out of school, they felt they had so much free time that they never got around to their homework; as a matter of fact, crime in the community increased. Teachers couldn't get to know each other. We had no conference period. The staff as a team fell apart; we all felt a dislike for the "strangers" who were using our rooms during the other half of the split sessions. We imagined that it was they who were letting the kids write on the desks and causing all the difficulties.

We were still trying to cope with the split session situation when the college campus riots of the late '60's hit the headlines. Although our school never had any riots, the era had its effect on us. There was a real fear of riots among teachers and administrators, and we had elaborate plans in the event that they should occur. The main effect was the change in the students' attitude. There was much less interest in school. The students' feeling was, "I don't feel like doing this. Why should I?" You couldn't reach them. Many were rude, even insolent. We were the Establishment to them, and therefore the enemy. Before the '60's, there was a time when a hood would take the consequences of his actions,
but in the '60's it was no longer a disgrace to break the rule. They were proud of it. I myself did not have problems with these students. I couldn't excite them or interest them, but I could tolerate them and they could figure me out. They realized that I wouldn't take crap, and that I wouldn't be unfair either. We coexisted.

In spite of it all, I found the 1960's very enlightening. The adults who were reflective learned as much as the kids. We examined the traditions and quit doing some things both in and out of school. At first I wondered why I had never examined all of the philosophies when I was young. The answer was because everything I heard was right. If I worked, I was successful. It was obvious to me that working made sense.

Today, indifference is the big problem. I try different things, but I can't turn the students on. What do kids have to look forward to? They are free now; their parents don't bother them, because both parents work and can't spare time to spend with their children. The kids have TV's and telephones in their rooms. They think, "Gee, when I grow up I'll have to work!" They already have everything, so education seems less important.

When it comes to disciplining, we are in a bind. There is very little corporal punishment, and none by the teacher. You are supposed to send a kid to the office
if it gets to be that bad of a case. Today's parents don't want their kids even touched. I had one girl in my class who came in high on drugs one day. She started to leave the room in the middle of class, and I asked her to sit down. She continued toward the door, and I told her again to sit down. As I told her I lightly touched her shoulder. Well, the parents came and complained to the principal. The principal believed me, but he told me I should not have touched her at all. He told me to keep my hands off the kids. I have often wondered why he did that. I consider him an intelligent man, but I could never guess why he gave me that. All I can figure is that he didn't want waves. I agree with a "hands off of kids" philosophy, if it works. But I don't like this total permissiveness that we have now. Kids aren't adults; they are not mature. You can't persuade some kids what is right and what is wrong. Even if you had the time, you couldn't. The problem is that the school is a kid factory: the bell rings, the kids walk in, etc. There are times when a small amount of physical contact will solve the problem.

If you have a problem with a child, and you go to the office and say that this kid is always causing trouble, it sounds too vague, and you don't get much backing. So about eight years ago I began to keep notes
on my students' behavior. Today my discipline procedure is this. First I speak to the kid in class; then I stand him in the corner. All this time I will keep notes. Then I send the child to the office, but all he gets there is the talk treatment. This all takes about a month, and meanwhile, the kid is ruining some fine lesson plans.

I have been school treasurer at Hanover ever since I came here. The school sells $20,000 worth of candy every year, so it is quite a job. Because of my treasurer's duty I do not have a homeroom. I enjoy the work. Money doesn't talk back, and it's kind of fun to have everything balance out.

My teaching methods have remained about the same over the years. It's just that they are less successful in the inner city, or when a class is too large, or in this day and age when students are so different. I still search for new ways to show the usefulness of math, although finding new tricks is becoming more difficult. At the beginning of each new topic I will tell them why some adults need these skills, or how this skill is used in an occupation that impresses them, or how they'll need this topic in high school. I'll try to use some gimmick to surprise and amuse them and make the topic seem important. Sometimes I will prove that their common sense is wrong. Applications have always been my strong point,
although I still believe in stimulating the mind and studying math for its own sake. Humor has been important in my class, although my jokes and teasing don't work out as well as they used to. Maybe I am not as funny as I was, or thought I was. But now there seem to be more kids who think my jokes are corny. Those are usually the troublemakers. They would have been quiet in the past, but now they butt in. So I try to do my kidding in private, as I go past a student's desk.

In the classroom a teacher is really an actor. Every day you have to be happy, healthy, full of energy, excited about something. You have to want to share it with people, or else the kids aren't going to care very much about what goes on. I can go to my treasurer's office and have a headache and get by fine. But I cannot go into a classroom acting as if I have a headache and still get a response from the kids. You have to be the actor; it's an obligation. Kids have to feel that you care, and you know them, and that you think that math is important. You cannot come into class unprepared and just ad-lib or come late to class or act grouchy. Even if a student is disruptive, other kids expect you to deal with it in a reasonable manner. If you don't try to be the perfect teacher, you turn out to be a rather poor teacher. I think being an actor is unnatural to many
people; I got used to it. It's just a way of life. I suppose there is some good in it too, because you get carried away and forget some things that are bothering you.

There has been one big change in my philosophy. The schools used to be told to teach the whole child, to be parents and psychologists, but there was never time enough or space enough to do this. We were not able to develop the whole child. I have written that off. I figure my job is to teach mathematics as well as I can teach it, and make it pleasant, if possible, and have as many students be successful as possible. I do not feel obligated to solve the students' personal problems as I once did. When I first started teaching, I tried to work into the grade their effort and their good behavior, not just the mathematical average. I felt that the student who got as low a grade as he deserved would misunderstand it, and quit working, and then be worse off. I gave a higher grade to keep him working. I could justify it, and did it. About ten years ago I stopped taking their personal problems into consideration, and now I grade strictly on the average of their homework and test scores. The black students who are coming into our school tend to do less well, and I thought that if I raised their grades, I would be accused of prejudice.
And now there are the court cases, where the schools are blamed for graduating kids who can't read. My goal in my grading now is to keep all emotion out of it. That's the only logical way to do it, it seems to me.

It seems a shame that we can put men on the moon, but we just barely get by in the schools. The Sears catalogue always advertises "Good," "Better," and "Best." I think we have good schools in America. You have to be an idealist to go into teaching and survive very long. You go into it for what you can do, not what you make. But in the long run, this is unrealistic. You come to realize that you've got to make a buck, too. At tops now, I am making close to $19,000. It will be $20,000 next January. That's enough money for me. But it is a myth that teachers could get better jobs and that they are in teaching only because of their dedication. With the exception of industrial arts teachers, teachers don't have enough credit hours in a subject field to be able to get much of any job outside of education.

I do wonder sometimes whether I would go into teaching again if I were starting my career over. I have always had a lot of satisfaction from seeing the kids work and look happy. I feel good when I get a nice curve of distribution because I have made a good test, and they have worked at it and done well. I enjoy kids saying
hi to me in the hall. But you don't get much appreciation expressed to you. Kids don't want to be apple-polishers. If, twice a year, a parent who doesn't have to stops and says something encouraging, it's meaningful. You realize that if a few parents do, you must be affecting many children. Most people are reticent. It is a shock to realize the thousands of students you have exposed yourself to over the past thirty years. You have made a small, but positive impression on a good many people. Perhaps this is corny, but I believe Neil Armstrong had a point when he said he made it because of his teachers, as well as his parents and co-workers. That really clicked with me. I do think I helped put people on the moon.

I would recommend that anyone teach senior high school, not junior high school. By senior high, the worst students have left school. You can talk with high school kids, reason with them, teach them something, and get along with no big hassle. If the campus rebellion had not happened, the junior high age would not be so bad. Before the '60's, it was just a question of kids growing up. Life is rough for them at that age. They have extra energy to burn. Since the '60's, students have been giving teachers this business about, "I got my rights." Kids have a paperback on their rights. It is this attitude
which makes teaching so difficult. I try to go along with the kids as much as possible, and not feel that I have lost all scruples. At one time I would have held firm, but things have changed so much I would be fighting all of the time. I might win, but I would pay quite a price in nervous energy and stress and strain. You can't fight the whole world, even if you have no doubt whatsoever about being right.

Teachers used to be respected more than they are now. They were thought of as missionaries doing good work. Any praise and respect for them was genuine. But the community also had more control over them. Teachers did not have the right to drink liquor or use lipstick. This feeling that teachers must be perfect is gone. Younger teachers say their teaching is one thing and their life style is another. It used to be that when the superintendent told the local teachers' association that there was not enough money for a raise, the teacher representative said, "Well, I see your point." Everyone bought this. Now the younger teachers say to the superintendent, "It's your obligation to get the money." I see their point.

I think if I could begin teaching again in the same kind of world in which I began, I would. I'm not so sure I would buy it now, when the kid has his "rights."
Up until the last ten years, I felt things were getting better. Students came in knowing more and willing to do more. But now it appears to me that the cookie is crumbling, so to speak. This is my thirty-second year. After thirty years you can retire without being penalized, and I am giving some thought to it. I had considered transferring to high school, but all I would be able to teach there would be general math, because the teachers with seniority get the advanced courses. General math is a headache.

I would probably take a nonteaching job next year if I could find one. I am giving semiserious thought to it. I probably won't, because jobs are so hard to find. If I could easily quit teaching, I guess I would. I would feel sort of silly, though, because I have the best of it. When substitutes take my place, they write, "What nice classes you have." Part of this is that I have two periods when I am school treasurer, and the subs don't do anything then. But I have taught the kids how to behave, at least for me, and there is some carry-over. Looking at my job from a distance, it does look pretty soft--two classes of algebra, three of math, and no study hall. I guess all in all, I have had the best of it. I still like it. But I can't see it getting better; it may get worse.
Linda Robinson

Capsule description: age 43; started teaching fifth grade in a small town in North Carolina in 1955; now teaching junior high math in an Ohio city; has taught 22 years; plans to take earliest retirement

For as long as I can remember I have known how to read. Not that I was that bright—I just always wanted to know what was going on. One of my earliest memories is of being right there when my mother was teaching my two older brothers to read. When I was in high school, the neighboring parents would send their kids to me for help with their school subjects. I had no idea at the time that I was "teaching." A parent would ask me if I would help her child with his math. They even paid me. Every day I had a couple of kids I worked with.

I grew up in Greensboro, North Carolina. I was pretty good in school and really liked it. I had a biology teacher in high school whom I really liked, and she still stands out in my mind. There was a social studies teacher too. I think I related more to her than anyone else; she was young and very much like I am.

I went to a small Presbyterian college in my home town. I probably decided to go into teaching sometime during my second year. Being black and a woman in the South, there really wasn't much else I could do at the time. When I first made the decision, I just thought of teaching
as a living, and not really as a career. But when I started my student teaching, it really dawned on me, "Kid, you're a teacher!" It was frightening in a way because I had always put teachers on a pedestal. They didn't drink, they didn't smoke, they didn't do any of the things that I was doing. Being a student teacher made me realize that teachers were human beings and that I was going to be one of them.

I remember asking my social studies teacher, "Do you smoke?" She said, "Sure I smoke." I loved that! I thought that was fantastic! She said, "Sure, what's wrong with having a smoke after dinner?" That is one thing I liked about her; she was honest.

I had an excellent supervising teacher during my student teaching, and I learned so much that by the time I graduated, it was just a matter of putting it together, getting it to work for me. I felt as well prepared as I could be. The one thing lacking was confidence, and that you just build up in yourself through experience.

I started teaching right out of college at age twenty-one in 1955. I taught in a small rural town about a hundred miles from my home. It was a beautiful little city called Landrum. Of course the schools at the time were segregated. They had one school for blacks, and it was first through twelfth grades, with about 500 students.
I taught the fifth grade.

Being fresh out of college, I didn't know very much, although I thought I knew a lot. I was scared to death. Most of the teachers had taught for about twenty years, and that intimidated me right there. I know I looked young for my age, even at that time. The high school boys had crushes on me!

The first year was just a matter of getting my feet wet about what it was like to be in a classroom with kids and actually teach without somebody standing over me. I made quite a few mistakes, and I learned from those. The principal was very considerate. He understood the situation I was in, and so I got along very well. I wouldn't hesitate to go to the older teachers and ask for advice. I would take what they told me and then use it in my own way. One of those teachers kind of took to me.

I had grown up in the city, and I didn't know too much about rural life. In Landrum everybody knew everybody else. The community had strict standards for teachers. For example, we were expected to go to church every week. There wasn't very much social life there, so I would pack my bags every Friday and go home for the weekend. I earned myself the nickname of The Suitcase Teacher.

I was at Landrum two years, and then I got married and had my daughter. I was out of teaching for a year,
and then I took a job in the Greensboro County school district. The county school for blacks was larger than the one in Landrum and it was overcrowded. Out in back was the first school they had ever used—a three-room school. We had to use that building, and that was where I taught my seventh grade class. We had two rooms there, one which we used as a rec-room. The building was a primitive situation; we had a potbelly stove which the students fed, and we would either freeze or burn up. We enjoyed it, though.

My students were the children of sharecroppers, and they were absent often to help their parents on the farm. By the time the children all came to school after gathering in the harvest, it was practically time to start putting out the crops again. Only about half of the students would come to school for the entire nine-month year. Although they were poor, these kids had a sense of pride. They were all poor together. It was not as it is today, with some having so much and others having nothing.

I was in the county school for six years. I was happier than I had been at Landrum, but a lot had to do with being in my home town where I knew more people and had more of a social life. In my teaching I was learning more and more. During my sixth year there, the county schools were consolidated with the city schools, although
they still were racially segregated until several years after I left.

I came to Columbus in 1964, and applied to teach. They offered me a position teaching EMR (Educable Mentally Retarded) in Glenridge Elementary School. I had to agree to go on and become certified in Special Education.

Glenridge School was in a neighborhood which was changing rapidly. When I got there, the school was about sixty percent white and thirty percent black. By the end of my second year it was all black. I was surprised to find the northern schools almost as segregated as southern schools. Columbus did not even begin to integrate its teaching staffs until some time after I got here.

I was glad I took the training in Special Education, because it helped. I think a lot of working with EMR kids is sheer patience and showing them that you really care and being compassionate. They need to know that you are trying to understand them, not to ridicule them. They go through so much of that ridicule from the other children in the school.

What bothered me the most was that EMR had become a dumping ground for disturbed kids and discipline problems, and very few of my kids were actually mentally retarded. I couldn't seem to make the teachers or administrators realize that was not what EMR was supposed to be. They
thought my children couldn't do anything. I fought for them to be on the safety patrol and to work as monitors in the lunchroom. I finally got the principal to go along with that, and some of the kids worked out very well. One of my students had a beautiful voice, but I had to push for her to be in the chorus. When she was chosen to go to the city music festival, I felt that I had really accomplished something! The kids realized how much I cared.

Another problem with EMR was that the parents had been told that their kids were in EMR in order to catch up, and that they would soon be back in a regular class. That put me on the spot. I didn't like selling EMR on that idea. We should be frank with them, and tell them that their child has a learning problem, and that the best place is in this type of class where the children can go slowly. After three years of EMR I told the principal I had had it and he transferred me to a regular classroom, where I taught for two years.

My sixth year in Columbus, I had the position of Elementary Math Specialist. I was assigned to five different schools, working with kids who had problems or who were good in math. That was an interesting year. It was a lonely year; I didn't really belong anywhere, but I got to see a lot of buildings that I would not have
otherwise seen. I was working in several all-white schools, and I guess I was a token. I used to laugh and say I was the only black within a radius of twenty miles. One day one of the children came up and asked me why I had a teacher's book. I said to him, "Would you believe I am a teacher!" He didn't understand that a black person could be a teacher.

One of the interesting things that came out of that year was the time that one of the counselors went around to classes asking the children if they had any black friends. They all said no. Then the counselor asked them, "How about Mrs. Robinson?" They replied, "Oh, that's right, she is black." To me that was fantastic! They looked to me as being a teacher. That's the way it will have to be. People will have to accept other people for what they are and not look at color first.

That summer I decided to teach summer school. It was the last year I will ever do that! It was a bad experience. I was teaching on the elementary level, and it was voluntary for the kids. They wandered in from eight o'clock until noon. It was very difficult to get them to do anything. I decided then and there never to teach summer school again.

The Math Specialist program was only funded for one year. That fall I went to teach EMR at Rice Junior High
School, an inner city school predominantly black and poor. That put the lid on EMR for me; I will never teach Special Education again under this system. I had thought that since I was certified in EMR, it would be interesting to give it a crack at a different level, but these children had social problems and personal problems that I just couldn't deal with. I did all I could, but I just didn't feel I could do very much for them. It's very frustrating for a fifteen-year-old to come to you and say, "Why can't I read?" I have no answer for that. Those were two terrible years.

I decided to go back to the elementary level, and got a transfer to Young Elementary School. It was in an upper middle class neighborhood which was changing racially. I was the first black teacher on the faculty. It was no problem for me or for my kids, but I did feel that some of the teachers were a little apprehensive at first. They didn't know how to take me. I handled that by just being myself. I didn't make any bones about who I was or what I was. I just did what I wanted to do and then saw what happened. When I would go into the lounge and they would get quiet, I'd say, "What's wrong?" I'd take out a cigarette and carry on a conversation. They got used to me.
With the children, it was easier. One little boy liked me so much that he was always telling his parents about me. They asked him if I were black or white, and he said he didn't know. His parents told me about this later. I thought it was great! I felt I had really been successful with that child. I enjoyed being at Young School; I snapped right back from that terrible EMR experience and felt as excited about teaching as ever.

After a couple of years, I got to thinking that it would be fun to concentrate in one subject rather than teaching all subjects. I still liked the junior high age, so I applied for a transfer to junior high school. They sent me to Salsbury Junior High to teach seventh and eighth grade math.

I really didn't know that much about Salsbury when I went there. It's unique, because it has a wide range of kids. You have some affluent, some very poor, different races, and kids with very different attitudes. It is a real soup bowl, not your stereotype inner city school. In general the attendance is poor, and that bothers me. There is also widespread apathy which is difficult for me to deal with. There are some excellent students, but there seem to be more who have real problems. I have some classes which are highly motivated, but in
others only a handful of kids are really interested. On many days I feel I just can't get the students motivated. I have been there several years, and at this point I am beginning to feel that it has been long enough in one school.

As I think about the past twenty-two years of my teaching experience, I would have to say that times have changed, but I'm pretty sure that I have changed with them. Young people today know more about the world than young people did twenty years ago. In many ways they are brighter, sharper, and they think faster. A result of this is that now they have to be "snapped" into learning. They are not as ready to absorb what the teacher says as they used to be. Kids now want the subject to be relevant to them; they are less ready to do what is expected. They are harder to control in school now, because they have received less discipline at home.

These days a teacher can get closer to students than she used to. It used to be that a teacher was a robot. Now I can talk informally with students and show them that I am human, too. In fact, I have to show my students my human side in order to motivate them. I also have to "jazz up" my subject more than I used to. In general, I like the greater informality now. I feel more relaxed, and I feel that I am being myself. I do find that teaching
takes more energy than it used to. By the end of the day I am physically and mentally exhausted.

I really try to get to know my students. I have rap sessions with them. On the first day of school I tell them about myself, my childhood, my school days. "I bleed blood; I breathe air. I am from a big family. How many of you are?" I try to get them to talk about the personal things and to loosen up. I tell them, "Look, I'm not in here to kill anybody off. You're here to learn and I'm here to make it easier for you."

I relate to the kids pretty well. I let them know that I am willing to help them. I tell them that I myself grew up poor. When I see their "I don't care" attitude, I tell them, "Well, if you don't care, who do you expect to care? I care, but my caring won't help you. You've got to care."

I feel pretty good about my teaching. I am always willing to learn something else and always looking for a new way to get something across. I'm different from a lot of teachers. Sometimes I see them with their detailed lesson plans and I feel so inadequate. I feel I must be a terrible teacher, but then I see that I get as much accomplished as they do, and maybe more. I spend my energy in the classroom. While I am teaching I will look out over the class, and if I see that no one is
understanding, then I reach in the back of my mind for something else which I think might work better. Often I will ask myself, "Why did I do it that way?" I guess I teach on instinct, but usually it works out for the best.

What is rewarding to me about teaching is knowing that in some way I have helped some student learn, and understand something he did not know before. If I can get one kid and make that kid feel that somebody else cares, I have succeeded. Of course I have my up days and my down days, and sometimes I envy people who can leave work and be through with it. I bring my teaching home, I sleep with it, I worry about the kids or how I am going to present the material.

I used to go along with pushing all the kids academically and putting the academic side first. But now I am encountering more and more students who need to feel good about themselves first. They need to know how to live and feel useful. With these students the social aspect has to come before the math. It's interesting--I never thought I'd come to this! I work with them on the basics of math which they'll need in daily living, and I try to help them feel important. The rest of math will come later.
During the past few years, I have begun to wonder whether I could ever have been successful in another job. It doesn't bother me that I am a teacher, but I wonder what another job would have been like. I know I am not as happy with teaching as I used to be. There are so many days when it is hard to get the students motivated, and when the attendance is poor, and when the students are too apathetic. It just takes so much energy now to teach them.

I'd like to get a transfer to a different school. Every time I have gone to a new school it has recharged and challenged me. Five years is about as long as I want to stay anywhere. It keeps me young to keep moving from place to place. Then they can't keep up with how old I am! I might like to go back to the elementary level or maybe even teach in senior high school; that would give me teaching experience on all grade levels.

I will probably take the earliest possible retirement. For me that would be thirteen more years of teaching. If I ever felt myself losing my effectiveness, I would quit. You know this is happening when you begin to concentrate more on the kids who are problems than on the kids who are doing well. Many of the older teachers in the lounge dwell on the problem kids.
They always talk about what teaching used to be like. There is no use referring to what used to be. Times have changed, and I'm going to keep on changing with them.

I suppose I would take another job now if I could earn as much as I am earning teaching. If not, I will teach my thirteen more years, and then try my hand at something else. I'll still be young! But all in all, I am satisfied with my career choice.

Preston Stone

Capsule description: age 52; started teaching foreign languages at high school in an Ohio city in 1959; has taught at same school for 19 years; plans to take earliest retirement

I started teaching Spanish and German at Logan High School in 1959. At that time it was one of Columbus' best balanced schools, socially and economically. The students were black and white, upper, middle, and lower class, and of several national origins. Academically it was one of the best schools in the city, largely due to the Jewish segment of the student body. Today, Logan, like schools across the nation, has gone down. Most of the teachers who have taught there a while agree that there is a serious academic decline.
Before I came to Logan, I had several teaching experiences. I was a teaching assistant at Ohio State University for several years in the Spanish Department while I was earning my M.A. and starting toward a Ph.D. I also taught part-time at an international business firm; there I taught myself right out of a job. My students were highly motivated executives who had to conduct business in foreign countries. They were whizzes. I taught one year at a local religious college. The college was very conservative, although I will say that it gave the kids a good education. The Spanish Chair had a stigma attached to it; Spanish was a very low-prestige subject there. Furthermore, faculty members were expected to attend chapel three times a week and church on Sunday. I thought, "I can't take all this!" Besides, they were only paying $4000.

At the same time Columbus was paying its starting teachers $4800. I decided then to make a career out of public school teaching, so I finished a bachelor's in education. My student teaching was no problem; my cooperating teacher was scared that I would put her down because I had taught in college, but I have a great sense of humor and enjoy everything. We became the best of friends. The following fall there was an opening here at Logan in Spanish and German, and by now I am one of the
oldest foreign language teachers in this system. I feel ancient!

Back in the early '60's, students were very different from what they are today. They used to devote several hours an evening to study. The thought of an F or D was unbelievable! It would have been a disgrace. The students came in with a solid academic background. I had many students who had vivid imaginations and they were stimulating to both me and the rest of the class.

I remember one boy who was so creative and intelligent. He made for a fantastic class because he was challenging you all the time. You had to be pretty darn good as a teacher to maintain his respect. One time we were talking about castles. This young man went out and, first of all, drew a very elaborate sketch of a castle. Then he sought out, on his own, all the Spanish names for the parts of the castle and labeled every one. There were words I had never even heard of. He had a tremendous sense of humor. As you looked at this fairly large drawing, you began to see some little things—a shark's fin in the moat, and a small sign in Spanish, "For Sale." No student today would ever think of doing a project like that! This young man would also come to me asking for Spanish novels. He read them and absorbed them and came back for more.
Our school had a lot of extracurricular activities in those days. The young people were well-rounded. There was a lot of school spirit--pep rallies, proms, and dances. I sponsored a Spanish Club and a Philatelic Club for several years. I was also an adviser for the "In the Know" group and we were the first city school to win the championship. "In the Know" was a television show on which high school teams competed to demonstrate their academic knowledge. Kids used to love to perform services for the school, such as working in the office or running projectors. It was an honor. The school was very orderly, and the halls were quiet. You could be a rigid teacher and a good teacher and still survive. School was a pleasant place.

Logan was one of the schools struck by racial difficulty in 1969. We went through a period of great disorder. The halls were very bad, and the kids were so terrible in assemblies that we had to cancel them. I had always felt that I could communicate with black kids, but the militants would insult you to your face in the halls. That was the first time I had anything like that, and it shook me up. None of the black kids in my classes would talk to me in that way. The late '60's were a time when, unless you were flexible, you just broke and had to get out.
Our school was closed by a riot; I will always remember the exact date. It was terribly difficult for the principal and many of the teachers. After the riots, the principal just sat in his office for the rest of the year. He was a nice man, but the pressure was overwhelming. We got a new principal who was more of a disciplinarian. He helped bring things back in line.

During the late '60's the "do your own thing" ethic went to extremes. It is back in control now to a degree, but it has provided one of the groundworks for the apathy of students today. Student apathy drives me right up a wall, and I do not have as much of it as teachers of the required courses. I ask the kids, "Why did you take the course?" There is no way a teacher can overcome that "I don't care" attitude. You realize that you are knocking your head against a wall, and you begin to ask yourself, "Why am I here?"

The students today lack imagination. Television presents it all for them, so they don't have to imagine a thing. They can tell you all the characters and commercials on TV, but they never pick up a newspaper. It's unbelievable! Today's students don't think anything about getting a low grade; it is no disgrace. My general impression is that no one at home cares either. We used to notice a maturation of students between the ninth and
tenth grade; they came back from the summer more mature. Now the big change is between tenth and eleventh grade.

Kids' academic background now doesn't measure up to what it used to. I have good students, but they just are not the quality that they used to be, and the good ones are fewer in number. Perhaps that is because fewer kids are taking language today. It seems that every year now I get classes that are simply dull.

Our school spirit is gone. Kids no longer like to perform school services, nor are they interested in extracurricular activities. We have no more pep rallies and no more dances. The kids couldn't care less. Now they are all too busy with their jobs. School is second to them. Some of them earn excellent money--$10,000 a year. They don't have time for school activities.

Kids today are free and easy; they are on the go. Most of them have cars. Sex--they know all about it! Pregnancy used to be a shock, but not now. We even had one teacher last year who was unmarried and pregnant; it shocked us that she kept teaching right up until she had the child. That's the way it is today.

Our school is calmer now than it was in the late '60's, but not the way it used to be. We have the same problems other schools have, but to a lesser degree. The whole atmosphere is more lax. There has not been
a detention in several years. We know there is pot-smoking, but no one does anything about it. Perhaps our principal's laxness is right for the times. If you are too rigid now, you are going to have trouble.

When it comes to discipline, an administrator's hands are tied. You can hardly suspend a kid without giving him a hearing. Even on a suspension, a kid can have a lawyer there. Our whole system has taken students' rights to the point where it is a detriment to the kids themselves. Certainly kids have rights; they are human beings. But they are youngsters. For every right we have, a citizen has a responsibility too. These kids are a bit young for the responsibilities that go with the rights. In many ways we have done an injustice to the kids. They have not received the discipline they need to straighten them out.

All teachers have to cope with these changes, and they cope in different ways. Some have become more flexible, like myself. Others are now more inward and recluse. When they are not in class, they no longer come to the lounge. Many teachers even developed ailments. One older teacher I know was sent to an open-space school; he ended up taking a medical retirement.

A lot of our problem is that the society has tried to correct its social injustices through the schools.
Society has tried to make social workers out of teachers, but teachers are not social workers, and the school cannot do that job. To me, to get an education is not an easy thing; it's a lot of hard work. It is a development of self-discipline and responsibility so you can handle yourself in life. I think the core of anyone's life is self-discipline and self-control. We as a society have lost some of the drive to teach self-discipline to young people. A few years ago, when the colleges reduced their standards, ours collapsed. I have many fewer students now, because colleges no longer have a language requirement. All academics have suffered terribly. The advanced courses now are out the window; kids want to take the easy courses.

I used to have a lot of students who would go on to be language majors in college and even language teachers. I had a number of kids with the imagination, the drive, the love of learning. It was absolute joy! One of my students was given ten quarters of German credit by Ohio State; she is now teaching. Several colleges and universities sent me letters saying how well prepared my former students were.

I know that I have had to change my standards, although not as much as others. What do you do when the majority of the class hasn't done the assignment? You
have a choice: either give eighty percent F's or change your standards. I suppose I am less inclined to fail a student than I used to be, but I don't stretch A's and B's. I have fewer A's and B's than I did before, but enough so that I am satisfied. I think that education is beginning to go back to high standards. Of course, education is like a pendulum. I think now that the swing is back to higher standards; if not, education is dead.

When the decline in college standards resulted in lower high school enrollment in advanced classes, we were pressured to get the enrollment up. They told us that we had to make these courses more palatable. What they were saying was that we should water it down so that anyone could pass. They pushed us to "make it enjoyable." Of course any teacher who likes his subject wants to make it as palatable as possible! Especially in languages we were supposed to make it "fun and games."

Unfortunately, the push to sugar-coat education came from the colleges of education. It really griped us teachers, who were out in the field every day seeing what was needed, to have the people from the university try to impose their theories on us. They knew nothing about our situation, and they would not listen to those of us who told them that their ideas were impractical.
We went through the period where each school was to have a language lab. I had experience with them when I was a teaching assistant at Ohio State, and I was very much against them except as supplementary to the classroom. I preached against the labs; I went to committee meetings and told them that the lab should not take the place of the human interaction in the classroom. They went ahead and put one in our school. It was a fiasco! A lot of weak teachers would simply put on the tape, sit back and file their nails, and bore the kids stiff. Other teachers tried and abandoned the lab because they didn't have the time to keep it running. You had to be a mechanic. You would spend hours making a tape, and then go to the lab only to have the tape break. There went an entire period. Language labs were a failure, but it was good publicity to say that your school had one. This was what the public wanted to see.

I have always felt that as a teacher you are looking for the best possible way to transmit the ideas and knowledge of mankind. You are furthering the culture. At the same time, you are trying to stimulate thinking that could bring about new ideas and improvements. That is the way of the teacher. That is the role of the teacher: to stimulate the young person to improve the culture through ideas that you might lead him to.
A lively and spontaneous class is a joy to work with. You might walk in the door with one thing planned, and the kids will say, "Let's do what we did the other day. That was fun." So I change my plan on the spot. Or I might get a new idea. I invented a new game this year, and it is working very well. It's called Star Wars, and I use it for the small classes of five and six. I had gotten kind of tired of the old games. In Star Wars, each student is a planet, but they don't know until the end of the game which planet they are. They are at the board, and I give them sentences to write. For every sentence they get correct, they get to put their own symbol beside one of the planets. At the end of the period I tell them which planet they were, and whoever has the most of his symbol beside his planet wins. We have another game called Contagion. If you get an answer wrong, the student next to you has to stand up until he gets one right. So I always try to think of new activities, and over the years I have thought of quite a few. Other teachers will ask me for ideas; I seem to have a good imagination. Some of the ideas I've dropped over the years, and some of them I have updated.

As far as presenting grammar and vocabulary is concerned, I have used basically the same techniques for years, because I have found some good ways to get things
There are certain grammatical elements that I have never found a palatable way to teach. I am honest with the kids and I tell them, "Let's just get this over with as soon as possible. If you will just concentrate and learn these and get them out of the way, that's all there is to it." I tell them what I love to teach, such as the subjunctive, and what I don't like to teach, and they respect that.

I am not an arch-disciplinarian. I have always been relaxed and gotten along well with my kids. I do not have discipline problems, and I never have had. I suppose I don't take it all as seriously as I did when I first started. Back then I might get angry about some of their excuses, but after years of experience there is nothing new. You can just look at them and smile when they tell you these things. I'm a little more wry about it, and in some cases more understanding. There has to be a distance between student and teacher; you can't be one of them. You can be friends with them and you can advise them. Frequently students want someone to confide in, and when there is a distance, they respect your opinion more. I know some of the younger teachers allow the students to call them by their first names; I do not approve of that.
Most of the teachers who have been in it for more than fifteen years are disillusioned. Of course not everyone is, but to a degree you hear talk of, "Oh, how long is there until retirement?" There was a day when you never heard that. I suppose that if it were economically feasible for me to leave teaching, I would. I really feel that the retirement should be cut down to twenty-five years. After twenty-five years of the stresses and strains on the human mind and body today, it is much too hard. Many teachers are simply not going to make it. I think a majority of our faculty, and it is a great faculty, would leave teaching if they could. This is one area where I would like to see the teachers' organizations get on the ball.

I don't suppose that my satisfaction will ever gain its former level. It's on a plateau now. I'm not as gung ho as I used to be, but I'm not as dissatisfied as a lot of teachers. I still put out my best for my students in the classroom. As far as any obligation above and beyond the call of duty—I don't feel it anymore. When the attitude of the kids and the whole society is, "What's the use? Who cares?", after a while you start feeling the same way. Now and then I have superior students who want to do something extra, and I'll go all out for those students, but they are not as common
as they used to be. I used to be thrilled by teaching. I still enjoy my classes, but I don't get the thrill I once did. I was working hard because the kids were too.

I know if I were to leave teaching I would miss certain aspects of it. We have a good faculty at Logan. A learning hubbub is a delight, and I still have those in my classes. Whenever I have imaginative and spontaneous classes, it is still a great joy.

Nina Cecil

Capsule description: age 57; started teaching sixth grade in 1942 in a small Ohio town; now teaching fourth grade in a suburb in Ohio; has taught 28 years; plans to teach for several more years

My teaching career has all gone so fast. It seems as if every year is a super year; something good always happens. It's so rewarding to see the youngsters grow up and have good feelings about themselves. Then I have good feelings about them too. That's the satisfaction—seeing them develop into such worthwhile human beings. I would love to write down all the interesting things kids do and say. One day recently, the brother of one of my fourth graders came in to get the work for his sick sister. He told me, "Not hard work!" There was a little first grader with him, and after I had given the boy his sister's work, the first grader said, "Well, that's the way life is." It's little tidbits like that that make my
job fun. I wish I could remember them all.

I've wanted to be a teacher ever since I was a little girl, probably from the time I started school. I had pleasant experiences in school, and I suppose that had a lot to do with it. There were many teachers I admired along the way. As a matter of fact, a few years ago my own fourth grade teacher came to visit our school, and she came in my class to observe. Of course, my class could not believe that I had ever been in fourth grade! It was quite an experience having her come in my class. She was one of those very creative teachers even back then, and she was probably one of the reasons I wanted to be a teacher.

I graduated from college in 1942, a time when a teaching position was hard to find. I was planning to be married that October, but since I didn't know where Curt would be stationed, I looked for a teaching job. The little town of New Hope, Ohio, had a sixth grade position, and I signed a contract for $1000 a year. The contract carried a provision that it would be null and void if I were to get married. Well, after a month, Curt and I did get married, so I left teaching. The next year I had a baby, and I didn't work for the rest of the war.

When Curt finished his education, he took a teaching job in his home town, Morristown, Ohio, and got the grand
total of $2600 for teaching and being principal and
driving the school bus! We found an old house out in the
country, and while we were fixing it up we stayed with
his folks. With all that help on the household chores, it
seemed logical for me to teach. I got a job in Oakland,
a little town nearby. I had twenty fourth graders and
fourteen third graders, and I was teaching every subject.
Nowadays you have a special teacher for subjects like
art and music, and for exceptional children, but back then
all the subjects and kids were thrown together, and you
taught everything to everyone.

It was a very rewarding job and a hard job. I
spent a lot of time working at it, but it wasn't as
difficult as it might have been if I had been in a city
system. In that rural area they gave me a lot of credit
for knowing what I was doing and being able to do it.
The parents were very appreciative of whatever I did. I
remember three boys who today would probably be considered
EMR. One of them finally learned how to write his name.
His parents thought I was great, and they told me. It's
nice to be appreciated!

Oakland was a town of about 300 people, and kids
were bused in from the surrounding countryside. This
school had all grades, and a faculty of ten or twelve
teachers. They kept very strict discipline. The
superintendent, who was like a principal today, was a very small man, and he had an office catty-corner to my room. He paddled kids right and left--high school kids--it didn't matter. One day we heard the paddle splinter! That's all it took to keep my kids on the track. I didn't have any trouble with discipline that year.

Most of the children came from very poor families. They didn't have much. I remember that one youngster's lunch every day was cracklings. I had one little boy who had such a terrible body odor. Like a large majority of the families in that area, they had no indoor plumbing. They had to draw water from the well, carry it to the house, and heat it on their woodburning stove. I had never been in an area where there wasn't city water, so it was an experience for me, too. Curt's folks had an electric pump for their own well, and indoor plumbing too, but other families, including this little boy's, were not so lucky. He had a very large family and was not well cared for. Even to get close to him was terrible. I finally asked him, after I had talked to my superintendent, if he would like to take a shower at school. I brought soap and towels, and three times a week he went to the boys' locker room and took a shower. I don't think he had ever had a shower in his life. He was delighted! And it made life more pleasant for everybody!
He was really delighted.

The year went by quickly. With thirty-four kids, I felt as if I were continually running from one reading group to another. I didn't spend any more energy than I do now, and maybe not as much. I taught just the one year while we were building our house, and I really thought I wouldn't teach anymore. The next fall the local superintendent told me they desperately needed an English teacher for high school. It was a part-time position. I had an English minor, but had not been trained to teach high school, and there is quite a difference! This was the same school where my husband was teaching. I had one class of sophomore English, one of senior English, and supervised a study hall. For that year I got $700. For a half-time job it was really a good salary. That year was a one-shot deal, and I didn't teach again for several years.

Curt taught for five years, and during that time he was a part-time insurance salesman. Then he was offered the job of district manager, so we moved to the small town of Harper. I still wasn't working. After a couple of years it seemed obvious that we weren't going to have any more children. Everybody, including my doctor, said to me, "Go back to teaching, and you'll get pregnant." Well, that never happened, so I just kept on teaching. At first
I thought it would just be two or three years, but teaching really gets in your blood! I have known a lot of people who have gone back for a short time, and stayed for thirty years as I have. So when our son was in the fifth grade, I took a job in Harper teaching second grade. It was a small school, with all twelve grades in one school. I was there three years, and I suppose my classes averaged about thirty-seven children.

You live and learn when you teach school. One Halloween I thought, "Wouldn't it be nice if each child could carve his own jack-o'-lantern?" I had my kids all lined up around the wall; everybody had newspaper, and everybody had a knife! I wouldn't do that now, under any circumstances! But we all got a jack-o'-lantern carved. We had pumpkin seeds and pulp all over the place. What a mess! The kids had a super time. That was another place where everybody really appreciated anything you did for them.

Curt got transferred to Pittsburgh, so I taught in Allegheny County. It was a suburban town, and the largest school I had been associated with. There were 1000 kids in kindergarten through sixth grades. I had forty kids in my first grade. The kids weren't much trouble, but the paper work was terrific.
The system had a policy that if the child had not made at least eight months growth during the year, he didn't go on to the next grade. Each spring they gave achievement tests. In three years I only had five kids who had to stay back. That wasn't bad for me, but it was traumatic for the kids. It puts a lot of pressure on them. I am one who thinks it seldom improves a child's learning to retain him. In my years since then, I have only retained one child, and we even arranged so that he could go to another school to avoid all the peer pressure.

After three years in Pittsburgh, my husband was transferred to the home office in Columbus. In the fall of 1958, we moved to this suburb, and I got a job teaching first grade at Edmond School. I liked teaching first grade and I liked this school. After one year the principal asked if I would move to second grade, so I did, and taught that for five years. That was the time right after Sputnik, during all the space probes. It was one of those years when Alan Shepard did his suborbital. I remember how excited we all were watching it. How blasé we've become about space shots!

I taught one year in third grade. That was the year John Kennedy was assassinated. I happened to be a delegate to the OEA (Ohio Education Association) Convention the very day he was shot. I've always felt really bad that
I wasn't back at the school with the kids the day they found that out, because I guess they were really terribly upset, as everybody was, but they were too little to know what was going on. It was a very shocking experience for them. After that year in third grade, I moved to the fourth grade and have been teaching there ever since.

This is a good community to teach in. The parents expect more, and they are more concerned about the children working up to their potential and being challenged. They have given the schools very good support by passing school levies. This community and the teachers work together really well.

I think that children are basically the same as they always were, but their behavior has changed. There are children who want to do their best work, but there are some who just don't have that old work ethic. One boy in my class this year has a very high IQ, but he will do anything just to get his work over with. I think there are more children now who don't take pride in their work.

My teaching methods have changed gradually over the past ten years. You have to work harder now, in order to make the work more interesting. We are competing with television. I don't mean we put on a show, but we use a lot more audio-visual aids and go on more field trips, things to perk up their interest. Yesterday we took
sixty kids to the Historical Society. I use a lot more movies than I used to, and TV programs from the educational station. The kids love games. I invented a spelling Hollywood Squares which they love. When I am teaching a lesson on quotation marks, puppets really work well; we have them talk to each other. That is something I probably wouldn't have thought of several years ago, something like they might see on TV.

Of course, very few of the ideas are original! Some of them I read in *Instructor* and *Learning*. Sometimes the teacher's guides have suggestions, or you can branch off and think of something on your own. Most teachers are willing to share ideas. I feel I could go to anyone in the building and ask for something, and she would be more than willing to help.

We have tried lots of things. One year I taught all the fourth grade math. Other teachers sent their children to me for math, and they would take mine for social studies. That went out though. It was suddenly decided that it was not good to move kids in groups according to their ability. Everyone knows how the education pendulum swings. In the past few years, we have done so much with individualized instruction, which wasn't the thing a few years ago. Several summers ago, the three teachers at my grade level decided to individualize the textbooks. Over
the summer each of us individualized one series, and then we shared. Kids move more at their own pace now, particularly in reading. Sometimes you end up helping the few children who are very slow, and that takes attention away from the other twenty students. Sometimes I think that if I had more energy and more time, I could do more for the rest of the kids. It's frustrating to me not being able to help all of the children as much as I would like.

Teaching takes a lot more time and energy now. I am at school at seven-thirty and get home at five o'clock. It seems as if there are so many demands on our day. In addition to teaching, I'm on two textbook committees. The teachers were discussing the other day whether teaching is getting to be a harder job, or whether we are just getting older. But when we see that the young people feel that it's getting harder, we decided that it must be!

Broken homes and babysitters have had their effect on children. Kids don't know where the authority is, anymore. I used to be a really strict disciplinarian. That is impossible now. If I tried to do it, I would probably have a coronary or an ulcer. Teaching styles have changed so much. I used to say, "You don't do this or that." That's all different now. Kids get out of their seats whenever they want to, within reason. They
do a lot of little things that kids didn't do ten years ago. When I ask a question, a child might have a smart remark.

I think it was very hard for me to make the change and to conduct my class in a completely different fashion. I was talking to Curt about it one evening, and he said, "You're used to saying 'Jump' and the kids say, 'How high?' and they are not doing that anymore." From then on I just had to have a discussion with myself: "If I am going to teach, I'll just have to be more flexible."

I think maybe discipline is the hardest area of teaching--knowing what to do and when to do it. Like other things, we have been through a lot of phases, such as Glasser's system and behavior modification. Before I taught I said I'd never spank anybody. I did, though! I have eaten a lot of words! Even in this school, we used to paddle right and left, and it always made me ill, really. I did some of it. We had one year several years ago when seven or eight kids a day got paddled; it was an unusually bad class. We just don't do that anymore; you just try some other method. I never was sold on the idea. Any paddling now is done by the principal, and it is very little. The older I get, the more I think that spanking kids never solved anything.
I used to have a reputation for being very strict, but that was before the days of flexibility! Now I think I probably have the reputation for being strict, not so much discipline-wise, but that you have to do your work. If you don't do it right, you do it until it is right.

One day I had some work for this one little boy to take home, and he didn't take the books. He left them on his desk. I just called his mother, and she sent him back!

When I was in college, not as much was expected of a teacher in the way of creativity. Now there is so much more that we try to do. In college we learned basically how to teach the reading groups and the math. Now the kids like to write their own plays and do creative things like that. They'll write a play, get a cast of characters, and come up and want to know if they can give the play to the whole class. They do a lot of this.

I haven't had too many good courses at the graduate level either. I have enough hours for a master's, but I never directed them in a program. Now I'm not going to take the time to do it, although I should have done it years ago. I always looked on graduate courses as a chance at least to converse with adults, not children. We were exchanging ideas, and after teaching little kids all day, you need the stimulation. Some of the inservice
education has been better. There was a Glasser workshop at the university, and that was probably one of the most worthwhile things I took. It gave me techniques for working with children who were having problems.

For several years in our town, we had to have so many inservice credits in order to qualify for our raise. That was declared illegal. I still kept on taking courses, though, hoping that something would be interesting. Really, I was looking for something to help in my classroom teaching and I am still looking! I think the best way for me to learn how to teach would be for someone to come into my classroom and take over my class. Or they could videotape a super teacher and show the tapes. I don't know what the answer is. I am sure that the courses are a lot better now than when I took them.

I belonged to the OEA almost my entire teaching career until they did two or three things which bothered me. They started a political fund and supported candidates. Their political philosophy was and is the opposite of mine. Then they said that if you belonged to OEA you had to belong to NEA (National Education Association) also. That's when I quit belonging for a couple of years. I guess I was trying to prove something,
but I decided I wasn't accomplishing anything by not belonging. The best way to get your ideas across is to work from within. I still feel like a small voice in the organization. The NEA has become like a union—a very powerful lobbying organization, but on the other hand, they are there if you need them. Teachers do owe them a vote of thanks for the salary increases, but in some areas the NEA has gone a bit overboard. Striking is absolutely against my principles. I think teachers have hurt their image by striking. In our local organization, I do feel I have more voice. I was secretary for one year many years ago, and now I just belong.

I have always been very happy teaching; I feel rewarded when the kids achieve. I just recently saw in the paper that one of my former students just got a scholarship to college. Things like that really give me a warm glow. I enjoy the rapport with the children, and I enjoy seeing them grow intellectually, emotionally, physically—all ways. I keep in contact with a lot of my students. They come back to school, and some write to me. One boy moved away from here when he was in the fifth grade. He has written to me ever since and now he is in high school! Students often send me invitations to their graduation, and I go. When the newspapers list the June graduates, I always look for my former students. There are some families I have
had three kids from.

Teachers used to be considered superspecial. It was considered immoral for them to smoke; if they did, they had to go to the boiler room! In the rural areas where I taught, women who smoked had to hide it. To see a teacher in a bar having a drink was unheard of! You were the epitome, the example; you just didn't do that. I think kids today are still a little bit in awe of teachers. When I go to the grocery store and see kids from school, I think they think teachers don't buy groceries! I don't know how they think we get our clothes changed!

I suppose that, overall, I've been successful. But I still have some feelings of self-doubt. When I see the young teachers with such good ideas and so enthusiastic, I feel so inadequate sometimes. I said this to a friend of mine, and she said, "They're young and energetic and have new ideas, but we're old and have wisdom!" I guess in many ways I feel a mature teacher, but you can get yourself in a real turmoil wondering if you have done the right thing or not. I'm a worrier anyway. I was cross with a little girl one day this year, and I worried all evening about what I had said to her. I came in the next morning, and told her I was sorry I had spoken to her in that way. I hadn't affected her
though. Sometimes I worry that I might have said something to children that might injure them permanently. One of my former students has been in jail. Maybe I could have done something to help him. But there are certain individuals that you are just not able to reach. You communicate with most of the children in some way or another, but I can think of a couple whom I knew no better at the end of the year than at the beginning.

Sometimes I have gone home after a particularly hard day and Curt has said, "Quit!" But my nature isn't to quit anyway. Of course, if I had to teach maybe it wouldn't have been nearly so much fun. I really do enjoy it. Always about the second week in August, I begin to think what I am going to do, and I go to school and make bulletin boards. I am always ready to go back when summer is over.

As for the future, I don't want to teach too long, because I have known people who have and I don't want to get myself in that bind. I want to quit while they still want me to stay. I plan to teach until my husband retires, and that's a few more years!

Judd Milton

Capsule description: age 50; started teaching junior high history, geography and physical education in a small Ohio town in 1951; now teaching seventh grade math in a suburban community in Ohio; has taught 27 years; plans to take
earliest retirement

When I was going through school, I hated it, and my main object was to quit. In tenth grade I failed just about every subject, but my parents did not want me to drop out. They had heard of a school in our part of Ohio where, for your junior and senior year, you could go to school for two weeks and work for two weeks, alternately. I went down to this school and talked to the people, but they said they wouldn't take me because I had not done well at the other school. They could not take people who were not dependable. I said, "Hey, there is no problem. I know I can do that. I just didn't like the other school." They told me if I really wanted to, I could come down and go to summer school. "If you can do a good job with that, we'll let you in." I said, "Summer school!"

I went down to summer school so I could get in, and I was at that school successfully for two years. My whole object was to get out and go to work and earn money. I was a machinist, and by the end of high school I had two years on my apprenticeship. It was one of the best factory jobs you could have, a highly skilled job where you could earn a lot of money. But after those two years I realized that this was not what I wanted to do for the rest of my life. There were many soldiers coming back from the war, and they advised me to forget all this and go to college.
I knew I was going to be drafted soon, so when I graduated from high school I enlisted in the Army, and served for two years. When I came out, I went to college, and I still hated to study so much that I went through in three years to get it over with. During my junior year I decided to go into teaching, mainly for the coaching part of it. I felt I could do a lot to help kids and to serve in that way. As I look back at my high school experience, I think I probably learned more there than I did in college. We never had a chance to get tired of either work or school, because we only went two weeks at each before switching. I wish we could do the same for some of these kids who do not behave; they need an alternative.

When I started teaching in 1951, it was a matter of bargaining for your salary; they did not have salary scales. I looked for a job in the small towns, because they paid more. Various superintendents came to me, each with a different story, and I took the best offer, in a very small town called Hinton. The starting pay was $2800. My wife and I had one child, with another one on the way.

The superintendent really was very nice to me. He said he could find a low-rent house, which he did. I told him I still couldn't live on what I was making, so he
allowed me to drive a school bus. I was still short, so I worked in a drug store up there too. While I had been in college, I worked for Standard Oil during the summer, and I kept this up after I started teaching. I could make over $1500 in one summer. My second year of teaching we had another child—three children in three years. That was our family.

At Hinton I taught history, geography, and physical education. I had history and geography in the morning, and PE in the afternoon, which was an ideal way to teach. I had forty in a class. My first year was really no problem. Being in the service and being a little older were a help to me. I have always had a super ego. I can go anywhere and feel as if I fit right in. Whether I would or wouldn't fit in, I just make myself feel a part of it. I will say that I first learned to study when I started teaching. I was always good at reading and remembering, especially for tests, so college was no problem. But teaching! You really have to do a lot of digging to find out what the book has and what it doesn't have. I did a lot of studying then, and really learned how.

After three years in Hinton, my wife and I decided to move back to our college town to raise the kids. We have lived and taught here ever since, and it has been a
very good town for us. I really enjoy a small town much better in its outlook toward teachers. When I first came here, we had that feeling. Now this is a large suburb.

The opening here was for head track coach, which is what I was really interested in, and junior high science and math. At that time, the starting pay was $3600, and coaching paid $500 more. I still was not too much further ahead. I worked three evenings and one weekend day at Standard Oil, and made close to as much as I made teaching.

I had done my teacher training in physical education, history, and government, but when they needed a math teacher here, I discovered that I liked teaching math extremely well. I went back to school and got my math degree so that I could continue teaching it. The first three years I taught eighth grade math and science. I had six classes a day of about forty-three kids per class. The town was so small that I had every kid. Now there are two junior highs, and thirty-five math sections instead of the four I had. Many of the kids kept in contact with me, and I really enjoyed knowing what happened to many of them after they got through school. That was really an important part of teaching, but now there is very little of it. Whenever I see a kid I had in class twenty years ago, I still know his name, but I
forget the students I had last year. I don't know if that is old age or what! By now I've had actually over 4000 kids.

Teaching was really enjoyable for me, but the problem was the money. Teachers should be able to have as many things as everyone else, live well, have a nice home, and be respected in the community. People look up to prestige and money; they shouldn't have to, but they do. Most teachers are on the poverty level, and I knew my family was deprived. After a few years I became so discouraged about the pay that I considered going into insurance. I went through the whole training program with an insurance company. But then I sat down and had a talk with my wife, and decided that selling insurance was something that anyone could do. I decided that even though the money was pretty good with the insurance company, I would stay with teaching. I know I would have done well, but I would have been bored.

A couple of years after that decision, a new swimming pool opened up in this town, and I became director. I've had that job ever since, and during the years I have been here we have grown from one to four pools, and we give 1200 lessons a week. Many of my teacher friends over the years have gone into school administration, not because they want to, but because it
pays more. They can't afford just to teach. I like administration, but not in schools; a principal is not really in charge. To me, if you can't do the job right, don't do it. I enjoy the administration of the swimming pool, because when something needs doing, I can see that it gets done. The year after the pool opened I quit coaching and stayed with the pool because it paid so much more. It has been a major part of my life ever since.

There have been a lot of changes in teaching over the years. For example, for several years we grouped the eighth grade math by ability. At first we liked this and thought it was the only way to teach. You would take the top eighth graders and put them in ninth grade algebra. That left three regular classes with all the top kids out, and another class with the lowest forty in the school. For a while I didn't realize what this system was doing to me. Your regular classes, instead of getting better, get lower. You've taken all the leaders out. I switched to seventh grade and found that I like it much better. I have about five leaders in every class. The others see these kids doing the work and getting everything that is going on. The ones that are a little below the leaders automatically do everything with them. The ones that are really low see all the others busy and working and not fooling around, so they get busy and learn
twice as much as they would have if they had all been together in a low class.

Back when the classes were so large, I would lecture, put examples on the board, and let them practice at their seats. I could never give individual attention. If they needed help, I would just put more examples on the board, work them again and try to explain, or get the other kids to explain. Now with smaller classes, we're able to do more things. Now I have found that the only way you can get across is to lecture at the board, show examples of several different ways to do the problem, and then while they are doing practice problems, go around and work with individual kids. So many now will not respond to classroom teaching. If you go around and help them, they will get it; they are getting a little bit of personal attention. They'll do anything to try to learn when they know that somebody is interested in them and willing to help them. I give this individual attention about twenty-five minutes out of each period. I talk to the ones who are having trouble and to the ones who are doing well. You need to tell them what a good job they are doing. I also make comments about other things I know they are interested in, just to show that I care about them.
I do try to change what I do every year, rather than just keep a routine. It depends on the class. There was a while when I thought they didn't need homework. I just gave them practice problems in class. But I was not happy with my test results, so now they have both class problems and homework. The test results have gone up tremendously because now they have the extra practice. All the things I've learned from years past I try to put to use. I feel much more capable than I used to in giving them what they need.

The way kids have changed over the years has a lot to do with how teaching is now. When I first started teaching, parents controlled their kids and were in charge of the household. In the past few years kids have taken over the household, and they even tell their parents what they are going to do. Consequently, in school, when you tell a kid to sit down, he wants to give you an argument because he is not used to being told. There are many more students now who are not school-oriented. At home they have never been made to do anything, and parents tell them that school is not necessary. Teaching gets to be quite a job. It seems that now there is such a hassle with kids all the time. I read an article the other day that a teacher has 1100 psychological encounters a day, and this is really more than he can cope with.
Now I only have five classes a day, and only about twenty-six kids in each class, but I am shot by the end of the day. Even though the load is only half of what it used to be, the kids are so different that it takes every bit of energy to keep them in line, keep them going and responding. I do feel that I have kept up with the times. I understand their problems and the things they are interested in. It just gets harder for me to cope with it; I'll put it that way.

On the other side, we have many more students now who are a lot smarter and know more things than students did ten years ago. Many of them are receiving a better education because of the changes in time. It hasn't all been bad. I have several very bright and advanced students to whom I am giving eighth and ninth grade math.

People's outlook toward teachers is not the same anymore. You're having to defend yourself for being a teacher, not only from the parents and the kids, but from the administrators and the school board too. We have just gone through a strike which to me was unnecessary, but the school board forced us into it. I'd say there were about a hundred teachers I thought would never go on strike, and I was one of them. The school board was so ridiculous in their demands that we all felt we had to strike, to get any regard for ourselves at all. They treated us as if
we were not part of a team, as if we were just out there at their command. This is not the way it should be done. You should make your employees feel as if they are part of a team, part of the whole thing. I'm really upset about the strike, and unfortunately, the situation has not improved since we went back.

During the strike I rejoined the NEA and the OEA. I used to be active in them, and I was president of our local association when I first came here, but for a while I had been very set against them. I did not believe in the things they were trying to do. I was out for about five years.

My wife has been teaching since 1958. When our children were small, I could see that she was unhappy, and I urged her to go back and finish her college degree. At that time teachers were needed so badly that they let her teach kindergarten for half a day while she finished her college courses. It worked out very well, because she could pick up some money for teaching and also have her college tuition paid by the school system. She did that until she finally graduated in 1966. As we look back, we don't see how she did it. She taught school, would fix big meals every night, including dessert, and go to her college courses, all at the same time. Of course I was working three jobs--teaching, coaching and
the pool. I would take our boys with me to coaching and to the pool in the summertime, so she could have some time to herself.

My wife and I have gone back to school quite a bit. We both have a total of five years, but neither of us has a master's degree. She is a real student, but I have always hated school. I have gone back to keep up with New Math, etc. One time my wife and I took an elementary math course together. I signed up in order to help her, because she was nervous about it. In the end, she got an A and I got a B; she was really bugged! I said, "Look, don't worry about it. On a test I just fill out what I want, and turn it in. I'm not that concerned about grades, where you are. It doesn't bother me." In some of the courses I have taken, I may have gotten a C but I knew as much or more than some who got A's. I don't work just for a high grade, and I retain what I have very well.

Many teachers disagree with me, but I feel you need kids of your own to understand problems that kids have and to be able to handle them better. As my kids grew up, many of their concerns about schools and teachers made me change my mind about some of the things that I was doing as a teacher. They would bring home their problems and I would see how teachers affected them.
When my youngest boy was in junior high school, he was very much influenced by his peers. Some of his friends were the lower students and they had told him how I was a bad, hard teacher. I tried to explain to my son that I was not this way, but of course he was more inclined to believe his friends. There is a policy that teachers do not have their own children in class, but I asked specially to have my son in my math class one year. I wanted him to see for himself what kind of teacher I was. He found out that there was no way any kids in my class would fail if they tried, because I will help anyone at any time. My son and I learned a lot from each other that year.

For about fifteen years I was very happy with my teaching career, but my satisfaction has gone down quite a bit since then. It used to be that the teacher was somebody in the community. It was interesting for students to get to know all their teachers and be friends with them. This is just not happening anymore, so a lot of the fun part of teaching is not there. For the past couple of years I have begun to feel very weary at the end of every day. The constant hassle from the students and giving so much individual attention are extremely tiring. I still feel good about my teaching. This year I had over half my students getting A's or B's, and when you
have that, it's going fine.

With credit with my Army time, I will be able to retire at twenty-eight and a half years instead of the regular thirty. Knowing what I know now, I don't know whether I would really go through and do the whole teaching career all over, although I don't regret any of it. I really feel that teaching is a great life. My only regret is the money; I know teachers will never get enough because we are supported by taxes. One of my sons wants to go into teaching, but I'm trying to talk him out of it. My daughter has been a teacher for six years, and it has worked out pretty well for her.

Right now I am working on how to use my free time. Probably at the end of next year, I will start a business of some kind. I am also taking up photography. My wife loves gardening and music, and she has gotten me interested in those. We have a mobile home which we would like to use more often, too. My son will be running the swimming pools this summer; I need time off more than I need to work now!

Evelyn Hilliard

Capsule description: age 52; started teaching a second and third grade combination in a small Missouri town in 1948; now teaching junior high music in a suburban community in Ohio; has taught school full time for 24 years; plans to teach part-time for several more years.
Teaching is my career and I have always looked at it that way. This is what I have always wanted to do; I don't look at it as just a nine-month-a-year job. I have had long-range goals and I have done many things during my career.

I decided to go into teaching when I was in college. At that time I was a voice major, and was trying to decide what to do with my music. But then I contracted a throat infection, and it seemed as if my whole thing with music was gone. I didn't know what to do because I didn't think I could do the performance anymore. One of my professors advised me to go into education. She said, "I think you'd do good teaching and you'd enjoy it." I said, "I don't think I'd like it." She said, "You'd do a very good job." On her advice I went into general education. There wasn't much call for music teachers, so I thought I'd just teach elementary school. As time went on it turned out that I was always involved in something in music. Eventually I ended up teaching it.

My teacher education was very good, although I didn't always agree with the professors. The structure in my teaching is probably largely due to my college training, although I am an organized person anyway. The classroom management courses were very good. There were a lot of positive practical experiences in school,
even before student teaching. We went out to schools often to work with small groups of children, telling stories or helping them with remedial work.

My student teaching was on two different levels. In the first experience my cooperating teacher hovered. In the second, what was needed was a teacher who could relieve the main teacher of some of her children. My cooperating teacher would lead the opening ceremonies, and then leave at nine o'clock. I had those children for the rest of the day. That is when I gained maturity as a teacher, having that full responsibility and being successful at it. By the time I had finished student teaching I was really hooked on teaching. Being in front of a class showed me that I really enjoyed the actual process of teaching and the interchange with children.

I had known that I wanted a career, and from that time on, teaching was it! My husband and I went together for three years; I refused to get married until he agreed that I could have a career. I don't like housework and didn't want to be a housewife. My husband has always been very supportive of me being a teacher.

We moved to Missouri where I was going to put John through medical school. When we arrived I went to look for a teaching job but there weren't any. One superintendent said he'd let me know if anything came open.
In the meantime I got a job at Montgomery Ward--a real bummer! I worked half a day. As I came through my door for lunch, the phone was ringing. It was the superintendent: "Can you come to work right now?" I said, "You bet. I sure can." That was the first day of school. He had an overflow and needed me to teach a combination second and third grade class.

The town's population was about 15,000. The school system was good, although it was low-paying. My first school was in a poor area; the children came from squatter and migrant worker families, with many children to a family and few fathers in the home. It was very educational for me coming from a background where I had never known poor people.

The first year I was very busy revising everything I had learned in college, because it didn't fit and didn't work. I had never learned phonics but that turned out to be the most successful method of teaching reading with these children of low IQ. In that class there was only one student with an IQ of over a hundred. They just couldn't learn by the sight-say method, the method my college had advocated. So I learned phonics from the teachers' manuals.

One day during the first month, the principal, who was a big burly woman, came into my classroom. "Come with
me," she said. Wondering what I'd done, I followed her down to the office. "I'm going to show you how to do paddling. Freddie, come in here." Freddie was a big slow kid and she had him waiting outside. "I'm going to show Hilliard how to paddle," she told him. "Bend over." She had him lean down and grasp his ankles, and she demonstrated to me how to deliver the whack: "This way you knock them off their feet." She didn't actually hit Freddie; after the demonstration she told him he could go. I was shocked.

Miss Beller was the type who believed that education could only take place in silence, and she was showing me how to enforce it. I didn't feel any need for my class to be so quiet; my children were allowed to talk quietly during their seat work. As for the paddling lesson, it was unnecessary. I've only spanked twice in thirty years, once in elementary school, and once in high school when some boys were throwing golf balls across the study hall.

I was very busy my first two years, and enjoyed teaching. I would take the other teachers' children for music and in turn they would teach some subjects to my children. I also did the librarian's job in that school.

In my teaching career I've always had to move around. Many times I've gone to help in somebody else's class.
During the first week of my third year the superintendent called me and wanted to know if I would go to another school and teach fourth grade there. The teacher I was to replace did not get along with the principal. Apparently the teacher thought that the principal was trying to steal her husband, and had beat up on her. So I went over there to teach. That was a very fine area of town. The school was desirable and the students were good. It was a hectic year because there was a pipeline going through town, and the students would come and go depending on where the fathers were on the pipeline. At one point I had over fifty in my classroom--wall-to-wall kids. I had something like six reading groups and three math groups! It was incredible! There again I taught music for the other teachers. The principal even taught spelling to my students while I taught music in the other classrooms.

At the end of that year I quit teaching to have my children. It is very important to me that parents be with their children when they are small. But I had enjoyed my teaching and missed it, so I tried to do a little bit to keep occupied. Up the street from my apartment was a treatment center for children who had had polio. They couldn't go to school, but they could come down the block in their wheelchairs to my apartment,
where I taught them how to read.

We moved back to central Ohio for my husband to do his internship. We lived out in the country and people there knew I was a teacher. One year the superintendent came to me and said he needed a music teacher. For one year I taught music in a small school, first through twelfth grades. In the elementary grades I just went into the classroom and taught. On the secondary level there were instrumental lessons to give, and chorus, choir and band. It was a real challenge. Since I didn't know how to play most of the instruments, I had to take them home at night and learn at least the scale and some minor things on them. I did not like all the outside time involved in this job. The band had to play at all the sports events, and the choir and the chorus gave outside performances, too. My family missed me too many evenings, so I just taught that one year, and then stayed home until my kids were in school. During those years I did some substitute work. Largely it was dependent on whether somebody could come in at a moment's notice and take care of my two kids. Sometimes the superintendent would find me a baby sitter; it was a small town and people did things like that. I subbed on every level from one to twelve and in all subjects. It was quite a challenge to teach different things, and it was enjoyable being out
with other teachers. It was more or less my way of recreation.

When my youngest child was in first grade, I felt ready to go back to teaching. John was very understanding; I didn't even have to say anything. I said, "I have something to talk to you about." He said, "I know what you are going to say; I can see the signs. You want to go back to work." I told him, "Yes, if you don't mind. If I can get a teaching job where my hours are such that I can still devote most of my time to the children, then I would like to go back." He said, "If you can do that, it's fine with me, because I know you will be happier."

We had moved to one of the fine suburbs in this area, so I applied to the school system for a position teaching elementary school. I told them I was never going to teach music again because it required too much time after school. My first year back I was a sixth grade teacher, and enjoyed it. Toward the end of the year, the superintendent asked me if I would teach half music and half sixth grade the next year. I didn't think I wanted to do it, but he wanted me to try it, so I said all right. My assignment was in a new school with small classes, which was really fun. I had sixth grade in the morning and taught music in the afternoon, while the art teacher took my sixth grade. I did that
for several years, while the school kept getting bigger. We generally did a program a year with about a hundred kids. I would write the plays so everybody had a part. That generally took all my energy for a month.

Then they asked me to go between two schools and teach music full time. I did that for a while. Then I went back to one school full time, still as a music teacher. It was always interesting, always challenging. Each year is new.

Then in November of 1972 I came to Clifton Junior High School. They were having difficulties with a young teacher who couldn't handle the discipline problems, and they wanted me to take over. It was a time when the kids were very bad and very unruly, disruptive and abusive to teachers. There was a school program on which kids could go anywhere they wanted for lunch. They also had an open study hall. Basically kids didn't have to do anything they didn't want to do—their "rights"; the kids had forgotten about their responsibilities. People were coming in, interviewing the students on tape, asking them what teachers had done to them. It was a polarizing effect. The principal told us we'd just do what we had to for survival.

My first six weeks there were grueling. Every class was a confrontation, and I had about forty kids in a class.
There were nine periods a day, and the kids were bent on trying to be difficult. One class threw things. Some kids cussed me out. They just thought that nothing could be done to them. It took all of my energy to be cool, but I did. I kicked out thirty kids the first day, fifteen the second day, and after that I would not allow anyone to go out of class unless they were good. I told them, "I'm for the good kids; I don't care what happens to you bad kids. Sit back there and don't bother me. Don't get in my way, or I'll step on you." Most people would be shocked at the tactics I had to use. For the several children who cussed me, I called the parents and told them exactly what their children had said. They were amazed. I even told one parent that if her child cussed me once more, I would have her sit in the class and hear what her child was saying. I sent another child home for the music period every day for three weeks, and he spent his music class hour with his mother. He eventually begged to come back and agreed to behave. He was good the rest of the year.

I also used behavior modification. The counselor had heard about it and he helped me set it up. We got a break when one of the boys who had started out bad came over to our side. One day after class he said to me, "Don't you care that all these kids hate you?" I said,
"No, why should I?" He was shocked. I told him, "You don't amount to anything. You're just a bunch of kids acting like nuts. I only care about the good kids." He came back after school that day and said, "This can't go on." I said, "Will you help me?" He was a good kid. They all were, when they made up their minds to be. We got him to act as the monitor for the behavior modification system. Every few minutes he would go around the class noting whether each student was in his seat and quiet. If so, the student would get a point. When they got enough points they would get out of class for a period, which was exactly what they wanted. They got to the point where they didn't want to leave. They were so nice then, and we got so much done in that class. It was very wearing at first. It took six weeks of very hard work. My goal was to have the kids sit in their seats and listen and want to listen. Even after six weeks I could not give an inch. In that six weeks I also completely redid the academic program for the music class.

When I first came to Clifton, I said I wouldn't do a lot of outside things. That had been the main reason I didn't like teaching music at the secondary level. I did agree to take the choir because it was having problems and then they wanted me to keep it a second year
to maintain the continuity. I was the fifth music teacher in three years and they were really anxious to get the program going. After two years here, I dropped out of the performance groups completely. Now I do classroom teaching, in addition to being chairman of the music department and in charge of the audio-visual room.

I had taken graduate courses on and off throughout the years but about the time my children went to college, I decided to go ahead and get my master's degree. I wanted to take something on creative teaching, but there wasn't anything. I did my master's in early and middle childhood education, curriculum and supervision. I went on in teacher education, curriculum and supervision, and took about twenty hours more, but I found out there weren't any jobs. There wasn't much point in going ahead, so I have kind of retired from the student business. I enjoyed going to graduate classes, however. I found it very stimulating.

As a teacher I'm fairly well organized. My lesson plans are generally two weeks ahead. I've always tried to work that way, especially in the beginning of the year. This way frees me to talk with the children; I'm not frantically going around trying to get organized. I like kids, I enjoy just talking to them, and I think it's important. If I've already established a contact with the
person, and I say, "Take your seat and be quiet," they're much more apt to do it. That's why I don't have as many discipline problems as others. Of course, I don't mince any words either! I try to be specific about what they are to do. "Sit down" works better than "be good." Most of the students like me but they know I'm tough, and they have to behave themselves. Every year I establish, "I'm the boss." Within that framework there is a great deal of freedom, but the students know that if I say something, I mean it. If I tell them to do something and they don't do it, they hurt. Points are taken off their grades or their parents are notified. Generally when I tell them to do something, I follow through to be sure they do it.

In junior high school the teacher's long suit in discipline is keeping them puzzled. Half of it is that they want you to react in a predictable way. OK, you should be predictable in your teaching behavior, but unpredictable in the way you handle problem children. I don't think you have to handle every case the same. They know they are going to get handled, but they don't know what's going to happen to them.

When we started the rights and responsibilities procedures a few years ago, the kids just thought they were taking over. Now I put the student rights and responsibilities into my class rules. I give everybody a
copy of my class rules, and they have to sign it. I tell them exactly what I can cite them for, and I tell them what their due process is. I warn them; then I warn them again. I say, "This is the first step in your due process." They are wide-eyed; it sounds so legal! Then they go out to the counselor. It is a completely intellectual approach. There is no personal animosity. Since the state legislature passed the law a couple of years ago that we can throw disruptive students out of class legally, that has given teachers more clout. I always tell the kids, "I'm for the good kids. If some kid wants to act up, that's his affair, but I don't have the time of day for it." Of course in their minds the other kids are all the bad kids. This system works pretty well for me. And it's funny--it's the ones you wrestled with most in class who come back and see you later. It never occurs to them that you don't want to see them ever again. From their point of view, you were the one who cared.

Kids have changed over the years. Their social maturity is far advanced now over what it used to be. They have been more places and seen more things. They can talk intelligently about what they've done, but they have less personal responsibility than they used to. Of course kids still have the same problems kids have always
had in putting things together logically. But I think that now they are receiving less help in thought processes than they did. They need help from adults getting their values straightened out. They need guidance. It makes me sad to see a really intelligent child groping along for values, when the parents are totally unaware and wouldn't know how to help the child even if they were aware. Many parents now don't give children the structure they do need at home, nor are kids taught to have the respect for school that they used to. This affects the way they act in school. Discipline is a greater problem now than it used to be.

I think society's attitude toward schools has changed. On the whole people have lost their respect for schools because they are paying for them. People think they can tell anybody what to do as long as they pay for it. School administrators are so busy trying to get the levies passed that they are kowtowing to every mouthy parent that comes along, instead of really looking to education. It used to be that to the parents, the school was never wrong. Now the school is always wrong. Parents take the attitude, "Nobody is going to tell my kid what to do." I think there are a great many teachers today who are good teachers trying to do a job but they can't get it done. The lack of discipline and the lack of
administration backbone have contributed to their disenchantment. Good teachers get really upset and eventually feel defeated. They are trying too hard and nobody is helping them. You have to have some moral support. Most teachers need and want help, but administrators are too busy thinking about running schools--the business angle--and they forget about education.

I myself have a strong personality and always have. I set up long-range goals for myself and then I meet them. I know what I want to do and what's right to do. When I really feel strongly about something, I just tell the administrators what I want to do and why I want to do it. I haven't had much trouble getting them to back me. I pave the way in advance. A few years ago I set up a new program of individualized instruction in music. It took two years to get all the materials ordered and set up. Then the program worked. But it took that long. This year another teacher and I gave a very successful inservice workshop in how to make and use audio-visual materials. We had the teachers learn how to mount slides, make transparencies, and use the audio-visual equipment. We were able to do this because we had submitted for a grant last year.
I enjoy teaching and have never really considered leaving. The only time I am really upset is with a poor administration. One principal just wanted to sit around and buddy-buddy with the teachers. I learned how to cope with him though. I just told him what I wanted him to do—to be at my program at a certain time and say certain things. Then I just stayed away from him. My philosophy about a poor administrator is, "This too shall pass"; I take the long view. That one principal went on and got his Ph.D. He got out of the important part of education.

Right now I am handling the business affairs for two departments, music and AV. It isn't hard and I don't mind doing it. Because I do it well, I am valuable to the administration. In a way, though, I can't justify it, because I should be in the classroom. A teacher's value should be in the classroom with kids. That's a philosophical thing that people don't like to think about because business has to be done.

I don't want to give up my teaching. If I were the type who liked to do things around the house, I would have quit long ago. I guess I was a liberated woman long before women were liberated. Satisfaction with teaching is dependent to a great extent on your personal life. Teaching fits in very well with our life style. I've had a good marriage and I'm satisfied with my children. I
also have the independence of not having to teach. If I don't like something I can say so, and not care if the principal likes it or not. I've always been pretty independent, though. Even when I had to teach to put my husband through school, that didn't stop me from saying what I thought.

John has been very supportive all along. Several times when I haven't felt good, he has said, "Well, why don't you just quit?" I've thought about it, but I really don't want to quit because I enjoy what I am doing. Last fall I was in poor health for a while and thought about quitting, but teaching helped me get through a bad time. It kept me busy and got my mind on that instead of myself. I feel much better mentally if I am working.

I am at the point now of thinking about retiring. I am hoping that I can get three days a week next year. We are trying to work out the schedule now. That would allow me a little more time for some of my hobbies. I hate to give up teaching, but I am getting a little jealous of the time I have to spend here when there are other things I want to do. This past winter was very difficult for me. The temperature in my classroom was in the fifties constantly; it was very uncomfortable. Working three days a week next year would be super. That's the bulk of my teaching assignment and I still can do my
administrative tasks, yet have some time to myself. To
tell you the truth, I am not sure I'll be satisfied.
I happen to enjoy teaching.

Frederick Snyder

Capsule description: age 52; started teaching
sixth, seventh and eighth grades in one room in
rural Ohio in 1950; now teaching sixth grade in a
rapidly-growing suburb in Ohio; has taught 28 years;
plans to take early retirement as soon as he can
support the family from his business

My family and my wife's family are of German descent,
and have been in this state for many generations. My
family has been in this very county for a hundred years.
I grew up with one set of grandparents across the street
and the other set down the road. We used to visit my
great-aunts and -uncles in another part of the state who
were still living as my parents had when they were
children. They had woodburning stoves and kerosene lamps.
To me this was history, and I always wanted to read more
about it. My grandfather taught history and would show
me all the places in this area where he had spent his
childhood. I know every brick and board in this county.
I have always had a passion for history and I believe that
it is one of the most important school subjects. In my
childhood there was a continuity of culture. One reason
that young people are so rebellious today is they lack
this continuity. Their parents are so mobile that the
children no longer have contact with the grandparents. So many children today are nervous and aimless. I see this constantly as I teach.

When I was in college I had to decide between going into teaching and going on to seminary. Sally and I had not been married long, and because we didn't know when our family would come, I felt that going to seminary would be very costly and risky. I prepared myself to teach secondary history and government. My teacher training was fabulous. I had one history professor who was a wonderful man. He knew so much history, and he captured our interest in it.

I took a teaching position in 1950 even before I graduated. At that time elementary teachers were scarce, and Rice County was willing to hire me on a temporary elementary certificate. I agreed to take six hours of courses each summer until I had all eighteen hours necessary for elementary certification. I had always wanted to teach in a country school, because so many teachers before me in my family had taught in rural areas. I knew it would be interesting.

I was assigned to be teacher and principal in a three-room schoolhouse. I taught sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, all in one room, including all subjects but music. There were about a hundred students in the
school, and forty-two were mine. I had three groups each of math, English, history, and geography, two classes of science, one of health, writing, spelling and we had physical education twice a week. I had about seventeen minutes to teach each class. I coached interscholastic basketball, and we played a game a week. We had no gym so we had to borrow an unheated gym from a neighboring high school. As principal, I had to look over things, do attendance reports, and fill in if the other teachers were absent. This was back in the days when "principal" meant "principal teacher."

Things went along pretty well the first year. I got involved in some internal community politics which I knew nothing about, but I got out of that scrape. This was the winter of the Blizzard of 1950; we missed twenty-one days of school. The janitor and I waded through drifts up to our hips to get into the building and drain the pipes, bank the fires and do everything we could to save the plumbing. That was the first year there had been running water inside the building; before that the children took their cups out to the pump in the front yard.

When I started teaching, a teacher was supposed to stick to two-plus-two-equals-four, etc. But I started teaching the kids values and talking to them about life. Some of the parents didn't understand what I was doing.
Later in the year, one of them came to me and told me that he hadn't liked what I was doing at first, but now he thought I had a really good classroom. He said I should go ahead and answer any question his child asked, about girls, about anything. I am still good friends with that man. In fact, I have many friends back there and still go back to visit.

After two years in Rice County, I felt that I would like to finish my bachelor's and be near a university so I could start on my master's. I got a job in the town of Ludlow in this county, and went back and officially graduated from college with an A.B. Then I continued on for a B.S. in education. I have been teaching in Ludlow ever since, and the town has grown from 500 to over 6000.

My first position was a combination sixth and seventh grade, teaching all subjects. I was teaching two grades where I had taught three. I was very happy. The next year, I taught eighth grade remedial math and social studies, and fifth and sixth grade physical education, and some other subjects too. The following year I started teaching seventh grade, but in the middle of the year a neighboring elementary school needed a principal, so I went over there and finished out the year. There again I was principal teacher. I'll always remember the phone on my desk. There was one phone in the office and another
on my classroom desk, and they were both on a party line. Someone in the community listened in on every call; I could tell because I could hear the clock ticking in the background. A couple of times I got angry and told the old so-and-so to get off the line, but it didn't do any good. The school board maintained that they could not afford a private line. I always wondered if the superintendent had anything to do with that party line!

The next year they wanted me to stay at that school, but I was to teach fifth grade. Fifth grade was too young for me, so I asked to go to the new high school in Ludlow. I taught seventh and eighth grade there for two years.

At the end of the second year, I received a letter from the superintendent, saying that the school board had approved an action whereby I was to be transferred back to the elementary school. I was not happy about this at all. I asked several of the board members and found out they didn't know anything about it. Meanwhile, the superintendent was on vacation. When he returned, he did not like the fact that I had talked with the board members. It turned out that there was a coach in the elementary school who only had one year seniority to my five years, and the superintendent wanted to switch the two of us. He and I had a heated discussion, and he even suggested that we settle it out back. That's the closest I ever came to
being fired.

I spent two years teaching sixth grade and was very dissatisfied. At about that time in my life, I had several options for the future. I thought very seriously of leaving public school teaching and going with the State of Ohio as a teacher at the Boys' Industrial School. I could also have been an assistant chaplain there, and gotten release time to go to seminary. I also had 168 semester hours toward my master's degree, but I couldn't make up my mind how to focus my program. I considered becoming an administrator, but I'm sure thankful I did not. I considered going in straight history and teaching at the college level. Sometimes I wish I had done that.

Maybe I lacked foresight in not getting a master's degree. The time had come when I was tired of having to scrounge around to meet this month's bills, and I realized that I was going to have to get out and earn some more money. If I went on in graduate school, I would have to stay poor. I chose to earn the money. If I had gotten my master's, now it would pay off. I would earn $1000 to $1500 more a year. At that time, they were only paying $300 a year more, so a master's wasn't worth it. I haven't taken a graduate course in twenty years, and in a way that is embarrassing. On the other hand, I read all
the time. Education never stops. There are teachers in this district who call me when they have a question about history, and if I don't know the answer, I will go out of my way to find it for them.

I got back to the high school after two years in elementary, and taught Ohio history, American history, and geography for the next fourteen years. It was fine for about twelve years, but then the social studies curriculum began to change radically. We used to give kids the fundamentals, a lot of facts and figures. They came out knowing the facts and having them tied together; it was something they could bite into, something they could understand. But the curriculum got away from this, and started asking the kids to make value judgments on things they did not know enough about.

I am a textbook teacher. I got my eyeteeth cut on them, and I still think a good textbook can't be beat. The children then know what is expected of them. They take the text, leaf through it, and have a chance to review their work. It's all in there. They can pick up the thing and say, "Now this is what I am supposed to know." Then the teacher supplements the textbook with his own knowledge. I have a collection of over a thousand slides of historical places.
We had a movement away from textbooks. A couple of fellows came up from the county office and said that textbooks were for the birds. They gave us a lot of pamphlets instead. The teacher had to spend hours preparing paperwork to tie the pamphlets together. I was very much opposed to this type of curriculum, and I felt it lowered my effectiveness as a history teacher. We had to depend too much on audio-visuals, and often they were not available when needed. And for audio-visuals, you have to hope that everyone is there all the time. Textbooks are now coming back, by popular demand. People saw that the kids weren't learning.

When I was first teaching social studies, the textbooks seemed to back our country quite a bit. If you took American history, you learned the positive side of it. I venture to say that today there is more of the negative taught than the positive. They try to make us feel so very guilty for some of the things our country did, for instance, what happened to the Indians. I always try to point out to my students that maybe it wasn't right to keep marching in on the Indians, but the Indians did this to each other before we got there, so why find fault only with us? I tell my students that we didn't do everything wrong. We offered the Indians many good things. I'm not anti-Indian, but there are two sides
to the point. I think the kids need to know that. I tell them the facts. I know that there are going to be times in school when they will not hear the facts. I hope that they will remember what I told them and say, "Hey, wait a minute!" I think we have begun to take another turn, and more people are beginning to see as I do. There will be courses and lectures telling how man has always been this way—that where there is a vacuum of land, people move in. Teachers will have to back up and teach it as it is, or teach a lie. I, for one, will not desert my ancestors and what they fought for.

After fourteen years in the high school, I thought I was getting in a rut. It was easy to rely on old lesson plans, and so forth. I was also very dissatisfied with the way they weren't really teaching history anymore. I asked to go to the sixth grade, and I got into the sixth grade teaching all subjects. I realize it was a big mistake, and I have been very unhappy since then. They have turned the school into a middle school, and we have this open classroom deal.

When I first heard the term "middle school" I thought it was something they had brought back from Germany after the war. The Germans have a "Mittelschule." The middle school concept, as Americans are using it now, is as old as American education—to educate the whole child. It
has always been my philosophy that you take a child and try to develop all his character, all facets of his personality, academics as well as his adjustment. But in middle schools, in the process of pursuing this very worthy goal, factual material has been eliminated from the curriculum to a great extent.

When we were starting our middle school, I traveled around the state visiting several of them. I think that we in the rural schools have done more for the whole child than the urban schools, even with their middle schools. We have always spent a lot of time with kids. My students call me on the phone and they come over to our house. They keep in touch with me after they graduate.

The open-space situation in many cases is not going to do what it is supposed to. I visited an open-space middle school in this state where the students did nothing but packets all day. They picked up their packets at the beginning of the week, and when they were done, they took their work to the teacher to be graded and then picked up more. That's nothing more than a correspondence course! The principal of that school was proud of his teachers staying late every day to grade the packets. As if his teachers had nothing better to do after hours! I see why they had packets, however. It was a way
to keep the noise down to a tolerable level.

Our district went ahead and built an open-space middle school anyway. It is much more confining than a regular classroom is. I believe that in order to have a lively class, you've got to have noise, and to have noise you need walls. Now I can't even read a story to my students with the proper expression, for fear of being so loud that I will disturb another teacher or so low that I cannot be heard because of other noise. Working in that building is very tiring. It's almost impossible to do the job I would like to do or the job that satisfies me. An open situation is by far the most difficult in which to teach.

Kids are basically the same as they ever were, but in some ways they have changed. When I first started teaching, everything outside a fifty-mile radius was big stuff to the children. No one had a TV; it was all radio. They thought opera was for the birds, and they had never heard a symphony. To them, violins screeched. Kids today know this isn't so. Some have been to symphonies. Many of my pupils have been abroad, and some have spent most of their lives outside of the country on a military base. So kids are more sophisticated today. They are also wise to the ways of the world. One of my students asked me during health class if I would tell them about the birds
and the bees. Another student piped up, "Oh, we don't need you to tell us. We know everything already."
And I am sure she does. Some of my sixth graders have watched X-rated movies on television. They have things they know and are concerned about that they are not ready to grapple with. Kids today are much more uneasy than they used to be. Worldly knowledge does not solve anything for them. They are more nervous and less settled on their goals for the future. I try to help them; I think it's partly my job to teach them how to be intelligent and happy. Kids are looking for someone to hang on to, and that is where the teacher comes in.

It's not just the kids; the whole country is different. People look at the whole thing differently. To tell the truth, I am put out with society. More and more people are becoming amoral, and this bothers me. This did not exist twenty-five years ago to that extent. When I started teaching, I had no students from broken homes. This year, probably close to half of my students do not live with both their natural parents. I guess I'm a little old-fashioned, but I happen to believe that it is a national calamity that so many adults will allow themselves to go berserk. My students know how I feel about it. They know that my wife and I have been married thirty years, and I tell them I am darn proud of it, and
I hope they have the nerve and the guts and the fortitude to do the same thing. That's what builds a strong country and a strong society. What builds better kids is to have some real domestic stability. What really bothers me is seeing young teachers think the same way my pupils do. Some even believe that the school board does not have a right to question teachers on these very important things. They don't believe that the school board has every right to turn a teacher down because he does not adhere to the norms of that community.

Teaching is a much harder job now than it used to be. It's much more difficult to hold the students' interest. You really have to put forth everything you've got. It used to be that a film was a great thing; now it's everyday stuff. Our audio-visuals don't compare to television. At some great time in the future, there will be a central bank of video tapes in the library, and a teacher will be able to push a button, get a movie out of the memory instantly, and have it shown on a screen in the room. We will have a great number of films available, and we won't have to haul a projector.

I don't have the energy to give to teaching which I used to. It is certainly easier now for me to teach the things that I like than it used to be when I started. I used to spin my wheels, so to speak. When I worked the
hardest, I wasn't accomplishing any more than I am today. Of course I think about school; I plan mentally about it. I'm concerned about the children. But in some ways I just don't spend the time in planning and grading processes that I once did. I'm locked into middle school now, and miss history very much. I'd give my eyeteeth to be back teaching it.

Teaching is so wearing that after being with children all day, I often don't want to see anyone else. I'm turning into an introvert. Sometimes I feel myself getting more impatient as I get older. I don't know why I react this way, but I do know I am not alone in this feeling. Teaching is a harder job now. Perhaps it's because I feel more unsettled by being closer to retirement. In some ways it is unsettling to realize that there wasn't anything else you could do twenty years ago. You were a man teacher, you had a family, and you had to do such and such because you had family goals. Now you've just about reached all those, but what are you going to do after the family is raised?

Over the years, in addition to teaching, I have owned real estate, done all the maintenance and addition to our house, kept our own beef cattle, raised food for canning, worked with the highway department, been a counselor at a Methodist campground, and have started my own business.
I have always had many interests.

I will be eligible for retirement in two years. There are so many things that Sally and I would like to do. But this country is in such a period of inflation that I can't afford to retire. I am only fifty-two. In twenty years you could be a poor person. I want so much to retire, but until I get my other business built up, I won't be able to do it.

Sally has been the nurse in our county schools for the past fifteen years. We have three grown daughters, and I am very proud of them. The oldest is in seminary, the second is studying to be an elementary school teacher, and the youngest is studying business administration. They are all accomplished musicians and have many other interests. Our middle daughter is married, and they live across the road from us. She brought her first baby home from the hospital the day before the blizzard last winter. They all stayed at our house, and we burned wood in the fireplace. Another generation--it has been a good life.

Laura Meade

Capsule description: age 59; started teaching secondary history and home economics in 1939 in rural Ohio; now teaching junior high science in a small Ohio town; has taught 29 years; plans to take early retirement from teaching and become a missionary
I used to play school when I was a kid. I don't think I ever wanted to be anything but a teacher. I also used to nurse my dolls and my cats. When I was a junior in high school I thought I wanted to be a nurse, but my folks said that as long as they could help me go through college, why didn't I go on and get a college degree, and then if I wanted to go into nursing I could. While I was in college, my mother was in the hospital for several weeks. When I saw the nurses giving shots and changing bed pans, I decided I didn't really want to do that. Nursing was a dream; I don't think I ever wanted to be anything but a teacher.

I went to a religious college in the small Ohio town where I grew up. I came out with a good subject matter background in the subjects that I was to teach: history, social studies, home economics and biological sciences. Subject matter is important for teachers, and my college was good for that. I liked most of the education courses except educational psychology. The professor had never been out in the schools. There's a lot of difference between reading a book and being able to think on your feet while facing thirty kids.

The best thing I had in college was student teaching. They placed me in a rural school because they would not allow me to teach at my home school. I taught home
economics and history. For the first time I was really happy with my choice. You work and work toward something, but until you try it out, you're never sure. But during student teaching I enjoyed it enough to know that this was what I wanted to do.

I graduated from college in 1939. Jobs were very difficult to get and I was lucky to find one. My college had a placement bureau and I put my name in there. The problem was that I was young. Back then they kept kids back a long time and there were students in high school who were twenty years old! Superintendents would tell me, "Oh, you're only twenty. We have students that age."

Finally I heard of a school in southern Greene County that needed a home economics teacher. I had been discounted because of age in three other interviews so I told this superintendent that I was twenty-one. He said, "Well, that's fine, twenty-one. You're of age," and I got the job. I have told very few lies in my life, and that one has followed me. I'll never do that again!

I taught there for two years. It was a farming community, with what they called a centralized school. They had first through twelfth grades with one class at each grade level. In Greene County there were eleven of those centralized schools. I taught home economics, history and Problems of American Democracy. Of course,
the salaries were very different from today. My first year I got $100 a month for nine months, and $4 of that each month was paid into the teachers' retirement fund. During that year I paid my room and board, bought my clothes, and bought and paid for a bedroom suite. You didn't have a lot of money, but it went further.

I boarded with one of the families in the community. There was a closeness of teachers and students then. Somebody would invite me home to supper at least once a week. I'd ride home on the school bus with them, eat supper with the family and somebody in the family would take me back to where I lived. It was nice. The gifts they brought then would be a pie or a jar of jam; they didn't have a lot of money. Today kids have more money and will buy me a gift. I haven't been invited for supper for a long time now.

Because I was only twenty, I had some kids in my classes who were older than I was. I was scared to death of them. They thought I was the most active teacher they had ever seen. When I would stand up I'd look down and see that the bottom of my skirt was wiggling where my knees were shaking, so I had to walk! I walked all around, all over the place. They thought I was very athletic! They were probably more afraid of me, but I was still afraid of them. But I didn't have all that
rough a time my first year. Back then, at least on the surface of it, kids minded what you had to say. If you said to sit down, they sat down.

I was a harder teacher when I started. I had been a pretty good student myself and saw no reason why they couldn't be good students too. Everything was either black or white to me. If you have it done, fine, if you don't have it done, that's an F. When I first taught I was afraid that if a kid turned around, this was the beginning of a discipline problem. I've found out since then that there is a great gray area in between that is neither all right nor all wrong. I worked hard those first two years just to keep up with the subject matter alone. Every night I read my lesson, outlined it and studied it so I would know what was going on. I had to do a lot of studying the subject myself.

I was not particularly satisfied with teaching home economics because in those days they shunted kids into home ec that couldn't do academic work. They couldn't read very well, but I was supposed to teach them to sew! I never got sharper kids. That is different today, however; some very sharp kids take home economics. Another dissatisfaction was that the job paid so little. I quit teaching after two years and went to work for a while as a food demonstrator for the gas company. I made
twenty as much money, but the job was very fatiguing and not very personally rewarding. While I was at the gas company I got married. My husband farmed in the same county where I had taught.

In October of 1943 the local superintendent came to me and asked me if I would return to teaching. It seems that one of the teachers wanted to be released to go take a better job in Pennsylvania. At first I said no, but he came back and finally I said yes. I went back to teach at another centralized school just two miles from where we lived. I taught history, geography and home economics.

I learned one bitter lesson there. Sometimes you walk out on a limb when you don't mean to, and then you have to do what you promised. I said to a couple of freshman boys who were fooling around in study hall, "If you do this again I'm going to paddle you." Of course they did it again. I took them over to the principal and explained the problem to him, fully expecting him to paddle them. When he handed me the paddle, I thought I was going to die. The boys knew more about paddling than I did. They let me whack them.

This was during the war years, and everybody was very patriotic. One of the things teachers did was to find out how many kids in your homeroom had relatives in the service. You had your own little honor role and
there was a lot of competition among teachers for who
had the longest list.

After three and a half years at that school I quit
because we were expecting. I was out of teaching for nine
years. When my youngest son was two years old, I went
back, to the same school. That time I did not teach home
economics; I had social studies and general science. A
year later the county consolidated and Bradley became a
junior high school. It is kind of sad that they had to
do it. I know when you put the kids together you get a
bigger school and can offer more facilities. But you also
lose. The bigger schools are much less personal. I
remember the basketball tournaments we used to have before
consolidation, with teams from all eleven schools in the
district. It really got wild! It was fun.

At Bradley was the first time I had taught science,
but I liked it much better. Science is something you
don't have to motivate kids for. They come in ready.
The kids are really science-minded, and this means no
discipline problems.

I decided I'd like to take a crack at Belair Junior
High School, another school in our district. Their
facilities were better and I would have all my classes in
science; at Bradley I was still teaching both science and
social studies. Just teaching science would cut down on
my preparations. Belair is a good school and has always been probably the best school in the county. I came here in 1958 and have been here ever since.

I decided to stick with the junior high kids. I like them. They are changeable and they need somebody who is reasonably constant. You can be mean if you're mean every day, or you can be kind if you are kind every day, but not mean one day and kind the other. You can still talk most junior high kids into doing things right, whereas most high school kids you can't talk to anymore. You either like junior high kids or you don't, and I like them. Junior high kids are, at least part of the time, little kids; they have a lot of loyalty and friendship that you don't get anymore in the high schools.

Junior high kids are functioning on an academic level much above what they used to. I teach things in general science in the eighth grade that I myself didn't hit until I got to high school. Some things I teach are even from my college courses and they learn them. In my geology unit I have rock trays with at least thirty minerals. They learn these and don't think anything about it. Why not teach it if they can learn it? The subject matter has been taught in lower and lower grades over the years; in science it's got to come down because
there is so much new. The kids complain a little bit: "You mean you expect us to learn all of this?" "Of course, why can't you?" I tell them.

I began to discover after a few years of teaching science that I didn't know enough about it. There were things in the eighth grade science book that I didn't understand. I went back to graduate school and got my master's degree in general science on a National Science Foundation grant—a pretty cheap way to go to school. It took me three summers. It was very difficult at the age of forty-seven to be back in graduate school. I had been away from studying since college and I had mostly just read the funny papers and paperbacks and watched television, and that had been the extent of my furthering my education. All of a sudden I found that I was reading on a much higher level. It was hard to get back into studying, but once I was back, it was rewarding.

It is very important to know your subject matter well enough to put the book down and look at the kid. This is a problem of beginning teachers; they are so afraid of making a mistake that they have their nose in the book all of the time. They never see the class, they are so busy regurgitating the subject matter. When you get the material in your head well enough that you can walk around in it, then you can field questions from the
students even if they aren't on today's lesson. You can take a question and bring it around to where you can use it in the lesson. When you can do this, then you can teach the child; you can see individual youngsters. You can look at them and tell whether the subject matter is going over well enough. I think it takes a teacher several years to reach that point.

I have found myself changing from year to year. The more I am used to my subject matter, the less afraid I am to do something new. When I first taught science I was afraid to do experiments. I thought they wouldn't turn out right. Then I started doing experiments, but I did them. I figured I was lucky if I came out right, let alone the kids. Now I do none of the experiments, except the one where you explode sodium on water. My kids probably do as many chemistry experiments as high school kids. This means that they learn to handle the equipment. It is a lot better to let the youngster take the test tube himself and pour the stuff into it, than for me to stand in front pouring it in. So I have moved more toward student participation. Going back for my master's degree gave me more background in subject matter, which meant that I didn't have to spend as much time reading my subject. I could spend more time thinking of things the youngsters could do. There are many more
things now that I am not afraid to bring in. This comes with old age, I think!

My teaching has changed in other ways, too. As I have gotten older, I have realized that there are a lot of cases where you are not absolutely right or absolutely wrong. As I've been around kids more, I see the kids instead of the textbook. I teach science now, but science is secondary. I try to teach the kid, and if I can teach science while I am working on the kid, fine. I approach each youngster on his own abilities, his own interests, his own level, and I try to go from there. I suspect it has been four or five years since I paddled a kid, although I still would if I had to. The worst discipline I do now is to put a kid out of the room: immediately we do something that involves something that smells or makes a noise or light. There is this poor youngster out in the hall wanting to know what is going on, and of course I don't tell him. He is out in the hall because he is mean and ornery. I don't know what I would do now if somebody talked back or cussed me out--I'd have a fit! I haven't had to face a discipline problem for a long time.

The amount of time I have to spend in preparation for teaching now is certainly less than it used to be. I know my subject so I don't have to do a whole lot of studying. I still outline my ideas for what I am going
to do for the day, but I don't make complete lesson plans as I used to--writing down every question I was going to ask. There are still as many papers to grade but now I have a very fine group of students who love to grade papers. I used to be afraid to let students grade papers, but they do it better than I do and they love it. Of course, every time there is a change of textbooks, I have to go back over the subject matter and make plans again. In general there is much more paperwork than there was when I started.

I think the public today is much more hostile toward teachers than they used to be. Teachers used to be the blue blood, the cream of the crop. I think it is partly our fault though. There are also a lot of complaints about how schools are not teaching kids as well as they used to. What people don't remember is that we are teaching everybody now. We have youngsters that are retarded who didn't use to be in school. That is good; they need as much education as they can get. But when you average in their test scores, the school looks worse. This is what people don't realize when they yell about how the reading level is down.

I haven't always belonged to the NEA. I quit for a while, because I didn't like what it was beginning to stand for. It sounded too much like a union. When they
came right out and endorsed a political candidate, I quit. About that time we started a local education association and I was president of that. We did not affiliate with the state; we were just a little organization. Four years ago, though, we did affiliate with the state organization, and I went back and joined the OEA and NEA. I thought that if I wanted to change something I ought to stay in there and do my talking to the group. I went back in reluctantly, though; it cost too much money.

Through the years I've sponsored many extracurricular activities. I had the Girl Reserves, which is part of the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association). Years ago I had a girls' basketball team. I've done plays, programs, and when I was still in high school I did the honor society and was a class sponsor. Now I am student council adviser. All of these things have to be done, so you pass them around.

I have always believed that the prime function of the school is subject matter. I think a school ought to be a source of knowledge, first. It is there to teach a youngster something that will help him go on, get a job, get through the business of living. We have a good school here. We try to upgrade the curriculum and put new things in, but I don't think there have been major changes over
the time I've been here. We have the strange feeling that the kids ought to learn something. This has not changed through the years, and I hope it doesn't. You can get so many frills that you lose the purpose of the school. The school's purpose is not to baby-sit or to be a replacement for a home. I think schools today are spending too much time on extra things which are not their job.

Education swings like a pendulum. There was a time when you weren't supposed to discipline the child. Let him create. We had a whole era of that. Modern Math is another example. Now we are getting back to reading, writing and arithmetic. When I see an innovation, I take the long view. I go with the pendulum if it swings the way I want it to go; otherwise I'll ignore it.

I've stayed out in the country all of my life and I've liked it. I never saw a reason for moving to the city. In this small town I know the parents of most of my kids, and they know me. I go up to the grocery store and I see them. A small town like this doesn't get as faddish as the city. We went for long hair but it didn't get as long or as dirty. When the boys let their hair grow, their folks demanded that they keep it clean! They tried to copy but they were like a fuzzy copy of their city classmates. We haven't even had the dope that has
been in the city. We do have alcohol because a lot of people keep it in their homes and it is available to the kids. You're sort of sheltered in a small town. That is one of the compensations.

I think we are coming back to patriotism now. We got away from it. There for a long time, it was popular to criticize your country, and the more caustic the criticism the smarter you were. People are going back now. My homeroom says the Pledge of Allegiance every morning; they asked me if they could. Before the legislature made it legal, they asked if they could have a moment of silent prayer. We are swinging back more to religion now. It is more popular to believe in God. Our kids are pretty sincere.

I think teaching is an extremely rewarding occupation. You take a youngster who doesn't know anything about your area, and you try to teach him something in that area. I've taught the same subject matter for years, but every year is different. The kids are different, the problems are different, and the kids keep you alive and awake and on your toes. I like the friendship of students. I like the opportunity to be around young people. At my age I could sit down and knit and watch daytime television and immediately become an elderly senior citizen, but the kids won't let you do
that. My husband died in 1960, and I've been glad I had my own career.

I think the attitude of students has changed. They are not nearly as respectful as they used to be. They used to put teachers up on pedestals and respect them because they were teachers. But today you've got to prove to a kid that you are worthy of his respect. I think I like kids better today because they question, and they make you have a reason behind what you are asking them to do. Maybe the ways they question aren't good, but at least they question and they think.

I enjoy teaching science. It's something you don't have to motivate a kid for. In fact, I throw the kids out of my room. That is the reason I like it. I get out microscopes, and there is somebody down there all the time looking at pond water and this kind of thing. They just love it. In other subjects the teacher has to do a certain amount of motivating, but in science you try to protect yourself—you try to keep the kids from gobbling up everything in sight!

Now I have a year and a half before I have my thirty years in. I want to retire from teaching and then go into church missionary work. I don't care what it is. They can send me anywhere they want—to Indians, migrant workers, Eskimos—anywhere there is a job that needs doing. That is
what I want to do.

Joseph Anderson

Capsule description: age 54; started teaching agriculture to disabled veterans in 1950; now teaching vocational agriculture in a high school in rural Ohio; has taught public school 26 years; currently looking for other teaching or nonteaching jobs

I came from a family of fourteen kids. We were all reared on a 450-acre farm. My dad never worked at any public job because in that day and time there weren't any. We were not on relief; once they sent my father a relief check as a joke. We did not have any money. We just lived and raised everything we had--our own beef and hogs and we had our own wheat, corn, and a lot of apples. We had a one-acre garden. We had 1400 cans. A whole family working together can put up a lot of food, and that is what we ate.

My dad had an eighth grade education and my mother had an eighth grade education. One thing my dad always said was that we were going to get an education. His oldest brother had gone to normal schools and became a teacher and then county superintendent of schools. By us associating with our parents and our aunts and uncles we had education stressed to us. They saw to it that we went to school. I mean we were not allowed to miss school. I guess that is the main reason I became a teacher. We
thought we could better ourselves. All of us went through high school and eight of us went through college.

In grade school most of us in my family had just one teacher. He was good and he always stressed higher education with us too. I can remember this old fellow, and I still know him. I had more respect for him than anyone, and he never did have a college education. Of course today people probably would not put up with his morals of chewing tobacco and cussing a little bit. We thought nothing of it because he had so many other good qualities. He had his "spitoon," as he called it, his can. He chewed tobacco and he didn't care. Right in front of the kids he chewed tobacco and talked! We never questioned that man. This was a one-room school and he taught us everything. We never did have any other teachers. I had him five years. I learned more under him! He was still there until they closed the school down. He taught doctors, lawyers, and, as he said, he's had people in the pen and everywhere else!

Now this fellow taught us that old golden rule that you live and let live, and it is up to you to get out of life what you want to get out of life. As far as discipline was concerned, he'd bring a limb in and stand it up in the corner. We knew what he meant. He could paddle you and whip you, but the next minute he would pat
you on the shoulder and you'd be all right. About once a week he'd come along and say, "We are going to take ten minutes and we're going to have a good laugh," and he would start laughing. I've seen him just start laughing and before you knew it the whole group was laughing. He was a guy that would put on a little show for you. On Fridays he would have spelling matches, adding matches, multiplication, and his emphasis was always on the Three R's. When you walked in in the morning, first you had to read four or five verses from the Bible. Then you had to salute the flag, and then a song or two. That was the way you did things. You showed respect. He stressed the basics and he taught you those things so you could pass the eighth grade examination. Even today you only have to mention that man's name to the people who went to school under him and they'll say, "Boy, that man taught me something."

I went to two years public high school and then a private school got after me to finish high school there. I graduated in 1942. I did not go to college right away because I knew I would be drafted, so I got a job in Cincinnati for fifty cents an hour. In a few months I applied for another job for seventy-five cents an hour. I did very well on their tests so they paid me to go to school to learn tool and die making. At the end of the
course I did so well on the test that they sent me to six more weeks of school. Then I worked for that company in Dayton and Cincinnati. They put up a fight for me not to be drafted but the Army finally got me. I had a four-year contract with this company and so I knew I could return and work for them after the war.

When I came back from the service I went back to this company but they wanted to send me to California and then to New Jersey. My parents were getting old and I had been traveling so much that I said no. It might have been one of the big things I did wrong. These tool and die boys are really making money and I enjoyed that kind of work.

It was November, 1945, when I got out from the service. I knew I wanted to go to college at the University of Kentucky, but they told me the soonest I could start school was January, 1947, because they were so crowded. I went back to the first place I worked in Cincinnati and worked there until I started college. In college I took courses so that when I graduated I could fit in in forestry or soil conservation or the teaching of vocational agriculture. At that time it seemed like businesses wanted people who had student teaching because if you're out in ag-business you've got to talk to people. That is one reason why I took teaching.
I had the regular teacher training course, and that is where I learned how to teach. They taught us the problem-solving method of teaching. You ask the questions why, when, how, and maybe where. I have always used the problem-solving method and some lecturing. I haven't changed on that because I think it is a good method and the kids respond to it. Why change when they tell me they like it?

I took student teaching one whole semester. After six weeks I taught two classes every day for the rest of the time and I did all the teacher's work. Of course he was the boss and he would be there. At first, I didn't think it was necessarily right for me to do all of his work. I even had to go out on the farms and make the visits. But after I went through it, I saw what he was doing and it made me better qualified when I got out. It took me ten or twelve weeks to get over my "stage fright," as I called it, to the point where I knew I could handle the kids.

I graduated from the University of Kentucky in 1950. I applied for the Soil Conservation Service and I applied with the Forestry, but at those times there were no jobs available. The federal budget was down, and we had a surplus of ag people. I had a good rating on my experiences and I went for three or four interviews but
it seemed to be politics involved in getting the job. When I finally realized that it was politics more than anything else, I just forgot about it. I took a job in production agriculture teaching disabled veterans. It was what they called the Farm Institutional Training conducted by the Veterans Administration and the State Department of Education.

I had a class of twenty-five. We were five hours a week in the classroom and the rest of the time out on the farm. It was a pretty good group—real farmers. Some owned 1500 acres and none of them were drawing aid. That job kept me pretty busy. I visited each one twice a month and stayed a couple of hours each time. I enjoyed it; you could really see what you had done. You could go out and almost write a prescription for the guy. You would say, "Now this is what you're going to have to do and this is what I want done," and then you could go back a week or two later and see if he had done it and what the outcome was. I learned a lot then. Our field is so wide that you are constantly running into many different things. At that time Kentucky had one of the best programs in the nation. I wouldn't have minded staying with it if it had lasted. It was a job with prestige and I enjoyed working with people.
I was going to get a job with an agricultural firm but I missed that job because I lacked three semester hours, so I said, "This isn't going to happen again," and I decided to go for my master's degree. Kentucky wasn't set up so you could get it easily. Now at that time Ohio was needing some teachers, and they wanted people with experience. My state superintendent knew what I wanted to do. I wanted to be close enough to Columbus to go to Ohio State University. So when a job opened up near Chillicothe in 1952 they told me I could have it. I taught vocational agriculture there for three years. During that time I went to OSU at night and Saturdays and summers. I took some administration courses and in Introduction to Administration they gave us a psychology test. They told me I did well on the test and they wanted me to go into administration, but I wouldn't do it. I was in agriculture and I would have had to take many more hours to be a principal. I couldn't see it, but I might have been better off if I had.

I got my master's degree in 1955 and I had a good prospect of going with a company on research in Terre Haute, Indiana. While I was waiting to hear from them one of my professors told me about a teaching job that was opening up in this district. I didn't even come for an interview. I told him, "You can see if they want me."
They hired me. The company still wanted me but their research project fell through. That is one reason I stayed in teaching. I came to this district in 1955, a year before they consolidated the schools. The first year I was here I taught vocational agriculture part-time at two schools and had two Young Adult Farmers classes which paid extra. My wife and I had to move to a town near here because there was a housing shortage in this area.

When I came into this community they had never been oriented to vocational agriculture. They had only had one part-time teacher for two years. You are talking about backward people! Vocational agriculture in high school started in 1917. I only had two tables in my room and some wooden chairs which I still have now. It was hard work building that program and we did not have an adult program and I had to get that started. That was the Young Adult Farmers. I have twenty meetings with them each year and I visit them on their farms. The state reimburses the school for my time. I am paid $500 for the year to work with the Young Adult Farmers.

When I came to this area there were both crops and livestock. In the last ten years the livestock has been going, and now there is very little left. I joke with the farmers that they are becoming a lazy breed of people.
I say, "You have a new rotation: corn, soybeans, and Florida." In the past twenty years the average corn yield in this county has gone from 71 to 93 bushels per acre. There used to be 11,000 stalks per acre; now there are 25,000. The consumption of fertilizer has doubled. Land has gone from $300 an acre to $2500 an acre. In this area there is a high percentage of absentee landlords, so about sixty-five percent of the farmers are tenants. Our kids don't have as much opportunity here as in other areas to get into farming for themselves. Vocational agriculture is changing too. We used to have to stick to crops and livestock, but now we go into a wide variety of things. We are taking in more "urbanites," as I call them. We've got kids in horticulture, for example. About eighty percent of my kids will go into ag-related fields like meatcutting or farm machinery. I think the percentage is going to go down though. Some of them will take other jobs for five or ten years and then go back to farming.

I have three classes and I meet with each one a little over an hour and a half a day, so I teach five hours a day. We have shop and field trips and other things. There are supervisors from the state and district. They say how much time we spend in class and they develop the curriculum. We have a big manual now, that I
helped work out some of the sections for. My supervisor says to me, "Are you using that book?" I say, "Yes, I use what I can out of it, and what I can't, I don't fool with." He looks at me and laughs and says, "You know, if you were a new teacher I would tell you to be sure and use that book." I tell him, "I am too old. I can't use that book now; it's too modernistic." I am doing basically the same thing that is in that book. He knows I helped work up some of those sections. There is more emphasis now on those manuals. This accountability thing—I think sometimes the administration worries too much about something like that.

About two years after I got here, we set up a Corn Club. The highest yield we had then was about 113 bushels but the average in the county was 71 bushels. Now the county average is up to around 93 bushels per acre. Last year I only had two or three who didn't make 100 bushels in the Corn Club, and the average was around 138 bushels to the acre. We have a plaque for each year in the Corn Club, and the one for last year is up at the bank.

We had a new vocational school open up in this county a few years ago, and it has gotten off on the wrong foot and irritated everybody. They get their money from the federal government. It seems they have
a hard time keeping teachers. They don't cooperate with the local schools, so they don't get many students. We could send twice as many as we do from here, but the kids don't want to go. The principal there is a city man. His field was Trades and Industry. He thinks this area is urban. One of the things they did was to spend $50,000 on farm machinery, and they only farm sixty-four acres down there! I question it. I question what those students learn on $50,000 worth of equipment.

Another thing that has happened over the years is that they put too much emphasis on contests. In every vocational subject there are annual local, state, and national contests. All that some teachers are teaching is the contest; they are not teaching subject matter. I am not the type who goes out for that. I think if you are going to have a contest, let the students participate as long as they can learn by it. This state tends to measure teachers by how many contests their kids win, and the teachers that win get all of that publicity. I think it is wrong, and the State Department knows how I feel about it. I know some of those guys feel the same way. I don't believe you measure your success that way. I believe you measure it after people have graduated and gone. You see what they are doing. Any kid of average intelligence can memorize for a test or contest, but if he
doesn't put it to use, it's no good.

You see, my job with teaching is more than just the average. I know my kids, and I visit them in their homes. I visit each kid about four times a year. I can go out there and sit down with the parents, and take out my class book and say, "Now, your son, what is wrong with him? I notice on the last test he didn't do so well." Except for the coach and the administration, the vo-ag teacher is probably the most widely known in the school and community. I am teaching kids whose parents I had in class, and I know how they operate.

The vo-ag teacher has to give advice on farm matters. When I go visit the Young Farmers, I say, "If you have any problems, tell me. If you haven't, we'll sit down and talk a few minutes, and I'll go." Overall, I've been lucky. I haven't been too far wrong with what I tell the farmers to do. One of them said to me yesterday, "I've got some late-maturing beans. Should I plant them or shouldn't I?" I said to him, "Late-maturing beans. A few years ago we planted those right up until June 20, and they did fine. If I tell you to do that now, and comes a frost in September to kill those things, you're not going to come blaming me!" Of course I answered his question. It is a risk.
I don't find it a problem to talk to these farmers. You've got to talk their lingo. I know it may not be the best English. If they say, "I ain't gonna do it," I say, "Yeah, maybe we ain't." I don't condemn them for their English, and maybe that is the reason we get along. One of the teachers in the school invited the faculty to her house for lunch last week. Her husband is a farmer and of course I know him. When it came time to eat, she said, "You and Dan sit in there at the dining room table. You understand what he is talking about. The other people don't." What she was meaning was that he and I talk the same lingo. I've got two Young Farmers who can't read or write. They don't know that I know. I talk to them like I talk to everyone else. That's what you've got to do. I've had one wife tell me that her husband said to her, "Now there is a man that never condemns nobody. He makes you feel at home. You can sit down and talk to him." If you can't do that, you'd better not be there.

The vo-ag teacher is also more likely to run into problems from the administration. I know everything that goes on in the school, because I find it out from the people. I have their trust and they tell me what they think is wrong with the school. I accept it. With the principal we used to have, I would tell him what the people said, and if he didn't know about it, he would find
Today we are dealing with a different breed of administrators. This one came in about five or six years ago, and the first thing he did was ask every teacher who had a continuing contract (tenure) to resign. That was eight of us. He didn't give any reasons. I got with the other teachers and we sat down, and we tried to analyze ourselves. "Here we are trying to teach. What have we done? What are we doing wrong in our teaching? Why did they do this? Basically, what came out of it was that we were old teachers, and we would be too much opposition. People know me; they say, "Well, next year you will have my son." We all told the principal to put it in writing, but he wouldn't do that, because the OEA would have furnished us a lawyer.

When he asked me to resign, that did something to me. I've had county superintendents walk in, and I've told them to sit down, and I go right on with my classes. I've never had any problems with them. I can take criticism. But these new administrators don't even come by and say hello, and when they see you in the hall they don't even say,"Well, how are you?" They don't get out and work with the people. People tell me they can't even sit down and have a cup of coffee with this principal.
When we had our Future Farmers of America banquet, the principal said he was coming. At three o' clock he came in and said he couldn't make it. The banquet was at six. Of course we went on and had a wonderful banquet that night. But no one in the administration ever said one word to me; they never said, "That was a good banquet. The kids did a good job."

I enjoy working with the kids. I've got good kids. They respect me, and I've got good communication with them. I try to teach them to become good citizens. I tell them, "You may not remember very much that I teach you in here. You're going to remember a little joke I tell you or you're going to remember how I showed you to do this or that. But overall, after a few years you are going to start realizing that I told you the things you should be doing to become a good citizen." I always tell them to try to leave the world a little better than when they came in. A lot of times, kids will ask me questions. Or I'll come in and say, "Well, you got any questions today?" and we take a minute to solve the problem. Here is a kid with a minor thing, but it is a mountain to him. When I involve the other kids to solve his problem, he learns by it, and the others learn too. Maybe that is one reason too that I get to know the kids better. How many kids can go up to a regular teacher
and say, "This is a problem I have"?

I know when they go out they don't want anything to do with me. I know that. A young kid, eighteen years old, wants to get out. "Boy, I want to find out all of these things he's been telling me." After they have been out there two or three years, they come back and tell you what they are doing and say, "Boy, you were right!"

I don't paddle like I used to. I still have my paddle. I think that most of us are sparing the rod and spoiling the child. I don't put up with any horseplay. For example, the guys know they can't tip back in their chairs. They know if they do, they'll have to come up front and take a couple of whacks. It doesn't disturb the class. No hard feelings. I don't do it in anger. I smile about it. Maybe that day before the kid leaves class, he may have said something or done something that I can put my hand on his back and say, "You did better today. You sure did answer that question." Last week I paddled a kid, and a few days later I saw his parents and asked them if the boy had told them what I did. They said he told them that night. They told me I should have whacked him more. These parents know me and they know what I stand for. I do take time out every once in a while and we'll laugh.
At our Twentieth Annual FFA Banquet, some people there told me, "You know, you never talk at your banquet. We've never heard you." I said, "That is right. You don't need to hear from me. It's the kids, not me."

The kids pass out the awards, they give the invocation, they plan the whole program. Parents come to see their kid. I don't care if the kid gets up there and makes a fool out of himself. Nobody knows except me. I don't laugh at the kid. I don't laugh at him, because maybe that's the hardest thing that kid will ever get a chance to do in his life. The parents know that and they don't condemn me for not talking at the banquet.

Education has changed so much. This school has changed too. When I came here we had nineteen teachers; now there are twenty-nine teachers for the same number of students. I think some of the new teachers that come in are ill-trained. They don't know how to get across to the kids. Some of them have only taught one class for one quarter. That's not long enough for student teaching.

For years our principal taught two classes a day. That was a good idea. It kept him in contact with the kids. Now we've got administrators who don't do anything. Frankly, I don't see what they spend their time on. And I tell them that right to their face. When I started teaching, my salary was $4800, the principal's was $5200,
and the superintendent made $6200. Now I make $15,000, the principal makes $20,000, and the superintendent gets $29,000. There is too much of a difference. It used to be that it was the teachers who made the school. Now it's not that way anymore; the administrators think that they make the school themselves.

We've lost teacher respect. It used to be that the kids had respect. They thought you were a good man just because you were a teacher. Now they say, "Who are you?" They want to judge the person first. Basically, parents have taken the offensive on teachers. It used to be that when you said, "Look now, your son has done this," they would say, "Hey, I'll take care of it right there." Now if a teacher goes out and says that to a lot of them, they'll say, "Who, what did you do?" By me being here so long and knowing so many people, they will tend to back up on me a little bit, but I can see what they would like to say to me. Sometimes I'll get new parents in, and they'll start to say that to me and I'll say, "Now look, I don't deal with that kind of stuff. It's all one way, or it's none." If things continue to change as much in the next twenty years, you won't be able to stand up there in front of your class. In my family we have a lot of teachers. I've got some of them walking out, retiring, taking other jobs, because they say it is just terrible.
There's just not any money in teaching anymore. I don't hesitate to tell my kids, "Don't go in it for the money because you're in the wrong field." I think it's probably going to get worse before it gets better. There's no way a young man can pay $16,000 for an education and come out and go into teaching. Last year three of my seniors went into work and they made $18,000 a year. Why should a young man become a teacher? In this high school we've got only one local person that's teaching. All the other teachers here are imports. We've always had a few, but nothing like it is now. These kids aren't going into teaching.

In this day and time, teachers have got no incentive. We have unions now. The OEA has become a union. I belong to the OEA and the NEA but not because I like to. Around here it's a necessity. I feel like you have to pay to keep your job. It cost me $156 last year. I didn't use to believe in strikes. But after talking to some of these guys, I see their point. So we are getting down to unions.

About five years ago I was offered another teaching job, but I didn't take it. I didn't know what this new principal would be like. I enjoy teaching and working with the farmers, but I get so that I hate to come back to the school building, because you've got no communication
with the administration.

I've got thirty-one years in, counting my Army time. After thirty years, you can retire with sixty percent salary. I am trying to figure out economically what would be best. I might be better off going to some other state and teaching, or I might go into another field. I've told my supervisor that if a job comes up teaching vocational agriculture within twenty miles around, let me know. I'll take it. But I won't take another teaching job unless it pays as much as the one I have now. I would really hate to leave this community, though, because I know all of the people here and I have known them over the years. They know me and they respect me. When they see me coming, they joke, "Here comes our Director of Agriculture!"

Group Analysis

Because a major purpose of this study is to determine some teachers' own perceptions of their careers, the presenting of the group results begins with how the teachers, in their initial tellings of their stories, mentally organize their careers. In the section "How Teachers Mentally Structure Their Careers," each kind of information salient to teachers is discussed separately. The second section, "The Teaching Self," presents
additional areas of analysis. The ten teachers are analyzed at several points in their careers: decision to enter teaching, teacher education, first year of teaching, reaching maturity, long-range changes, and plans for the future. In the third section, several related aspects of professional life are explored: nonschool-time duties, graduate education, inservice education, and membership in professional organizations. Finally, a summary is made.

How Teachers Mentally Structure Their Careers

The teachers' initial tellings of their careers, which occurred in the interviews before specific questions were asked, were analyzed for the purpose of determining how teachers thought about their careers. Each teacher gave a work history, relating the location, school, subjects and grades taught for almost every position held. Reasons for changing positions were given in most cases. Seven teachers described their positions in more detail, telling some of their duties or relating vivid incidents (CC PS LR WJ JM EH FS). Seven teachers included their feelings about their positions, giving a general state of satisfaction, or mentioning a particular like or dislike (WJ PS LR NC EH FS JM). Six teachers described the effects of changing times (PS NC JM JA LM WJ).
The kinds of information, then, that were salient to these teachers when thinking about their careers were: work history, reasons for changing positions, memorable facts about each position, feelings about their jobs, and awareness of changing times.

The following sections present data concerning information salient in the teachers' perceptions of their careers. These analyses are based not only on material from the teachers' initial stories, but also on their answers to subsequent questions in the interviews.

Teachers' work histories

The ten teachers ranged in length of school teaching from nineteen to thirty-one years of service. Three teachers had, in addition, nonschool teaching experiences (PS EH JA). Five teachers taught school with no break in service. Five had breaks in their teaching (NC LR EH LM CC), four for marriage and child rearing (NC LR EH LM), one for another job (LM), one to complete her education (CC). The longest break was nine years (LM).

Six teachers held nonteaching jobs at some point during their teaching careers (WJ LR JM FS LM JA). For all six, teaching was financially necessary. For three of these six teachers, the nonteaching job was temporary or not very time-consuming (WJ LR LM). The other three of the six had always held nonteaching jobs which took a
significant amount of time and energy (JM FS JA). Of the four teachers who did not hold nonteaching jobs, two were currently teaching from financial necessity (CC PS), and for two, teaching was not a financial necessity (NC EH).

Locations and moves. All ten teachers had spent the majority of their school teaching careers in Ohio. Six teachers had taught school only in Ohio (WJ PS JM FS LM JA). Three teachers began their teaching careers outside the state (CC LR EH); one teacher taught outside the state at a midpoint in her career (NC).

Teachers' moves from one geographical location to another revealed a pattern. Five teachers moved from rural districts to suburban or urban districts (WJ NC JM LR EH). Two teachers spent their entire careers in rural districts (JA LM), and one in an urban district (PS). One teacher moved from city to suburb to city (CC). One teacher moved from one rural district to another; the latter became a suburb over the years (FS).

The number of school systems in which each teacher taught ranged from one (PS LM) to six (NC); the average number of school systems for the group was 2.6. The number of schools taught in ranged from one (PS) to eight (EH); the average number of schools taught in was 4.6. Three teachers, once in a school system, taught only in
one school (PS NC JM). Other teachers (notably FS and EH) taught in several schools within one district.

**Reasons for changing schools.** The teachers' reasons for changing schools were often complex and sometimes not particularly accessible to memory. In general, there were four reasons given for the changes made. Often the teachers changed schools in order to teach a desired level or subject (LM FS LR JM). Some changes were made to get away from an undesirable situation (FS LR CC WJ); the students, the administrators, or the community made that school unappealing. Three teachers had instances of being sent by the superintendent into a new school (FS EH CC). For several teachers, reasons for changing schools were unrelated to work itself (JA FS JM EH NC LR CC); they desired to live in other communities, or to be near a university, or they had to relocate when their spouses took new positions. Three teachers said they made some change to avoid getting in a rut or for the sake of variety (FS WJ LR); for two of these, this was the cause of a change late in the career (FS WJ); for one teacher, this had been the cause of several moves (LR).
Changes in levels taught. Consideration of changes in grade level was compounded by several factors. The dividing line between elementary and secondary grades varied from system to system and over the years. Elementary teachers usually taught one grade at a time, while secondary teachers customarily taught several grades each year. Six teachers taught the majority of their careers at one level (WJ CC PS NC JM JA). Two teachers alternated several times between elementary and junior high (LR FS). One teacher moved from elementary to junior high (EH). One teacher moved from junior-senior high to junior high (LM).

Changes in subjects taught. Of the five teachers who taught mainly at the secondary level, three had never changed subject matter (WJ PS JA), and two taught several subjects in the early part of their careers and then narrowed to one subject (LM JM). Two teachers alternated teaching elementary and teaching a subject on the secondary level (LR FS). One teacher taught elementary early and then moved to a secondary subject area (EH). One teacher had always taught elementary (CC), and one teacher all elementary except one year (NC).
The road not taken. Six teachers had at some time a choice between remaining in school teaching and some alternative (LM CC JM FS EH JA). Their choices included school administration (CC FS JA), college teaching (EH FS), and jobs in business (JM FS LM). One teacher took the alternative, but returned to teaching after two years (LM). Several reasons were given by the teachers for remaining in school teaching instead of taking the alternative. Three teachers felt that the work involved in the alternative would be less satisfying than teaching (CC JM FS); two felt that the conditions surrounding the work would be less desirable (EH LM); one teacher felt that the alternative was not worth the necessary effort to achieve it (JA). Five of these six teachers faced this choice very early in their careers (CC JM FS LM JA); one had made the decision within the past five years (EH). Five were satisfied with their career choice to remain in teaching; one teacher had three choices, and was satisfied that he had chosen teaching over two of those alternatives, but he wished sometimes that he had pursued the third alternative (FS).

Three teachers, aside from a particular choice among alternatives, would have left teaching if more favorable alternatives had come their way (NC CC JA). A total of five teachers noted that they had had vague wonderings
about what another career would have been like for them (WJ CC LR FS JA).

Summary. For these ten teachers, changes in systems, schools, levels, subjects, and the consideration of alternatives tended to take place early in their school teaching careers. All ten teachers had been in their current school systems for well over half of their careers. Seven teachers had taught at their current level (elementary, junior high, or senior high) for well over half of their careers (WJ CC PS NC JM LM JA). Of eight teachers who had taught subjects, six had been teaching their current subject for the majority of their careers (WJ PS JM EH LM JA).

Satisfaction with teaching

When the teachers were asked to discuss their satisfaction with teaching throughout their careers, some could discuss their level of satisfaction for each segment of their teaching career; others either did not have varying levels of satisfaction or simply did not think of their careers in terms of how satisfied they were at each point. All teachers took high satisfaction as the norm; changes in satisfaction were noted as changes away from this expected high satisfaction.
Five teachers were highly satisfied throughout most of their careers (CC NC EH LM JA): no teachers experienced moderate or low satisfaction for the majority of the career. For five teachers, satisfaction varied (WJ PS JM LR FS).

Higher satisfaction occurred for all but one teacher (LM) at the beginning of their school teaching careers. All ten teachers described a high satisfaction at some point in midcareer. Only four teachers were currently highly satisfied at the time they were interviewed (CC NC LM EH); all four were women.

Nine teachers (all except NC) had been less than highly satisfied at some point during their careers. For five of these teachers, there was only one such point (CC JM EH LM JA); four teachers experienced more than one point (PS FS WJ LR). Moderate or low satisfaction occurred for one teacher at the beginning of her career (LM), for seven teachers at mid-point in their careers (WJ CC PS LR FS JM EH), and for six teachers currently (WJ PS JM LR FS JA).

Varied causes were attributed to satisfaction less than the expected high. Five teachers spoke of frustration with the administration (WJ CC JM FS JA). Three teachers were dissatisfied at some point with problems caused by their students' backgrounds (WJ LR CC). Four teachers
attributed dissatisfaction to factors directly caused by changes in the era (WJ PS JM FS). Three teachers were dissatisfied by having to teach at a particular level or a particular subject (LR FS LM). Other mentioned causes of dissatisfaction were poor school conditions, personal reasons, curricular changes, nonteaching duties, pay, and feelings of self-doubt.

For six teachers, a decrease in satisfaction occurred during their early forties (WJ CC PS JM LR FS).

Of the teachers currently highly satisfied with teaching (CC NC EH LM), retirement was financially viable for all within the near future. Of the teachers with currently moderate or low satisfaction (PS LR WJ FS JA JM), five felt that retirement was not financially viable within the near future (PS LR WJ FS JA).

Teachers' perceptions of eras

These ten teachers' discussions turned often to changes in the school, students, and society over the course of their careers. Changing characteristics, attitudes and values of the people they worked with affected their jobs and how they felt about teaching. Seven teachers discussed an atmosphere of permissiveness that pervades today's society (WJ PS JM LR FS EH CC). The teachers variously saw this permissiveness manifest in the young people's quantity of material possessions,
lack of discipline in the home, and the increasing number of broken homes.

Nine teachers (all except JA) described today's young people as less well behaved in school than young people used to be. They described children as more nervous, aimless, unsettled, feeling sorry for themselves, and defensive about their rights. The young people were characterized as having more worldly knowledge than they used to, but not knowing how to handle this knowledge. The students mature later.

Seven teachers discussed the change in a teacher's image occurring over the years (WJ NC JM FS LM LR JA). Teachers used to be considered a moral example in the community. They were respected by virtue of their position as teachers. Now teachers are more the targets of criticism than they used to be. They must prove themselves as individuals in order to earn respect. The seven teachers saw both benefits and drawbacks to the change. For some, a closer and more relaxed relationship with students was desirable. Some found themselves having to take an increasingly defensive stand toward students, parents, and the community.

Five teachers discussed the changing role of the school in society (PS WJ JA LM LR). Society now expects the school to cure its ills. Schools have greatly
expanded from their original purpose of teaching basic literacy. Simultaneously, five teachers noted, society no longer considers schools so important (PS WJ JA JM EH). Parents do not stress education to their children the way they used to.

The Teaching Self

This section contains the analyses of the teachers' perceptions of themselves at progressive points in their careers.

Decision to enter teaching

One of the ten teachers decided to enter teaching when she was a child (NC). Seven teachers made the decision while in college (WJ CC LR JM EH FS LM). Two other teachers entered school teaching after trying other career alternatives (PS JA). A total of five teachers, however, saw in their childhood the roots of their desire to teach (LR NC FS LM JA).

At the time of their decision to enter school teaching, five teachers expected teaching to be a lifetime occupation (WJ PS JM EH FS). Three teachers did not expect to teach a full career (NC LM JA); two teachers did not give the matter much thought (CC LR).
Teacher education

Eight teachers completed their teacher education for certification while in college; two teachers completed requirements for certification after receiving their bachelor's degree (PS FS). Seven teachers attended small colleges (NC JM EH FS LM CC LR); three teachers attended large universities (WJ PS JA). Seven teachers completed their teacher education in Ohio (NC JM EH FS LM WJ PS).

The teachers held varied opinions of their teacher training. Eight viewed their training generally positively (WJ CC LR EH LM JA FS JM). Of those eight, five had a qualified positive attitude about it (CC LR JM LM EH); several reasons were given. Three indicated that they did not really expect to learn everything about teaching during their teacher training (CC LR LM); they noted that one learns to teach when one has full responsibility for students. Two of the five teachers mentioned that certain aspects of teacher training were too far from reality (JM LM). Three of the five indicated that they had had no intention of buying their teacher education wholesale, so to speak (CC EH LM); they knew they would have to decide for themselves what to accept and what to reject.

Only two teachers took a generally negative view toward their teacher education (PS NC). One had already
had several years of college teaching experience prior to entering teacher training (PS), and the other noted that she perhaps had not been ready to take advantage of what was offered (NC).

First year of teaching

Only three teachers viewed their first year as a significant experience in learning how to teach (WJ LR LM). Four teachers recalled the specific year, but not as a point on the path to maturity (FS NC EH JM); they recalled certain aspects of the job and certain incidents which occurred. Three teachers did not consider the first year distinctive in their teaching experience at all (PS CC JA).

Reaching maturity

A consideration of teachers' perceptions of their points of maturity is complex: it involves their own definition of maturity as well as their assessment of their progress toward it. These ten teachers variously defined their own maturity as knowing the subject well, knowing how to teach, being confident and at ease, rejecting teacher education in favor of what works, and learning to focus attention away from the subject and onto the child. Only four teachers placed their point of maturity with certainty (WJ PS JM EH): three of these
teachers felt mature as beginning teachers (PS JM EH). Five other teachers gave rough estimates of their points of maturity (LR FS LM JA NC); their estimates were from the fourth to the tenth year of experience. For most of the teachers (particularly CC) the question, "When did you reach maturity?" was not a significant question; they were inclined to see themselves as continuously learning throughout their careers.

Long-range changes

During the interviews teachers discussed long-range changes they had made during the course of their careers. Many changes they attributed directly to the specific teaching situations in which they found themselves. Other changes were tied more to the passing of time and the changing of eras. This section discusses the latter types of change.

Seven teachers perceived themselves becoming more flexible over the years (WJ PS NC JM LR LM JA). They found themselves accepting "worse" student behavior. They became less strict as disciplinarians. For four of these teachers, the change was difficult to make (WJ PS NC JM). For some, the change involved a major philosophical reorientation and a reluctant acceptance of society's changing expectations of schools. The adjustment was
also a personal one; the teachers had to cope with their own intolerance of the students' changing behavior.

The teachers saw long-term changes in the nature of their rapport with students. Five teachers mentioned an increasing ability to get along with students (PS JM LR LM WJ). They found themselves more understanding of students' problems. Some saw this change as having been facilitated by the changing era, while others viewed their own increasing age and personal maturity as the cause of their more personal relationships with students.

With respect to drive and energy, six teachers saw themselves less energetic or more tired than they were earlier in their careers (PS LR FS WJ CC JM); for half of those teachers the loss of energy contributed to their spending less preparation time than formerly (PS LR FS). The six teachers with less energy attributed the change to a loss of their youthful enthusiasm, or weariness brought on by recent major changes in students' behavior. Four of the ten teachers felt as energetic as ever (LM EH NC JA); two of those even found themselves spending more time and effort on school work than they used to (NC JA).

Changes in their own teaching methods were noticed by eight of the ten teachers (NC JM LR LM PS WJ CC EH). Two noted that their methods were constantly changing depending on their students' needs (CC EH). Two teachers
indicated that while they had some basic tried-and-true methods which had not changed, they were constantly looking for ways to update the specific examples used or games played (PS WJ). Four teachers noted major changes in their teaching methods over time (NC JM LR LM). One had moved in the direction of far greater creativity (NC). Two noted that they were far more individualized than formerly (NC JM). One discussed how her classroom performance was considerably "jazzed up"; she was making an effort to be much livelier (LR). One teacher's major change was in the direction of greater student involvement; her students were no longer the passive recipients of her knowledge (LM).

Plans for the future

The ten teachers faced the future with a variety of intentions. One teacher wanted and planned to teach full time indefinitely (NC); one teacher, part-time indefinitely (EH). Four teachers planned to leave teaching after the thirty years required for early retirement (LM JM PS LR); for two of these, retirement was still several years away (PS LR). Three teachers wished to take early retirement, but could not afford it economically (WJ, FS, JA). One teacher did not have definite plans; whether she would continue teaching after
the early retirement point depended on other responsibilities (CC).

Aspects of Professional Life

Nonschool-time duties

All ten teachers were involved at some time during their careers with extracurricular duties such as club sponsorship, committee work, programs or coaching. Three teachers had always had such duties (WJ LM JA). Two teachers had such duties occasionally throughout their careers (CC EH). Five teachers had nonschool-time duties during one or more periods of their careers (PS LR NC JM FS).

Graduate education

All teachers had done some graduate study. Eight began their graduate study within the first ten years of their teaching careers (WJ CC PS NC EH FS JA LR); two teachers began their graduate study between the tenth and twentieth year of teaching (JM LM). Graduate study was either intermittent (NC JM EH), or concentrated (WJ CC PS FS LM JA LR).

Three teachers earned a master's degree and took courses beyond their master's (CC PS EH). Three teachers earned their master's (WJ LM JA). Four teachers took
graduate study but without completing a master's (NC JM FS LR); three of these had enough hours for a degree, but never committed themselves to a program (NC JM FS).

Graduate study for five teachers ended by their tenth year of teaching (WJ CC PS FS LR). Three teachers finished their graduate studies by the end of their twentieth year (EH LM JA). Two teachers took courses well into their third decade of teaching (NC JM).

Six of the teachers did graduate work at the local major university (WJ CC PS NC EH JA); four teachers attended small colleges in their area (JM FS LM LR).

Inservice education

All ten teachers had taken part in inservice education sometime in their careers. Several noted that for a while it was mandatory in order to get a pay raise; that was later declared illegal in the courts. The topic of inservice education did not last long in the interviews. Three teachers acknowledged that inservice education can be a positive influence on a teacher (CC NC LM). Two teachers noted how inservice education had helped them with their subject matter (JM JA). The other five teachers admitted to their inservice experience being poor (WJ PS LR EH FS). Their general feeling was expressed by one teacher who, when asked whether inservice
had been any help, replied in a tone of undisguised
disgust, "Must I answer!"

Professional membership

All ten teachers belonged to professional
organizations most or all of their careers: the National
Education Association, Ohio Education Association and/or
the local association or union. Four teachers had always
belonged (WJ CC LR JA).

Five teachers were active in one or more
professional organizations (CC NC JM LM PS); they were
school representatives (CC PS), local secretary (NC),
and local president (JM LM). One was active in the
first decade of his career (JM), two in the second decade
(NC PS), and two in their third decade (CC LM).

Six of the teachers deliberately withdrew their
membership from a teachers' organization at some point
in their careers (PS NC JM EH FS LM). For two teachers,
the withdrawal was between their tenth and twentieth year
of teaching (PS EH); four teachers dropped membership
sometime during their third decade of teaching (NC JM
FS LM). The major reasons given for withdrawing
membership were that the organization was becoming too
much like a union (NC EH LM) and that its leadership did
not represent the membership (PS NC FS). Teachers opposed
the associations advocating strikes (NC EH) and their support of political candidates (NC FS LM).

After withholding their membership for up to five years, the teachers returned. They felt they should work to change the organization from within (NC LM), and that they needed its protection (FS JM NC EH). One teacher whose membership had been in the Columbus Education Association joined the Columbus Federation of Teachers instead, hoping to exert pressure on the CEA from a rival organization (PS).

Summary

The ten professional biographies were constructed from indepth interviews of teachers. The accounts relate each teacher's work history, satisfaction with teaching, perceptions of the changing era, and plans for the future.

The results of the group analysis show that these teachers thought about their careers mainly in terms of their work histories, reasons for changing positions, memorable facts about each position, feelings about their jobs, and awareness of changing times. The work histories show that the teachers made changes in school systems, schools, levels taught, and grades taught early in their careers, and had held their current positions for a majority of their careers. The group's satisfaction with
teaching had decreased over the years. Teachers perceived changes in the era: the society is more permissive; students are less well behaved; teachers are less respected; the society expects more of schools.

With respect to the development of the teaching self, the ten teachers committed themselves early to teaching, had a positive view but low expectations of teacher training, did not experience their first year of teaching as outstanding in any way, and achieved their own concept of maturity at varying points. Over the years they adapted to changing student behavior by becoming more flexible, and they came to feel more understanding of students. They had less drive and energy, and some had made changes in their teaching methods. They wished to leave teaching as soon as possible.

All teachers had been involved in some nonschool-time duties. They did graduate study early in their careers. They had not found inservice education useful. All belonged to professional organizations; most withdrew temporarily in disapproval but all rejoined on principle or out of necessity.

The complexity of the data can not be captured in this summary; the reader is referred to the body of Chapter IV for the precise results.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Chapter I started with an expression of curiosity about the experience of career teachers. Teaching is an unstaged occupation: what is it like to have been through twenty or thirty annual school year cycles? The stereotype from popular culture tells how the young, enthusiastic teacher becomes either robot, demon or angel in a teaching career, but professional literature neither supports nor refutes the stereotype. Chapter I contained several reasons for supposing that some kind of development takes place; "development" was defined loosely as carrying some notion of change, but without speculation about the direction or timing of change. Initially it appeared that the unique characteristics of the occupation of teaching, the phenomenon of adult development, and the effects of contemporary history would contribute to teacher career development. An exploration of the related literature in Chapter II suggested additional dimensions of teacher development: researchers and theorists have considered teacher career development, characteristics of teachers by age, and general career development.
The broad purpose of this study was to gain enough knowledge about teacher career development to replace the teacher caricatures with a few portraits. Because so little was known, it seemed that an appropriate place to start would be with the teachers' own reports. A teacher would be the most readily available source of information about his or her own career. The study, then, was based on intensive interviews with ten career teachers. In a series of two interviews each, the ten teachers were asked to give accounts of their teaching careers. They were also asked questions about particular aspects of their school experience. The data were studied with a focus on significant areas arising from the interviews and from related literature. The procedures and rationale for data collection and analysis were described in Chapter III.

The presentation of the findings in Chapter IV took two forms. To answer the question, "What portraits can replace the caricatures?", a professional biography of each teacher was written. To answer the question, "How does the group perceive its career development?", teachers were compared in several areas: how teachers think about their careers, the teaching self, and related aspects of professional life.
Chapter V consists of an interpretation of the major findings of the study and implications for teacher education, teaching careers, and research.

**Stages of Career Development**

The major question underlying the study was whether there were common patterns of career development among teachers. The careers of the ten teachers shared enough elements to warrant the positing of tentative stages along several career dimensions. In the dimensions of work history, graduate study, teaching, professional membership, and satisfaction, several stages emerged. Those stages are summarized in Table 2, and the following sections will detail each stage and discuss it in the light of related literature.

**The First Decade**

The early years of most of the ten teachers were spent moving from school to school, and/or grade to grade, and/or subject to subject before finally settling. For two of the married women the changes were due to their husbands' relocations. The pattern of greater mobility early in the career was also identified by Kuhlen (1959, p. 196).
### TABLE 2

**SUMMARY OF TEN TEACHERS' STAGES OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT**

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This period from the early twenties to the early thirties was also a time of reconsideration. The teachers thought about alternative career options but decided in favor of teaching; graduate study often opened the options. The women who had left to start families returned to work as the children grew.

The teachers at this stage appeared to be in what Super (1975) called career Establishment, the time of settling for what seems to be the best occupational choice (p. 29). For teachers, the stage was marked not only by a reaffirmation of the choice to teach, but also by a search for the most desirable school, grade level and subject. The timing of this stage for teachers differed from the timing posited by Super: the teachers established themselves by their early thirties, while Super's Establishment Stage lasts from midtwenties to midforties.

Establishment was a stage of high satisfaction for most teachers. Listening to their career stories, one senses their enthusiasm for the new job and their increasing confidence with the realization that they were learning and succeeding. One is reminded of Gould's (1972) finding that the midtwenties is a time of feeling autonomous, being engaged in the work of being an adult, and accepting without question the course of one's life.
Any dissatisfactions were attributed to the particular school situation. Most of the teachers felt that they reached maturity as teachers during this time.

That four teachers' considerations of career alternatives occurred at about the age of thirty may have been evidence for what Gould described as a shift in orientation to the world. Gould noted that at about age twenty-nine his subjects began to ask the question: "Is what I am the only way for me to be?" (p. 525). With respect to their careers, the teachers seemed to have answered the question: "It is the way I choose to be."

The Next Twenty Years

The teachers' work histories indicated that by the midthirties the teachers had settled into a stable position in a particular school system and school, teaching the desired subjects at the preferred grade level. There they were to remain until the point at which, after thirty years of service, they could consider retirement. They appeared to be in the stage termed by Super (1975) as Maintenance. Although Super's Maintenance Stage lasts from midforties to midsixties (p. 30), it extended for the teachers from the early thirties (the point of stabilizing) to the early fifties (point of eligibility for retirement).
Maintenance is a time of keeping up with new developments and of holding one's own against younger people in one's work setting. For the teachers, it was a time of continuing their effective teaching, experiencing the ups and downs of particular years and classes, updating certain aspects of their teaching, and adjusting to the changing times. Satisfaction varied according to particular circumstances. Only a minority of teachers voiced a concern about keeping up with the younger teachers.

For some teachers this was a time of major changes in their own teaching behaviors and attitudes. These changes seemed to have taken place gradually; the teachers were unable to pinpoint the exact years of the changes. Common long-term trends were toward greater flexibility in dealing with students, a more personal rapport with young people, and loss of energy and increase in fatigue.

Declining satisfaction

At a point in their early forties, in the midst of the Maintenance Stage, a majority of the teachers experienced a drop in satisfaction. It is possible that the decrease was an indication of the midlife stress described by some researchers (for example, Horrocks and
Mussman, 1970). The teachers' decreased satisfaction with their occupation might reflect a broader "middlescence." This finding should be interpreted with caution, however. None of the teachers attributed the decrease to his or her own aging process or to non-teaching-related reasons. Furthermore, several teachers were in their early forties during the turbulent period of the late 1960's.

Revitalization

Closely related to the early forties drop in satisfaction was the realization by several teachers that they were "getting in a rut." They felt a need for a different teaching situation, and consequently made changes in schools and/or grade levels. Their attempts at professional revitalization are evidence for what Murphy and Burck (1976) called the Renewal Stage: "a reevaluation of one's self-concept leading to a readjustment... in one's career" (p. 341).

 Withdrawal from organizations

Six of the teachers, at some time between their early forties and early fifties had temporarily refused to join the teachers' associations. They were disgusted with the association becoming increasingly like a union in its tolerance of strikes, support of political candidates and
control over its members. The teachers were distressed by how the teacher's image in society had changed since they began their careers.

Teachers are different now. The OEA has made teaching less professional and more business. They say they've made it more professional, but I think that's not true. They say you get more professional when you raise your salary. That's not true. It used to be that when you were a teacher people admired you because you were willing to work for nothing. I do not agree with the NEA's political stance. The only reason I joined is because of what the OEA can offer me. And I feel I ought to help the teachers who helped get raises.

The teachers' withdrawal from the professional associations is a phenomenon perhaps explained more by era than by teacher age or stage. According to National Education Association Research (1977) statistics, there was a dip in teacher membership at local, state and national levels from the late 1960's to the early 1970's. By the mid-1970's membership was up again (p. 36): a vast majority of state associations had voted to require unified membership. ("OEA Members Vote Unification for Ohio Beginning in Fall of 1974," 1973, p. 7).

Retirement crisis

As the teachers drew near the point at which, after thirty years of service, they could retire without sacrificing benefits, they seemed to face a crisis in deciding whether to retire. The decision was complex. As they discussed their present satisfactions and future
plans, only two had felt long-term high satisfaction with teaching, had definite plans for the future, and felt no ambivalence about these plans. For the other teachers, several sources of inner turmoil were evident. Some wished to retire but could not afford it financially. Several felt sorry that teaching was not what it used to be in so many ways. Some felt the pull between the desire to teach and the desire to pursue other interests. Some, while currently not very satisfied, felt that they did not regret a career spent teaching.

When I started teaching, I had six classes with about forty-three in each class. If I had not been young I could not have handled it. Today I have only twenty-seven in each class and only five classes, and I am shot by the end of the day. So the load is about half, but the kids are so different that it takes every bit of energy to keep them in line, keep them going and keep them responding....I've enjoyed teaching up to this point. I'm really tired this year. We've had so many different things happen. It just takes a lot out of you.

One senses that the teachers' comments reflect the characteristics of Griffin's (1970a, 1970b) fifth work life stage. They had reached a plateau and were experiencing stress and reorientation. They were aware of the shortness of time left in life and of their own physical limitations (1970a, p. 13).

I'm at the point now where I try to think about retiring. I'm hoping that we can work out a schedule for me to teach only three days a week next year. I hate to give up teaching, but I'm getting a little jealous of the time I have to spend here when there are some other things I want to do. Three days a
week will allow me a little more time for some of the hobbies I want to do. I'm not sure I'll be satisfied not teaching. I happen to enjoy teaching.

The teachers seemed to be in a phase described by Buhler (1968). It is a period from the late forties to the early sixties in which people take stock of their lives up to that point and make plans for the future in light of their own aspirations and limitations. It is a phase of self-assessment of successes and failures (p. 196). This normal process, for the teachers, may have been compounded by their facing the option of early retirement.

**Summary**

The first decade involved several changes in schools, levels and subjects taught; women took breaks in service in order to raise families; there was a reconsideration and reaffirmation of the decision to teach; graduate study was started; a feeling of professional maturity was achieved; the teachers were highly satisfied. The second decade of teaching found most teachers settled in one school system, grade level and subject; they experienced highs and lows in their satisfaction with teaching. Toward the end of that decade some felt themselves "getting in a rut"; they changed schools and/or grade levels in an attempt to revitalize themselves. Several experienced a sharp decline in their satisfaction. The third decade
brought a continuation of stability in the work situation, but the teachers felt moderately dissatisfied. Out of disgust with the teachers' organizations they temporarily withdrew their membership. As they looked back over their careers, they realized they had become more personal in their relationships with students, more flexible in their dealings with student behavior, less energetic and more tired. As they faced the early retirement decision they were thoughtful and troubled.

Comparison With Teacher Images

Stereotypes

In stereotypic teacher career development the teacher is transformed into robot, demon or angel. One may well ask whether the ten teachers experienced such transformations. Although most held a single position for the majority of their careers, they did not feel themselves stagnating into robots. They either made major changes in teaching methods, constantly updated their techniques, or altered their teaching to meet children's changing needs. Teachers who at some points felt they had become too routinized in their jobs made deliberate switches to another school and/or grade level.

The character of the teachers' major changes does not support the stereotype of the older teacher as demon:
these teachers felt they had become more understanding of students and more tolerant of minor student misbehavior over the years. They felt successful in helping children learn and believed they had good reputations with the students, i.e., they were viewed as likable competent teachers.

The teachers did not believe they had gained any miraculous powers over the years, however. Although they were better able to cope with the problems which naturally arose in teaching, it was not always with a saintly attitude. Several felt weary from their constant encounters with the children, parents and administrators who were so different from thirty years ago.

Research Findings

It is interesting to compare these ten teachers' descriptions of themselves with the findings of investigators who have studied characteristics of teachers by age. Ryans (1960), Jackson and Guba (1957), and Bienenstok and Sayres (1963) variously found that older teachers were more businesslike and orderly, more traditional in their educational viewpoints, and less favorably inclined towards students. Their findings were based on cross-sectional data, and the investigators indicated that they could not tell whether the differences indicated changes within the teachers over time. These
ten teachers had not perceived those particular changes in themselves. They did note differences between them and younger teachers: younger teachers were described as having more energy, enthusiasm and ideas, and being more informal and better liked by students, but having looser morals and being professionally more militant. Several teachers noted incompetence among younger teachers. If these teachers' perceptions of themselves and the younger teachers are accurate, one may infer tentatively that, on these particular dimensions, differences among teachers by age are due to changes in the composition of the teaching force rather than changes in individuals over time.

In their long-term satisfaction with teaching, several of these teachers were ambivalent. It is perhaps this ambivalence which is reflected in the lack of consistent evidence in correlations of teacher satisfaction and amount of experience (Bienenstok and Sayres, 1963; Kuhlen, 1959; Lortie, 1975; Rempel and Bentley, 1970). Kuhlen found the ambivalence in his teachers. When asked how satisfied they were with their present positions, the older teachers were more satisfied than the younger teachers. When Kuhlen asked whether they would go into teaching again and whether they would recommend teaching to a son or daughter, the older teachers were less willing than the younger teachers (pp. 197-98).
One of the ten teachers in this study expressed the ambivalence:

This is my daughter's sixth year of teaching, and it's worked out pretty nicely for her. My son is going into teaching, and lately I've been trying to talk him out of it. No, I really feel it's a great life. Knowing what I know now, I don't know whether I'd ever really go through and do the whole thing all over, although I don't regret any of it.

Impact of Contemporary History

As the ten teachers told their career stories, the effects of changing times figured prominently in their accounts. Several teachers viewed their careers as divided into stages by eras. The changing societal values had affected students' behavior and the public's attitudes toward schools and teachers. Several of the teachers' long-term changes were in response to the evolving conditions. This section describes and illustrates the teachers' perceptions of the changing societal values and student characteristics, and discusses the teachers' reactions to the changes. Teachers' views of the evolving teacher image are explored.

Societal Values

The teachers perceived, as Getzels (1978) did, that the broad societal values have changed over the past forty years, but they did not share his characterization of the changes. Getzels saw the traditional American secular
values—the work-success ethic, future-time orientation, independence, and Puritan morality—as having passed with the advent of the 1950's, but those are the very values which the teachers felt the society held well into the 1960's.

When the '60's came along, at first I wondered why I hadn't examined all the philosophies when I was young. The answer was because everything I heard was right. If I worked I was successful. It was obvious that working made sense.

Although the teachers agreed with Getzels' identification of the 1960's values, they were not inclined to state them positively. In addition to Getzels' list—social responsibility, relevance, personal authenticity, and moral commitment—they identified in the society the values of challenge and rebellion.

Our whole cultural approach in the late '60's was to push "do your own thing," but it was allowed to get out of hand. It went to extremes. It's back in control to a degree, but this is one of the groundworks for the apathy of today.

Some students didn't give a damn, or would ignore you, or be rude. You couldn't reach them. Then the Establishment was the enemy, the students felt. It was as bad as an inner city school, with the insolence, rebellion and indifference of the kids. It got to be, "I'm a hood and I'm not ashamed of it."

Getzels believed that the values of the 1970's were not yet clearly identifiable. The ten teachers, however, characterized this decade by values which Getzels ascribed to the 1950's: present-time orientation and moral relativism.
What do kids have to look forward to? They are free now. Their parents don't bug them. They think, "Gee, when I grow up I'll have to work!" They have everything already--TV's and telephones in their own rooms, and homes which are more comfortable and attractive than school is.

The kids now are free and easy--on the go. Everybody has a car. And sex--they know all about it. Pregnancy used to be a shock. But not now! We had one teacher last year who was unmarried and kept teaching right up until she had the baby. It shocked the rest of us, but that's the way it is today.

The changing societal values had an impact on the teachers' professional lives in many ways. Young people's self-concepts, attitudes toward school, and behavior in school had altered, and teachers found the changes difficult to adjust to.

**Student Characteristics**

The teachers saw young people currently as immature and unsettled. They attributed the change to several factors. Television and movies have exposed children to a great deal of information about the world, but much of it is information the children are not ready for. The society is geographically mobile, and young people have traveled many places and had a variety of experiences. In many ways children are highly sophisticated, but the corresponding maturity is lacking. The worldly knowledge has gone unexplained and uninterpreted. Many parents are busy at their own work and leisure. Broken families are
common. Adults have not prepared young people to think about the future and plan constructively.

The kids have changed a great deal from when I first started teaching. Their social maturity is advanced. Their background, as far as places they've been and things they've seen, is more advanced. But their personal responsibilities are probably no more advanced and maybe less so. I think most kids still have the same problems kids have always had in putting things together logically, but I think that they receive less help in their thought processes than they did.

The teachers noted that along with immaturity the children bring to school their apathy and distraction. Children accustomed to television expect to have their attention captured; a teacher competes with billions of dollars of commercial programming expertise. When children are bored they are used to switching channels; they have not learned to focus their attention on a difficult task for any length of time. The television blares on goodnaturedly and continues to entertain whether its viewers laugh, shout, curse, or walk away; children tend to expect teachers to respond similarly to viewer behavior.

It takes a lot of energy to plan. I think part of it is TV. Kids are so used to being entertained, and you really have to plan a program that is going to appeal to them. It takes a lot of planning, doing, gathering things together. It was probably easier to hold their interest before TV became widespread.

There was a time when you could just put it out there and the kids would just absorb it. Now it's taking more energy to get them to absorb what you
want them to. I think kids know so much more now about the world. They're more aware of things. And that makes it that much harder to pull them into the subject, to channel their minds in one direction for a short period of time.

Teachers' Reactions

The changes in students had struck the core of teachers' professional lives; teachers had to adjust their instructional and disciplinary methods. Some found themselves devoting more time and effort to planning a program to motivate the students while others were having to expend more energy in class keeping the students in line and interested.

The change in student behavior not only affected the teachers' actions, but also created tension over whether and how to change their accustomed roles. Their standards of behavior were no longer met by the majority of their students, and their customary methods of dealing with student misbehavior did not work. In addition, the legal limits which the courts have placed on the traditional use of corporal punishment affected not only the teachers' actions, but their administration backing as well. The teachers had to come to grips philosophically and emotionally with the changing standards.

Some say our principal is too lax, but I feel he is right for the times, because if you try to be too rigid now, you break or you're going to have trouble.
The administration's hands are tied in the local schools. You practically can't suspend a kid without giving him a hearing. And expelling—-that practically demands a court action. Even on a suspension a kid can have a lawyer there. The courts, the whole system has tied up student rights to the point where it's in detriment to the kids themselves.

It was very hard for me to adjust to the children's changing behavior. I had to have a discussion with myself. I told myself that if I was going to teach, I would just have to be more flexible. It was a major change for me.

**Teacher Image**

According to the teachers in this study, the cultural image of teachers has changed over the past decades. Most viewed the change as for the worse, although some compensations were noted. Most of the ten teachers remembered vividly the image they had in the community when they started teaching. There were some points of similarity between their image and that described by Gerbner (1972-73) as the traditional American teacher image. The teachers remembered being considered the moral example in the community and they appreciated the respect shown to them by both students and parents. The teachers did encounter what Gerbner would call an expression of the unsexed and saintly image of teachers, in that several of them experienced community pressure to attend church, not to smoke, drink, or use lipstick, and to remain single.

I think people today are more realistic about the fact that teachers are people. There was a time
when they were sort of looked upon as superspecial. It used to be considered immoral for teachers to smoke—they had to go to the boiler room! In the rural areas I taught in, the women who smoked had to hide it. And to see a teacher in a bar have a drink—that was unheard of! You were the epitome, the example. You just didn't do that!

However, these teachers did not hold the teacher image described by Gerbner as tyrannical, dull, depressed, and unsuccessful in life.

It used to be the thing that you actually were somebody in the community. The kids thought it was interesting to get to know teachers and be friends with them—not just one, but all of the teachers.

The teachers felt that the teacher is now losing the respect of both students and society. The teacher is no longer a specially valued member of the community. Parents do not back the teacher unconditionally; they are more likely now to question the way a teacher treats their child. Although this had not shaken teachers' confidence in their professional judgment, it put them on edge. The loss of prestige made the job less enjoyable.

The community used to respect teachers, but they also had more control over them. Now teachers aren't respected as much.

Basically, parents have taken the offensive on teachers. It used to be that if you said, "Look now, your son or daughter has done this," they'd say, "Hey, I'll take care of it right there." But now if you go out and say that to a lot of them, they'll say, "Well, what did you do?" They want to point a finger at you and say you caused it.

Although the role of teacher is not respected as it once was, neither is it ridiculed or scorned. Rather,
each teacher is now judged on his or her merits as an individual.

I think the attitude of students has changed. They are not nearly as respectful. They used to put teachers up here on a pedestal, but they don't anymore. ...Today you've got to prove to a kid that you are worthy of his respect.

It used to be that kids had respect. They thought you were a good man just because you were a teacher. Now they say, "Who are you?"

**Effect of the Occupation of Teaching**

Among the distinctive characteristics of the occupation of teaching is the conflict between teachers' loyalty to their professional community of fellow teachers and teachers' dependence upon public approval (Dreeban, 1970, pp. 17-21). The ten teachers seemed to have felt this conflict increasingly. When they had started teaching, the public expectations of education were consonant with the endeavors of the school, but in the intervening years the public had come to expect more of schools. For example, the school has taken on a variety of functions from driver education to counseling. The percentage of students who remain in school has risen consistently; teachers now deal with students who would formerly have quit for reasons of intellectual ability, problem behavior or economic necessity. The teachers were fully aware that they were not provided with the resources
to help these students although the public is holding teachers accountable.

I think a school ought to be a source of knowledge first. My personal opinion is that we spend a lot of time on extra things which aren't necessarily the job of the school. I think things like religion and sex education should be taught in the home. The more the school does for the family, the more they're going to have to do. And that is where the schools have gotten into some trouble.

Until the last decade, the social injustices in our country were germinating. People tried to correct them with the schools, but the schools can't do it. People tried to make social workers out of the teachers. Teachers aren't social workers. A teacher is there to transmit information and to stimulate thinking. Schools have suffered because the public has said, "Let's change society with the schools."

Now with this present law, parents can send a retarded child any place they want to send him. So you have to provide for him. That's one of the reasons the reading level is down. But nobody ever says that; they just yell about how the reading level is down.

As the levies and bond issues failed, teachers felt the pressure to please the public, but what the public expected was far from the teachers' original notions about what school teaching is.

The gulf between teachers' professional judgments and the wishes of the public was especially apparent as the teachers discussed curricular innovations. They faced decisions about whether to adopt innovations in which they had no faith.

I have a brother who was a math teacher with a master's in mathematics. The principal told him
to start teaching New Math, so he incorporated it with what he was teaching. But the principal told him that wasn't good enough. He said, "The hell with it!" and retired from teaching when he had twenty-five years. That was six or seven years ago, and now we're going back to the old math.

I remember when there was this idea that you should not correct or punish a child because it would ruin his psyche. We had teachers coming out of Ohio State who believed in no discipline--let the child go create! Well, this is no longer being taught. We had a whole era of that. And now we've swung in education, just like a pendulum. Modern Math is the other example. Now I don't necessarily swing with the pendulum unless it swings the way I want it to go. Otherwise, I'll ignore it.

The teachers used the analogy of a pendulum. Some went along with each "swing" with skepticism or a sense of humor while others viewed the innovations as a real threat to the quality of education.

Dreeban (1970) noted that teaching is an occupation with an intangible product, i.e., it is not clear how much and what kind of influence the teacher has on each pupil (pp. 25-26). A teacher will never know how much of the pupils' growth and development is due to him or her. The ten teachers had faced and resolved this occupational frustration. Several teachers who lived in their teaching communities mentioned the satisfaction of seeing their students grow up. The others seemed to have come to grips with the realization that they would rarely see the fruits of their labors.

Perhaps this is corny, but I believe Neil Armstrong had a point when he said he made it because of his teachers as well as his parents and co-workers.
That really clicked with me. I do think I helped put people on the moon.

It does get very discouraging, because you are working with something that is constantly being molded and changing. You have only a small amount of influence, when you realize the other influences that come onto your product. It can be very discouraging if you look too closely for end results. Now if you see them grow and become solid citizens of the community, then you get a satisfaction, but that's a long way off.

Implications

Research

Several investigations would lead to the substantiation and interpretation of the major findings of this study.

Recommendation: that research be undertaken to determine whether the ten teachers' stages apply to other career teachers' experience

Recommendation: that research be undertaken to delineate, refine and fully describe the teacher career stages

Recommendation: that the teacher career stages be compared with and perhaps incorporate evidence on adult development (especially from Gould, 1972, and Levinson, 1978)

Recommendation: that teacher career development be compared with career development in other occupations, especially other "flat" occupations

Several methodological modifications might prove profitable in the study of teacher career development. The ten teachers were interviewed twice about their own perceptions of their career development. In longer,
more detailed interviews many more aspects of teaching could be covered, and additional time would allow for more unstructured teacher talk. Examples of such detailed interviewing are Lane's (1962) interviews of men about their political ideology and Blum's (1970) interviews of packinghouse workers.

Recommendation: that investigators of teacher career development increase the length and depth of teacher interviews.

In this study teachers were the only source of data on themselves. In future studies teachers could be asked for old diaries, letters and other records which would give information about them at various points in their careers--information distinct from memory. Teachers could also be observed in their classrooms and other school environments. Research could be conducted into the history of particular school districts at the times teachers had served. The outcome of this would be richer and more detailed teacher biographies.

Recommendation: that investigators of teacher career development gather data on each teacher from a variety of sources.

These ten teachers were studied at a single point in their careers. A longitudinal study would yield depth of information and overcome the limitation of relying solely on memory. The problems of such a study would be offset by the quality of information gained. The
beginning of a longitudinal study of teacher career
development is under way at The Ohio State University,
commencing as The First Year Teacher Study (Applegate and

Recommendation: that investigators of teacher
career development undertake longitudinal study
following teachers from their first year to
retirement

Most of the teachers in this study appeared to be
unfamiliar with concepts of adult development. A few had
read or heard of Passages (Sheehy, 1974), a popular
rendering of adult stages. It is possible that with some
background knowledge of adult development the teachers
would think about their careers not only in terms of work
history, but also in terms of personal development.

Recommendation: that investigators of teacher
career development discuss concepts of adult
development with teachers prior to interviewing
them about their careers

Teaching Careers

Should teaching be a lifetime career? Nine teachers
in this study felt that for them, a forty-five-year
career was not a desirable option. Of the four teachers
in the study who were currently satisfied with teaching,
only one planned to teach indefinitely. Perhaps, as one
teacher suggested, thirty years is too long to expect a
person to respond positively to the stresses of teaching.
Recommendation: that teachers through professional organizations consider alternate structures for a teaching career, e.g., a twenty-year retirement option, more periodic paid leaves, or occasional rotations in and out of subject specialist or administrative positions.

Most school systems allow an entering teacher credit in salary and pension for no more than five years of previous teaching experience. Hence, teachers are discouraged from transferring after they have taught in one system for several years. They are subject to long-term changes in the system and community--changes which may be unpalatable to them.

Recommendation: that teachers work through professional organizations to negotiate an increase in the amount of teaching experience transferable to another school system.

Preservice Teacher Education

One infers from the ten teachers that preservice teacher educators take themselves too seriously. As the teachers looked back on their professional education, most acknowledged its limited role in their learning how to teach. Their views were similar to those of some first year teachers, studied by Ryan and others (1978), who said that teacher education could not be expected to do the entire job of developing someone into a teacher.

Recommendation: that preservice teacher educators, rather than expecting themselves and promising students to provide complete and fail-safe professional preparation, view undergraduate teacher education as just one step in the
career-long process of learning about teaching

Inservice Teacher Education

Inservice teacher educators may note that none of the teachers in this study mentioned inservice education voluntarily. To most it had been a minor irritant. The variety of patterns among these teachers in their professional change over the years suggests that inservice education should not assume that there is a unitary course of teacher development. Teachers making major changes in their teaching methods could be helped to achieve their own goals. Other teachers, who continuously update the way they use their same basic methods, might benefit from inservice education which supplies them with these new ideas. Teachers whose methods do not change may be more receptive to inservice education which deepens their knowledge of the subject matter.

Recommendation: that inservice teacher education be based on the recognition that there are many patterns of professional development

A primary question in this study concerned ways in which teachers mentally structure their careers; in the initial unstructured part of each first interview the teacher was asked to give an account of his or her own career. An analysis of those initial accounts indicated
that changes in themselves as teachers were not salient in their minds. They told about their careers mainly in terms of their work histories. Only in answering the subsequent specific interview questions did the teachers reflect on their professional development.

Recommendation: that teachers encourage each other to reflect on their long-term changes and the processes by which the changes take place

Prominent in the teachers' awareness of their careers were the changing society, students, parents, and schools. Several thought of their careers as segmented into a Then (the "good old days") and a Now ("things are different"). The teachers felt that contemporary history had greatly influenced their career experience.

Recommendation: that teachers educate school administrators about the processes involved in adapting to changing times

Recommendation: that support and counseling be provided for teachers in order to ease the stresses of adapting their beliefs and behavior to the changing demands of teaching

Most of the teachers in this study, although they had realized long ago that perfection as teachers was unattainable, seemed to be having a difficult time accepting their weariness with teaching. They realized that they had taught in good schools, had cooperative students, and had been able to increase their standard of living considerably over the years. They were eligible to teach for another fifteen years and felt that
they should want to do so. Their feelings of guilt would perhaps be alleviated if they realized that they were not alone in those feelings.

Recommendation: that teachers initiate professional meetings to learn about stages of teacher career development and adult development

**Conclusion**

Last Sunday at church I ran into a woman I've known for many years. She's a teacher who moved out of town and was back visiting. As we chatted she asked me about my plans for the future. I said I didn't know, but that I might take early retirement. "Why?" she asked. While I paused to grope for an answer, she said, "It's not as much fun as it used to be, is it?" I realized that was it.

Will a system charged with educating and fostering the development of youth ignore the professional development of the people most central to the success of the enterprise?
APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Decision to enter teaching
1. When did you decide to become a teacher?
2. What was your career plan at the time?
3. What college did you attend?
4. How was your original teacher training?

B. Work history
1. For each teaching position held:
   a. What was the name of the school?
   b. Where was it located?
   c. What type of community was it?
   d. What grades and/or subjects did you teach?
   e. What were your extracurricular responsibilities?
   f. How did you obtain this job?
   g. How many years were you there?
   h. Why did you leave this position?
2. What non-teaching jobs have you held? When?
3. Did you ever consider leaving teaching?
4. What are your plans for the future?

C. Changes in self and teaching
1. What was your first year of teaching like?
2. How long did it take you to feel like a mature teacher? How did you know you had "made it"?
3. What changes have you made in your teaching career in the following areas:
   a. Teaching methods
   b. Discipline
   c. Type of rapport with students
   d. Time and energy devoted to teaching
   e. Kinds and degree of satisfaction
   f. Your philosophy of education, including beliefs about what schools should do and what your own goals as a teacher are
   g. Degree of success
4. What has your inservice education been like? How have you felt about it?
5. Have you belonged to teachers' unions or associations? When? Were you active? How do you feel about them?
6. What is the extent of your graduate education? How have you felt about it?
7. How do you segment your career in your own mind?

D. Perceptions of the changing profession
1. Have you noticed changes in the occupation of teaching over the years?
   a. Changes in the nature of the job, e.g., work load, number of students, paper work?
   b. Changes in attitude toward teachers by students, parents, or administrators?
2. Have you been affected by educational movements over the past decade, such as the curriculum changes following Sputnik or during the 60's?
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