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BETWEEN DEFICIENCY AND EXCESS: 
REPRESENTATIONS OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS AND THE PARADOXES 
OF PROFESSIONALISM 

DISSERTATION 

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

By 
Lisa D. Weems, M.A. 

* * * * * 

The Ohio State University 
2000 

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ABSTRACT

This research utilizes Jennifer Terry's notion of "deviant historiography" to investigate the representation of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism as a practice of reading-against-the-grain. Using ethnographic and archival data collected with and about substitute teachers, this project investigates the representation of substitute teachers as a way to interrogate the possibilities and limitations of a model of "professionalism" for thinking about the work of teachers. Three questions organized the research project: 1) How do substitute teachers, most of whom are certificated teachers, come to be labeled "ineffective outsiders" within their own professional field? 2) What are the effects of such representations and what will this mean, given the rising demand for and use of substitute teachers in the K-12 classroom? 3) Moreover, how can analysis of the position of substitute teachers as "in-between teachers" help us to understand the contemporary educational reform movement towards professionalization?

Educational theorists have documented how professionalism serves as an authoritative discourse that drives educational reform. While the trend within educational policy is to identify and explicate the components of professionalism, this study takes a different strategy in reconceptualizing professionalism. In this treatment, professionalism is unraveled as a
constellation of images and ideas that are historically and socio-culturally situated. Specifically, this study follows the tradition in cultural studies of investigating the boundaries and epistemic logic of a particular discourse by focusing on a category that is constitutionally deviant.

A hybrid methodology combining elements of genealogical discourse analysis and ethnography was utilized to construct an archive of data sources on the representation of substitute teachers including individual and focus group transcripts, observation fieldnotes, newspaper articles and film clips. Three "analytic re-constructions" are presented to illustrate how representations of substitute teachers signal a shift in educational reform in theory and practice.

The position of substitute teachers as a deviant case highlights some of the paradoxes and tensions around issues of "professionalism" within educational policy reform, popular media and local school contexts. Positioned at the margins of the discourse-practices of professionalism, representations of substitute teachers allow us to see the material and discursive limits of contemporary educational reform.
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I am particularly indebted to the teachers that participated in this research for sharing their time and stories. To participate in empirical research is to
engage in practices that are both comforting and unsettling. This is precisely the challenge of doing and critiquing ethnography given the crisis of representation.

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Finally, completion of this project hinged on the intellectual and social support from my sister, Pam Weems. To locate in one relationship the capacity for intellectual and personal development is to create a space for collaboration and stability amidst the ruins of academia, community and family. As Mary Leach notes, such practices inhabit "an alternative terrain in which to find the actual conditions of possibility for both the creation and examination of differences..."
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The new archivist is a reader-against-the-grain who recognizes traces of deviant subjects revealed through conflict within dominant accounts. Instead of positing a fixed deviant subject position, the archivist finds a provisional position corresponding to a discursively fashioned outlawed or pathologized sexual identity - the location from which a resistant historiography can be generated.


THE PROBLEMATIC

As an educational researcher, I am interested in the professional development of teachers and interrogation of the meanings associated with the term "professionalism." As a teacher, I am interested in the representation of one group of teachers, substitute teachers, that is often the object of criticism from other educators, parents, students and the general public. This research utilizes Jennifer Terry's notion of "deviant historiography" to investigate the representation of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism as a practice of reading-against-the-grain (1991). As Sondergaard (1999) notes, the practices and narratives of the "discursively abject" often point to the "ruptures" and "breaks" in discourse. Using ethnographic and archival data collected with and about substitute teachers, this project investigates the representation of
substitute teachers as a way to interrogate the possibilities and limitations of a model of "professionalism" for thinking about the work of teachers. Historical analysis provides insight into how discourses of professionalism organize how we think about the work of teachers. Ethnographic analysis offers an opportunity to explore how the identities and practices produced through such discourses are sites of regulation and contestation. To that end, three questions organized the research project in its early conception: 1) How is it that substitute teachers, most of whom are certificated teachers, come to be labeled "ineffective outsiders" within their own professional field? 2) What are the effects of such representations and what will this mean, given the rising demand for and use of substitute teachers in the K-12 classroom? 3) Moreover, how can analysis of the position of substitute teachers as "in-between teachers" help us to understand the contemporary educational reform movement towards professionalization (Labaree, 1992)?

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM: WHY LOOK AT SUBS?

I focus on substitute teachers as one site from which to investigate the meaning and implications of the professionalism model in education.¹

Educational theorists have documented how professionalism serves as an

¹ I use the term "professionalism" to refer to a historically contingent discourse which emerged during the Mid-Victorian period in the United States which continued through the Progressive Era: roughly from 1850-1920's. This informed my textual selections for analysis. There is a significant body of work on the "professionalization" of teaching (Gitlin, 1996; Apple, 1994) that utilizes a critical or Marxist perspective to analyze the terms and practices of labor organizations in reshaping the teaching profession. My analysis privileges a cultural and intellectual history of gender and professionalism, rather than an economic analysis of sex and professionalization.
authoritative discourse that drives educational reform (Popkewitz, 1998). While the trend within educational policy is to identify and explicate the components of professionalism, this study takes a different strategy in reconceptualizing professionalism. In this treatment, professionalism is unraveled as a constellation of images and ideas that are historically and socio-culturally situated. Specifically, this study follows the tradition in cultural studies of investigating the boundaries and epistemic logic of a particular discourse by focusing on a category that is constitutionally deviant.

The position of substitute teachers as a deviant case highlights some of the paradoxes and tensions around issues of "professionalism" within educational policy reform, popular media and local school contexts. Positioned at the margins of the discourse-practices of professionalism, representations of substitute teachers allow us to see the material and discursive limits of contemporary educational reform.

FOUCAULT, GENEALOGY AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

To investigate the position of substitute teachers I utilized a hybrid methodology that employs elements of genealogical discourse analysis (Foucault, 1972, 1991; Fairclough, 1995) and ethnography (Geertz, 1983; Marshall and Rossman, 1995). I constructed an archive of data sources on the representation of substitute teachers including individual and focus group transcripts, observation fieldnotes, newspaper articles and film clips. I considered these data sources as "traces" of the discourses of professionalism,
teaching and education. Professionalism, as an authoritative discourse that drives educational reform, is unraveled as a constellation of images and ideas that are historically and socio-culturally situated. A sub-sample of data sources were identified, coded and analyzed using Foucault's method (1991) in order to examine the intradiscursive, interdiscursive and extradiscursive elements of statements regarding the representation of substitute teachers.

Angela McRobbie (1994) argues that researchers in the area of cultural studies often tend to engage in research which investigates either material practices (for instance a critical ethnography of teacher's classroom practices), or literary criticism (such as an textual analysis of a teacher's curriculum). What is needed, according to McRobbie, is textual analysis of ethnographic data. Taking heed of McRobbie's argument, this inquiry includes textual analysis of both archival and ethnographic data. Thus, some of the data sources were created for the primary purpose of this analysis, which I term "ethnographic" - including interview transcripts and observation notes. Other data sources were previously produced representations of substitute teachers in popular film, children literature, social scientific research and professional development literature. Taken together, these texts constitute the discursive field through which I analyzed the position of substitute teachers. Rather than a pre-existing body of data, the archive I constructed illustrates how representations of substitute teachers function within and between local, institutional and socio-cultural discourses.
Foucauldian discourse analysis provides one model for exploring the relationships between how one language the world and how one “experiences” it.² Using a self-constructed archive that consists of data sources created and collected through various methods, the discourse analyst treats statements as performative speech acts (Butler, 1990), images as historical events (Comaroff, 1992) and documents as discourse practices (Britzman, 1994). Rather than conceptualizing language as a conduit for the transmission of information, the archivist is concerned with discourse practices (such as interviews and observations) that involve multiple layers of interpretation. The construction of text mobilizes certain discourse practices to produce an intelligible product and in turn the reception of texts, as discourse practices, requires the reader (herself situated in multiple discourses) to decipher meanings of the text. The “new ethnography,” as it is sometimes termed, consists of historicizing the interpretation of social activity (Camaroff and Camaroff, 1992).

This type of investigation, “historical ethnography,” is cogently outlined by John and Jean Camaroff in their book entitled, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. In the book, the Camaroffs advocate for a "newer social history" — an historical ethnography which learns from the pitfalls and possibilities

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²Post-structural analysis problematizes “experience” as a transparent epistemological stance. It challenges the metaphysics of presence that has characterized research in the human sciences, such as interpretivism and phenomenology. See Britzman (1994) for a useful discussion of how post-structural ethnography shifts the focus of analysis from “experience” to contextualizing discourses of experiences.
encountered in contemporary social scientific research. They argue that history has faulted on the side of overestimating the importance of social patterns, which remain only abstract, theoretical and over-determinant in analysis of culture.

Similarly, ethnography has erred on the side of producing ahistorical interpretive accounts of "exoticized others." Ethnography's contribution is its attention to the "implicit dimension" -- the study of how symbolic, linguistic and cultural assumptions and beliefs construct meaning for its participants. History can offer insight into the conditions that give rise to and constrain the parameters of particular cultures. What is needed are analyses that are "respectful of the real" as it is constructed by embodied subjects in specific locally-deployed contexts and contested discursive practices (Camaroff and Camaroff, 1992, p. 3). Equally important, however, is the need to look at the conditions which produce experiencing subjects (p. 20). However, unlike the tendency within both ethnography and history to be a celebration of either the faceless masses or a unique subculture, subaltern historiography "challenges the very categories through which colonial pasts have been made" (Camaroff and Camaroff, 1992, p. 15).

In such analyses, categories and constructs, such as "the individual,"

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3 For example, across the disciplines researchers are grappling with debates regarding the place of subjectivity and language in telling the story of another's life. Philosophers of science refer to this as the crisis of representation (Lather, in press; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Chapter four discusses such issues in more depth.

4 See Hamilton (1994) for a discussion of how the history of ethnography implicates it in colonial projects of the domination of "third-world populations."

5 The term "subaltern" often appears in post-colonial theorizing on difference, subjectivity and representation to refer to bodies, identities and practices that are constructed as deficient and oppositional to imperialist categories of normalization: "white" "man" "British", etc. Subaltern
"event," "culture" and "society" are themselves historically contingent and culturally configured (p. 9) and are under suspicion as much as the very people and processes under investigation. Camaroff and Camaroff argue:

A historical ethnography, then, must begin by constructing its own archive. It cannot content itself with established cannons of documentary evidence, because these are themselves part of the culture of global modernism — as much the subject as the means of inquiry. (1992, p. 34)

Cultural analyses of historical processes, then, do not necessarily center on the description of monumental events, heroes or institutions. They continue:

Such symbolic processes, we stress are not limited to colonizing moments. The making of what we term modernity can be read as much in the evolution of table manners, sanitation, or the passport photography as in the development of formal state institutions (p. 42).

From this perspective, the historiographer explores the "textual traces of the period:" traces found in newspapers and official publications as well as in novels, tracts, popular songs, even in drawing and children’s games (Greenblatt, 1990 cited in Camaroff, 1992, p. 34). As I constructed the archive of this historical ethnography, I located traces of professionalization in images of substitute teachers in popular media, children's literature, newspaper articles, interview

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refers to a marginalized subject position that serves as the material and imagined "Other" in colonial spaces and narratives. Subaltern studies, however, is not the mere reversal and celebration of marginalized positions. Rather, subaltern studies, involves reading practices that are “closer to deconstruction” and operate from “a theory of change as the site of the displacement of the function between sign-systems.” (Spivak, 1987, p. 1980). See Spivak (1987) for a theoretical discussion and application of how the subaltern figures into deconstructive historiography.
transcripts as well as the formal policy and reports on the professional
development of teachers in the state of Ohio.

Critics of post-structural theories of interpretation argue that the view of
social life as discursive events greatly underestimates the importance of history
and power in analyzing social phenomena (McLaren and Kincheloe, 1994). Such
critics worry about the implications of a textual approach. For example, critical
theorists like McLaren and Kincheloe worry that a textual approach to social
events which highlights the polyphonic nature of texts (such as Derrida's
language as an endless play of meaning) leads to a form of cultural relativism in
interpretive research. Against such worries, I argue that many theorists who
work under the sign of post-structuralism emphasize the importance of history
and relations of power as forces that construct the limits and possibilities of
interpretation of discursive events (Foucault, 1972; Leach, 1991; St. Pierre and
Pillow, 2000). Foucault's research on the advent of the prison system (*Discipline
and Punish*) and the invention of homosexuality (*The History of Sexuality*) provides
a working model of analyzing the historicity of events. This analysis requires the
constant movement between seemingly "macro" and "micro" levels of analysis.

Foucault's conceptualization of discourse analysis is useful for exploring
the representation of substitute teachers precisely because it resists a division
between "material" and "linguistic" realms. In fact, one of the key findings from
this study was the power of naming in constructing substitute teachers as
marginalized subjects within educational scenes. When asked which terms they
would use to identify themselves, most participants selected "teacher" rather than "substitute teacher" because of the negative connotations and stigma associated with the label. As Mr. Myers notes:

The term "substitute," in my opinion, is quite "antiquated" and tends to indicate a "negative" connotation in reference to the quality of one's skills and/or abilities, perhaps sending an ambiguous and subtle message to students of one being below par or "not up to standard." [emphasis his]

This example illustrates how language (its terms and uses) shapes subjectivity. The term "substitute" is value laden and reflects relations of power between students and groups of teachers. It is not just that the term is negative, but when used to label another teacher it will effect subsequent interactions and the interpretations of them. In this example, textual analysis actually facilitates a critique of social relations.

"Deviant historiography" is one type of discourse analysis that allows the researcher to examine how identities are discursively invented, regulated and contested through everyday practice (Terry, 1991). Focusing on those identities produced as "deviant" by the discourses that constitute them, "deviant historiography" foregrounds the role of power, language and institutional practices in the construction of subjectivity. In chapter two, I utilize deviant historiography to construct substitute teachers as excessive subjects in relation to discourses of professionalism. This involved constructing an archive of multi-

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⁹ Open-ended response to the grounded survey completed by Mr. Myers on June 7, 1999. "Mr. Myers" is a pseudonym.

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media, including social scientific and practitioner literature, film images and newspaper articles on substitute teachers, professionalism and educational reform.

George Marcus (1998) calls for a new kind of "mobile ethnography" that utilizes multi-sited ethnographic and historical fieldwork as a way to expand the social scientific research imaginary. This project attempts to enact such a multi-sited approach in an effort to learn more about the relations of discourse and subjectivity by juxtaposing representations of substitute teachers within and across multiple field sites. By multiple sites, I not only mean that there are multiple places geographically where I conducted interviews and observed classrooms. My use of the term multi-site refers more to my decision to include representations of substitute teachers within two forms of popular media — film and newspaper accounts — in addition to ethnographic data. This move goes deeply to the heart of cultural studies in thinking about sites as found, fixed objects to be relayed rather than thinking about the role of the researcher's position in practicing ethnography as a "mode of construction." Designing multi-sited ethnographic research includes the construction of the object itself, as the researcher identifies cultural traces that are seemingly "worlds apart" and tracing the associations and connections they suggest (Marcus, 1998).

RECONCEPTUALIZING THE WORK OF TEACHERS

The work of teachers has long been the object of investigation among educational researchers. Posited as the first sociology of teaching, Willard

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Waller’s account in the 1930’s made explicit some of the norms and expectations associated with the role of teaching through investigation of ethnographic practices of teachers both inside and outside of the classroom. Since that time, studies of teachers, teaching and professionalism have centered on psychological (Bandura, 1977) historical (Bledstein, 1978; Labaree, 1992, 1995, 1997; Noble, 1970; Popkewitz, 1988, 1998;) and sociological (Apple, 1987 and 1994; Etzioni, 1969; Gitlin, 1996; Labaree, 1996; Lortie, 1975) issues and themes.

Psychological accounts grew from the proliferation of educational psychology that focuses on what could be measured in terms of teachers’ competence and “efficacy” through (mostly) statistical analysis of the effects of training, skills, and teachers’ self-perceptions of performance. Psychological research, while valiantly bringing the “individual” into focus, tends to overlook broader social movements and historical process which both produce and constrain teachers performances and cultural perceptions of them.

Critical historical accounts look at the intersections of political economy and institutional reform to outline ideological factors that shape how we envision the work of teachers. For example, David Noble’s book, The Progressive Mind, outlines how the notions of science and technology as liberating forces made their ways into the minds of professionals at the turn of the century including those in the field of teaching. Similarly, Popkewitz (1998) has illustrated how the ideology of redemption has served as the motor force that drives educational reform. In a similar vein, political sociological accounts of
teaching have analyzed how social forces, such as gender and class, are important factors that shaped the movement to professionalize teaching historically (Apple, 1987, 1994).

Socio-historical and psychological research have offered insightful contributions to theorizing teacher identity. However, each of these traditions tends to foreground either individual or structural forces that shape subjectivity at the expense of the other. Both historical and sociological accounts of teaching and professionalism frequently analyze and (reify) relations of power as fixed and stable social facts. Influenced by Marxist traditions of critical theory, political sociologies of teaching emphasize teachers as a particular "class" of workers who variously act as "victims" or "perpetrators" of social injustices such as racism, elitism, paternalism. Both historical and critical approaches focus on macro socio-political forces that are overly simple. For example, historical and critical perspectives characterize the "feminization of teaching" as an example of the reproduction of societal and economic inequality and emphasize the exploitation of women's labor within educational bureaucracies (Apple, 1994; Lather, 1987). Or, conversely, white teachers are viewed as perpetrators of racist ideologies within the classroom (Spring, 1994). Few accounts analyze how narratives of gender, race and education work together to produce images of (middle class white) women as "natural" teachers. Even fewer accounts analyze the ways in which teachers disrupt dominant narratives in situated, local contexts.
Moreover, contemporary theories of teaching (whether psychological or socio-historical) tend to reinscribe a false dichotomy of the individual and society as two competing and exclusive constructs. This can be seen in the tendency to focus on teachers as EITHER constrained by power OR agents of power. The assumptions, terms and elements of these debates create a chasm between seemingly macro structures (systems of oppression) and micro-processes (teaching as a function of individual efficacy).

Post-structural theorizing does not offer a solution for bridging this divide. What post-structural theorizing does offer is the challenge to put under suspicion the very constructs and terms that keep that split intelligible. Rather than positioning post-structuralism as a universally appropriate approach for theorizing the work of teachers, post-structuralism allows the researcher to enter a conversation about educational reform, its problems and possibilities, and to reconsider the implications of professionalism by analyzing the micro-practices which lay claim to it. Moreover, as this investigation indicates, discourses of professionalism are not seamless, fixed objects. They are worked over and transformed as subjects work through their authority.

"Discourse analysis" is a term utilized to describe a broad range of theoretical and methodological strategies employed by educational researchers to conduct socio-cultural analysis of educational topics. Researchers such as James Gee (1999) interrogate the micropractices of educational scenes to explore how cultural models become social realities. The present project works in
conversation with such approaches yet takes a more historical approach to
investigate the position of substitute teachers. The current project is more closely
aligned with Foucault’s genealogical approach to represent a “history of the
present” (1978). To situate this project as a history of the present, I provide a
sketch of some of the socio-historical discourses that frame contemporary
educational reform, research on teaching and issues that impact the work of
teachers.

SOCIO-HISTORICAL DISCOURSES OF TEACHING

Teacher Replacement and Teacher Shortage

The issue of teacher replacement is a product of both internal and external
work force factors. Ironically, an unexpected outcome of the movement to
professionalize teaching is that the effects of professionalization actually
contribute to the teacher shortage crisis in contemporary American education.
As the field of teaching becomes more "professionalized"—offering teaching
professionals the benefits of early retirement, more paid-time off for sick,
personal and professional development days—professionalization is quite
literally pushing teachers outside the classroom.

To no one’s surprise public schools are currently experiencing a massive
shortage of full-time and substitute teachers. Across the country, the number of
full-time teachers has decreased. This is due to 1) a decrease in the number of
people going into teaching and 2) the high turnover rate of teachers leaving the
field (Ingersoll, 1999, p. 33). Factors that contribute to the overall decrease in the
number of new teachers include the availability of women to enter into other fields of study or vocation as well as the overall devaluation of the work of teachers in both status and compensation (Labaree, 1992). Similarly, the need for teachers to assume family responsibility and dissatisfaction with their work environment has also contributed to a rise in teacher attrition (Porwoll, 1977). Another key factor which contributes to the recent decline in the number of practicing teachers is the result of professionalization initiatives which establish and implement early retirement benefits for teachers with a certain number of teaching years experience. Teachers are cashing in on some of the benefits made available to them as an effect of the movement to professionalize teaching such as taking paid leaves of absence for personal and professional reasons. As a result of such initiatives, coupled with an overall "graying" of the teaching force, the teaching profession is undergoing a major decline in the proportion of available "professional" teachers to meet the numbers of a nationwide student population that continues to grow. By and large, it is substitute teachers who are called upon to "cover the classroom."

Regardless, the shortage of professional teachers has in turn lead to a substitute teacher shortage. In fact, Ingersoll notes that utilizing substitute teachers is the primary method for covering teacher vacancies as opposed to hiring under-qualified teachers, hiring part-time teachers, or expanding class size

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Historical discourses on teaching emphasize that substitute teachers have been utilized to supplement a pre-existing teaching workforce that was relatively stable. For example Morrison (1994a) argues that historically, the substitute teacher pool was large enough to accommodate the supply/demand of teacher placement. Archival data on substitute teachers (Baldwin, 1934; Connors, 1932; Crow, 1926; Hartley, 1959) characterizes substitute teachers as female teachers on "career break" to fulfill family responsibilities. Increased opportunities for women have lead to a smaller pool of both professional and substitute teachers. Thus, "gender" and "part-time work" were two unarticulated but crucial elements that shaped dynamics of teacher supply/demand. Gender remains a largely unexamined element of discourses of professionalism, despite the scholarship that underscores how standardization, bureaucratization and feminization occurred concomitantly with professionalization of the field of teaching (Leach, 1988; Weis, 1996). In this sense, the work of substitute teachers is gendered labor and constitutes an "absent presence" in discourses on teaching, professionalism and educational reform (Lather, 1986).

However, the current utilization and rhetoric around the use of substitute teachers operates from a quite different set of assumptions than in previous decades. Within historical and current administrative discourses, teacher (re)placement is viewed as a neutral structure driven by the logic of supply/demand (AAEE, 1998; Ingersoll, 1998). Elsewhere, however, the rhetoric around substitute teachers entails a much larger discussion about the perceived
effectiveness of contemporary educational reform efforts to deal with the needs of schools. Specifically, substitute teaching is not only viewed as a supply force but has also come to represent an alternative strategy for bringing new teachers into the profession (Bassinger, 1999). Consider for example, recent local and national movements to alter legislation to relax the standards for teacher placement such as Elizabeth Dole’s platform to honor “alternative certification” for “professionals” who move from management positions into the field of teaching (Weissert, 1999). Another program, the Troops to Teachers program, places retired military personnel in educational positions both inside and outside the classroom. Such programs, then, are as much about “filling classrooms” as they are about ushering in a “different kind” of teacher to the profession. The use of alternative means to compensate for the shortage of professional and substitute teachers has (at least) two specific consequences important to this investigation: 1) school districts are taking educational reform into their own hands to deal with the problem of teacher shortage; and 2) such efforts draw new recruits from a wide range of educational and occupational backgrounds, in effect creating a large and heterogeneous category of substitute teachers. It is not only that the shortage of professional teachers has lead to a shortage of substitute teachers. The teacher shortage has allowed for a shift in the kinds of teachers that are being welcomed and even encouraged into the profession.

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The realization that there are simply not enough teachers to fill classrooms has led the media and school district officials to characterize teacher shortage issue in state of "crisis." In response, districts are offering "emergency certification," and using alternative means to recruit potential teachers. Requests for substitute teachers abounded. Ongoing classified ads and news reports highlight the "substitute crisis" and inform readers how to obtain temporary certification. Most of the substitute teachers I worked with possessed either a four-year provisional or lifetime certification. However, there were several that had acquired "temporary certification." Temporary certification, for Columbus Public Schools involves providing documentation of a Bachelor's degree, testing negative for TB, being fingerprinted and passing a 30-minute selection interview.

The notion of "emergency certification" raises all kinds of questions and issues around teaching as a profession. Certification implies some level of expertise and experience in a given area. Indeed for professional teachers certification indicates area of specialization (middle school language arts, special education, K-12 music, etc.). The concept of professionalization dominant in the field is linked to growing requirements in teacher training, education and experience. An important question here is how does "emergency certification" circumvent professional conventions in teacher qualifications? What will be the theoretical and practical implications of granting "emergency certification" for this larger movement to professionalize teaching?
While most districts are experiencing this crisis, wealthier districts are better equipped to maintain their pool of substitute teachers by offering substitutes the same incentives and benefits typically reserved for full-time teachers. Mr. Johnson, a superintendent for a suburban district calls it a "buyers market" where substitutes get to "name their price." The "price" requested by substitutes in his district are health insurance and free lunches. In addition, he has two substitute teachers who are on a 12 month contract to help insure that there are always available bodies. Mr. Johnson sees this as a time of growth where it is likely that in the future he will be able to retain more substitute teachers on this contract system.

The extent of teacher shortage varies greatly from district to district. However, urban and rural districts have the greatest shortage as teachers opt for more "privileged" buildings. Urban districts are particularly hard hit to fill both full-time and part-time positions. Across the country, urban districts in particular have gone to unorthodox strategies for filling those positions. Detroit Metropolitan Schools, for example, hired Kelly services to pair schools and

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9 Although I gathered no comprehensive statistics, the personal accounts with substitute teachers indicated that there is a growing trend among both professional and substitute teachers to be "selective" about the schools in which they seek employment. Two examples illustrate the class and racial politics involved in the shortage issue. At the beginning of this investigation, I spoke with a white teacher that passed up several offers for full-time contracts in order to be on the teacher "wait-list" at her school of choice. This meant that she subbed for an entire year — being on call — for this upper middle class middle school in a predominantly white neighborhood. Another example comes by way of two pre-service teachers that were subbing "to get experience." Both white females, they found urban schools "too challenging" and thus began accepting only assignments in suburban schools.
substitute teachers. As a temporary employment agency, Kelly Services serves the corporate world to supply businesses with part-time secretaries and administrative assistants. The firm claims to provide "qualified substitutes" and "in-house training." Yet this situation highlights the tenuous relationship between corporate and academic interests and alliances. Whether or not these workers are "qualified," it certainly presents a glaring challenge to the model of teaching as a profession in the same vein as medicine or law. Furthermore, it forces the question, Why haven't colleges of education been a part of the discussion and process of "managing" the teacher shortage crisis? Could it be that the limits of professionalism and the "alternative certification" counter-movement is spawned by the profession's gaps and blindspots?

What is interesting about such efforts is that the teacher shortage has allowed for public discourse to engage in the larger debate about the role of professional development (teacher training, licensure and education) in the "making of teachers." Thus the teacher shortage provides a context of material conditions that promote public discourse that is positioned in many ways against institutional discourses of professionalism and education.

Educational policy and reform initiatives focus on the "professional teacher" — how colleges of education can create them, how schools can keep them and how students will learn from them. In presenting a vision of an

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educational profession, substitute teachers are largely absent from educational policy material. Furthermore, as the practitioner literature bears out, substitute teachers are constructed as part of the problem with today's teachers and schools, due to the lack of training, experience and competence in the field. The position of substitute teachers helps make visible the disjunction between what's happening in schools and colleges of education. My point may be a simple one: educational reform is happening and is happening differently at the level of institutional reform and local reform.

My desire here is not to create a meta-narrative about educational reform and school reform as monolithic philosophies and practices. Much of my argument centers around the multiplicity of practices that operate under the sign of reform and how multiplicity of meaning gets flattened through policy documents that speak "as if" students, teachers and the space of the classroom are standardized, universalized constructs.

Institutional reform lead by national groups such as the Holmes Group and others call for and implement programs that increase the level of education and training of pre-service and in-service teachers. However, local reform practices widen the gap between training, certification and hiring practice. Schools are responding to the teacher shortage crisis by implementing "alternative certification" programs or simply circumventing certification
standards for teachers in order to meet the needs of a growing student population. For example, in December 1999, Wyoming\textsuperscript{12} and Nebraska\textsuperscript{13} are among the states that have legislated a decrease in certification requirements for hiring and placing teachers. Thus, these states, and many more schools districts across the country are moving away from the national reform effort known as the movement to professionalize teaching. Simply put, public schools cannot sustain educational reform as it conceptualized by educational researchers and policy reform leaders.

\textbf{PROFESSIONALISM IN EDUCATION}

One of the central themes in contemporary educational reform is the movement to professionalize teaching. This movement contains several components aimed at improving the "professional development" of teachers. Using the medical profession as its model, professional development efforts include identifying "expert teachers," "best practices" and preparing teachers with "rigorous knowledge" before going into the field. Working out of business and psychological frameworks, professional development involves training and education directed at the level of individual performance.

Educational historians have noted the uneasy relationship between the field of teaching and the standard model of professionalism. In his classic

\textsuperscript{12} CNN Headline News, December 23, 1999.
sociological treatise on the topic, Amatai Etzioni (1969) conceptualizes teaching as a "semi-profession" exhibiting some of the characteristics of the professions, while deviating from others. Despite its liminal status within the professions, educational reformers have utilized the model of professionalism since the 19th century to advocate the practices and philosophical assumptions to which educators should aspire (Labaree, 1992). Historically, the movement to professionalize teachers is made visible through a growing standardization of teacher training, curricular and pedagogical practices, and an emphasis on credentials. Adopting the model of professionalism draws attention to two constitutive aspects of the work of teachers: career and character (Bledstein, 1978).

In its current incarnation, the movement to professionalize teachers places emphasis on increasing the expert knowledge base and experiential learning of pre-service and in-service teachers. Professionalism, as a model, is a complicated juxtaposition of both scientific and moral discourses on the role of teachers in society. Scientific discourses on professionalism foreground constructions of the teacher as a technocrat, whose knowledge and methods can be rationalized and observed through objective and quantifiable measures (Labaree, 1992). Teachers are considered both the subject and object of professional development through systemic training and encouraged implementation of progressive educational efforts such as constructivist pedagogy (Popkewitz, 1998). Similarly, the influence of moral discourses on education persists, as evidenced in views of the
teacher as "managers of virtue" (Tyack and Hansot, 1982). This strange configuration of moral and scientific discourses known as professionalism serves as a dominant discourse within educational reform.

Discourses of professionalism can be considered authoritative discourses within most contemporary American educational contexts. Charged with modernizing educational systems, educational researchers, since the 19th century have adopted a model of professionalism to construct the idealized teaching subject (Popkewitz, 1998). Its current incarnation is the preoccupation with constructing teachers into "experts" likened after other professional figures, most notably doctors. The move toward professionalization currently takes the shape of "professional development" initiatives whereby pre-service and in-service teachers participate in training, education and skill development as a method of increasing "efficacy" in terms of psychological and content specific indicators. The teaching expert is seen as a product of several elements: technocratic expertise or knowledge in a particular content area, labor credentials such as teaching experience and seniority, and psychological traits such as the level of confidence as a teacher. As Popkewitz (1998) notes, this construction of teaching is constituted by various scientific discourses such as the disciplines of psychology and management. These scientific discourses, as they take shape in education, meld onto moral discourses about the redemptive nature of education that manifest in the view of teachers as "managers of virtue." As managers of virtue teachers are charged with the task of moral leadership. Armed with a
growing "science of instruction (Labaree, 1992), the professional teacher is at the forefront of the "crusade for civilization" (Bledstein, 1978).

THEORIZING REPRESENTATIONS OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS

Within this dominant discourse, substitute teachers are constructed as marginalized subjects — outsiders to the professional framework and local school cultures in which they operate. Consider for example, this professional teacher’s observation on the position of substitute teachers:

> It is my observation (as a full-time teacher) that substitute teachers are undervalued in every way by the school systems and schools in which they offer their services. They are pitifully paid (I think they are shamefully exploited) and often treated as third-class citizens within school environments. They are often ignored by full-time teachers when they (substitutes) appear in teachers’ lounges. Even students will say to them, "Oh, you’re just a substitute".... Substitute teachers should, in my view, be treated as valued guest teachers...but they are not. (Judy, 4/9/99)

Judy’s characterization of substitute teachers as "third class citizens" illuminates how they are marginalized within the school contexts in which they serve. This marginalization, operating at the level of both local and institutional contexts, led Morrison (1994a) to conclude that substitute teachers are invisible within educational reform. Several dynamics contribute to the invisibility and under-theorization of the position of substitute teachers within discourses of

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14 Participants in this study were allowed to select pseudonyms or utilize their real names. Thus, there is a mixture of both fictional and factual naming of participants, places and school locations throughout this dissertation. The practice of selecting pseudonyms is consistent within the ethnographic tradition of assuring anonymity. However, using pseudonyms is not standard practice in archival research. This situation, whether to "fictionalize" portions of archival data or to "authenticate" ethnographic accounts, highlights some of the theoretical and practical
professionalism including fear of exacerbating public concerns of a "competent" teaching workforce. Educational reformers, policy makers and administrators may be reluctant to acknowledge the role of substitute teachers both in terms of prevalence and some of the "adjustment problems" they encounter in the classroom. While this reluctance, perhaps, is understandable, it does not deal with either the frequency or significance of the work of substitute teachers. Substitute teachers may be the Achilles heel of the teaching profession, but the problem lies less in the qualifications of the substitute than in the lack of attention paid to the theoretical and practical implications of what happens under the sign of substitute teaching.

The emphasis within colleges of education is to increase the standards and qualifications necessary to become a teacher. However, the teacher shortage "crisis" means that such standards often give way to the need to "fill classrooms" with effective classroom managers and persons with varying backgrounds and credentials. Thus, while the institutional discourse of professionalism acts as the intradiscursive field through which "good teaching" is defined (extensive teacher preparation and professional development), schools in general and substitute teachers, in specific, falls outside the purview of such educational reform models.

With that said, substitute teachers have recently gained some legitimacy and visibility within discourses of professionalism. For example, substitute implications involved in using a hybrid methodology. Chapter four discusses in more detail some of the ethical and practical considerations encountered in this study.
teachers were actively incorporated into a local professional development initiative known as the Urban Academy. Chapter six explores the interpretations of this experience from the accounts of the professional and support teacher involved. The support educator's characterization of the experience as a "disaster," however, underscores some of the practical and theoretical challenges involved in professional development efforts. This case illustrates the process of teacher substitution as a turbulent process indicative of the discursive contradictions that retired teachers acting as "support educators" encounter as they move between the positioning of "professional teacher" and "substitute teacher." While support educators are granted a certain level of authority through discourses of professionalism, the contextual nature of the situation in professional development initiatives undermines that authority as students make sense of their presence as "substitute teacher." Perhaps what is learned is that professionalization cannot be thought of as a "too-easy" answer of bureaucratic forms of (professional) authority such as credentials, titles and skills development.

Throughout the following chapters I will argue that substitute teachers are marginalized within discourses of professionalism. However, my argument is that this marginalization is not incidental, but in fact constitutive of professionalism in classifying/distinguishing the "real teacher" from the "substitute." To the extent that educational reform has constructed a normative "professional teacher" i.e., one who possesses a particular expert knowledge base,
the credentials to back them up, and the economic benefits of tenured teachers, substitute teachers are discursively produced as deviant subjects. Against sociological theories that conceptualize deviance as a function of invisibility, my argument is that the category of substitute teachers serves as a highly visible negative relational category to the "real teachers" of professionalism.

As the title of this dissertation implies, my analysis of representations of substitute teachers centers on their position as "in-between subjects." As substitute teachers move within and between normative discourses on teaching as "stabilized configurations," their position represents "discontinuities," "ruptures" and "cracks in history" (Lather, in press, p. 9). Representations of substitute teachers involve a movement among subject positions of teaching. Furthermore, such movement is mediated by institutional, local and cultural constructions of teachers that render them both deficient and excessive. As excessive subjects, the category of substitute teachers becomes a place of excess and imagination. Representations of substitute teachers are more than realist portraits of the experiences of part-time teachers. Representations of substitutes become the space of supplementarity (Derrida, 1976) — a cultural imaginary where the public and profession project and try out images of what teachers ought to be or never become. If we return to Foucault's analysis of the invention of homosexuality and homosexual identity as a metaphor, we can say that substitute teachers are invented and serve as the category of deviant subjectivity where the systems of normativity regarding professionalism and teaching are
worked through and negotiated. Although "invisible" in educational research and policy, representations of substitute teachers proliferate in practitioner and popular cultural discourses on teaching. Regardless of their authorial intentions, these images provide an acceptable space for projecting alternative constructions of teachers and their socio-cultural position. Foucauldian discourse theory allows for a more complicated reading of the relations between normal and deviant categories. By definition, the deviant category is in a position of relatively less power than its "normal"/professional counterpart. Furthermore, as Foucault notes, power is constantly circulating between and among position, authorized more by discursive readings and epistemic intelligibility than deterministic institutional arrangements. Because the "deviant" largely serves to regulate normativity, it holds within it the possibility to interrupt, disrupt and perhaps transform dominant narratives, storylines, identities and practices. Thus, these representations challenge discourses of professionalism as an authoritative discourse on teaching. In this project, I attempt to displace the question of whether substitute teachers engage in "good" or "bad" teaching by examining how representations of substitute teachers indicate shifting boundaries of the practices and positions of teaching and professionalism and images of the "the good teacher."

While the trope of invisibility may characterize the treatment of substitute teachers within educational reform and social scientific research on teaching, representations of substitute teachers within the popular media indicate
otherwise. Images of substitute teachers proliferate in newspapers, television, film and children's literature. These representations illustrate the ways in which substitute teachers both exceed and interrupt normative discourses of professionalism, gender and teaching.

Cultural Images of Substitute Teachers

While educational researchers debate the accuracy and desirability of either moral or scientific models of the educational profession, there is little evidence of either image (teacher as a manager of virtue or expert) in contemporary popular media images of teachers. In contrast, images of teachers that populate American television and film indicate a growing restlessness with what's happening in today's schools. Interestingly, the images of the professional teacher, equipped with state of the art curriculum and training, are rare. More frequent are images of teachers whose primary undertaking is maintaining order in today's classrooms, by any means necessary. A far cry from either doctors or schoolmarm's, today's teachers are portrayed variously (in the media) as "managers who get results,"15 "drill sergeants,"16 or mediators of culture.17 It is not that teachers are no longer constituted by moral and scientific discourses as seen in the reliance of market logic, multicultural narratives, and

15 As can be seen in the film Stand and Deliver.
16 The fictional version can be seen in the film Dangerous Minds and The Substitute series. The "real-life" movement of modeling teachers after soldiers is exemplified in the Teachers to Troops program, a national initiative to place retired (or laid off) military personnel) in "the most troubled school systems in America." ("Soldiers to Scholars" The Washington Post, November 23, 1998) Locally, this model of the teacher as drill sergeant was institutionalized in a local charter school, Riser Academy, founded under the auspices of Army Colonel Daryl Riser.
educational science. These discourses, however, have shifted with the interrelations of socio-cultural discourses within education. Representations of substitute teachers illuminate these shifts precisely because they are excessive to normative discourses of professionalism in education. The category of substitute teachers, as a site of contested identities and practices, illustrate how narratives of management, difference and equity both reinscribe and transform discourses of professionalism.

In chapter two, I argue that educational discourses of professionalism have centered on the administration and management of populations of children. Furthermore, while the narrative of management is not a new way of thinking and talking about the work of teachers, the specific strategies of management are shifting in valence. Specifically, one narrative of management (at work since the 19th century) imagines the teacher as a nurturing facilitator of humanistic pedagogies of the soul (Popkewitz, 1998). Another narrative of management places the teacher in the central authoritative role in the classroom. Both narratives of management involve notions of power, discipline and control. However, inscribed within each narrative of management are different configurations of the role of the teacher and the nature of her/his disposition and authority. Moreover, within these narratives are pre-figured images of the "good teacher" — a professional who is embodied by normative race, class and sex. In this project, I investigate the representation of substitute teachers within

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17 Such as the recent films *Lone Star* and *Music of the Heart*.
discourses of professionalism as a way to illuminate and problematize normative constructions of teachers as professionals. My intention is not to devalue the terms “professional” or “teacher,” but to examine the possibilities and limitations of the model of professionalism for understanding the work of teachers. In doing so, I bring together narratives of culture and history to explore the position of substitute teachers.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapters two and four set up the theoretical and methodological frameworks utilized in this investigation. Chapter two outlines Foucault’s genealogical method for analyzing the relationships between discourse, subjectivity and power. That framework is then utilized to deconstruct historical narratives of professionalism and substitute teachers within educational policy, practice and popular media. Chapter four gives a more elaborate description of the ethnographic methods and issues involved in representing the self-narratives of substitute teachers.

Throughout this inquiry I struggled with how to best represent my analysis. After much deliberation, I decided to provide three distinct “tales from the field” (Van Mannen, 1988). I think of these tales as “analytic reconstructions.” I use the term “reconstruction” to signal the ways in which each tale represents a narrative construction of data that itself was constructed into intelligible discursive frameworks from an archive I constructed. Furthermore, the selection of certain text and stories is utilized to illustrate my analytic
learnings from the field. The first tale (chapter three) analyzes the construction of difference and pedagogy in the film *The Substitute*. I argue that the film's main character represents the interpenetration of two sedimented storylines in popular culture: the American Cowboy and Teacher as Hero. Chapter five presents a "collective tale" of how substitute teachers navigate the categories "professional" and "substitute" in constructing subjectivity. Three discourse practices of substitute teaching are presented as a way to illustrate how discourses of professionalism are both normalized and ruptured in specific contexts. The third analytic reconstruction (chapter six) explores how substitute teachers "fit" into professional development initiatives in the specific case of the Urban Academy. The selection of these tales reiterates my interest in showing how representation involves the layering of discursive elements: social, institutional, cultural and economic. It would be a crude simplification to say that these tales isolate or exemplify those discourses. However, each was selected because the nature of the situation employed particular discursive practices in its representation of substitute teachers and discourses of professionalism. These representations, including my treatment of them, are traces of larger discourses that are fragmented, overlapping and contradictory. While these representations are situated within familiar narratives of teaching, they disrupt the normative discourses of professionalism and education. These representations can be considered discursive events that, taken together, illuminate discourses on teaching as a dense space, filled with contradiction, paradox and irony.
CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I introduced this project as an investigation into the representation of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism. I provided a sketch of the historical narratives of professionalism and teacher replacement that frame contemporary theorizing and constructions of teachers. Within these narratives, substitute teachers are produced as "deviant subjects." Against sociological theories of deviance, I argued for thinking about the representations of substitute teachers as "excessive" rather than "deficient" in discourses of professionalism and teaching. As I explore in subsequent chapters, such representations suggest the "beginnings of the possible" moving between repetition and the "not-yet" of discourses on teaching and professionalism (Lather, p. 9). The next chapter provides a more detailed elaboration of Foucault's discourse theory and explores its implications for theorizing the position of substitute teachers.
CHAPTER 2

FRAMING THE FRAMES:
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, PROFESSIONALISM & SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS

All I want is to be respected as a professional just like anybody else. Is that too much to ask?

Peggy Hill, Substitute Teacher, Fox Television Show *King of the Hill*

In chapter one, I situated the category "substitute teacher" as a deviant subject position within educational discourses of professionalism. I argued that the status of substitute teachers as marginal teachers is one of the unarticulated, undertheorized and largely invisible effects of the movement to professionalize teaching. In this chapter, I present an historicized account of the position of substitute teachers, one that situates the knowledge claims made by and about substitute teachers within larger socio-cultural discourses on teaching and education.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I elaborate the theoretical and methodological framework utilized in this investigation. The writing of Michel Foucault is employed to articulate the general project of genealogical discourse analysis. The second and third sections attempt to apply this framework to deconstruct the discourses that frame educational reform and
the position of substitute teachers within them. The second section provides an analysis of how discourses of professionalism and gender serve as authoritative discourses for understanding how the work of teachers is conceptualized within institutional and socio-cultural contexts. The third section traces the representation of substitute teachers at various nodal points in space and time to illustrate how the position of substitute teachers is discursively produced. More specifically, I look at how substitute teachers are constructed in three historical and contemporary genres: sociological research, children’s literature and teachers handbooks. Analysis of each of these genres is touched upon and is intended to provide evidence for the larger claim that substitute teachers are positioned as “outsiders” within/by/against various educational contexts. I show how the language of administration that constitutes the subject position of substitute teachers both links their identity claims to those of "regular teachers" and differentiates their work as substitutes within the educational profession.

My investigation of the position of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism utilizes post-structural theories of subjectivity and discourse. Post-structural theorizing encompasses a broad range of topics and methodologies. For purposes of this project, I limit my discussion of post-structuralism to the work of Michel Foucault. However, it is important to note that across post-structural theorizing some consistent ideas persist regarding theories of subjectivity, power and discourse. For instance, subjectivity, in post-
structural theorizing is seen as a fictive unity constructed through discourse, projected onto specific bodies and enacted when subjects employ the speaking "T" (Leach and Davies, 1990). Post-structural theorists resist liberal humanist notions of identity that tend to treat identity as a fixed essence that is easily captured in categories such as "woman," "Black" and "homosexual." In liberal humanism, the subject is viewed as a rational, coherent, knowing, autonomous, and ahistoric individual who is driven by free will. Post-structural theorizing challenges this conceptualization of subjectivity by arguing that "subjectivity is produced socially, through language and relations" (St. Pierre and Pillow, 2000, p. 36). Post-structural theorists, in contrast, view subjectivity as a collection of multiple and contradictory subject positions that are produced through language and situated in particular discourses (St. Pierre and Pillow, 2000). Chris Weedon (1987) articulates a post-structural view of subjectivity in the following way:

The individual is both a site for a range of possible forms of subjectivity and, at any particular moment of thought or speech, a subject, subjected to the regime of meaning of a particular discourse and enabled to act accordingly. Language and the range of subject positions which it offers always exists (sic) in historically specific discourses which inhere in social institutions and practices and can be organized analytically in discursive fields (pp. 34-35).

Weedon's characterization maps onto Foucault's articulation of the relationship between subjectivity and discourse.

2.1 FOUCAULT AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
To situate the representation of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism, I employ the theoretical and methodological framework of Michel Foucault, loosely termed, "discourse analysis." Discourse analysis is utilized to both deconstruct the existing literature on professionalism and substitute teachers as well as to analyze the ethnographic and archival data presented in chapters four and five.

The remainder of this chapter introduces and then applies Foucault's onto-epistemological framework of genealogical analysis by tracing the discourse practices of professionalism and professionalization that inform educational reform and the position of substitute teachers within it. Specifically, I employ the writing of Michel Foucault to analyze the trend within Colleges of Education to use "professionalism" as a metaphor for understanding the work of teachers in contemporary American education. Foucault's method of genealogy is used to construct the problematic of professionalism historically. Keeping with the genealogical tendency to highlight the discontinuities and contradictions within discourse, I deconstruct traditional histories of professionalism by focusing on the representation of substitute teachers in the professions.

GENEALOGY

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History"

Foucault articulates a critical methodology for historical inquiry. Writing against the dominant French intellectual tradition of historical materialism, Foucault advocates a mode of critique called "genealogy." He characterizes genealogy as:
a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects, etc. without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. ("Truth" pg. 59)

Interested in questions of power and subjectivity, Foucault attempts to move beyond liberal humanist and Marxist constructions of subjectivity. Caught between notions of the subject constituted by either sovereignty (humanism) or ideology (Marxism), Foucault sought to reconceptualize the Subject as a function of both structure and agency. Foucault’s genealogical method, sometimes referred to as discourse analysis, reflects the linguistic turn in that theories of power and subjectivity are linked to language. He shifts the problematic from institutions and subjects (theoretically distinct categories) to discursive practices and subject positions. For Foucault, the subject is constituted by multiple and often contradictory subject positions inscribed within various historical and cultural discourses. Thus, subjectivity is never outside a discursive position. Discourses act as legitimizing forces that produce the possibility of a speaking subject, including the historian or the scientist. Foucault’s assertion that discourses authorize subjectivity radically alters the notion of the historian as an

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18 It is perhaps more in the spirit of post-structural theorizing to use the terms “historicity” and “contingency” vs. “structure” and “agency.” While both sets of terms relate to the philosophical tensions between determinism and autonomy as forces that drive human experience and our interpretations of it, post-structural theories call into question the very terms and constructs (such as “structure” and “agency”) which stem from liberal humanist notions of the Self and the nature of reality. For a more in-depth discussion of how this debate is constructed within feminist circles see Benhabib, Butler, Cornell and Fraser (1995). See also the introduction to St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) for a more concise review of humanist and post-humanist conceptualizations of language, discourse, reason, power and resistance.
"objective" omniscient, passive recorder of historical events. Rather, the historiographer is positioned in a particular time and space. Thus, genealogical inquiry is driven by desires which are mediated by socio-cultural discourses that must be historically situated ("Nietzsche," p. 90).

The transformative possibilities of discourse analysis lie in the malleability of discursive formations themselves. Foucault argues that the critical task of the archivist is to bring new narratives into discourse through the careful re-tracing of familiar discourses. Unlike historical materialists who characterize ideology as teleological, Foucault conceptualizes discourse (in terms of practices and the orders of discourse) as historically and strategically contingent. He notes that a discursive formation "is essentially incomplete, owing to the system of formation its strategic choices. Hence the fact, that taken up again, placed and interpreted in a new constellation, a given discursive formation may reveal new possibilities" (Archaeology, p. 67). This analysis of the representation and discourse practices of substitute teachers both re-traces familiar discourses of professionalism and attempts to insinuate new narratives of teaching within those discourses.

Unlike traditional history, which emphasizes origins, continuities and stability of interpretation, genealogy privileges dispersion, discontinuities, and discursive transformations (Archeology, p. 4). Foucault argues that genealogy

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19 In my discussion I use the terms genealogy and archaeology somewhat interchangeably. It is important to note however, that these two notions reflect Foucault's own shifts in theorizing.
"opposes itself to the search for 'origins'" ("Nietzsche," p. 77). Indeed, Foucault sees genealogy as an interrogation of the "descent" of discourses – which forces allowed for their emergence and the forms of their dispersion. Analyzing the discontinuities of discourse, for Foucault, is to look at the shift in "ways of speaking and seeing, the whole ensemble of practices which serve as supports for particular forms of knowledge" ("Nietzsche"). Foucault argues that genealogical analysis of discourse is not merely an analysis of either the content or form of a particular discourse. Rather, it is an investigation of the assumptions or set of rules that govern statements – what can and cannot be said within that particular domain ("Truth and Power," p. 74). In this way, Foucault argues that discourse (both as language and practices) can be characterized as a "regime of truth."

POWER/KNOWLEDGE

Foucault argues that discourses authorize our understanding of experience. As an epistemological constellation of images and ideas, discourses shape how we understand the world, social events and identity. Perhaps more accurately, discourses actually constitute how we see ourselves and the world by providing a horizon of intelligibility for who we are and who we can become.

Discourses provide the range of possible and desirable actions, statements and

historical modes of critique. 'Archaeology' more specifically refers to Foucault's theorizing in Archaeology of Knowledge and 'genealogy' to his reformulations as articulated in "Nietzsche, Genealogy and History." This reformulation was in response to his critics who argued that archeology reflected structuralist tendencies and a concomitant emphasis on continuities. This is
events that so easily get taken for granted as "naturalized" ways of being. This range of imaginable actions is termed "discourse practices" and the range of subjective identifications termed "subject positions."

Theorizing identity as an effect of discourse requires movement between various levels of analysis. Such analysis, which is both "discontinuous" and "not homogenous," characterizes Foucault's notion of the nexus of power/knowledge and its manifestations at/in "local centers" (such as the identity and the body) rather than institutional arrangements. Foucault notes, "one must conceive of the double conditioning of a strategy by the specificity of possible tactics, and of tactics by the strategic envelope that makes them work" (1990, p. 100).

Foucault's notion of a power/knowledge as a "regime of truth" is helpful for theorizing the position of substitute teachers. Substitute teachers, like other teachers, take up historically constituted subject positions available to them through various discourses. However, the position of substitute teachers represents one of most significant paradoxes with regards to professionalism and teacher identity at the level of body and discourse. At the level of the body, a substitute teacher's identity in the classroom is doubly positioned as a teacher that is "less than" but also "excessive" of the regular teacher she replaces. Moreover, the transient nature of substitute teaching highlights how a teacher's identity is achieved through the negotiation of power and authority rather than
simply the conferral of institutional status. At the level of discourse, the work of substitute teachers is both made possible and problematic by the contemporary movement to professionalize teaching. For example, in chapter six I show how substitute teachers are the "absent presence" in professional development initiatives. In this sense substitute teachers are an important component of the movement to professionalize teaching, yet the movement is predicated on standardizing (professionalizing) the teaching force which would in many ways eradicate the entire category of "substitute teachers."

There is much debate within post-structural theory regarding the extent of historical determinism evident in Foucault's writing. In the above paragraphs I emphasized the constraining elements of discourse and subjectivity. Many scholars read Foucault (particularly in *The History of Sexuality* and *Discipline and Punish*) as "deterministic" in that we are trapped in the "prison house of language." My reading of Foucault does emphasize the ways in which subjectivity is inscribed by various regulatory systems. However, it is crucial to note Foucault's re-articulation of power. In "Truth and Power," Foucault reiterates his theory of power/knowledge from *The History of Sexuality, volume 1*. Power/knowledge refers to the idea that all power references a particular domain of knowledge and that all knowledge entails configurations of power. Challenging the Marxist theory of power as negation and Freudian theory of

unities.

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power as repression, power/knowledge is Foucault's insistence on the productive elements of power. He states:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body ("Truth," pg. 61).

Thus, power/knowledge not only constrains but also authorizes the speaking subject. Power/knowledge is not a static object to be obtained or contained within a certain group of individuals. In contrast, power/knowledge circulates throughout the social body activating discursive practices as movement and discipline. Similarly, power/knowledge activates practices of domination and resistance and more importantly, the intelligibility of those practices.

Finally, I borrow Foucault's notion of "panopticism" — a new technology of the exercise of power (Discipline & Punish). Panopticism works as an apparatus of self-regulated surveillance. Foucault argues that normativity is produced by discourses (particularly scientific discourses). We conform to and contest normalizing practices by policing ourselves in relation to particular classificatory systems. Examples of classificatory systems include various
identity categories such as woman$^{20}$ and homosexual$^{21}$ as well as teacher, student and professional.

In the following paragraphs, I elaborate how discourses of professionalism produce particular discursive subject positions including the professional and the substitute teacher. I utilize Foucault’s notion of surveillance to read the discourse practices associated with professionalism as an apparatus which always already constitutes the subject positions "teacher," "student" and "expert" through processes of normativity. In other words I will elaborate the ways in which professionalism produces a notion of the 'good professional' which is always already gendered, raced and sexed. My particular interest is in how discourses of professionalism regulate subjectivities within education to produce (at least) two kinds of subjectivities: normative and deviant. To bring out this point, I borrow Jennifer Terry’s notion of "deviant historiography."$^{22}$

Deviant historiography refers to a “method for mapping the complex discursive and textural operations at play in the historical emergence of subjects who come to be called lesbians and gay men” (Terry, 1991, pg. 55). Deviant

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$^{20}$ See Leach and Davies (1990) for an excellent discussion of how post-structural theorizing challenges notions of “sexual difference” that predominate in liberal humanist and feminist constructions of gender.

$^{21}$ In *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*, Foucault traces the invention of homosexuality. Foucault argues that scientific discourses on sex shifted away from talk of sexual practice to essential identities, thus creating sexuality as a new form of identity category that could be observed, measured and regulated through social control.

$^{22}$ The term “deviant” is used widely in the fields of psychology and sociology. Deviance in a sociological sense denotes identities or practices that fall outside the boundaries of socially constructed roles and expectations considered normative. Deviant acts or identities are not
historiography is not interested in locating gay men and lesbians throughout educational history, but rather tracing “deviant subject formation” (pg. 55). The deviant historiographer “looks not only for how subjects are produced and policed, but how they are resistant and excessive to the very discourses from which they emerge” (1991, p. 57). Using Foucault’s notion of “effective history,” deviant historiography “exposes not the events and actors elided by traditional history, but instead lays bare the processes and operations by which these elisions occurred” (p. 56 [emphasis mine]). Terry argues that effective history “allows us to theorize a counter-discursive position in history” as we look historically at practices which disrupted dominant discourses.

Deviant historiography is a method of looking at historical events and practices as sites of conflict and negotiation over the contested terrain of particular discourses. In this investigation, my method is to use the representation of “substitute teachers” in educational contexts to render visible the assumptions that govern the boundaries of professionalism. In other words, I analyze how the position of substitute teachers came to be labeled “deviant” within the terms and constructs of normative professionalism discourses.

2.2 THE PROBLEMATIC OF PROFESSIONALISM

One site of contemporary educational reform involves a movement to restructure colleges of education to produce better teachers, better research and inherent—but are socially, historically and culturally contingent based on the values and norms of the given context (Durkheim, 1893/1984)
better education. Colleges of education across the country characterize this movement as an effort to "professionalize" the field of education. Plans of action within colleges of education are littered with "professionalism" talk. For example, teachers are classified by areas of specialization, and after certification must complete a "residency" with a "master teacher" — all couched within the aims of increasing the efficiency and status of the field. While talk of professionalism circulates in many educational sites, there is a disjunction between the meanings around "professionalism." In other words, there are multiple sites and practices that operate under the sign "professionalism." The work of David Labaree (1992, 1995, and 1996) is helpful in situating the current movement to professionalize teaching within its historical contexts.\(^2\)

Using a Foucauldian analysis, Labaree (1992) investigates the movement to professionalize teaching through tracing its historical roots and political implications. Labaree refers to current educational reform efforts aimed towards professionalism as the "rationalization of teaching." Labaree explicates the shift over time from "formal rationality" to "technocratic expert," in constructing a "professional teacher." While discursive parameters of professionalism have shifted historically, an earlier effect, the "professional teacher as expert," continues to have currency. The Expert acts as a floating signifier as the

\(^2\) Labaree (1991) undertakes a similar project of my own, using Foucault’s notion of power/knowledge to trace the historical discourses that constitute professionalism. However, my analysis differs from Labaree’s in that I foreground the significance of gender and more specifically, "heteronormativity" as a matrix of intelligibility for professionalism.
desirability of academic/research expertise falls by the wayside to accommodate the expertise (experience) of practitioners. Although the notion of the Expert moved away from more formal rational constructs, the new expert is still constituted by various discourses of scientific rationality — namely, the science of teaching or what Pinar (1981) refers to as the traditionalist model of curriculum.

WHAT COUNTS AS PROFESSIONALISM

In his book, *The Culture of Professionalism*, Burton Bledstein analyzes the relations between the development of higher education and the middle class in America during the turn of the 20th century. Bledstein (1987) argues that the relationship is symbiotic in that a growing middle class provided both the impetus for professionalization and that professionalization in turn solidified the myth of the United States as a middle class society embedded in U.S. American cultural imaginary. The middle class person was an ideal candidate as a "professional" for two related reasons. First, the middle class person possessed the "correct" character: he believed in perseverance and a commitment to self-glory. The middle class person could establish and model "universal standards for moral and civil behavior" (1987, p. 27). Bledstein notes that the middle class person was considered a "democrat incarnate" — he transcended the egoistic desire in the pursuit of wealth and channeled natural competitiveness into the betterment for the social body. The second characteristic of the middle class that fed into professionalism is the notion of career. Bledstein argues that professionalism drew on a careerist mentality. Careerism refers to the beliefs
and practices of social mobility—that people think about their station in life as mobile. The effects for a growing professional class were the links between higher education and specialization of work.

**SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSES - Constructing an Expert**

The democratic contribution by professionals was their increasingly specialized knowledge. Unlike empirical scientists, the professional grasped the concept behind functional activity (Bledstein, 1987, p. 87). Professionals created their role and identity as growing class of experts who could identify, diagnose and offer solutions to growing American social problems. Bledstein writes:

> The culture of professionalism incarnated the radical idea of the independent democrat, a liberated person seeking to free the power of nature within every worldly sphere, a self-governing individual exercising this trained judgment in an open society. The Mid-Victorian as a professional person strove to achieve a level of autonomous individualism, a position of unchallenged authority before unknown in American life. (p. 88)

It was the professional's ability to apprehend the theoretical rules of "nature" which differentiated themselves from practitioners' emphasis on "mechanics" and "tradition." Bledstein elaborates:

> As professionals, they attempted to define a total coherent system of necessary knowledge within a precise territory, to control the intrinsic relationship of their subject by making it a scholarly as well as an applied science, to root social existence in the inner needs and possibilities of documentable worldly processes. (p. 88)

24 My choice to elaborate scientific and moral discourses in the constitution of professionalism is informed by Foucault's analysis in *The History of Sexuality*. Foucault argues that scientific discourses emerged (during this time period) as a new form of power/knowledge in understanding sexuality. Scientific discourses operate alongside existing moral discourses which both contradict and coincide to produce the 'truth of sex.'
Two primary effects of the growing culture of professionalism involve the related notions of expertise and autonomy in describing the role of the professional (Bledstein, 1987). First, there was a public dependency upon a professional class of experts charged with the "administration" of society. The proliferation of the 'human sciences' including psychology, sociology, anthropology and criminology is inextricably tied to the growth of professionalism (Foucault, 1970; Popkewitz, 1998). The work of human scientists was to investigate and classify human behavior in order to better administer the services deemed necessary in the regulation of various populations. For example, educators utilized the "expert knowledge" generated by an army of psychologists and economists regarding the laws of child development and social organization in order to make schools more "efficient" sites of learning.

A second effect of professionalism was a growing "ideology of autonomy" (Readings, 1997). Operating within scientific narratives of precision, mastery and control, the work of professionals was to isolate elements, including themselves, from a larger social context. Utilizing the scientific method for establishing social policy, the work of professionals was to identify, with precision, the specific (natural) laws that determined social behavior (Bledstein, 1987, pp. 110-122). The effect of this method was to isolate problems from the social contexts in which they were located.
As noted above, one of the effects of professionalization is the public's voluntary submission to the authority of the "expert." The authority of this growing class derived from an order of merit. Bledstein argues that this created a dependency on a professional class and a justification for the expansion of higher education programs to become the training centers for this class. Professional organization and associations policed these growing specialized fields through the regulation of credentials. Bledstein notes that the scientific method (the pursuit of control, efficiency and progress through objective measures) is evident among multiple layers of professionalism discourse. The authority of experts is produced by meritocracy or the belief that a person should be judged by their ability rather than ascribed characteristics. In meritocracy, one's ability is evaluated through observable and quantifiable merits that could be acquired through training and/or education. Meritocracy, which assumes equality of opportunity based on ability, thus mirrors the assumptions that govern science (Glazer and Slater, 1987, p. 223). As Bledstein states, "The public came to accept the middle-class article of faith that the regularly trained professional, however dubious his reputation ...was superior to the merely experienced operator. The difference was the role played by the school" (1987, p. 125). Higher education became the model democratic institution-governed by objectivity, meritocracy and equal opportunity.
In many ways professionalism is characterized by a bureaucratic model of a disinterested inquiry. It may appear that professionalism, its investments in scientific ways of being, is in direct contradiction with a view of education as a project of nurturing students and its religious overtones of teachers as people of God. Quite the contrary, professionalism worked in concert with existing discourses on religion, morality and a divine order of 'natural law.'

The Crusade for Civilization

Professionalism is constituted with scientific discourses that emphasize the role of objectivity, disinterested inquiry and autonomous individualism. However, as Bledstein notes, we should not overlook the historical importance of moral discourses in shaping the ideas and practices around professionalism. Professionalism reflected Protestant ideals with its emphasis on re-producing professionals as men of high character. It is well documented that the founders of most institutions of higher learning were White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (Veysey, 1965; Rudolph, 1990). More interesting perhaps is the ways in which professionalism utilized religious (particularly Protestant) arguments to advance particular power relations among a growing social body. The emphasis on developing character remained constant, despite a shift in its constitutive elements. Bledstein notes the man of high character did not simply possess industrious habits. Rather the man of high character, the budding professional, must be aggressive in mental initiative (1987, p. 133). Drawing from the tenets of evangelical Protestantism, the professional acts as an agent of "social gospel."
Although educational institutions have always served a moral function, the new edge of evangelism reflected the role of the "professional" in the great crusade for civilization.

MORAL DISCOURSES
Teaching as a (Domestic) Profession

Contemporary analyses of gender and professionalism highlight the pervasive ideology of Republican motherhood in the history of teaching (Tyack and Hansot, 1982). Republican motherhood is a metaphor to describe the relations between women's domestic responsibilities with larger moral, political, and cultural roles. The notion of Republican motherhood was advanced in the writing of Catherine Beecher and implemented through Common School era.\textsuperscript{53} Beecher appealed to discourses of morality to articulate a "national" agenda and women's roles within it. Utilizing the doctrine of "separate spheres," Beecher argued for the education of women or what is called "domestic education." She, like other founders of female seminaries, predicated the education of women on both their natural role to become the bearers of American culture, as well as to develop the science of domesticity. As Bledstein notes, separate spheres provided multiple opportunities for women to become "domestic professionals:"

It was a positive sign of power, independence, and respectability in Mid-Victorian life that women no longer worked alongside their husbands; that they were mistresses of a special space and class

\textsuperscript{53} Kathryn Kish Sklar's canonical text, \textit{Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity} (1976) provides a good biographical account of the life and work of Beecher within social, religious and historical contexts.
called children, and they participated in their own cultural rituals and ceremonies. (p. 118)

What Bledstein is arguing here is that the discourse practices of professionalism mapped onto the doctrines of "natural law" and separate spheres, which constituted professionalism as an already masculine enterprise.

The idea of republican motherhood is crucial for understanding the relations between gender and professionalism. Republican motherhood found much favor within a growing field of education. During the early 19th century, Horace Mann appropriated Beecher's arguments of women's natural role as culture bearers, coupled with Pestalozzi's pedagogy of love, to argue for women as the "natural" candidates for teaching as a profession. But, as Bledstein notes, the status of teaching as a "domestic profession" did not accelerate the same as their male counterparts. He states:

Educational standards for proficiency and certification rose throughout the later nineteenth century; and such fields of female employment as librarianship and nursing attempted to acquire the schooling, the status, and the independence (without the income) of a profession. (p. 39)

Bledstein's analysis illustrates the authority of scientific and moral discourses in constructing the teaching subject. Furthermore, the history of teaching as a profession cannot be untied from larger socio-cultural notions of race and gender that reinscribed the work of teachers as a scientific and moral project known as professionalism.

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28 See Weems (1999) for a genealogical account of the pedagogy of love.
TEACHING AS A SEMI-PROFESSION

Despite continued efforts to professionalize teaching through the processes of standardization, certification and credentialization, teaching remains a profession/not profession. Teaching does not reflect the status, income or independence associated with the professions (Etzioni, 1969; Bledstein, 1978). To this day, "teaching" is construed in opposition to "research" even within educational discourses. While this split is acknowledged by most educators, there is little agreement that professionalism and its scientific tendencies should be the model for conceptualizing the work of teachers. Some scholars argue that the work of teachers should be viewed as a craft rather than a science. This minority position holds that teaching relies more on "experiential knowledge" than "conceptual knowledge" which is characteristic of the expert professions (Pratte and Rury, 1991, p. 63). Teaching as a craft goes beyond the technical acquisition and exercise of skills. Teaching as a craft involves developing a sensibility of what is "good teaching" and working to refine this through practice. Thus, teaching is linked to the view of education as a "moral project" where teachers work together for the greater good of the community. They argue: "The goal of teacher education, in other words, is to produce not an

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This begs the question of what can account for the failure of "teaching" to achieve professional status. I agree with Labaree and Glazer and Slater who argue that a key factor is the populations serviced (immigrants, lower classes, children) by the "domestic professions."

An important distinction is that educational research, like educational psychology and educational administration, however, did acquire some visibility as a profession. See Labaree
autonomous professional but an employee who is a skilled practitioner, with a conscience of craft, confident, committed, and secure in her or his identity as a "craft-professional" (1991, p. 60).

Though its status as a profession is still contested, some significant effects of the movement to professionalize teaching historically are evident. As we trace the history of public schooling, the teaching workforce grew in numbers, face and shape. The processes of standardization, certification and credentialization combined to help the teaching workforce became a more stable and regulated occupation. The rise and decline of the normal schools indicates that the perceived value of teacher training and education has been through its own sea-changes. What can be said, though, is that the work of teachers in the last fifty years has enjoyed some visibility and recognition as a systematic practice of instruction. Pedagogy, defined as the relations of teaching and learning, has become centralized within the confines of schools and classrooms. Locating pedagogy within the school classroom has been ultimately good for teachers, in that it provided the necessary rationale for legitimizing the work of teachers. Like other professionals, teachers make claim to specialized skills and knowledge. Teachers are considered experts of education as it is narrowly defined as pedagogy in schools.

(1995) for a discussion of this historical tension within the field of education between "educational researchers" and "teachers."
Indeed, educators have enjoyed some success in claiming their status as professionals in simple bureaucratic definitions of professionalism. Education has modeled itself around the principles of organizational theory: emphasis on hierarchical organization, specialization of tasks, centralized systems of governance, impersonal forms of communication and of course the emphasis on standardization, efficiency and administration; all provide evidence to the claims of teachers as professionals.

However, defining pedagogical experience as the work of teachers (rather than parents or others) has created many unintended consequences. For example, Leach (1988) notes that the pedagogical authority involved in mothering, while serving as the underlying metaphor which drives elementary education, is stripped from actual mothers. For example, women who attempt to return to the teaching workforce are viewed as workers without experience (Morrison, 1994). Thus, knowledge of and interactions with children are systematically written out of the qualifications necessary to be a “good teacher” (Green, 1994).

Nowhere is this more true than with the experience of substitute teachers. In many instances, working with children both within and outside of the classroom is systematically rejected as a legitimate source of training and experience when they seek placement (Morrison, 1994b). Historically, substitute teaching provides a space for women to continue their commitment to education as well as fulfill other familial responsibilities. However, this time of working
with children which could be viewed as "professional development" is often viewed as a deficiency and thus detrimental to a teacher's career. As I noted earlier, substitute teaching provided one avenue for teachers to maintain their connection to the classroom and remain certificated. Using the gendered reasoning which drives much of educational policy, it is conceivable that substitute teaching could be seen as a professional asset providing teachers with experience both in and outside the classroom working with children in various contexts and curriculum. However, contemporary definitions of professionalism displace such intimate forms of knowledge given the ties to scientific discourses of social engineering of teachers through higher education and professional development training (as institutionalized practices).

By definition, substitute teachers are a group of educators whose presence within the field represents the paradoxical status of teachers as professionals. That substitute teachers are labeled and classified as the "not real" teachers, teachers who are filling in for the real professional, means that teachers have indeed made some headway in showing their status as specialized workers. On the other hand, the fact that substitute teachers are simultaneously utilized by

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Mary Leach (1988) reminds us to consider the role that gender plays in making sense of educational reform and understanding women's place within it. On one hand teaching is considered "woman's true profession" (Hoffman, 1981) because of their "natural" ability and experience working with children. Yet as the field of education has become more professionalized, women's place as teachers is subordinated to the professional counterparts of administrators and educational scientists. Furthermore, teaching was one of the few professions that women could gain access into. While some changes in educational policy have accommodated women's commitment to family and work, many barriers remain. Women's
school systems and in classrooms to "cover" a classroom during the teacher's absence, implies that at some level, that teachers' work is interchangeable.

To focus on substitute teachers as excessive subjects is to call attention to the disjunction in the meanings around professionalism as they operate in schools and colleges of education. Colleges of education conceptualize a commitment to professionalism as an increase in the level of training, education and experience of teachers through professional development initiatives. Schoolteachers, in contrast, define professionalism as the ability to wield certain rights and benefits both inside and outside of the classroom. For example, teachers want more autonomy to develop and deliver the curriculum; in effect customizing their classroom (Spring, 1994). However, one effect of professionalization historically, has been the standardization of teacher education and curricular practices (Labaree, 1992). This institutionalized difference in interpretations around professionalism has lead to ambivalence among teachers to participate in professional development efforts -- especially efforts that originate from the university level.

Despite this tension, professional development initiatives are heralded as important in-service education and training for professional teachers. Yet, another concern arises. The perception of inadequate substitutes is chief among teachers' worries about "leaving the classroom" in the name of professional responsibilities as "caretakers" have historically lead to many breaks in service for teachers (Leach, 1988).
development. Because substitute teachers are stigmatized as 'ineffective outsiders,' full-time teachers are reluctant to participate in professional development efforts that require their absence from the classroom for any extended amount of time.

It is interesting to note that professionalism discourse as a discursive response and strategy of educational reform actually contributes to the institutional tensions between groups of teachers and university researchers. Professionalism discourses place the educated practitioner at the center of the power relations. Using Bledstein's construction of professionalism, the marginal positioning of substitute teachers may be a result of their inability to lay claim to the markers of professionalism: career and character.

2.3 FRAMING ANALYSIS OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS

Foucault's theoretical framework is articulated in two of his primary treatments of genealogy and discourse studies (1971 and 1977). In "Politics and the Study of Discourse" (1991), however, Foucault further elaborates some of the principles involved in analyzing politics, discourse and subjectivity. The project of archeology is the commitment to "introduce discontinuity and the constraints of system into the history of the mind" (p. 53). Reiterating his pluralist desires, Foucault argues for analysis which examines events in terms of the individualization of discourses (p. 54) as well as their exteriority (p. 60). Broadly speaking, Foucault is interested in replacing the notion of "change" with "transformation" in historical analysis. The former looks for a general form and
suggests cause and effect, whereas the latter emphasizes discontinuities in the relations within, among and outside discursive formations. He argues that discourses involve three forms of criteria: criteria of formation, criteria of transformation or of threshold and criteria of correlation (p. 54). The task of the analyst is to define the play of dependencies which are intradiscursive (between the objects, operations and concepts of a single formation (natural history), interdiscursive (between discursive formations such as natural history and economics) and extradiscursive (such as economic, political and social changes) (p. 58). Foucault states:

The question which I ask is not about codes but about events: the laws of existence of statements, that which rendered them possible-them and none other in their place: the conditions of their singular emergence: their correlation with other previous or simultaneous events, discursive or otherwise (p. 59).

In the present study, I analyze the position of substitute as a discursive field that consists of discontinuous practices and events. The interdiscursive practices of substitute teachers are explored and represented in my discussion of the literature below and again in chapter four in a discussion of emergent themes expressed by substitute teachers. The model of professionalism is treated as institutional discourse, as interacts with notions of substitute teachers on an intradiscursive level. Socio-cultural notions of difference, such as gender, race and the contexts of urban education are viewed as extradiscursive elements that interact and inform how the certain pedagogical practices are interpreted and valued.
For Foucault, the project is to write a history rather than a psychology of discourse. Foucault is less interested in tracing a history of ideas than in analyzing how various discursive formations interact and collide with one another, creating transformation in discursive fields and the practices that constitute them. In establishing the exteriority of discourse (privileging the effects rather than the intentionality of discourse), Foucault emphasizes the critical element of such analysis. The task of the archivist is to identify the limits of a particular discourse in terms of its formation, negotiation and practical deployment (p. 61). Furthermore, analysis should work toward the eliminations of "ill considered oppositions" and to "end the denegation of discourse" wherein discourse is viewed as an open, neutral domain. Foucault summarizes,

I would like to put the analysis of discourse itself in its conditions of formation, into serial modification and in the play of its dependencies and correlations. Discourses would thus be seen in a describable relationship with a set of other practices...one would be dealing with a history of discursive practices in the specific relationship which link them to other practices (p. 64).

Foucault's interest in the links between power, knowledge and discourse allow him to examine discourse on two levels: their "tactical productivity" (what reciprocal effects of power and knowledge they ensure) and their *strategical integration* (what conjunction and what force relationship make their utilization necessary in a given episode of the various confrontations that occur") (1980, p. 102). Using Foucault's genealogical analysis as a model for histories of the present, I track the disparate discursive moments, as well as the tactical and
strategic functions of discourses that form the contested site of substitute
teachers in contemporary American schooling. The remainder of this chapter
discusses some of the discontinuities within the discourse on substitute teachers
as illustrated in various representations.

Discourses on substitute teachers

The paradoxical and contradictory position of substitute teachers remains
largely uninvestigated both empirically and theoretically (Galloway and
Morrison, 1994, ix). It is not obvious that substitute teachers are a vital part of the
educational profession. As a somewhat invisible network, substitutes provide
the necessary labor to sustain an already overburdened (K-12) public school
teacher population. Asked to fill in on a moment's notice, substitute teachers
face multiple challenges every day as they enter the classroom. These challenges
include little previous classroom experience, inadequate teaching resources (such
as lesson plans and seating charts), and exacerbated matters of student discipline
(St. Michel, 1995). In these situations, substitute teachers are faced with the
paradox of maintaining "control" without perceived authority and delivering
curricular content (such as math, English, social studies) without an in-depth
background knowledge base.

Results from a pilot study indicate that substitute teachers both
understand and resist their position as marginalized teachers. Negotiating this
position of ambivalence — being a "real" teacher who is often perceived as "not
real" — highlights some of the tensions embedded in the identities of both the specific case of substitutes (Morrison, 1995), as well as the general position of teaching as a "semi-profession" (Etzioni, 1969; Bledstein, 1978). Particularly, the narrative accounts of substitute teachers reflect their position as "in-between" teachers and illuminate the dissonance between a teacher’s function and a teacher’s identity (Britzman, p. 66). In other words, the position of substitute teachers lends itself to a greater understanding of the larger tensions between discourses of professionalism and theories of teacher identity with the contradictory emphases on nurturing and scientific management of students (Labaree, 1992; Apple, 1987).

The marginality of the area is made clear by the dearth of research. This invisibility (within educational research) is particularly troubling given the fact that school districts nationwide are experiencing significant teacher shortage and have resorted to granting "emergency certification" to maintain a substitute teacher pool (Columbus Dispatch, 1998b). What little ethnographic and statistical data on the policies and practices of substitutes is outdated at both the

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30 In the introduction to this classic sociological text, Amatai Etzioni characterizes the field of teaching as a “semi-profession” (1969). Etzioni uses this term to differentiate the work of teachers, nurses and social workers from the ‘traditional’ professions of law and medicine. Compared to doctors and lawyers, teachers’ professional status is compromised by 1) shorter training period 2) less legitimated social status 3) a less established right to privileged communication; 4) a less-specialized body of knowledge and 5) less autonomy from supervision or societal control (1969, p. v). This distinction is not intended to denigrate the position of teachers as a semi-profession. Etzioni argues that professional status, for teachers, is neither ‘wholly established nor wholly desirable” (p. v). Like Etzioni, I think that semi-professional status actually allows teachers the opportunity to engage with ideas and practices that contradict
local and national levels. Thus, a critical piece of the empirical research was to get a sense of the pervasiveness of the "substitute crisis" at the local level in Columbus, Ohio.

In reviewing the literature on substitute teachers, I came across three distinct genres or types of literature related to substitute teaching: ethnographic or survey research; children's literature and practitioner accounts. My discussion of each of these genres is not to be understood as a review of the literature in the traditional sense. By traditional I refer to the practice within scientific accounts where a thorough literature review is conducted and presented in order to locate the current study within the context of what has already been "found" or established.

My discussion of the literature follows the more genealogical approach to discourse by deconstructing the literature around several nodal points. Those points include: 1) the construction of subjectivity in terms of the availability and desirability of various subject positions; 2) the implicit and explicit relations of power that are brought into being through the language and which get attached to various subject positions; 3) linguistic features of the writing (including form, content, terms, images and metaphors utilized and 4) real and imagined institutional arrangements (what material and conceptual apparatus are envisioned as systemic forces). For the sake of brevity, I will not separate a

some of the assumptions of professionalism. For a current discussion of how the liminal status of education as a profession creates spaces of social transformation, see Labaree (1996).
discussion of each of the genres into the four outlined elements. Rather, my
discussion weaves together an analysis of the interrelationships between these
elements.

2.3.1 SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH/HISTORICAL ARCHIVES

At the local level, there is at least some archival material on substitute
teachers that documents the emergence of substitute teachers alongside a
professional teaching workforce. In other words, substitute teachers emerge as a
category that is different but supplemental to the "professional teacher." Thus,
the position of substitute teachers is a relational category — its meaning is
derived in relationship to the "regular teacher" it replaces or substitutes. While
the status of the category of substitute teachers remains distinct from
"professional" teachers, what constitutes the category itself is loosely articulated
and historically contingent.  

Far from a comprehensive survey, social scientific research on substitute
teachers is conveyed through fragmented historical accounts written by
educators from various historical periods and contexts. For example, Crow

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31There exists little if any comprehensive sociological data on the demographic make-up,
frequency or labor conditions of substitute teachers on a national scale. One exception is the 1977
ETS report on the Policies and Practices in the Use of Substitute Teachers. In contrast, national
and statewide data is kept on professional and even paraprofessional teachers through the
Schools and Staffing Survey. It is not the goal of the present project to provide such a
sociological account of the category of substitute teachers. Rather, I explore three current
scenarios which involve substitute teachers to illustrate the point that knowledge of substitutes is
partial and situated within specific contexts. However, some characteristics of substitute teachers
(in terms of training, education and placement) and the nature of substitute teaching can be
made. For example, in the historical accounts in Ohio, substitute teachers were likely to be
(1926) provides a case study of the substitute teacher pool in Cleveland, Ohio during the 1924-1925 school year and Koerner (1966) documents policies related to substitute teachers in the Franklin County school system in the mid 1960's. More recently, St. Michel (1994) provides a case study of the substitute teacher process in the Phoenix metropolitan school system.

This research attempts to present a snapshot picture of the processes and policies that affect substitute teachers in the respective school contexts. Each includes a discussion of the constraints involved in substitute teaching, including the difficulty in adapting to local school environments felt on both the administrative and the personal level. An explicitly stated recommendation that reoccurs is the need to centralize information regarding substitute teachers in terms of placement and assessment of substitutes (Baldwin, 1934).

This theme of making more efficient and effective the work of substitutes by centralizing (and bureaucratizing) the hiring, placement and assessment of substitute teachers is reiterated in the policy studies which look at substitute teachers nationally (Porwoll, 1977; Baldwin, 1934; Conners, 1934). Baldwin's account reads like a treatise on bureaucracy by emphasizing efficiency and productivity through more centralized organization and administration of substitute teachers. It sheds interesting insight into the early feeling that substitute teachers are an important part of the growing movement to

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female certificated teachers who were taken an absence from full-time employment as teachers but who wished to continue their connection to the classroom (Crow, 1926; Koerner, 1966).
professionalize teaching. She argues that substitutes need to be held to the same high standards of regular teachers and that organization will lead to better productivity.

Another theme that reoccurs but is more subtly articulated is that substitute teachers feel under-appreciated by the teachers, students and administrators who employ them. Often times, the source of this mistrust was attributed to the substitute teacher's perceived lack of qualifications. Both Koerner (1966) and St. Michel (1995) go to great lengths to convince the reader of the competence, effectiveness and qualifications of the substitute teacher pool in each of their respective contexts. Statistical data is offered as evidence that the substitute teaching pools matches the regular teaching pool in term of certification and years of experience in the classroom.

Whereas perceived lack of qualifications is the most often cited source of tension between regular and substitute teachers, Crow (1926) offers a more sinister explanation. Crow argues that regular teaches in fact take pleasure in "other-ing" the substitute teacher with other teachers and even their students. His explanation is that regular teachers may view the substitute "as a competitor rather than an associate." He notes that the regular teacher is often "pleased if the pupils rate the substitute teacher's work inferior to that of her own" (Crow, 1926, p. 13).

While Crow's estimation of the competition between regular and substitute teachers is perhaps overstated, it is plausible that the uneasy
relationship between substitutes and the teachers they replace is because of
discursive positioning. Put bluntly, one of the elements that define a substitute
teacher is their lack of full-time teaching status. And it is this lack of full-time
teaching status which makes substitute teachers suspect as professionals by their
teaching colleagues. 

Furthermore, substitute teachers are by definition "replacing" the regular
teacher. Unlike other professional relationships, the absence of the teacher is
viewed as a traumatic situation. An interruption or replacement in the delivery
of service may not present a problem for professionals such as doctors or
lawyers. It is in fact not atypical to be treated by a resident or intern physician.
Only in a rare circumstance are the credentials of such an "interim" physician
called into question. In education, however, teacher replacement is difficult, in
part due to the in loco parentis role of the teacher (Galloway and Morrison, 1994).
Since the 19th century, the metaphor of the family is used to describe classroom
dynamics and educational structures (Gutek, 1968). This view of educational
structures as an idealized family, crystallized in Pestalozzi's pedagogy of love,
remains one of the dominant ways to conceptualize schools. As Thompson
notes, "the school is not to be just any home, however, but an idealized home in
which the values of care and responsibility can be tended and nurtured" (1997, p.
337). In this imagined community, schools are administered by a strict patriarch

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2 In fact, many of the teachers I interviewed (both substitute and ‘regular’) referenced the
rhetorical question that haunts substitute teachers: “Why doesn’t this person have a full-time
and governed a nurturing mother. Students, then, become the surrogate children of an imagined heteronormative family.

The familial metaphor translates into constructions of the classroom as a holistic unity in the only socio-linguistic study that involves substitute teaching. Collins and Green (1992) include the practices of substitute teachers in their analysis of learning in classroom settings. Working from the premise that learning is a product of the intimate relations between teachers and students, the goal of their research was to explore the situated nature of teaching and learning. In the study, Collins and Green use the ethnomethodological approach of breaching (or breaking) the existing culture in order to make visible the normative practices employed in one specific classroom.

The authors found that the presence of substitute teachers signal an interruption into an existing classroom culture. When substitute teachers were “introduced” into this classroom, the cultural norms and expectations that serve as the conditions for potential learning were broken causing anomie within the classroom (1992, p. 72). Collins and Green note that the more that substitutes brought their own theories into the classroom, the more problematic life became for students and in turn for subs as well (p. 75).

It perhaps makes sense to conclude that substitute teaching signals an interruption in the everyday ritual and routine of the classroom. However, it is disturbing that substitute teachers are constructed as agents who “break” the teaching position? These are the teachers who couldn’t get hired.”
existing culture in a way that necessarily involves negative implications. As Ellsworth (1997) and others have argued, the classroom may not consist of a unified culture (as liberal humanist constructions imply) but, may be a heterogeneous entity whose constituents operate from different discursive positionings and desires that cannot be easily collapsed into a stable construct. Is it possible, then, to think about substitute teaching as an instance that illustrates the performative nature of teacher’s identity where each iteration has the potential to either repeat or transform sedimented performances? My point here is not that a classroom culture does not exist, but that any culture is characterized by pedagogical performances, multiplicity and difference, which is constantly in flux. In contrast, sociological research on substitute teachers assumes that classroom culture is defined by order and continuity. These assumptions consistently position substitute teachers as outsiders and deficient.

Muted Voices

In the social scientific research, it appears that “giving voice,” or foregrounding the perspective of substitute teachers, was part of the intended outcomes of the investigation (Crow, 1926; Conners, 1934; Hartley, 1959; Koerner, 1966; St. Michel, 1994). However, in presenting the findings of the research their voices were lost due to the emphasis on compiled information and discussion of "results." The authors take a sympathetic tone in their account and often remind the reader that the life of a substitute is not easy.
This basic assumption, that the work of substitute teachers is difficult, is a focal point in Hartley’s (1959) investigation of the adjustment problems of substitute teachers. His analysis shifts the focus from the expectation of total integration to that of "lessening the lag of learning" when the substitute is present. This shift is key, because in the "total integration" model, substitute teachers are themselves viewed as the problem. Substitute teachers are viewed as deficient (in terms of lack of formal qualifications) and/or ineffective (in terms of their classroom performance and the student work produced during their assignment). However, in the "adjustment" model, the problem is located not in the substitute themselves, but in the structure of their presence in the classroom. The school and classroom are conceived as a nexus of relationships between teachers, students and administrators who must work together to provide the "optimal conditions" necessary for learning. For Hartley (1959) the optimal conditions of learning involve communication, support and trust between those involved. Hartley attributes the lag in learning as a function of the interruption itself. His central concern is the lack of communication between the regular teacher and the substitute teacher, and the regular teacher and the students regarding the expectations for the activities desired in the regular teacher’s absence. Particularly interesting is Hartley’s emphasis that it is the job of the regular teacher to provide the necessary preparations for lessening the lag in learning. Not only are teachers to provide the necessary materials (assignments, seating charts and lesson plans) but more importantly, teachers are to prepare
the students (psychologically) for upcoming guest teaching experience. Methods of preparation include explaining assignments in advance, designating students to act as the substitute’s assistant, discussing the reasons for teacher’s absence, requesting the students cooperation in welcoming the substitute as a “guest” and articulating consequences for failure to adhere to those expectations.

Hartley’s account addresses the psychological dimensions of teaching and learning. The “problem” of teacher substitution is treated as an “emotional disturbance” (for both teachers and students) which can be alleviated through communication. Moreover, substitute teachers are constructed as competent teachers who place themselves in the awkward situation of “covering” the classroom.

While Hartley’s account focuses on the impact of psychological elements involved in substitute teacher which stem from relationship between teacher-student, Shreeve, et. al, (1983) foregrounds the importance of interactions with teachers in defining a substitute teacher’s perception of performance and professional standing. Using data from an “informal survey” Shreeve and his associates found that only 50% of substitute teachers felt like a "professional." Substitute teachers in his study cited social stigma and negative self image as two of the greatest obstacles faced by substitute teachers. Shreeve noted that substitutes do not feel appreciated, despite contrary claims made by the teachers they replace. Feelings of isolation and the stigma attached to being a “substitute” lead to overall negative self-image among substitute teachers. Shreeve offers
several suggestions for improving the self-image of substitute teachers including orientation programs, positive self-talk, re-definition of goals and socialization with other teachers (1983, p. 10). A limitation of Shreeve’s study (besides methodological concerns) is that the authors suggest that substitute teachers simply "walk tall" using positive self-talk to help them get through their assignment. This suggestion underestimates the role of social and material conditions in creating and maintaining marginalization. That substitute teachers are to simply "rise above" the constraints of stigma, not only simplifies the psychological dimensions of teaching, but moreover, fails to acknowledge how the model of professionalism creates hierarchies among teachers made clear in the pay structures and resources available to them. That substitute teachers are not provided institutional support, specifically in the form of professional development, is an overlooked fact in this research.

One exception to this trend is found in a report from a practicum developed by Margaret Gaffney (1989). Driven by the belief that professional development efforts should include substitute teachers, Gaffney implemented a substitute teacher management program to improve the quality of information and materials teachers made available to substitutes (1989, p. 1). Gaffney's program included the following:

1) developing, distributing, and utilizing a substitute handbook; 2) designing and implementing a systematic method for teachers to prepare for a substitute; 3) developing and utilizing a substitute report form; and 4) implementing a method by which key resource people were made available to greet and assist substitutes. (1989, p. 1)
Like the historical accounts, Gaffney sees the solution to the problems associated with substitute teachers in bureaucratic forms of professionalism: organization, standardization, and the implementation of systematized techniques. I strongly advocate the procedures outlined by Gaffney, as they recognize substitute teachers as workers who would benefit from the effects of training and networking. However, Gaffney's account relies on a management model, which de-emphasizes the social component of the teaching and the construction of authority. In Gaffney's account, teacher's work and effectiveness is viewed as a mechanistic series of "procedures" rather than performances that are situated in particular discourses and social contexts. I support Gaffney's call for a more formal network of substitute teachers but think her emphasis on "procedures" as the exchange of ritual information implies a bureaucratic (rather than "local") form of professional development.

2.3.2 PRACTITIONER LITERATURE

Substitute teachers are the subject of many articles and essays within the educational practitioner literature (St. Michel, 1994; Pavlich and Rosenast, 1974; Pronin, 1983; Dodd, 1989; Jones, 1988; MacVittie, 1956; Shreeve, et al. 1983; and ERIC Clearinghouse, 1985). This literature targets two particular audiences: school administrators and substitute teachers. This literature attempts to deal with the practical problems and issues involved in the use of substitute teachers for teacher replacement. Across the literature, three basic pedagogical elements...
are offered as remedies: lesson plans, attendance rosters and seating charts. These three elements are seen as the necessary armor with which any substitute teacher should shield herself with in entering a foreign classroom.

In the literature that targets school administrators, substitute teachers are viewed as temporary workers that lack the specific skills or credentials to cover a classroom (Eric Clearinghouse). Principals are urged to keep a list of the most "reliable" substitutes who have proven their effectiveness either in terms of managing the classroom (Morrison, 1994) or fitting into the school culture. Regular teachers are urged to keep on file "universal lesson plans" (Sendor, 1982) that could be delivered by any person asked to cover a teacher's classroom. Similarly, Deutchman (1983) in an article entitled "Why settle for a Substitute?" urges principals to use "guest teachers" who are "community people with special knowledge in various areas...to engage the special needs and interests of students" (Clearinghouse, p. 2). In this literature, substitute teachers are not viewed as qualified teachers but instead, place-markers without special skills and, thus, may not be the best candidates for teaching students. Implicit and explicit rhetoric around substitutes conveys that most administrators view substitutes as unqualified teachers who simply act as "spare-tires" (Drake, 1981) -- persons who are utilized only in emergency situations. The tension between "filling the classroom" and "effective teaching and learning" are evident in these constructions.
Sociologist Norman Friedman (1983) went "undercover" as a substitute to explore the roles and expectations associated with substitute teachers. He found that they were expected to adapt to two areas: "order maintenance" and "assignment-execution." While Friedman's account does not go into much depth, it does reiterate that substitute teachers, like their professional counterparts, are viewed as classroom managers who merely disseminate information rather than co-construct the curriculum and its meaning with their students.

Other practitioner literature targets the substitute teacher herself and is framed as a "handbook" (Jones, 1998; Dodd, 1989; Friedman, 1974; MacVittie, 1956) or a "survival guide" (Haskins, 1974; Pavlich, 1974, Videon, 1987). Again, lesson plans, seating charts and attendance rosters are the primary practical tools with which she must operate. In the oldest "handbook," MacVittie (1956) organizes his discussion around orienting the substitute teacher to the professional expectations as a teacher as well as some responsibilities and problem areas to be expected while in the classroom. Orienting the substitute teacher includes explaining a per diem work structure and the variation in types of assignments. Problems faced by substitute teachers include no or vague lesson plans, no cooperation of pupils and poor "professional relations" with other teachers (MacVittie, 1956, p. 25). Regular teachers described the major problems faced upon return from a period of absence as a substitute teacher's failure to adhere to "instructional procedures," adjustment issues and failure to control the classroom (MacVittie, p. 26). MacVittie concludes that both
professional and substitute teachers were concerned with instructional issues such as the availability and effective use of lesson plans. However, the two groups differed in their diagnosis of the problem and who was to blame. Substitute teachers blamed the regular teacher for failing to provide adequate lesson plans while the regular teacher complained that the substitute teacher's execution of the lesson plan did not match her intentions. For example, one regular teacher had this to say:

> Upon returning from an absence I found that the substitute teacher had not followed the program set up for her. It seemed as though my whole paper supply had been used—and for what! No definite work in connection with the curriculum that had been assigned. Busy work—of no value whatsoever, and mountains of pictures had been colored...children had forgotten or lost all good work habits which had been established during the first five months of school. (MacVittie, p. 27)

In this instance, the regular teacher did not believe the substitute teacher adequately utilized the resources made available to her. In addition, the regular teacher felt that students' previous "learning" was undone during the substitute teacher's placement. It would be extremely interesting, in this scenario, to explore how the substitute teacher would describe that same experience. There may be alternative explanations for if and why the substitute teacher did not follow the teacher's assigned lesson. It seems within reason to suggest that the classroom experience necessitated deviating from the assigned work, such as the students would not participate in the assigned lesson. The substitute teacher may have not been able to either locate, or execute the given lesson plan. Or, it may be an even larger problem that the teacher's lesson plan was not interpreted.
in the way the regular teacher intended. The substitute teacher may have perceived that she was in fact completing the assigned lesson, but simply interpreted the information how she saw fit as the temporary classroom authority. What actually happened will never be known, and is perhaps less interesting than the fact that this disagreement between intentions and interpretations is not explored in MacVittie's (or similar) research. Lesson plans and teacher's comments are assumed to be self-evident. The practitioner literature glosses over the contextual nature of knowledge and instead treats lesson plans - their content and meaning - as neutral information that could be delivered by anyone regardless of context or situation.

Indeed, what fills the pages of this literature termed "Handbooks for Substitute Teachers" treats curriculum as tangible objects that can be delivered by a universal figure termed the "teacher" whether regular or substitute. Countless one-day exercises and activities are included as "emergency lesson plans" to prepare the substitute teacher in her upcoming assignments. These lesson plans, such as those found in Seeman and Hofstrand's (1998) *Super Sub: A must-have handbook for Substitute Teachers*, reduce the work of teachers to a series of lesson plans that can be executed by substitute teachers. Similarly, the first two pages include the "Do's and Don'ts of Substituting" such as "Do speak in a whisper for attention. Don't raise your voice" (1998, p. 2). While these pointers offer some "practical advice" to the substitute teacher, they attempt to articulate pedagogical techniques and classroom management that ordinarily stem from
the wisdom of a teacher's classroom experience and the socio-cultural norms of the classrooms and contexts in which they operate. The implicit message conveyed through this genre of advice to the substitute teacher, does not acknowledge that in substitute teaching, a teacher's prior experience and wisdom does little to counteract with the chaotic nature of a transient assignment.

Pedagogical techniques, as most teachers will agree, are most effective when they are locally derived with a specific group of students. The personalities of students and school-level policies are often more influential in determining a "best" course of action, rather than a series of universal techniques that are suggestions at best (Fassbinder, 1998).

The social scientific accounts raise several important considerations in the analyzing the representation of substitute teachers. Substitute teachers are positioned by discourses of professionalism and teaching. Such discourses treat substitutes as "ineffective outsiders" that are different than (and deficient to) images of the "professional teacher." In these images, the professional teacher is imagined to preside over a harmonious and unified classroom culture with students and curriculum that are constructed as static and transparent objects. In this way, the substitute teacher serves as an interruption to such imagined relations. While much of this literature emphasizes how substitute teachers are invisible within the educational profession, the proliferation of practitioner literature aimed at increasing the productivity and effectiveness of substitutes indicate that substitute teachers do have a certain level of visibility (albeit
negative) within discourses of professionalism. However, as the next section explores, the trope of invisibility serves as a dominant way to situate the representation of substitute teachers.

THE TROPE OF INVISIBILITY

The work of substitute teachers is complex and often trivialized. The effect of this trivialization has lead many educational researchers to overlook the interesting and unique attributes of this group of teachers. In fact, "invisibility" is one of the central tropes used by researchers and substitute teachers themselves to describe the work of substitute teachers both inside and outside of the classroom (Morrison, 1994a). Outside the classroom, substitute teachers lack a contemporary network or professional (union) representation through which to advocate their needs and interests. Substitute teachers are simply not included in the educational statistics at the local, state and national levels.

Substitute teachers are invisible inside the classroom as well as outside. This invisibility, however, is seen as a positive attribute. As a temporary worker, the substitute teacher must negotiate a complicated position of "fitting in" to the routine, norms and curricular expectations of the classroom she covers. Thus, a substitute teacher's success is a result of how well she is able to "blend in." From a teacher's perspective, an effective substitute is one who is "flexible," "adaptable" and who can manage the classroom without calling attention to herself (Morrison, 1994a). For example, teachers reported that if a substitute had to have
another teacher visit or assist during their assignment, most likely she would not be asked to return. Consider this quote from a substitute teacher coordinator:

Although there are exceptions...what the headteacher wants [from the supply teacher] is that there's no hassle, he doesn't want parents up complaining, he doesn't want rowdy children, he doesn't want people flying out of the room... he doesn't want you knocking on his door and saying "I can't control so-and-so' ...he or she doesn't really want to know you're there. (quoted in Morrison, 1994a, pg. 50)

This example illustrates how substitute teachers are expected to perform in the larger school context. The substitute teacher should blend into an existing classroom culture, effectively "manage" the classroom and deliver the regular teacher's lesson. An "effective" substitute is one that is invisible and that leaves little or no trace of their presence.

Invisibility, as a trope, is a ripe image to explore. Within post-structural theories of discourse, I will suggest that this invisibility is not coincidental, given the fact that school districts feel pressure to present the public with the image of a teaching workforce that is stable, qualified and uniform, in essence a "profession." To foreground not only the frequency but also the impact of the work of substitute teachers would call into question the contemporary movement to professionalize teaching. In the Wellston, Ohio case, for example, one might argue that constructing substitute teachers as "ineffective outsiders" is an attempt by teacher organizers to legitimize and differentiate their work as

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33 Some of the regular and substitute teachers (Michelle, Nan and Sharon) I interviewed also linked a substitute teacher's success with invisibility.
professional teachers. In other words, teacher organizers may feel it is in their best interest to differentiate themselves from the teachers who temporarily replaced them. This is not to suggest that there is a common history or profile of substitute teachers, or even to establish the credentials of those teachers who participate in teacher replacement. But clearly some elisions and underestimation of qualifications occurs in labeling the Wellston substitutes "ineffective outsiders."

Another factor that contributes to the "invisibility" of substitute teachers is the fact that "highly competent" teachers that engage in substitute teaching are so repulsed by that label that they work hard to differentiate themselves from "substitute teachers" — thus, reinscribing the position of substitute teachers as simply "babysitters." This trend illustrates the power of naming and the disciplinary effects of professionalization. Substitute teachers work from the power/knowledge of professionalism (and its techniques of classification) to sort out their identities as teachers. Making claims to a "professional" identity means that must classify themselves along prescriptive (and narrowly defined) criteria of "good teachers:" "I have the credentials, I have the experience; I am a teacher, not a substitute."

There are several dynamics that contribute to the invisibility and under theorization of the position of substitute teachers within discourses of

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professionalism. Fear of exacerbating public concerns of a “competent” teaching workforce also contributes to the invisibility of substitute teachers. Educational reformers, policy makers and administrators may be reluctant to acknowledge the role of substitute teachers both in terms of prevalence and some of the “adjustment problems.” While this concern may be understandable, it does not deal with either the frequency or significance of the work of substitute teachers. Substitute teachers may be the Achilles heel of the teaching profession, but the problem lies less in the qualifications of the substitute than the lack of attention paid to the theoretical and practical implications of what happens under the sign of substitute teaching.

Representations of substitute teachers highlight a growing disjunction between kinds of pedagogical authority that are considered desirable in various classroom contexts. Positioned at the margins of the discourse-practices of professionalism, the representation of substitute teachers allows us to see the material and discursive limits of contemporary educational reform. In many ways, our schools (and urban schools in particular) simply cannot sustain the practices and assumptions associated with the contemporary movement to professionalize teaching. The emphasis within colleges of education is to increase the standards and qualifications necessary to become a teacher. However, the teacher shortage “crisis” means that such standards often give way to the need to “fill classrooms” with effective classroom managers and persons
with varying backgrounds and credentials. Thus, while the institutional discourse of professionalism acts as the intradiscursive field through which "good teaching" is defined (extensive teacher preparation and professional development), schools in general, and substitute teachers, in specific, fall outside the purview of such educational reform models. Despite this marginal status, however, the language of management constitutes images of both regular and substitute teachers. Both are constructed as subjects of administration.

Discourses of professionalism position teachers as "classroom managers" that are subject to the policies and agendas of educational reform as it is conceptualized in colleges of education. Yet, as the representation of substitute teachers illustrates, there are both conceptual and material limits to the movement to professionalize teaching that are played out on/through the image of the substitute.

2.3.3 CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

While largely invisible within contemporary educational research, images of substitute teachers proliferate in children's literature and popular media. One reason for this abundance may be that students readily encounter substitutes in their everyday lives and these representations are both produced and consumed as a strategy to help make sense of those interactions. Closer examination of children's literature offers a glimpse of the potentially subversive role of substitute teachers in today's classrooms and educational reform.
One example is the "Miss Nelson" series written by Jay Allard (1977, 1985 and 1986). In the initial book (1977) Miss Nelson, a regular teacher finds her students to be "misbehaving" and "rude." Thus, Miss Nelson takes an absence and calls on her old friend, Viola Swamp, to cover her classroom. Viola Swamp, depicted as a mean and nasty witch, literally scares the children into submission. Miss Swamp’s strictness pays off, however, in that the teacher finds that students are actually more productive in Miss Nelson’s absence. Productivity here is defined as students being “on task,” “paying attention” and “pleasant.” In the second book, Miss Nelson has a field day, Viola Swamp returns to Horace B. Smedly School, this time to put some pep back in the school as the substitute coach for the football team. True to form, “The Swamp” gets the team back into shape and is successful in “getting results.” The punch line in the Miss Nelson series is that it is actually Miss Nelson – disguised as Viola Swamp – who is able to “get results.” Positioning herself as the substitute—an outside disciplinarian—Miss Nelson is able to effectively shift the dynamics of student performance. As I argue later, it is not coincidental that Miss Nelson must take on a masquerade in order to effect change. Miss Nelson, constructed as a nice and pleasant teacher, sees the limitations of that subject position as she invokes the image of an “ugly witch” (one of the few subject positions available for female teachers) to be intelligible as an authoritative teacher who can easily gain “control” in the classroom. In the end of the second book Miss Nelson confesses to her sister, “Sometimes you have to get tough.” (1985, p.32)
While the image of substitute teachers within the "professional" literature is one of a deficient, ineffective teacher, in children's literature we see the possibility that substitute teachers actually exceed the performance of the "regular" (professional) teacher.

Another representation of substitute teachers as excessive of the professional teacher's performance can be seen in the motion picture series *The Substitute, The Substitute 2* and *The Substitute 3*. The quality of these films and the accuracy of such depictions of substitute teachers and educational scenes are highly questionable. However, the fact that this educational fantasy produced two sequels speaks to the commercial appeal and success of the series. Furthermore, the film provides insight into shifting constructions of substitute teachers and the cultural construction of teachers. Chapter three presents a more in-depth analysis of this film.

In short, the main character, named Shale, is an ex-mercenary who is called into the classroom to restore "order" to a classroom taken over by the chaotic forces of drugs, gangs and violence. Shale successfully rids the school of its corrupt characters, including the students who are gang members, and the school administration that is behind the drug organization in the school. Shale, as a white, hypermasculine male uses his "real world experience" as a killer for hire to model the proper kind of violence necessary in the eternal fight against evil. Particularly problematic is the racialized construction of authority and violence in the film. Shale's authority (as a white hypermasculine male) in this
school that is predominantly African American and Latino is achieved through both coercive physical and symbolic violence. True to the genre of action films, the battle of good over evil is fought through the use of physical force, including guns and other military weapons such as surveillance equipment knives. The more subtle victory is achieved when Shale's star pupil, Jerome (African American) is moved to action and kills the student gang leader Juan Lacas (Latino).

Dominant narratives of race, gender and nation are reinscribed in this depiction of multicultural education as the virtual victory of whiteness as classroom authority. However, Shale's position of substitute teacher as the classroom figure who is more effective than his professional counterparts at both cleaning up our schools and instilling basic character education interrupts the authority of the "professional teacher." Indeed, this substitute teacher outperforms the professional teachers who, in the movie, are helpless and ineffective warriors in the battle called education. In the movie, some teachers are physically overpower ed, others simply disillusioned and simply unable to manage. Putting education and schools back on track involves the super-heroic efforts of an "outsider" such as Shale.

While the images of substitute teachers in the Miss Nelson series and The Substitute are clearly fictional, some important inferences can be made about these representations. First, substitute teachers are constructed in both real and imagined ways as "outside" the educational system and the particular schools in
which they are placed. Second, such images gesture toward a glimpse of the limits of what a professional teacher can achieve in educational contexts. The growing proliferation of images of substitute teachers in popular culture warrants further analysis. Recent television episodes on *My So Called Life, King of the Hill* and *South Park* might glean insight into a growing public discomfort with today’s teachers and the transformative possibilities offered in the position of being a “substitute.”

**Gender, Substitute Teachers and The Cultural Construction of Teaching**

The depiction of Shale as a transformative leader in schools is not an isolated image. The "teacher as hero" is a familiar image in constructions of teachers within popular culture and film (Biklen, 1995; Ayers and Ford, 1996; Keroes, 1999). Films like *To Sir with Love, Stand and Deliver* and *Dead Poets Society* all replay the familiar story line of the teacher as the great liberator. In these films, the main character offers insight and ability to get students to think critically, challenge their station in life and in effect transform the taken-for-granted structure and dynamics of schooling. Cast against teachers that are "incompetent" "burned out" or beaten down, the "teacher-as-hero" breaks away from traditional conventions of teaching to connect with and inspire students to reach their full potential. These images are reminiscent of Rousseau’s romantic visions of education as "civilization." The role of the teacher is to mold the heart and minds of students at risk of falling prey to the chaotic and unruly
"natural" environment. The teacher acts to enlighten "man" to their God-given rights and responsibility to create order and stability in the social will.

While several theorists have deconstructed the image of the teacher-as-hero, few have analyzed how gender figures into these constructions. Two exceptions are the recent work of Jo Keroes (1999) and Sari Biklen (1995) who argue that notions of gender are embedded in the image of the teacher as hero. Their analyses highlight two related points: 1) there are far more images of male teachers than female teachers in popular culture are; and 2) the image of the hero itself conflates masculinity with "good teaching." Furthermore, both argue that images of teacher-as-hero reflect cultural attitudes about women and power and the devaluation of women's work. For example, Keroes looks at images of female teachers in film and concludes that such images are often negative due to cultural distrust of women in positions of power and authority. She argues that the figure of the teacher is highly eroticized and that pedagogy as a set of relations of desire necessarily casts women as culturally ascribed gender positions: sexual deviants, "bitches" or "old maids." Similarly, Biklen links the lack of positive images of female teachers in film to the relatively low status of "women's work." She argues that "school-work" is devalued when certain teaching practices get coded "feminine" such as nurturing children or talking with colleagues, and manifests in images of gendered notions of the teacher as "babysitter" or "gossip." To the extent that teaching is seen as a highly ritualized and feminine livelihood it remains in a position of

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powerlessness and is unnoteworthy in the domain of popular cultural. The teacher that challenges the everyday activities of "school-work," that dares to disrupt the mindlessness that bureaucratic education has become—the teacher as hero—becomes both the ideal of what teachers should be doing and the fantasy of who they might become. In linking leadership with adversity and adventure, the image of the teacher as hero centers discourses of masculinity to construct an image of the teacher-as-hero with images of cowboys, rebels and scholars, over mothers, nurturers or keepers of tradition. Thus, the teacher-as-hero is an image tied to American cultural notions of gender.

Despite the power bestowed in the image of the teacher as hero, the prevalence of such images is shadowed by the preponderance of images of substitute teachers in film and popular media. In fact, there is a growing body of representations of substitute teachers on the American screen. Substitute teachers make regular appearances on situation comedies and animated television series such as "My So Called Life," "South Park" and "King of the Hill." The substitute in My So Called Life closely approximates the teacher-as-hero narrative. As an outsider to the school, he initially garners support from students for encouraging them to challenge the constraints set forth by the administration about what they could and should write for their school literary publication. He uses unorthodox tactics to get across his message that students should challenge authority and to create their own rules and definitions of what's good and right. The power of his message is undermined as students
discover that he has a criminal background and exits the program because he is running from the law. Angela (the show's main character) challenges the sincerity and merits of his teaching given his shady background. One could read this plot development as evidence of the effectiveness of his message: a student challenging authority (however locally defined) to construct her own judgment and final assessment between right and wrong. Overall, this portrayal resonates with the theme of the teacher as hero. However, unlike other versions, this teacher does not hold the same identificatory power held by teachers in *Dead Poets Society* or *Mr. Holland's Opus*. Here the figure of the substitute is merely a vehicle for enlightened thinking, rather than a model for enlightened being. Nevertheless gender saturates this representation, in the way that Keroes describes the pedagogical relationship. Throughout the episode, the female students swoon over this teacher-rebel, while male students express disgust and romantic envy of the ability of the substitute to gain intimacy and influence with the female students.

The image of the substitute (Miss Ellen) in *South Park* both reinscribes and transgresses normative constructions of gender and authority in the cultural construction of teaching. This substitute, is a "hot lesbian" in the words of the show's young male characters. The association between teaching and desire is underscored as the male students spend much time during the episode waxing and waning over Miss Ellen and winning her affection. The boys even try to become lesbian so that she would reciprocate their attraction. Miss
Ellen's tenure is cut short by a jealous Wendy Testaburger who plots to get Miss Ellen away from her boyfriend (Stan) and "her classroom." Wendy's efforts come to fruition as she convinces the principal that Miss Ellen is an Arab spy and terrorist. Wendy calls upon her mid-eastern allies to capture Miss Ellen, thus, restoring order in Wendy's world.

While the construction of Miss Ellen as a lesbian is more a figment of student fantasy than subversive pedagogy, she does possess a certain level of danger as an outsider. Considering how easily Miss Ellen's sexual deviance slips into the school's assumption that she is a terrorist spy, it is not far off to conclude that fear of Miss Ellen may be linked to her potential to threaten heteronormative relations of desire in the "proper" order of the classroom.

Another striking example of how substitutes figure into popular cultural images of gender and teaching is a recent episode of the television series King of the Hill. In this episode, Peggy Hill, one of the show's main character transforms into "Paddlin' Peggy," a substitute teacher that turns the table on student bullies. Peggy Hill has been a substitute teacher since the show's inception and several episodes have featured her classroom experiences. This episode takes up the issue of corporal punishment, discipline and authority in the classroom. The episode begins with Peggy accepting a weeklong assignment in a Spanish classroom. Peggy is hesitant about the assignment since Spanish is not one of her "finer areas" even though she was voted Substitute Teacher of the Year 1996 and 1997. Also contributing to Peggy's
discomfort is the fact that she will be evaluated on the first day of the assignment. The evaluator adds this foreshadowing comment: Peggy has a good attitude since "so many substitutes get bullied by students." Nevertheless, a confident but cautious Peggy Hill walks into the classroom and begins the roll call. Within a few minutes, a few students start throwing spitballs in her direction. Aware of her evaluation, Peggy tightens the reign. However, her discipline strategies do not work as students revolt with laughter and disruption. Peggy is not surprised but hurt to read her evaluation: "Needs improvement."

On day two Peggy decides she is "not going to let these students bully her." On the first attempt by a student to "talk back," Peggy approaches the student and issues a warning. The student responds by pulling down Peggy's pants exposing her underwear. Peggy is mortified as students roar with laughter all around her. In a quick instinct, Peggy picks up the student, lays him across her lap and spanks him furiously. Although empowered in the moment, Peggy later feels great remorse as she reflects that "18 years of teaching experience went out the window" by "hitting an innocent child."

In a meeting with the student's parents and the principal, Peggy discovers that the student parents condoned Peggy's punishment and even commended her for getting their child to behave. In a cryptic construction of administrators, the principal flips through his procedural handbook and fires Peggy because of this "violation of legal procedure." Over the next couple of
days, Peggy struggled to make sense of this experience. Peggy is surprised to find public sentiment behind her. Even a female teacher reassures her that she "has the support of all the teachers." She christens her "Paddlin' Peggy" and says, "Walk tall, sister!" Peggy also finds support from her father-in-law (a usual adversary) and his Army buddies at the VFW. One of those buddies is the former principal, Geeter "The Beater" Turbinell. Geeter remembers "the good old days" when "we were shaping their character and preparing them to die in war." Impressed with her performance, Geeter "The Beater" organizes a successful petition to get Peggy re-rehired and offers her the sacred whoopin' paddle, "Old Spanky."

In her return to the classroom Paddlin' Peggy assumes her new identity by writing it on the board and placing the paddle on top of her desk reminding the students that they know that she's not afraid to use it. Paddlin' Peggy's reputation gains her the fear of the students, media attention and growing discomfort from her family members. The situation culminates in an exchange between her husband Hank's friends. One friend says, "You need to get your woman in line. She's feeling powerful. She's got a lot of testosterone. She could even grow a mustache." This causes Hank to throw out the paddle in an attempt to re-cover the lost mother and wife that everyone was comfortable with. Hank sides with his friend Mr. Giblen and says, "You big bully." Peggy rejoices to find the paddle and calls out to the onlooking reporter, "This paddle's the only thing that stands between Arlen (Texas) Schools and complete
chaos.” The pivotal moment occurs, however, as Peggy looks in a driveway mirror and sees the image of herself holding the paddle. Her image is not the old loving Peggy Hill that she knows is "somewhere inside of her." Instead she sees a disfigured woman crouching and waving Old Spanky above her head. Caught in a moment without Old Spanky, her son's friend comments, "without the paddle she just looks like Bobby's mom." This statement suggests that the paddle is key to Peggy's power. Without the paddle to wield force and authority in the classroom, Peggy Hill is the loving wife and mother everyone recognizes and desires.

The next and final day Peggy enters the classroom and proclaims, "All you children are interested is in punishment. Well I will teach you about punishment." She proceeds to take out and demonstrate a mace from the Spanish inquisition. But unlike Paddlin' Peggy, the old Peggy Hill has returned, enticing students with a lesson about torture, punishment and the Spanish inquisition. Peggy makes the connection between the unfair punishment, bullying and discipline. The moral of the story, as Peggy announces, is that unlike the unjust actions of the Spanish inquisitions, the action of the just discipliner is to offer an apology where an apology is due.

There are several lessons about gender, authority and substitute teaching in this episode of King of the Hill. Perhaps most direct is Peggy's assessment between bullying and discipline and the role of punishment in making those distinctions. In reflecting on her actions, Peggy attributes her overzealous
punishment to her underlying fear of students bullying her and taking control of the classroom. Peggy's assessment, however, leaves unresolved the fact that student attempts to "strip" her of her power, whether her pants or the paddle, were mostly effective. Peggy’s refusal to accept the bully’s treatment of de-pantsing could be read as an act of an empowered substitute teacher—raging against unfair treatment by students. Instead, Peggy reads the situation as a breach of her ethical responsibility as a teacher to use reason over force. In insinuating herself in the image of the teacher-as-hero, Peggy feels obligated to win over the students by achieving control through discipline of the mind rather than the body.

This does not explain why the student’s parents, teachers and public rally behind Peggy’s efforts to exert force to "take back the classroom." The transformation of Peggy Hill the mother into Paddlin’ Peggy is first viewed positively, but turns into concern that she has gone too far. Perhaps what is at stake here is less about Peggy’s responsibilities as a teacher and more about Peggy’s responsibilities as a “woman.” At first Peggy appears to be excited about this gender transgression in performing a position of female power. However, Peggy’s husband, son and friends worry that she has too much power, raging testosterone and is on her way to becoming a man. In fear of alienating her family, Paddlin’ Peggy relinquishes the power of the paddle, thus resuming her position of "comfortable" gender performances and relations of power.
The Paddlin' Peggy episode reflects a cultural ambivalence about the positioning of power, gender and authority in constructions of the teacher. This representation both reflects and incites public sentiment of how to restore order to today's classrooms. The seductive power of the paddle signals a nostalgia and fantasy of teaching as the practice of discipline that the citizens of Arlen can rally behind. But because this fantasy challenges Peggy's conception of teaching (as a exercise in reason) and gender positioning (as the good mother) it is ultimately abandoned in favor of the image of the teacher as a nurturing mother that instructs through reason not force. In doing so, Peggy reminds the audience the gendered image of teachers that America loves to hate -- managers of virtue. Peggy desire is cryptically stated in the form of a question, "All I want is to be respected as a professional. Is that too much to ask?"

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I utilized a genealogical approach to trace the representation of substitute teachers at various nodal points in space and time to illustrate how the position of substitute teachers is discursively constituted by discourses of gender, teaching and professionalism. Representations of substitute teachers were analyzed from three historical and contemporary genres: sociological research, substitute teacher's handbooks and popular media. My intent was to provide evidence to the larger claim that substitute teachers are positioned as "outsiders" within/by/against various educational contexts. I showed how the language of administration constitutes the subject position of
substitute teachers, which both links their identity claims to those of "regular teachers" but also differentiates their work as substitutes within the educational profession.

While the trope of invisibility may characterize the treatment of substitute teachers within educational reform policy and social scientific research on teaching, the representation of substitute teachers within children's literature and popular media indicate otherwise. Images of substitute teachers proliferate within popular cultural media such as newspapers, television, film and literature. These representations illustrate the ways in which substitute teachers both exceed and interrupt normative discourses of professionalism, gender and teaching.

Chapter three continues my investigation of how images of substitute teachers transgress normative constructions of teaching in popular culture. As the title of this dissertation implies, my analysis of representations of substitute teachers centers on their position as "in-between subjects." As substitute teachers move within and between normative discourses on teaching as "stabilized configurations," their position represents "discontinuities," "ruptures" and "cracks in history" (Lather, in press, p. 9). Further, as I explore in subsequent chapters, such representations suggest the "beginnings of the possible" moving between repetition and the "not-yet" of discourses on teaching and professionalism (Lather, in press, p. 9).
CHAPTER 3

DECOLONIZING PROFESSIONALISM: DIFFERENCE, ORDER AND THE PEDAGOGY OF DISCIPLINE

_The Substitute_ is a 1996 full-length feature film about an ex-mercenary named "Shale." Shale goes "undercover" as a substitute teacher named "Mr. Smith" to replace his girlfriend Jane Hexto, a teacher in an inner city Miami high school (Columbus High). Hexto is absent after being mugged by order of Juan Lacas, Hexto’s student and the leader of a local gang. Hexto became the target of the Kings of Destruction when she resisted acts of intimidation.

After just one day of substitute teaching, Shale suspects that the administration is involved in the school’s criminal activities and thus enlists the assistance of his ex-mercenary friends in the battle over Columbus High School. With the help of his multicultural "posse," Shale rids the school of drugs and its corrupt leadership. In short, _The Substitute_ is about the struggle to regain "order" in a Miami classroom and by extension, "inner-city" classrooms in contemporary U.S. America. Shale, part educator, part mercenary leads the battle in the fight between good and evil in American schools.

This reading, however, romances the space of multicultural education as a site of pluralistic possibility. In the following pages, I deconstruct the narrative
of multicultural education as it operates in The Substitute. I attempt to re-map the space of multiculturalism by deconstructing the identities produced, negotiated and contested with/in and by the particular classroom.\textsuperscript{35} I argue that the figure of Shale mirrors the fantasy or what Kaja Silverman (1992) calls the "dominant fiction of Anglo hyper-masculinity:" "The Great White Hope" which bestows "order" in the postcolonial classroom. Using discourse analysis to deconstruct the materiality of textual images, I hope to interrupt dominant representations of "difference" and the relations between violence and pedagogy.\textsuperscript{36} My analysis mobilizes post-colonial theories of "difference" to elaborate relations of power and representations of the post-colonial classroom depicted in the film.\textsuperscript{37}

3.1 ANALYZING DIFFERENCE

The term "difference" is utilized across postcolonial theorizing. While its specific meaning shifts across writer, audience and context, Homi Bhabha's articulation of cultural difference as "hybridity" is well known. Bhabha argues that representation of difference is neither the images of Self/Other perpetuated in colonial nor post-colonial constructions of identity. Rather, representation and thus post-colonial identity lies in a "third space" of culture. Representation shifts

\textsuperscript{35} Rather than theorizing spaces as neutral contexts or backdrops for social relations, Phillips (1997) argues that spaces actually produce particular bodies and identities.

\textsuperscript{36} Fairclough elaborates: "The method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language (text), interpretation of the relations between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (1995, p. 97).
with every new repetition, iteration or articulation. Thus, as post-colonial representations approach the horizons of culture, they move theorizing difference "beyond" hegemonic constructions of Self/Other.

As Rasjewari Mohan notes, postcolonial analysis involves the careful unraveling of dominant narratives at work in colonial texts. Of particular importance are narratives about Selfhood, nation and the role of ethnicity and difference in establishing both colonial and postcolonial subjectivities. Mohan argues for analyses that attend to issues of domination and resistance which are multi-layered and do not flatten out either colonial or postcolonial subjectivities. She poses three questions to frame the investigation of classic and popular cultural texts: 1) How does the text construct the world for postcolonial readers in all their heterogeneity? 2) How does it construct the "Other" world for equally heterogeneous Western readers? 3) What does it tell Western readers about its own world? (1995, p. 279)

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to present an exhaustive analysis which "answers" Mohan's questions, this analysis does attempt to tease apart some of the images and assumptions which operate in contemporary representations of multicultural education. How do constructions of difference within The Substitute produce and challenge dominant images of race, identity and representation? My desire is to interrogate the depiction of Latinos and

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See Leela Gandhi (1998) for an overview of the notion of "difference" as it figures in postcolonial writing.
Seminoles as the "Other" in the representation of American multicultural Self.
Both groups constitute an indigenous force that both resists and threatens the American Self in this particular depiction of multicultural education.

What's in a name?

Throughout the film, the use of sound and the practice of naming reiterate the association of disorder and chaos with indigenous (Seminole/Latino) forces. One of the most remarkable features of this film is the representation of Johnny Glade as the brutal leader of Miami's drug world. Although his tribal affiliation is Seminole, Johnny Glade is most commonly referred to as the "Big Indian" from the (Florida) glades. At least Johnny gets a name, unlike Glades' hit man known as the "muscle Indian" who remains nameless throughout the film. Even Jane Hexto (presumably Latina) participates in constructing Seminoles as a "native" and unruly force at large in Dade County. For example, after Jane is "kneecapped" by the "muscle Indian," Shale tells her that he "put out at an all points bulletin for a big 6'6" Seminole." Jane responds, "Yeah, right. They'll find about a zillion of them in the Glades." In this cultural imaginary, the Seminole constitute the Other in the fantasy jungle of American schools.

In a time of draught in Hollywood representations of indigenous persons of any sort (the Disney feature Pocahontas excepted), it is interesting to note that the leader of the most powerful drug ring in Miami is Seminole. Such a figure is possible, however, when one considers that the high school under siege is Columbus High School, so named for the imperial discoverer, the "founding
cowboy" as it were, Christopher Columbus. This image of Columbus (and the colonial) under siege is illustrated as Shale/Mr. Smith enters the building on the first day as the camera focuses on a monument of Christopher Columbus enclosed in chain fence. Mr. Smith passes the monument, dressed in suit and tie, enters the building and assumes the position of the colonial, ready to face the battle at hand.

Once inside the building, Shale encounters the "chaotic" classroom: students dancing to Latin rap music upon their desks and pilfering the teacher's file cabinet, etc. On his second day teaching, Mr. Smith takes command of his troops by exerting force to gain "control" and establish his authority as the "warrior chief." After gaining the attention of the students by yelling, throwing a trashcan and physically engaging with a student who sassed back, Mr. Smith makes this announcement:

I'm in charge of this class. I'm the warrior chief. I'm the merciless God of anything that stirs in my universe. You FUCK with me and you will suffer my wrath. Entiendes nosotros? Claro?

The image of a warrior chief conjured by Mr. Smith reflects a strange transposition of both colonial and postcolonial images of authority. The force of Mr. Smith's performance of power is accented by driving an ice pick into his desk as if to mark the territory of "his" classroom. This show of violence exemplifies Smith's reversal of the film's adage "power perceived is power achieved" into "power achieved is power perceived." Thus, while Smith calls upon the
stereotypical image of a Native American chief to authorize his performance in the classroom, his appropriation mis-represents the historical accuracy of the image. Shale's invocation of himself as a warrior chief who must guard his territory attempts to re-position himself as the leader in the postcolonial classroom. Furthermore, this example of the appropriation of Native American cultural figures to legitimate the regulation of education ignores the historical role of education as deculturalization alongside other practices of colonialism such as genocide, imprisonment, slavery, loss of land and sexual violence.

The Sound of Resistance

The soundtrack of The Substitute provides another layer of racial subtext to be unpacked. The medium of cinema, the combination of music, sound effects and visual images make a film a multi-semiotic discursive event (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). In the film, cultural markers of sound and image constructed a Self/Other dichotomy that solidified the association of Latino and Seminole culture as Other. Simply put, Latin music, whether salsa or rap, was utilized to signify disorder, chaos and to signal "trouble" in the upcoming scene. Spanish

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38 The image of Native American warriors as "violent," "merciless" and savage is challenged in the biographical research on Geronimo. See for example, Geronimo, The Man, His Time, His Place, by Angie Debo. Her account, like others, presents the idea that Geronimo serves as a symbol of resistance to Whites as much, if not more than native persons. This is because Geronimo symbolizes the fear of colonial violence- of the postcolonial that fights back. Perhaps more interesting is the larger association of warrior chief as a pedagogical model for authority and leadership in the classroom. While it is true that some bands and tribal groups valorize military participation and a warrior mentality, the level of emphasis varies greatly by tribal, cultural, geographic, as well as individual factors. See for example, the definitions of leadership presented in an eloquent collection of essays entitled, Spider Woman's Granddaughters edited by Paula Gunn Allen (1989).
spoken rap played as Mr. Smith entered the classroom "jungle" on the first day and scenes with Juan Lacas always echoed Latin rhythms in the background. While the use of the "Latin sound" signaled trouble, Spanish spoken words (or Spanglish) provide further evidence of this association. As Juan plans to carry out the death order of Mr. Smith, we hear "This is for La Raza." The words fade in and out, but come in strong when the singer muses about Chicanos coming to power. In other words, whereas the linguistic representation of Latinos/indigenous force is evil, corrupted by greed, the audio representation gives the audience a glimpse that this is a battle of colonial and indigenous resistance. On the flip side of this representation of Latino/Seminole as Other is the use of African American rap music to signify "order" or the forces of "good" throughout the film. Unlike dominant representations of rap music as the Other to Western Classical music, in this popular cultural depiction, rap is the music of the Victor. For example, when Mr. Smith uses drug money taken from Johnny Glade to purchase school equipment for the students of Columbus High, his announcement over the intercom begins and is punctuated by a rap back beat. As the music bleeds from the classroom to the streets one message is clear: multicultural education becomes another site in the post/colonial struggle for the development of selfhood and nation. Furthermore, the familiar storyline of good and evil gets projected onto the bodies of Anglo and indigenous

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characters respectively. Mr. Smith, as the great white hope, stands in for the figure of the American Self that must regulate and contain cultural difference as it threatens the moral development and order of the post-colonial classroom.

It is interesting to note the slippage of the American Self to include signifiers of both Anglo (such as U.S. military history) and African American popular culture. In addition to rap music, another example of the slippage of the American Self to include African American signifiers is the pivotal role of the character, Jerome. As I later argue, the relationship between Jerome and Shale/Mr. Smith is crucial to the trope of colonial conversion.

This slippage is interesting because it symbolizes a key move in constructing the parameters of "American" Self to include heterogeneous cultural elements. This may be a good example of the hybridity of American popular culture. On the other hand, it illustrates the appropriation of sub-cultural influences into dominant constructions of multiculturalism. Take for example the following classroom exchange which Shale/Mr. Smith later describes as his epiphanic moment of "teaching" at Columbus High School:

Mr. Smith: So, the war in Vietnam was about turf. The gangs in the North wanted to take over the turf and the gangs in the South.
.....Jerome, do you know what your name means in Apache?

Jerome: No, what it mean?

Mr. Smith: It means, Geronimo....
(Students put hands to mouth and make caricature "Indian" sounds.)

......And the word Apache in their language means the outcasts; the shunned ones. It's like their emblem. It's like the players today. They're outlaws, bandits. And that translates easy enough into the biker gangs of the 50's and 60's- "my times."

(Laughter among students)

As many postcolonial writers have noted, U.S. military history is typically viewed as the "proper history" - the formal curriculum that is considered "endangered" in contemporary educational history. Postcoloniality in the classroom often takes form in the demarcation of the proper "body" of knowledge (Rajan, 1995). Here Rajan uses the term body to both refer to the ways in which the corporeal Anglo body is used to signify "proper" authority as well as the canon as a colonial "body of knowledge." She states, "...the Western humanist model of education serves as one the most powerful examples of cultural propaganda" (p. 140). In The Substitute, Shale/ Mr. Smith assumes the colonial "body" in the classroom. As a Vietnam veteran, Shale draws on his experience as a soldier in attempts to gain rapport with his students. Shale knows that the key to power in the classroom (whether perceived or achieved) will be "won" if the students identify with him. Although Shale positions himself
as an outsider, he assumes the position of the colonial speaker of "history" and "truth."  


Across these films, the combination of physical presence, warrior virtue and guerilla strategies confer Berenger’s authority as a soldier that goes against the grain. Across time periods and geographic locations, Berenger’s characters replay the familiar tale of the American cowboy who wrestles with convention and tames the wild frontier. What at first glance looks like a change

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40 In a critical scene between one of the school’s “real” teachers, Mr. __, asks Mr. Smith if he sees himself as “The Great White Hope” that will “come in and clean up” the school. He challenges Mr. Smith/Shale’s conclusion that the principal is involved in the drug ring, suggesting that Shale might be afraid to see a Black man in power. Shale responds, “I care about this school.” To which the African American teacher replies, "Yes, but when you’re through, I’ll be the one who is still here.” This scene has the potential for radical critique of the film’s colonial subtext. However, in the end, the “real teacher” is killed, almost a suggestion that his unwillingness to believe the "truth" contributes to his own demise, thus reinscribing the colonial narrative. Furthermore, this exchange suggests that the battle for schools and urban education is about the battle between men and the negotiation of masculinity. It should be of little surprise, then that the representation of women/girls in this film is peripheral, female characters participate only to the extent of confirming or conferring the male character’s achievement in performing the role of "the good teacher" (Mr. Smith) and the "good student" (Jerome).

41 Taken from a review at http://www.inthe80s.com/movies/platoon.shtml.
of character for Berenger in *The Substitute*, the transformation of Shale to Mr. Smith, merely condenses the translation from the battleground to classroom.

Like many contemporary films, *The Substitute*, deploys a Hollywood image of contemporary inner-city classrooms: African American and Latino students out of control; teachers (across ethnic affiliation) beaten down by the system; and classrooms polluted by gang-related crime, drugs and sexual activity. However, unlike the educational literature which posits "violence" as the problem in American schools, in *The Substitute*, it is not a problem of violence in schools; it a problem of crime. This distinction between "crime" and "violence" maps onto the critical distinction made by Mr. Smith in the film between soldiers and killers. Killing is committed by mercenaries or those who are not morally justified. Violence, however, can be reclaimed by warriors fighting "the good fight" — the "fight" between right and wrong, good and evil, civilized and savage/native, and in our case Mr. Smith and Johnny Glade.

The narrative distinction between soldiers and killers is introduced early in the film in a discussion between Shale/ Mr. Smith and Wolfson, a corrupt lawyer and financial front man of Glade's drug operation:

Wolfson: We're looking for soldiers.

Shale: You don't want soldiers, you want killers for your drug operation.

Wolfson: What's the difference?

Shale: The difference is (Shale pins Wolfson to the wall, forcing him to defecate in his pants.)...The difference is, you're still breathing.
Just outside the house, Shale is allowed to make his point that soldiers are different from killers in that they serve for some larger cause:

Shale: Joey, you ever look up the definition of mercenary in the dictionary? It's someone who works merely for money.

Joey: What's wrong with that? Everybody works for money.

Shale: It's not the money that bothers me. It's the merely.

What Shale is signaling here is the distinction of the grounds upon which violence is socially and morally sanctioned. This move is key in that it sets the ground for Shale's actions in two ways. First, it makes permissible Shale's violent pedagogy in the classroom such as breaking a student's finger and pelting a student in the forehead with a crumpled soda can. Second, and more important, it foreshadows homicide as the space/site of instruction for Shale's key pupil, Jerome. Indeed, it is precisely Jerome's act of (morally justified) killing that serves as a marker of "learning" and thus his assimilation to the figure of the American cowboy. In the final scenes, Jerome has the opportunity to complete his rite of passage and to assume the position of the American Self- the colonial representative.

The scene is Jane Hexto's apartment. The "good students" Jerome and Lisa Rodriguez are there to warn Jane of the impending doom. Juan Lacas and the Kings of Destruction break into the apartment in an attempt to locate Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith arrives, ironically, without his posse who has been established as successful at guerrilla warfare. While Mr. Smith scuffles with the KOD, Juan
Lacas takes Jane captive/hostage. In a moment of decisive action, Jerome, although bound and gagged, aims and shoots Juan Lacas. The camera focuses on Jerome's pained facial expression. Before we (the audience) can accuse Jerome of "killing," Jane quickly comes to comfort Jerome and repeats his exoneration: "It's not your fault, Jerome. It's not your fault." The pedagogical attempts made by Mr. Smith to turn his students into soldiers have been realized as Jerome commits the morally justified shooting of Juan Lacas.

This scene relays the overall message of the film on multiple fronts. First, and most obvious is the capitulation of the familiar victory narrative of Good over Evil. But what makes The Substitute such a rich film for analysis is how constructions of difference signify relations of power and how difference is mobilized in articulating the association of violence and pedagogy in contemporary U.S. American classrooms. In performing the morally justified violence, Mr. Smith's militaristic pedagogy is effectively achieved—Jerome is now a soldier. What is worth further attention is the "fact" that Jerome is African American. How is it possible, that Jerome, who occupies a racially marked subject position that typically eludes the constitution of Self in dominant narratives of difference, can achieve this privileged position?

Reconsider the above two interactions. The first interaction illustrates how Shale's strange mishmosh of global conflicts serves as the backdrop for expressing the "universal" struggle of the human condition: turf wars. This act of "glossing difference" (Rajan, p. 142) typifies the colonial project of education.
second classroom interaction and the films final scenes summarize the representation of "difference" and its relationship to violence and pedagogy. The character development of Jerome illustrates the "success" of Shale's militaristic pedagogy as well as completes the process of colonization— the incorporation of difference into the Western Self. In the beginning of the film Jerome is the "wild student" — deviant but able to reform. With the shooting of Juan Lacas, Jerome has assimilated the colonial objective of destroying the Other.

3.2 THE SUBSTITUTE AS THE AMERICAN COWBOY

The narrative story line of The Substitute reflects the genre of the action/adventure film. Action/adventure films are perhaps the most popular and powerful genre in Hollywood film in terms of gross earnings. Their success depends on and feeds into an industry that valorizes violence as a constitutive element of hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity is more than normative masculinity; it is an exaggerated case of what men "should be" and what American schools "need." Both Shale and Jerome take up this position of hypermasculinity but express it differently. Whereas the image of Shale is that of the experienced Western cowboy, Jerome is the instructive sidekick. Shale is hardened by experience; Jerome is young and disillusioned but absolutely essential to the completion of Shale's own process of self-discovery. Shale (which literally translates to a "fissile" rock) is penetrable by Jerome's role as the successful student/soldier. Thus, Jerome's role is to illustrate Shale's own struggle to become "human." Jerome serves to "universalize" the figure of the
American cowboy and humanize the body that represents colonial violence. The relationship between Shale and Jerome recapitulates the colonial narrative of civilization: the erasure of difference, the need for order, and violence as a constitutive element of the making of postcolonial identities.

Richard Phillips (1997) uses the metaphor of mapping to describe how identities get written in/on to particular spaces and locations. In The Substitute, masculinity and violence get mapped onto the space of multicultural education through Shale, the figure of the Great White Hope who will bring "order" and "civility" to American classrooms. In this way, Shale reinscribes a familiar narrative of the male embodiment of Western development as old as Robinson Crusoe. Indeed, many parallels exist between Shale and Crusoe. Both are castaway figures who travel to "primitive locales." Both offer instructive lessons on citizenship and reason towards civilizing a space of chaos into one of order. Masculinity and moral reasoning are collapsed in this mapping of territory, wherein the teacher defines the proper place of violence in the development of the self and society.

That Shale is a substitute teacher should be of no surprise. His tactics and logic fall outside of the purview of contemporary educational reform and institutional visions of the "professional teacher." In this remapping of educational spaces, Shale, a hypermasculine moral leader, provides the necessary authority in creating "order" in contemporary classrooms. Shale, as a substitute teacher, represents a guerilla force that poses implicit opposition and correction.
to the female/feminized teachers he replaces. The figure of the American cowboy is as much about wrestling with conventions of civilized society (schools) as with the “danger” of the frontier (the violence of the urban streets). If we accept historical narratives that inscribe professionalization of education with the bureaucracy of schools and the feminization of teaching, this representation of Shale as a hypermasculine American cowboy suggests that “bureaucracy is impotent in its permanence.”^42 The figure of the substitute displaces that permanence by equating the struggle for agency and freedom, learning and discipline with masculinist narratives of the development of self and society. In this way, the development of teacher and student, as well as the re-building of schools, is predicated on the "death" of women.^43

3.3 CONCLUSION

To point out the obvious, the images and characters in *The Substitute* are fictionalized representations of contemporary educational scenes (schools, teachers, pedagogy, etc). However, the power of this film does not lie in claims to "realism." Rather, it is my argument that *The Substitute* serves as a representation of the colonial fantasy of the state and conditions of multicultural education. Violence serves as both diagnosis and solution for the imagined "problems" with/in U.S. American schools today. Shale announces

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^42 Thank you to Pam Weems for crystallizing the crux of my message in this phrase.

^43 While this argument is perhaps overstated for dramatic purposes, the foundation of this claim can be made from Plato's writing on Phaedrus. Plato (1961) argues that woman must thrown to her death before learning can occur.
that life is merely a series of turf wars and that violence is not only inevitable but also necessary for educational and national progress. The lesson of this film involves the identification of acceptable violence: violence in the name of civilization. According to popular cultural images, it is "multiculturalism" rather than colonialism that is perceived as the problem. The Substitute depicts the "problems" in today's schools as the demographic shift in the cultural diversity of the student population, "gang violence" and the demise Western canon. As postcolonial and critical educators work to challenge the relations of power and colonialism in today's schools through multicultural education, The Substitute can be seen as a colonial response to the "problem" of multiculturalism and the perceived "failure" of "multicultural education."

Whereas the postcolonial vision of multicultural education includes culturally responsive teaching, increased school funding and bilingual education, The Substitute offers a vision of multicultural education which includes the colonial identification of Self/Other (Civilized/Savage) and the application of violence as a "proper" pedagogy.
CHAPTER 4

CONSTRUCTING ETHNOGRAPHIC SUBJECTS: UNFIXING THE FIELD

4.1 SITUATING MYSELF METHODOLOGICALLY

The methodology for data collection and analysis reiterates the hybrid design of this study. For example, my deconstruction of the existing literature on substitute teachers (illustrated in chapter two) employs Foucault’s method of genealogical discourse analysis in multiple ways. First, substitute teachers were identified as a deviant case of teachers by analyzing the discourses of professionalism in education. Similarly, Foucault’s framework of power/knowledge was utilized to interpret how representations of substitute teachers within educational research are governed by educational discourses of administration as illustrated in the multiple “Handbooks for Survival for Substitute Teachers.” This chapter outlines the methodological assumptions, practices and implications of using discourse analysis to construct the ethnographic substitute teaching subject within discourses of professionalism.

Clifford Geertz (1983) refers to the current moment in the social sciences as a time of “blurred genres.” As Geertz suggests, it has become more difficult and less interesting to differentiate between fact and fiction in writing the stories
of people and cultures. Indeed, movements within and outside of the academy known as the "culture wars" and "science wars" have challenged the very epistemological and methodological boundaries that separated disciplines such as philosophy, literary criticism, history and the social sciences. Informed by critiques from post-structural (Foucault, 1970; Britzman, 1995), post-colonial (Tuhwahi Smith, 1999), feminist (Lather, 1994; Weedon, 1987) queer (Butler, 1990) and other theorists, the landscape of social science emerges as contested terrain. Like bricoleurs, educational researchers draw from a variety of epistemological positionings and methodological tools to investigate an object of inquiry. Contemporary discourses on research design deviate from the merely procedural toward more detailed elaborations of how philosophical assumptions and social relations produce situated knowledge and how researchers choose to represent them. Indeed the current scene of educational research is marked by a "paradigm proliferation" (Donmoyer, 1996).

Patti Lather (1994) uses the term "post-positivism" to refer to the myriad methodological frameworks and practices available to social scientists in educational research. Here positivism — a paradigm which emphasizes disinterested, objective inquiry with the goal of prediction, mastery and correction through empirical methods — becomes one among many paradigmatic affiliations available. The "post" in "post-positivism" does not imply that positivism is or should be "thrown out"— but its authoritative status within the social sciences is questioned.
One of the effects of "post-positivism" is an increased awareness of the role that paradigm or worldview plays in the design and analysis of socio-cultural research. Thus, discourse analysis (from a post-positivist perspective), starts with assumptions about the nature of reality, experience (being) and language that differ from the assumptions that govern positivist, interpretivist and even (Marxist) critical paradigms.\(^4\)

To investigate the position of substitute teachers I utilized a hybrid methodology which employs elements of discourse analysis (Foucault, 1972, 1991; Fairclough, 1995) and ethnography (Geertz, 1983; Marshall and Rossman, 1995). More specifically, Foucault's methodology of discourse analysis was utilized to analyze archival and ethnographic textual data. In chapter two, I utilized a genealogical method to analyze the discourses of professionalism and substitute teachers to set up the problematic of substitute teachers as excessive subjects. This involved constructing an archive of multi-media data, including film images, newspaper articles, children's literature and educational research, regarding the representation of substitute teachers within discourses of professionalism. In order to provide a multi-voiced account of the representation of substitute teachers, I expanded the archive to include ethnographic data (interview transcripts, observation fieldnotes, grounded survey data). As my analysis became more progressively focussed, a sub-sample of data sources were

\(^4\) See Lather (1994) for an in-depth discussion of the assumptions and practices associated with positivist, interpretivist, critical and deconstructive paradigms within the social sciences.
identified, coded and analyzed in order to examine the discursive elements of statements regarding the representation of substitute teachers and the implications for educational reform.

This focus of this dissertation is more on the representation than the experiences of substitute teachers. Historically qualitative research drew from the traditions of phenomenology and interpretivism to explore the "lived experience" of particular groups. This approach, termed "subject-centered inquiry," is reflected in the numerous studies which attempt to "give voice" to particular groups of people (women, Native American students, etc.). Following the move within post-structural theorizing, my analysis examines how subjects are constructed through discourses, writing and language.

Discourse analysis provides one avenue to explore the relationships between subjectivity, language, representation and power (Mills, 1997). This type of post-structural analysis problematizes the notion of experience as a transparent epistemological stance by shifting the focus from "experience" to contextualizing discourses of experiences within socio-historical claims to knowledge and truth. Discourse analysis allows the researcher to explore how one languages the world thus constructing their "experiences" within it. Post-structural theorizing foregrounds the role of discourse and socio-cultural context in providing a horizon of intelligibility that constructs how the work of teachers

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45 For a discussion of how post-structural ethnography disrupts subject-centered inquiry in the human sciences, see Britzman (1994 and 1995).
is envisioned and received (Foucault, 1972; 1991). As Britzman describes, "A post-structural approach to identity, then is concerned with tracing identity as subjected to the constraints of social structure and to the practices of discourse. As discursive boundaries shift, so too, do identities and the lived experiences that name them" (1994, p. 57). Analyzing subjectivity from a post-structural perspective implies that discourses authorize identity, "experience" and our interpretations of both.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.2.1 Site

The field site, sample and data sources were not a cohesive pre-existing culture, an object for me to simply observe and record. Rather the field site, sample and data sources emerged as I pulled together various sources of inquiry, nodal points in an endless web of discourse practices and subject positions which populate the scene/seen of education, teaching and professionalism.

In traditional anthropology, the ethnographic field site is typically bound by geography (Marcus, 1998). Early ethnographies were grounded within a geographic space and group of people driven by the purpose of understanding the dynamics and parameter of a particular culture. Edward Said (1991/1978), Trinh Minh-Ha (1989) and other post-colonial theorists have critiqued the historical model of ethnography as one that exoticizes and essentializes the cultural practices of a people. Said uses the term "orientalism" to refer to this
system of locating cultural practices and behaviors onto/within a group of people in a way that "reveals" their primitive status relative to Western ideals.

Ethnographers in the last 20 years have learned from such critiques and have attempted to rethink anthropological conventions, such as the traditional mode of ethnography, so as to avoid stabilizing and orientalizing cultures and the peoples who embody them (Marcus, 1998; Clifford, 1986; and Geertz, 1983).

For example, Bettie St. Pierre (1995) notes that time and space are central to understanding cultural practices. Interested in the relations of cultural practices such as feeling, interpretations, dialogue and writing, St. Pierre (1995), conceptualizes cultural practices as singularities in the Deleuzean sense of rhizomatics. Singularities are particular instances of being/ knowing that cannot possibly be stabilized or read into a larger totalizing interpretation of "the way the world is." She states. "In ethnography, then, I believe we have to focus on a particular articulation of relationships and the accompanying practices which code that articulation in space-time rather than attempt a panoptic metanarrative of all relations" (1996, p. 163).

In a similar vein, George Marcus (1998) argues that the convention of using single-site studies works to reproduce ethnographic accounts is steeped in modernist assumptions. Single sited studies seek to relay (in real time) the norms, beliefs and practices of a particular culture by "the" group of people who embodied that culture. Peoples and cultures are imagined to be parts of global whole and thus could illustrate global systems, such as capitalism, colonialism
and resistance. Ethnographic authority rests in the researcher's ability to adequately provide the reader verisimilitude or the effect of "being there."

Critiques by post-structural, post-colonial and feminist research challenge the assumptions of holism, realism and the metaphysics of presence that characterize traditional anthropological research and the single-sited approach.

Marcus (1998) calls for a new kind of "mobile ethnography" that utilizes multi-sited ethnographic and historical fieldwork as a way to expand the social scientific research imaginary. The multi-sited approach displaces the notion of "community" as a stable and monolithic construct in ethnographic studies. Instead, multi-sited studies allow the researcher to foreground issues of "positioning" and thus conceptualize the field site as web of discursive practices, positions and institutional arrangements that are simultaneously discontinuous and interanimations of contingent foundations (Butler, 1995). This project attempts to enact such a multi-sited approach in an effort to learn more about the relations of discourse and subjectivity by juxtaposing representations of substitute teachers within and across multiple field sites. By multiple sites, I not only mean that there are multiple places geographically where I conducted interviews and observed classrooms. My use of the term multi-sited refers more to my decision to include representations of substitute teachers within two forms of popular media -- film and newspaper accounts--in addition to ethnographic data. This move goes deeply to the heart of cultural studies in thinking about sites less as found, fixed objects to be relayed than thinking about the role of the 123
researcher's position in practicing ethnography as a "mode of construction."

Designing multi-sited ethnographic research includes the construction of the object itself, as the researcher identifies cultural traces (representations) that are seemingly "worlds apart" and tracing the associations and connections they suggest (Marcus, 1998, p. 81). Thus, elaborating the relationships between sites and sources as a series of positionings and constructions highlights the nature of the object as an "ultimately mobile and multiply situated" construction (p. 86).

**What does it mean to construct a field site of discourses, institutional arrangements and subject positions, rather than culture, location and people?**

My emphasis is to highlight the construct of field site as a discontinuous and non-linear series of relations within, between and among various positions and sites of knowing and being. The field/archive is a mobile and contingent construction as I foreground certain images and themes along this inquiry. I focus on subject positions as they emerge within, disrupt and exceed the discourses that produce them. I conceptualize data sources as traces, not of a larger cultural "whole," but of discourses that are fractured by time/space and employed with strategic purposes. To say that discourses and subject positions are taken up and performed by the subjects of this dissertation inquiry is not to say that such performances are always conscious or purposeful. Rather, it is to argue that subjectivity consists of discursive performances that are variously enacted as both purposeful and taken-for-granted "modes of construction" (Marcus, 1998).
4.2.2 Data Sources

Because of my interest in attending to discursive layering in issues of representation, I constructed an archive that consists of multi-media representations of substitute teachers. I focus on three layers of discursive elements: intradiscursive, interdiscursive and extradiscursive. Interdiscursive elements can be thought of as the themes and patterns bound within a particular discourse. Intradiscursive elements include the inter-relationships between local and institutional epistemological frameworks. Extradiscursive elements include social, cultural and historical narratives that provide the necessary conditions that make particular local and institutional discourses possible and desirable. To examine the intradiscursive elements, ethnographic interviews were analyzed to determine the dynamics and issues faced by substitute teachers. An analysis of educational policy documents provided support for how the institutional (interdiscursive) framework of "professionalism" shapes common-sense notions about the work of teachers. Finally, newspaper articles and films clips provided rich examples of how the work of teachers is framed within socio-cultural discourses and historical patterns (extradiscursive).

Throughout this inquiry I struggled with how to best represent my analysis. After much deliberation, I decided to provide three distinct "tales from the field" (Van Mannen, 1988). The first includes a close reading of the film *The Substitute*. The second is the "collective tale" (Richardson, 1994) of how substitute teachers narrate their experiences. The third tale presents one case of
how substitute teachers fit into professional development initiatives (Urban Academy). The construction of these tales reiterates my interest in showing how representation is a matter of layering of discursive elements: social, institutional, cultural and economic. It would be a crude simplification to say that these tales isolate or exemplify those discourses. However, the three tales variously depict the nature of the situation employed particular discursive practices in its representation of substitute teachers and discourses of professionalism. These representations, including my treatment of them, are traces of larger discourses that are fragmented, overlapping and contradictory. While these representations are situated within familiar narratives of teaching, they disrupt the normative discourses of professionalism and education.

Ethnographic fieldwork

My analysis includes data from interviews and fieldnotes collected from January 1998 to the present. Table 3.1 summarizes the research design and timeline for data collection and analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Timeline</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Film Analysis</td>
<td>October 1998</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Interviews</td>
<td>August 1998 - June 1999</td>
<td>N = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group Interview</td>
<td>March 1999</td>
<td>N = 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounded Survey</td>
<td>June 1999</td>
<td>N = 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observation</td>
<td>February 1999, May 1999</td>
<td>N = 2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member Checks</td>
<td>October 1999 - March</td>
<td>N = 5; N = 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethnographic fieldwork yielded approximately 15 individual in-depth, semi-structured interviews and one focus group interview with substitute teachers. Profiles of participating substitute teachers are presented in Appendix A. For reasons of confidentiality, participant names are either self-selected or assigned pseudonyms. Appendix B is the interview protocol used with substitute teachers during the initial interview. In addition, I conducted informal interviews with two full-time teachers, two school administrators, two parents and two students to provide additional data regarding perceptions of substitute teachers. The typical length of initial interviews was one hour. However, I had several ongoing telephone and e-mail conversations with Sharon, Michelle, Tyrell and Mr. Myers regarding their experiences. Many of these conversations were neither transcribed nor coded, yet they helped to provide a richer understanding of some of the issues and my evolving interpretation.

A post-modern approach to interviewing implies that the data collected is itself an artifact of a dialogical construction of knowledge rather than a mere transmission of information between two objective or neutral speakers (Kvale, 

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46 The focus group data was compiled from the interim professional development workshop (March, 1999) that is part of the Urban Academy professional development for its “field support educators.” While the sample of individual interviews included substitute teachers with a broad
1996; Scheurich, 1995). In transcribing and analyzing this data, I operated from the assumption that what transpired was a conversation between two speakers who are situated within different contexts and systems of meaning-making. The final transcription is itself a partial representation of that interview. My interpretation of the significance of certain statements and themes reflects my interests in the present study rather than "the one true story of a substitute teacher's life." The exteriority of discourse, however, means that interpretation is not a process of an individual's psychology - or that interpretation is a simple matter of choice between seemingly equal and plausible explanations of a situation. Rather, interpretation, like identity, comes from elsewhere; historical forces and relations that are outside the individual, yet which constitutes a person's capacity for conceptualizing herself, others and the situations, institutional arrangements and contexts in which she moves.

4.2.3 Sampling

Substitute teachers represent "extreme or deviant case sampling" (Patton, 1990) in exploring the general problematic of professionalism and teacher identity. Consistent with the logic of qualitative research, interview sampling of substitutes was "purposeful" (Patton, 1990) to select cases which were "information rich" (Stake, 1994). "Maximum sampling variation," was achieved by soliciting interviewees from a range of diverse geographic areas, years of range of years of experience and level of certification, all of the field support educators (n=15) were recently retired teachers.
teaching experience and racial backgrounds. While this sample included substitute teachers from across the greater Columbus area, many of the substitutes were part of the Columbus Public Schools (CPS) district. Appendix A summarizes the demographic characteristics of the interview and grounded survey participants.

CPS is the largest district in the Columbus metropolitan area and is the second largest school system in Ohio with 144 schools. The student composition (which totals 64,000 students) is 56% African American. Although there are no existing statistics, it is estimated that the substitute teacher pool for Columbus Public schools is currently over 300.

Solicitations for interviews were made through both informal and formal channels including verbal invitation, "snowball technique" (Patton, 1990) and posted announcements. A grounded survey was constructed based on emergent themes and patterns from the initial interviews (Appendix C). This survey was completed by most of the participants named in Appendix 1 and was distributed to a random sample (n= 100) substitute teachers registered with the Substitute Teacher Association of Columbus. Thirty completed surveys were returned during the summer of 1999 for a return rate of 30%.

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47 Telephone correspondence with Liz Arthur, substitute teacher coordinator for Columbus Public Schools, June, 1998.
48 I learned of the Substitute Teacher Association through Elena, one of the participating substitute teachers in September 1999. I made contact with the STA through a series of telephone conversations with the STA leader. As I understand it, the STA currently exists in name only, but its leader is hoping to "get a contract" with the Columbus Public Schools. The function of the STA is to provide a middle management service linking schools with interested substitute teachers on
4.2.4 Data Analysis and Writing

The process of data collection and analysis in this project was both recursive and progressive. Consistent with Glesne and Peshkin's maxim, I found that I collected (and continue to collect) more data than I needed (199 p. 131). Just as I was making connections and making the data more "manageable" for future representation, I found that I was off gathering more data and exploring new hunches. The paradox of doing qualitative data analysis is that one needs to constantly reduce data while gathering more (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 432). While I am cautious not to reify the "experience" of substitute teachers as a more true account of "the real," observations of and interviews with substitute teachers expanded the ways I originally conceived of the study. This process of getting pulled into the lifeworld of substitute teachers was crucial for me to complicate my own understandings of the position of substitute teachers, however complex I was sure I had made it.

One of the hallmarks of qualitative research is the attention to emergent themes and patterns that occur in the data or what is commonly referred to as "inductive analysis" (Erikson, 1986; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Indeed, grounded theory consists of an elaborate methodology of developmental stages of "coding" in order to build theory out of the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory's emphasis on using "standardized techniques" and levels of an increased per diem pay schedule. Chapter seven provides a more in-depth discussion of how substitute teachers are viewed as a newly emergent "commodity" to be managed by business and
coding make it a fairly modernist schema for generating meaning and thus, not very useful for the present project. However, inductive analysis did play a role in how I analyzed the data. For instance, I identified thematic patterns and metaphors from the stories the subs told; a practice not unlike identifying constitutive elements and implicit metaphors as is done in discourse analysis (Richardson, 1997).

I utilized ethnographic conventions of "piloting" the interview and grounded survey questions as a way to both solidify and challenge my working interpretations of the data. For example, I piloted the grounded survey with three people (a key informant, an additional participant and a peer debriefer). Their comments ranged from "questions were good" to "I think you need to clarify what you mean by "regular teacher"." This exercise not only verified emergent themes from analysis of the interview data, but also lead to a re-conceptualization of my interpretation. This practice was less to weed out "the wrong interpretation" than to juxtapose my own interpretation (as an outsider with specific theoretical investments) alongside those of substitute teachers' "insider" constructions of self. For example, an emergent theme raised in the initial interviews was that substitute teachers found the term "substitute teacher" to not adequately describe their identity. Thus, on the grounded survey I asked for a numerical rating (based on a likert-type scale) as well as an open-ended question regarding this issue. The response to these questions not only educational administrators.
confirmed my initial hunch as well as generated more data to be analyzed. My initial hunch was that substitute teachers preferred to be called "teacher" rather than "substitute teacher." Data from the grounded survey suggested that this is related to how a teacher positions oneself in the educational profession and their attitudes about teaching in general. Retired teachers, for example, were more likely to distance themselves from the label substitute teacher - reserving that label for teachers who they perceived to be "ineffective" or "incompetent," whereas, those with little investment in identifying as a professional educator (vs. a community role model) felt that the term adequately described their position.

This example illustrates how data analysis involves multiple filters of interpretation from narrators (both the ethnographic subject and the researcher subject) that are "both unreliable and bearer(s) of knowledge" (Lather, in press, p. 9). Lather continues,

In such a schemata, the task of data analysis becomes mediating traces through concepts that structure and are structured by the data. As translators/historians/ethnographers, our subjective implication in the question of categorization is assumed to be saturated with value judgments, positioning us not in transcendence but in situated knowing within an analytic practice where the forms of normativity that an analysis implies are seen as both enclosure and a living on. (in press, p. 9)
The project of representation, then, like the making of subjectivity involves writing (oneself) within categories and concepts that are themselves normalized systems of meaning.

4.3 WRITING AS A DISCIPLINED ACTIVITY

Harry Wolcott notes that in qualitative research, "writing is not an adjunct to fieldwork, but a critical component of it." (1994 p. 209). He uses the term "pre-writing" to refer to the researcher’s practice of conceptualizing the project from the moment of its inception as a researchable topic (p. 203). Wolcott describes writing as a “disciplined activity” of navigation that researchers engage with as they envision how to textually represent their analysis of the data. The researcher is literally writing the research. As such, our aim should not be to "get as much data as we can," but to get rid of as much extraneous data as possible as we envision our desired textual representation of the research problem.

My "coding" of the ethnographic data involved two phases: descriptive level coding and more interpretive/analytic coding. Of course these distinctions are quite messy, but they did allow me to engage with the data with different agendas and questions. Ferguson (1991) describes this as the current project of feminist research to engage in both interpretation and genealogy in analyzing subjectivity.

The first phase maps onto the methodological practices of grounded theorizing. I analyzed interviews and fieldnotes, paragraph by paragraph, with
the question, "what’s going on here?” I developed a list of emergent themes and coded textual passages across the data corpus that fell within the bounds of those themes. This phase was key for attempting to represent how various participants make meaning of their own practices.

The second phase of coding involved displacing the question of "meaning" and analyzing the texts in terms of linguistic style, metaphors employed and "common sense” assumptions at work in the constructions of substitute teachers. This allowed me to move back and forth between the particular events and the historicized understanding of them.

A concrete example will elaborate these two phases of coding. One participant described substitute teachers as "third class citizens.” She states:

It is my observation (as a full-time teacher) that substitute teachers are undervalued in every way by the school systems and schools in which they offer their services. They are pitifully paid (I think they are shamefully exploited) and often treated as third-class citizens within school environments. They are often ignored by full-time teachers when they (substitutes) appear in teachers’ lounges. Even students will say to them, "Oh, you’re just a substitute.”

This passage is a good example of the importance of analyzing both the meaning of the content as well as its place within the configurations of historical, social and linguistic realms. In this passage, Judy describes how substitutes are “undervalued” in today's educational system and provides evidence of their status of substitute teachers as “third class citizens” within the schools they serve. She notes that teachers and students alike participate in de-valuing the
work of substitute teachers. I coded this passage under a descriptive theme called “marginalization.” This theme of marginalization, which includes other similar statements from participants and newspaper articles, is elaborated in more depth in chapter four as part of the intradiscursive layer of analysis.

Notice the linguistic and rhetorical frames for describing the position of substitute teachers. Judy employs the image of the substitute as a third class citizen; an organized class of workers whose rights have yet to be secured. The representation of substitute teachers as exploited workers who are pitifully paid indicate issues faced by a larger collective rather than individual problems. Judy locates the "problem with substitutes" as a problem of marginalization within schools (rather than in the performance of substitute themselves) but whose consequences are felt at the level of the individual. Since Judy’s interpretation puts a sociological and political spin on the work of substitute teachers, I also coded this passage “equity” as it employs a larger socio-cultural discourse about the "rights" of workers.

Discourse analysts are not only concerned with what people say, but what conditions make possible certain constructions. In this case, Judy constructs substitute teachers as “third class citizens” relative to their regular teacher counterparts. This characterization is made possible by interdiscursive and extradiscursive ways of thinking about the work of teachers. It is interesting to note that representations of substitute teachers mirror those of teachers within unions at the early twentieth century who organized and utilized collective
bargaining as a way to gain recognition as special group of workers within educational systems as well as to increase their status within the profession (interdiscursive). In many ways, the discourse of equity (extradiscursive) has made possible and successful such efforts to secure the rights of teachers.

This example illustrates how various discourses (socio-cultural and institutional) both enable and impede the possibility for viewing substitute teachers as "equal" teachers within discourses of professionalism. In addition, social conditions, such as the growing rise of part-time workers across the economy, further complicate this analysis of the position of substitute teachers. As Phelan (1994) notes, the conditions of teaching have shifted alongside emerging constructions of teachers as dispensable laborers who merely "transmit information" and "deliver curriculum." These institutional and socio-cultural dynamics which impact the possibility for and reception of substitute teachers is the substance of my analysis in chapter five.

4.4 TRUSTWORTHINESS

The issue of "validity" is hotly contested within the social sciences (Lather, 1999). Qualitative researchers, in attempting to legitimize their research within the apparatus of science first utilized positivist language of validity to describe the credibility of their interpretation. For example, Lincoln and Guba (1984) established parallel criteria of "trustworthiness" for evaluating the "goodness" of qualitative research. Strategies for maximizing trustworthiness include persistent observation, prolonged engagement, triangulation of data sources and
methods, member checks and keeping a reflexive researcher journal to track one’s own biases and prejudices (Lincoln, 1995, p. 283).

To assure trustworthiness, the post-positivist parallel of validity, (Lincoln and Guba, 1984), the research design included two forms of triangulation. First, I triangulated data sources by including interviews with substitute teachers, full-time teachers, school administrators, parents and children. Second, I triangulated research methods by using data from individual and focus group interviews, participant observation and results from a grounded survey.

These criteria, which may be politically advantageous in legitimizing the "accuracy" of one’s findings to various stakeholders, are less interesting given the crisis of representation which has driven the philosophy of science debates in the last 20 years (Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Lather (1994) characterizes this crisis as “the politics of the preposition” involved in representation. She argues that researchers need to interrogate the ways in which their own research design positions participants differently and the politics and ethics involved in researching on/about/with/for those named as the subject/object of your research.

Post-positivist researchers argue that the strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to explore the meanings that populate the object of investigation. Post-positivist inquiry begins with the assumption that subjectivity and multiplicity in/of/ interpretation layer and complicate interpretation (Lather,
In the words of Patti Lather (quoting Stanley Fish), "It's a good thing, too!"

Celebrating interpretive multiplicity, Richardson (1994) argues that research in the post-modern should aim for "crystallization" rather than triangulation as a central image of validity for post-modern texts. She notes:

"Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity" ... and provides us with a deepened complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. (p. 522)"

In other words, Richardson argues that we view value multi-dimensionalities and competing themes as "angles of approach" rather than a failure to adequately represent some fixed, common interpretation of our data.

With that in mind, I purposefully sought out multiplicity in data collection and analysis. I collected interview transcripts, observation notes, popular media clips which represented different themes, ideas, images of substitute teachers in contemporary American schooling. In the final chapters, I attempt to represent at least some of the difference and multiplicity that characterizes representations of substitute teachers as a category. While this chapter deals with the reflexive tale of how and why I came to privilege certain representations, chapter seven discusses a much larger question of import: Where do certain representations have currency?

4.5 POLITICS/ETHICS

How does positionality affect what I see? How does positionality shape how the data is collected and read?
As I have outlined, this project works out of the tensions between ethnography and genealogical discourse analysis which have historically operated from quite different assumptions about the role of the researcher, field site, data collection, analysis and issues of writing. Historically, ethnographers were considered expert outsiders to the research sites they studied. Presumed to have "more power" than their "subjects" the researcher's authority was a product of their outsider expert status and their ability to remain "neutral" to the "dangerous" attractions of the field. Terms like "going native," "informed consent" as well as "reciprocity" reinscribed implicit assumptions about power within ethnographic conventions.

Doing post-structural ethnography or genealogical discourse analysis requires a shift in the very terms utilized in constructing the relations of power at work in the field. Post-structuralism teaches us that issues of politics and ethics cannot be separate or partitioned to finite sections of writing, but rather are foregrounded throughout the writing project as one positions herself through the careful selection of problem, topic, data collection and analysis. Thus, issues of politics and ethics constitute the construction of events, our interpretation and reflexive positionings within the text.

4.6 REFLEXIVITY

To confront such issues of politics and ethics raised by the crisis of representation, post-positivist researchers advocate reflexivity (Marcus, 1994) and critical subjectivity (Lincoln, 1995) as valued components of qualitative
research. As a way to situate themselves as embodied knowers, in the 1980's it become the standard for many qualitative researchers to position themselves early in their writing by listing a litany of identity markers, i.e. "I am a Black heterosexual man," etc.

Another key strategy of maintaining critical subjectivity involves keeping a reflexive journal as a strategy to track one's own thinking from data collection to the final analysis (Lincoln, 1995; Richardson, 1994). One model of reflexive journaling includes four types of fieldnotes to track the researcher's reflexive thinking and being in the field: observation notes, methodological notes, theoretical notes and personal notes (Richardson, 1994, p. 526). Reflexive journaling allowed me to keep distinct yet close those key quotations or direct observations from the field alongside my theoretical interpretation of the situation as well as my emotional, embodied responses to the participants.

Reflexivity, both as a principal and its related techniques, has come under question as a "too easy" method which is to stand in as a positivist "corrective" for the researcher's limitations or biases. A post-structural approach to data analysis implies that researchers acknowledge their own complicity in "fixing" the field. I use the term "fixing" here to refer to the idea that in relaying our data stories we cannot escape the ways in which our analysis "objectifies" and thus fixes shifting and fluid phenomenon into somewhat static, unaminated boxes. I also use "fix" to describe the ways in which educational research is always already working out of the framework of social engineering. Education is often
seen itself as the both the process and structure which identifies "problems" and offers itself as a curative, correction or solution to those problems (Britzman, 1998; Popkewitz, 1998).

Laurel Richardson (1995) discusses what is at stake in writing our research if we begin with the premise that all knowledge is socially constructed. The task is to find a space from which to do interpretive work that recognizes how the epistemological position of the writer is always already partial, local and only temporarily fixed to construct a product— in this case the dissertation. Richardson (1995) uses the metaphor of "skirting a pleated text" to describe the practice of constantly re-writing around texts which become done and undone as we shift our positions of knowing and writing.

The discursive field I constructed in investigating the position of substitute teachers reflects my own positioning on the margins of educational research and schools. Exploring the position of substitute teachers, as an embodied researcher, required navigating through spaces of uncomfortableness, awkwardness, joy and above all excitement. Observing and participating in the scene of schools felt awkward and at times uncomfortable. I was an outsider on multiple fronts (as a non-teacher researcher), and depending on the schools in which I visited (as a white-identified, queer femme), participated in "Othering" myself as a way of seeking refuge in the "normal" and "the everyday" of schools and classrooms. Teachers welcomed me "in" "to learn" about the "real problems" in education. I got the sense that few teachers worried about my
interpretation, as I was just another OSU student/researcher who had very little
to do with their everyday lives as they saw it. In fact most teachers, students,
parents and administrators were happy to "help" me with my research. Several
participants continuously referred to the research as my "school project" in a
diminutive manner, thus, destabilizing the notion of researcher as "the one who
knows." Whether or not I had any real "power," I did take up a position of
power in attempting to "give back" to the classroom that welcomed me by
offering to tutor two girls whom I felt attached to from my observations. Both
girls were struggling to maintain the class norms with regards to math and
reading performance.

My positioning (and the power attached to those positions) shifted as I
moved within and between various research contexts in this inquiry. Unlike the
school site in which I was seen as peripheral to knowledge production, in
working with the Substitute Teacher Association (STA), my interpretation
carried some authoritative weight. My position as OSU researcher not only
provided access to the STA mailing list but also granted me legitimacy with its
coordinator. While grateful for access to the organization's member list, I was
particularly disturbed when the coordinator disclosed that he was going to use
my research to legitimize charging a higher service fee for retired teachers who
participate in his association, since they are viewed as a "hot commodity" within

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49 See Anderson (1999) for a discussion of the growing tension between educational
"researchers" and "practitioners" about the politics of doing research in schools.
CPS. In his own words, he said that he "probably sounded really cold, looking
to make an extra buck off of an underrepresented group of people." If I had
known his intentions, I would not have shared in such detail some of my
observations and analysis.

These two examples illustrate the point that issues of politics and ethics
are central to the construction of knowledge at both the level of production and
representation that is completely tied to own situated and shifting positionality
in the field. My interests and desires shifted throughout the course of this project
which in turn have shifted the meaning and value of particular interpretations in
particular contexts. Yet, as Foucault notes, discourses authorize our ways of
understanding experiences. Simply put, perception is always already disciplined
by specific "regimes of truth." To that extent, this reflexive methodological tale
may assist the reader in locating the discourses which construct my own sense of
knowing and being in the field: discourses of science, liberal humanism, post-
structural theory and the discourses of identity (around race, class, gender and
sexuality) which authorize the speaking "I."

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have provided the methodological parameters of this
study. I outlined the research design of the study including the sample, data
sources, methods for data collection and analysis. More importantly, I discussed
the methodological implications for analyzing the position of substitute teachers
using Foucault’s theoretical framework of discourse analysis to analyze
ethnographic data. Chapter five presents three of the discourse practices involved in substitute teaching: "fitting in," "maintaining order" and "managing crisis." Chapter six explores the micro-politics of teacher substitution from the position of the "field support educator." Chapters five and six form the intradiscursive layer of analysis by providing the reader a glimpse of some of how substitute teachers negotiate this position of marginalization with discourses of professionalism. Chapter seven returns to a discussion of how interdiscursive and extradiscursive elements both produce and constrain representations of substitute teachers. Furthermore, I explore how such representations are both repetition and supplement to the real and imagined educational spaces and constructions of teaching. The inclusion of various tales represents my interest in offering interpretations which both "critically queer" (Butler, 1993) and normalize the events and positions about which they speak.50

50 Here I am using the title of Butler's 1993 article, "Critically Queer" to designate the kind of disruptive representation this dissertation seeks to enact. However, the paradox as Butler notes is that performances involve a repetition and subversion of normative discourses, images and constructs but is "never fully owned [by the author], but always and only redeployed, twisted, queered from a prior usage and in the direction of urgent and expanding political purposes, and perhaps also yielded in favor of terms that do that political work more effectively" (p. 19).
CHAPTER 5

INTRADISCURSIVE ELEMENTS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS

Chapter two discussed the web of relations, images and rhetoric known as discourses of professionalism. I argued that discourses of professionalism serve as an authoritative framework for conceptualizing the work of teachers and position substitute teachers as deviant subjects within educational research. In chapter one, I introduced VanMannen’s notion of "tales of the field" as a methodological strategy to re-construct the data into analytic vignettes. Chapter three presented a deconstruction of the film The Substitute as the first of three "tales" or analytic re-constructions of representations of substitute teachers in popular media and educational discourses. As in other discursive fields (sociological accounts, practitioner literature), substitute teachers are constructed as outsiders to specific educational contexts and narratives. This position of "outsider" remains in an ambivalent position to discourses of professionalism – as excessive representations demonstrate how substitute teachers are constructed as both deficient and excessive to normative images of the professional teacher. This chapter and the next broaden the discursive field to analyze representations of substitute teachers within educational, social and cultural discourses on
teaching and professionalism. In doing so I hope to enter a larger conversation about the role of discourse in cultural practices of teaching.

The discussion in this chapter roughly corresponds to Foucault’s notion of tracing the interdiscursive relations that constitute subjectivity. In other words, I look at the themes, metaphors and subject positions within the category “substitute teachers” as constructed in the ethnographic data. This "collective story," represents three of the discourse practices involved in substitute teaching. These practices, "fitting in," "maintaining order" and "managing crisis," were among several emergent themes raised by substitute teachers through the individual interviews.

Chapter six explores how substitute teachers "fit" into narratives of professional development by describing the substitution process in a classroom involved in the Urban Academy. This biographical case makes visible some of the possibilities and limits of "professionalism" as a model for educational reform as well as some of the "practical" issues involved in teacher replacement. Specifically, I show the discursive and pragmatic limits of the rhetoric around professional development initiatives that equate more training and new titles with better teaching. I explore the impossibility of "teacher replacement" both literally and figuratively, as the effort to "match identities" falls shy of maintaining the classroom as an imagined place of comfort, balance and unity. As Britzman (1998) notes, the supposition of "too easy" questions has the tendency to produce "too easy answers."
A Collective Story of Teaching In-Between

Contemporary theories of teacher identity foreground observable and rationalized techniques that constitute the "professional teacher." Studies of teacher efficacy, for instance, proliferate in the realm of teacher education (Bandura, 1977). Drawing from educational psychology, such studies focus on classroom authority as a function of how individual teachers perceive their classroom performance and practice. Efficacy research privileges the role of the teacher as an individual classroom manager and thus, often produces ahistorical and decontextualized accounts of authority in the classroom. In contrast, representations of teachers within critical theoretical approaches tend to construct teachers as either victims or perpetrators of ideological warfare (Popkewitz, 1998) or as "cultural workers" (Giroux, 1988; Simon, 1992). Both psychological and critical theoretical approaches to teacher identity operate from liberal humanist notions of power and subjectivity: the "some people got it- some people don’t" model. In contrast, post-structural approaches to teacher identity foreground the role of discourse and socio-cultural context in providing a horizon of intelligibility that constructs how the work of teachers is envisioned and received. As Britzman describes, "A post-structural approach to identity, then is concerned with tracing identity as subjected to the constraints of social

51 Feminist post-structural theories of teaching explicate the ways in which critical theories of teaching reinscribe notions of the teacher as arbiters of truth and freedom (Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1991). In a groundbreaking piece Ellsworth challenged critical theorists to problematize
structure and to the practices of discourse. As discursive boundaries shift, so too, do identities and the lived experiences that name them" (1994, p. 57).

Interested in analysis that neither valorizes nor victimizes the position of the substitute teacher, this "story" offers a multi-voiced account of the ways in which substitute teachers are inscribed within and resist dominant narratives of professionalism and education. My analysis utilizes archival and ethnographic data about substitute teachers in the greater Columbus area, collected and analyzed over the last two years. My representation of "the collective tale" utilizes a guiding question posed by Deborah Britzman (1994) in her work on the use of post-structural theorizing in understanding teacher identity. She asks, "How are selves produced and reproduced through social interactions and daily negotiations, and within particular contexts that are already overburdened with the meanings of others?" (1994, p. 54) Analyzing identity from a post-structural perspective implies that discourses authorize identity, "experience" and our interpretations of both (Foucault, 1978). Britzman summarizes: "Our identities, over-determined by history, place and sociality, are lived and imagined through the discourses or knowledge we employ to make sense of who we are, who we are not, and who we can become" (1994, p. 58).

In the discussion that follows, I focus on three of the discourse practices associated with substitute teaching. These three practices -- fitting in, managing neo-Marxist notions of liberation, power and resistance by asserting that critical theories of teaching in the 1970-80's tended to construct the teacher as the "great liberator."
crisis and maintaining order — illustrate the role of discourse and social context in framing teacher identity. Unlike critical theory that posits teachers as cultural workers, victims or perpetrators of power, this analysis shows how substitute teachers are complicitous in maintaining the relations of power at work in professionalism discourse. More specifically, I explore the circulation of power as teaching subjects move among and between discursive positions. These themes suggest that substitute teachers both reinscribe and resist a position of marginality.

5.1 FITTING IN

Substitute teachers are scripted as outsiders within dominant narratives of professionalism. For example, in a public statement made by the president of a local teacher's union, Carol Rupert had this to say about the substitute teachers who filled in for teachers during a recent strike, "We don't need this ineffective outsiders here in our school district." (Columbus Dispatch, 1998a) Rupert's pronouncement of substitute teachers as "ineffective outsiders" is not unusual, but what is unusual is that this statement made explicit the misperception and criticism typically reserved for informal conversation. Publicly, regular teachers report that a "problem" with a substitute is only a rare experience. However, in referring to substitute teachers as a group or in private conversation teachers reported that they had "the worst time with substitutes" and were quick to share their personal "horror story" in recalling specific substitutes. The most common perception was that substitute teachers were substandard teachers who were
unsuccessful at securing a full-time position. (Interestingly, this view was shared by both regular and substitute teachers). Thus, when teachers talk about substitute teachers they make implicit and explicit distinctions between "good" and "bad" substitutes. Even though teachers say that there are less "bad" than "good" substitutes, by continuously privileging the "horror stories," teachers are effectively constructing "bad" substitutes as normative.\footnote{Sari Biklen refers to this as the juvenile delinquent model whereby the few "bad apples" are used to construct the normative characteristics of the category. In her research with elementary teachers Biklen found that teachers made these kinds of distinctions between "good" and "bad" parents — and although the "bad" parents were far fewer in number, the "horror stories" of working with "pushy parents" created an anxious pre-occupation in the minds and stories of teachers.}

Yet other teachers attributed the problem of performance and success to the structure of the position of being a substitute: one who has no perceived power or authority within the classroom or building they operate. Substitute teachers are constructed as vulnerable outsiders that should be (but are not) "protected" by the school's insiders. Nevertheless, it is within this backdrop that substitute teachers are asked to cover classrooms for teachers and students who may or may not appreciate their service.

"Fitting In" for substitute teachers is a careful negotiation of finding one's place and the perceived expectations for their performance both inside and outside the classroom.\footnote{Sharon called my interpretation that substitute teaching involved a "careful negotiation" of identities and expectations into question during a member-check. Sharon said, "I don't think we see it that way— that we're doing any negotiating or gate-keeping. I think it's just kind of taken for granted. You just go about and do your job. If there's any thoughts at all, its substitute teachers whining about "hire me", because I've been there. I think this careful negotiation is not} Tyrell, a substitute teacher in his mid-thirties,
characterizes substitute teaching as a "necessary evil." In describing his role as a substitute teacher Tyrell says, "I think it’s a pleasure to do what I’m doing, because its one of those necessary evils, because someone’s going to be out, when you wish that would never happen. But, I’ve had some days that were more challenging than others." Days that were challenging, for Tyrell, were those in which students’ disruptive behavior forced him to take a more “autocratic” (vs. democratic) approach. He continues:

I’m not sure, on those particular days, if that student is acting out that way because of a function of me being a substitute or if that’s the way they treat the other teacher. If it’s a function of me being a substitute, that means that my presence is upsetting the academic process, by virtue of the fact that I’m there. My being there is creating a problem. So that’s somewhat of a challenge. (TU 440-441)

Governed by the constraint of replacing their regular teacher, Tyrell locates the challenge in creating a classroom environment similar to the one that students are used to and in conforming to an unarticulated teacher-student relationship that precedes his presence. According to Tyrell, the challenge of substitute teaching lies in the inherent tension in performing the role of the teacher as a substitute. Positioning oneself as a teacher is somewhat of an something that’s visible. I think it underlies but I don’t think it’s visible. You and I can talk about it because we’re in an academic setting. I don’t think that subs see it.” When asked whether her assessment referred to the practice of substitute teaching, or teaching in general, Sharon replied that teachers in general are “so caught up in what you’re doing at the moment: planning what you’re doing now and in the future and interacting with kids” that you “don’t think about necessarily think about things like belonging to the school or becoming a member of the team. In essence Sharon suggests that the activity of teaching does not allow the time or space for reflective thinking.
impossible task, given the nature of his assignment as temporary authority. Thus, Tyrell employs his own classroom rules to create order in the classroom—classroom rules that emphasize order, control and the centrality of the teacher.55

For substitute teachers, "fitting in" not only refers to the effort to blend into an existing classroom culture. It also refers to the challenge of interacting with other teachers and administrators in the building. In the individual interviews, most substitutes described their relations with other teachers in the building as good and said that, often, regular teachers would make themselves available to subs in a one-day assignment. In terms of relations with students, one-day assignments presented the most challenge for substitute teachers. However, long term assignments gave the substitutes an opportunity to establish a positive and effective relationship with students.

It is curious, however, that the bonds of rapport and trust that proved to be emerging with students were still unapproachable between the substitute and other teachers in the building even during a long-term assignment. For example, Michelle, whose one-day assignment transitioned into her becoming the teacher for an entire-year, said she was surprised and "hurt" when other teachers continued to refer to her as "the substitute" and excluded her from the formal and informal teacher network at the school. When asked to describe her

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55 The numbers in parentheses refer to the text unit numbers of the corresponding text from the interview transcript, hereafter referenced as TU (###-###).
relations with other teachers at this school Michelle said, "When I was just a sub, not a long-term sub, it was easier to identify me; I was just a sub. But once I became a long-term sub, it became much more complicated." Michelle said she was included in some social events: such as baby showers and a teacher's bowling team. Yet, Michelle's authority as a "real teacher" who was "one of them" was called into question on several occasions. Michelle recounted this incident:

One time I walked into one of the sixth grade teachers classroom and they happened to be talking about substitute teachers at the time and the one teacher said, "Here comes a substitute right now." And I had been there for so long and I kind of felt like these were MY kids, it was MY classroom. It was MY space. And I was really mad that she said that, because the kids just don't think about the subs like they think about their real teachers. There's kind of this, I think there's a real connection between the teachers and the students. Especially at the sixth grade age, they would still tug at my sleeve. They became very dependent on me. I did feel like there was almost a maternal bond. They'd tattle on each other and want you to help them. It made me mad to think that she was disconnecting me from them and I felt like I was connected. I was one of their group and then she made me feel like I wasn't. (TU 433-447)

This incident illustrates what Britzman (1991) characterizes as the tension between a teacher's identity and teacher's role. While Michelle sees herself as a "real teacher" who established a meaningful relationship with her students, other teachers were unable to allow Michelle to surpass their expectations of her as a

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35 This is consistent with the research by Fassbinder (1996) that strategies of classroom management situate the teacher as the center of the classroom whose role is to enforce teacher-directed rules of conduct.

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"substitute." In Michelle’s case, having other teachers validate her authority in the classroom was more important than being included in social events. As in Judy’s narrative the position of the substitute teacher is characterized by the inability to name one’s experience. Experience, for substitute teachers, is something to be validated or authorized by "real teachers" and even students. Thus, the power of regular teachers to restrict access to the teacher network, coupled with ability to name the substitute teacher’s experience, places them in a position of gate-keeping to the larger school culture.

This sense of belonging to the school — being a member of the school team — is a careful negotiation for substitute teachers. While substitute teachers "worked hard" to be seen as a vital member of the school, they were acutely aware of how the label "substitute teacher" limited how administrators viewed their role in the larger school culture. Sharon, a teacher who has 17 years substitute teaching experience and 5 years experience in the same building, discussed how her expectations for becoming a full-time teacher in that particular building have shifted over time.

Sharon: Yes, since I started [my current job] I only subbed twelve days. Because I have so much work to do here and with the doctoral program that I just don’t have the time. They’re constantly calling me and saying, “But so and so requested you.” Because one thing that happened was that this particular school, and especially the English department got to rely on me. But I don’t feel guilty about saying no. I feel like if they wanted to hire me, they’ve had plenty of time to do that.

Lisa: Would you do that if they wanted to?
Sharon: If they wanted to hire me, full time? In a minute.

Lisa: Really.

Sharon: But that would never happen. (TU 119-127)

Sharon relayed how she has been passed over on several occasions in attempting to secure a full-time position in the English department of this high school. She attributes that decision to two factors: that the school is primarily interested in hiring coaches who can also teach as well as her comment above, that they have come to "rely on her" as a substitute. In Sharon's eyes, she is a valued member of the staff at this public high school, but valued specifically as a part-time worker who is willing to fill in on a moment's notice. Being a veteran substitute, I asked Sharon what advice she would give to a novice. Sharon told me of a conversation she had with a novice sub who was subbing in four districts.

And I said, why so many districts? She said because she didn't want any one district to get to rely on her, to know her as a sub. She wanted them to think of her as a teacher. It just so happens that, the district in which she was hired is the district in which she subbed the least. So I guess part of my advice is to take her advice and not become known as a reliable sub. See, that's what I have become. (TU 671-676)

According to conventional wisdom, experience in the classroom is viewed as an opportunity for teachers to improve their skills, demonstrate their competence and "put in time" to make oneself more hirable. These stories illustrate, that contrary to conventional wisdom (and the primacy given "experience" in professional development), experience in the classroom does not translate to
higher efficacy or increased status for substitute teachers. In fact, too much time in the classroom, working a substitute teacher, actually works against the possibility for being seen as a "professional teacher."

5.2 MANAGING CRISIS

Inside the classroom, substitute teachers describe their work as chaotic, explosive, and potentially abusive. All of the substitutes spoke about the chaotic nature of substitute teaching. One day assignments were cited as the most chaotic, when substitutes had little time to locate the building, the appropriate classroom and materials needed during the day. Even Sharon, the teacher above, who had several years in the same building and claimed to know almost all of the students in the building, said that familiarity with the environment doesn't necessarily alleviate the chaotic conditions. Sharon noted that on any given day she has to run back and forth to cover more than one classroom in a building. This is because it is the building policy to utilize substitutes to cover more than one teacher's absence in order to "maximize their costs." She noted that if a substitute agrees to take an assignment, she is required to cover four periods for a half-day and seven for a full day assignment. This "adding on" of assignments, to maximize costs from an administrative standpoint, took away the sense of control Sharon felt in selecting which assignments she felt comfortable and capable to accept.

Another theme articulated by the substitutes involved managing explosive interactions, or stand-offs between the substitute teacher and the
students. Kelly, a young teacher in training, describes her experience in a second grade classroom:

Before school even started I had a teacher from another class, the first grade teacher, she had subbed three years and she also had a lot of these kids that I now had in the second grade, and she told me that a lot of these kids were part of a bad bunch and real strong willed. Her advice to me was to not smile and to be firm. So I followed that but that wasn’t enough.

They fought each other; kicked, pushed, threw their desks on the floor. Fell off their chairs on purpose, did not pay any attention ...and they wouldn’t stop talking. (TU 68-75)

Similar behavior, labeled as “disruptive” and “disrespectful” by the substitutes, was seen as part of the norms in negotiating classroom authority during their assignments. Substitute teachers referred to such behavior as part of “boundary and limit-testing” involved in any student-teacher relationship. While substitute teachers pointed out that discipline problems are issues faced by all teachers, regardless of status, they felt that such problems were exacerbated for substitutes. In some cases the substitute attributed this to population of students they served, yet others said it was a “normal reaction” to a break in the continuity of classroom culture.⁵⁶

Across the narratives, substitute teachers equated creating authority with establishing control in the classroom as a strategy to cope with student

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⁵⁶ This view is supported by Green and Marshall (1992) who argue that substitute teachers contribute to a “break” an existing classroom culture. I generally agree with Green and Marshall that there is a break in pedagogical dynamics during substitute teaching. However, I think that the substitute teacher is less a “cause” than a “symptom” of any break in classroom culture. I think of classroom culture are a dynamic process of contingent negotiations, rather than a pre-existing, static and impermeable object.
resistance. For example, during the field support educator retreat, several support educators mentioned that "control in the classroom is the key to learning."^ Similarly, responses from the grounded survey indicated that 23 out of 27 participants agreed or strongly agreed that "control in the classroom is the key to learning." However, participants were equally split on the belief that achieving control requires substitute teachers to be more strict than full-time teachers (13 agree and 13 disagree). Regardless, these narratives reiterate the assumption that discipline and control create the conditions necessary for learning, rather than the precipitating conditions for student resistance to learning.®

While most substitutes were in agreement for the need for control and order in the classroom, they expressed ambivalence about the methods of gaining and maintaining control and order in the classroom. For example, Michelle recounted several incidents where she found it necessary to yell at the students in order to gain control over the classroom. Michelle commented that it was ironic that at this middle school which was an open school with only partial walls that the school was "discipline-oriented." (TU 78-79) Although Michelle felt really bad about yelling at the students, she said it

^ Fieldnotes, March 31, 1999.
® I am thinking specifically here of the work of Britzman (1998) and Pitt (1998) who utilize psychoanalytic perspectives to challenge behaviorist notions of resistance and learning. They argue that resistance is less about an individual's actions or behavior and more about the processes of managing psychic conflict. In psychoanalytic theory, resistance is a key component in the learning process as students move between spaces of knowing and not knowing, of comfort and distress in encountering ideas that challenge previously held beliefs.
was what the other teachers and students expected of her. Before securing the long-term assignment, Michelle had subbed several times in the same building and the teachers liked her. She had a reputation for "keeping kids quiet and in their seats. And they liked that." (TU 70-72). She said, "the main reason [I got hired] wasn't because I was a sixth grade teacher. It was because these women were concerned with keeping things quiet."

More problematic was the fact that two of the teachers reported being physically threatened by middle school and high school students. One teacher, Monica, went into great detail about a physical standoff with a student. In Monica's words, a female student "got in my face" and "asked me to take it outside." In this situation, Monica said she was afraid that the student would strike her in front of the classroom, and thus, resorted to a strategy for regaining control that substitutes view as a "last resort" – getting the principal involved. The student was expelled.

What these stories suggest is that substitute teachers view their work through the familiar metaphor of "classroom management." Thus, they see their work as similar to but different than "professional teachers," in that they must rely on different management strategies: strategies of control, discipline and order in constructing their authority.

5.3 MAINTAINING ORDER

The position of substitute teachers highlights some of the tensions between the philosophical assumptions and pedagogical practices that are
valued in discourses of professionalism. In the academy, discourses of professionalism conflate democratic and professional ideals as seen in the central role of constructivist pedagogy in professional development initiatives. School based “professionalism” talk, in contrast, centers on effective classroom management, tenure and promotion and the hierarchical organizational characteristics of bureaucracy. Thus, while colleges of education posit professionalism as a dynamic force of change, schools appear to be governed by the logic of order.

Nowhere is this more visible than in the classroom experience of substitute teachers. Consider, for instance, Michelle’s stark realization that definitions of “good teaching” are situated within certain contexts and identities:

Michelle: It was an adjustment...yelling and calling out their names and being more authoritative. But I actually ended up liking being [there]. I kind of felt like it was the kind of school that I had gone to, except my school is much smaller. I mean as far as the teaching style, I ended up doing all those things I said I would never do that all my high school teachers did. I found myself imitating my high school teachers instead of doing what I wanted to do, what I learned in college, all this liberatory stuff. Once I got into my own class, that made a big difference. When I was worried about being called everyday I didn’t. All I cared about was being quiet, staying in your seat. I’m going to get called tomorrow and you’re not going to keep me from working. You’re going to do your seatwork. I’m going to read my book. We’re all going to be quiet. That was it. Good teacher, right? Nooo. (TU 852-868)

In this scenario, Michelle understands that as a substitute teacher her credentials are under constant surveillance, as surrounding teachers monitor and evaluate her ability to effectively maintain order in the classroom. She explains:
At this open school, because any noise in one classroom could disrupt maybe three or four other classrooms, it was really important that everyone was quiet and in their seat and well behaved. As much as you'd think, an open school, that they have open ideals, it meant discipline was even more important. And when you were a substitute teacher, everybody's watching. It was kind of strange the first time, because all the other teachers could hear you and see you and it's like your first time there. I was really nervous. (TU 64-71)

Michelle's description of the constraints of the open walls serves as a useful metaphor for reconceptualizing visibility as a desirable stance. In Foucault's terms, visibility leads to more surveillance (1970). The panoptic gaze serves as a constant reminder that her performance in the classroom, which is tied to a "well behaved" "quiet" and "orderly" classroom is highly scrutinized (Foucault, 1977). The scrutiny of visibility, in this case, worked in Michelle's favor. However, her story, illuminates the difficulty (emotionally, cognitively and socially) in moving between the teacher she wants to become and the one that is required of her.

5.4 CHANGING METAPHORS OF TEACHING

Across the narratives, participants used various metaphors and images to construct the work of substitute teachers from babysitter to facilitator to drill sergeant. Almost every participant, regardless of sex, age, cultural background and teaching position used the image of the babysitter to differentiate between "good" and "bad" substitutes. Bad substitutes were seen babysitters — "merely" watching students to make sure they "behaved" "did their work" and "kept in line." Whereas several teachers commented that a good substitute was one that
did "more than just babysitting" - few elaborated what that might look like. This image was viewed negatively as many substitutes attempted to distance themselves from that image distinguishing between the "public misperception" and the reality of their experience. It interesting, though, that while teachers said that a good substitute is more than a "mere babysitter," in effect, their narratives suggested otherwise. For example, several subs talked about the importance of "getting through the day," delivering the teacher's lesson" and "keeping students in order," thus rendering their own teaching ability as something peripheral to the substitute assignment. Displacing his own teaching ability Tyrell says, "when a teacher has an excellent lesson plan and seating chart, you know, a monkey could go in and do it." (TU 678) For Tyrell there is a distinction between the professional teacher and the substitute. He notes,

The professional teacher is better suited to really teach, just because they understand some of the theories. Like I would have trouble helping a child read who has a reading disability. I guess they understand that everyone has different learning models and different learning methods...the only way I really know is how I learn or what I've seen modeled that has been effective. I would think that as professionals after years of teaching they've seen so many different examples, that they just have a greater background to rely on. *Not to mention just their experiences, but their professional experiences. I think as a substitute you really just have to go with what works for you.*

Tyrell's clearly makes a distinction between the professional teacher that utilizes educational theories, life experiences and professional experiences and the substitute teacher who merely uses personal experience in their pedagogical practices. As with Michelle's narrative, experience matters,
but certain kinds of experience matter more than others. One might assume that Tyrell's intention is to underscore the specialized knowledge held by professional teachers. However, effectively make important slippages between real and imagined teaching practices. Specifically, Tyrell comments conflates training and quantity of experiences with quality of instruction, and places the label "professional teacher" on those he imagines possess that desired qualities. Tyrell imagines the substitute teacher to "lack" those qualities and thus do something other than teaching in the classroom.

In contrast to babysitter, the image of the substitute as drill sergeant was another predominant image. As in Michelle's narrative, other substitute teachers emphasized teacher control and authority based on a military model of classroom interactions. For instance, Tyrell said that he utilizes his military training to structure his classroom rules and educational philosophy. Because emphasizing control, order and himself as the "top dog." Tyrell likened his position to that of a "police officer" in a "well-pressed uniform" who must approach an unknown situation with a "clear presence" to establish control in the situation. The first classroom rule is that "no-one talks while I'm talking." The second rule is that when he addresses the class he expects them to raise their hand and wait to be called on to speak. The third rule is that students must sit in the furniture "the way it's designed to be sat in." Although he did not elaborate
rule 4 and 5, one can imagine that they fit into Tyrell's effort to create a "power play" (TU 695-720). Tyrell said this approach does not work well with elementary students who require a more "warm and fuzzy" approach. Not coincidentally said he prefers to work with middle school students who are "receptive" to his model.

Kelly also used the image of the drill sergeant to describe the work of teachers. As a young white woman teaching in an inner-city classroom, Kelly stressed the importance of being able to "intimidate students" with a physical presence. Struck by her choice of words and comment that subs should have a military background, I asked her to explain:

Kelly: All the schools I've been to have been very structured with how they're supposed to go about daily activities. The middle school they lined up tons of times just for each class. I guess you'd be more intimidating if you'd been through boot camp and you could yell out.

Lisa: Do you think all teachers should be like that or just subs?

Kelly: It shouldn't have to be that way, but all the teachers at the school I went to acted like that. Acted like drill sergeants. And I don't have, this is as loud as my voice gets. I don't' yell. So I feel like they can't respect me because I can't yell. (TU 513-524)

In this passage, Kelly equates respect with control, authority with discipline and physical intimidation in working with inner-city students. She half-jokingly said that Columbus Public should change the title "guest teacher" to "guest discipliner." Kelly said that she felt that she was neither respected nor accepted by African American students. Rather than attribute student resistance to the
nature of substitute teaching, Kelly suggests that the students may "resent" her because she is a young white person with higher education (TU 535). Repeating her assessment that students were "extremely misbehaved" Kelly said she felt that "those students" didn't "deserve" her — a "real" teacher-in-training. Given the racial politics of her comments it is ironic that Kelly prided herself on having a "wide range" of knowledge, and paying attention to different learning styles and the ability to "sense if students are having problems." (TU 540-564)

5.5 IN/VISIBILITY

Familiar tropes, such as marginalization and invisibility, find themselves embedded within and across these stories. Both of these tropes often insight into how substitute teachers are positioned and position themselves within educational contexts and discourses. Visibility, however, is not innocent in thinking about the relations between power and representation.99 Within critical theories, marginalization and invisibility are often assumed to be negative components of deviant subjectivity.90 I am arguing something slightly different. I want to trouble the notion of visibility as a possible and desirable facet of resisting power inequities. The case of substitute teachers illustrates that the

90 One of the central tenets of critical research is to raise issues of visibility and voice in telling the stories of marginalized persons. As Lather (1998) argued, issues of voice, authenticity and empathy have been too easily theorized as complementary attributes that necessarily lead to empowerment. By extension, I am arguing that we need to re-think "visibility."

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relationship between power and representation is much more complicated.

Substitute teachers are invisible, by nature of the fact that there is little empirical research that foregrounds the lived experience of substitute teachers in terms of training, and the frequency and impact of their classroom experience.

Furthermore, what literature exists tends to reinscribe substitute teachers as ineffective outsiders. Yet substitute teachers are highly visible in certain contexts—in popular media accounts, children’s literature, and in the schools they serve. This visibility, however, often takes the form of representations of incompetent, overzealous and even unethical teaching. The representation of substitute teachers shows us that visibility is not always a good thing.

On the flip side, invisibility for substitute teachers is viewed positively. As Morrison (1994a) argues, for many substitutes remaining invisible is often highly desirable. Whether it’s fitting into an existing school culture, managing their respective classroom, and maintaining order, substitute teachers view invisibility as a mark of their success. But rather than posit visibility and invisibility as mutually exclusive spaces, like Foucault (1978), I think they are two sides of the same coin: normativity and deviance. For substitutes, constructing their authority as “real teachers” involves a careful negotiation of

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9 One exception is bell hooks’ (1990) call for activists to speak from the margins in resisting normative discourses and practices and in working towards social justice. Hooks argues for choosing marginality as a site of resistance.

10 I am thinking here, specifically, of the practitioner literature referenced in chapter two that tends to re-circulate images of substitute teachers as “incompetent outsiders” to the educational profession.
identities and practices. To the extent that substitute teachers are always already positioned as outsiders, they are constructed as the "other" to "professional teachers." Yet, substitute teachers resist practices of "othering" by taking up normative constructions of teachers as "professionals." This paradox can be seen in the underlying claim that haunts the stories of substitute teachers: I have the necessary knowledge base, training, credentials and relationships with students—thus I am a teacher. Similarly, the simultaneous performance of authoritarian teaching style and invisibility highlights the curious paradox of authority for substitute teachers. In negotiating the rules and expectations for their performance substitute teachers resist and participate in practices that serve to marginalize them.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I offered a collective tale derived from the ethnographic accounts of substitute teachers. I explored three of the discourse practices of substitute teaching: fitting in, managing crisis and maintaining order. The discourse practices demonstrates the complexity involved in substitute teaching and in the categories of teaching and professionalism that have come to dominate the way we think and talk about teachers and the role of education in society. I purposefully included representations of substitute teachers that are quite various to represent the heterogeneity of available constructions. The proliferation of images of substitute teachers reflects how deviant and marginal are conceptualized as an open space. This open space serves as a repository for
culturally contested images, metaphors and discursive visions of the good/bad teacher, the goals and purposes of education, and the possibilities and limits of institutionalized practices and identities. In many ways, these constructions stand in stark contrast to images of the professional teacher. But perhaps this is a good thing. As Labaree (1996) notes, the movement to professionalize teaching has done more to create a homogeneous class of teachers than to increase the status of the field altogether. However, the marginal status of education within the professions has allowed for the possibility for a proliferation of ideas, practices and debates to take place under the sign of education. By extension, the marginal status of substitute teachers brings with it an open space to replay, transgress and disrupt dominant narratives about education, pedagogy and the work of teachers. Thus, retaining this openness offers a space for subversive transformation.
A STUDY IN THE PARADOXES OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In this section, I present a story regarding the process of teacher substitution in the context of professional development initiatives. Framed as a case study, this section explores how the professional development model of teacher training and placement positions teachers in hierarchical relations that serve a more symbolic rather than functional purpose in establishing a teacher's authority in the classroom. While there are multiple models of professional development articulated in educational policy and practice, this case explores the how teachers make meaning out of their participation in a Professional Development School.

Professional Development Schools (PDS) involve an intricate and multifarious set of relations between three local "partners:" colleges of education, teacher's association (union) and public school districts. The PDS model grew out of the educational reform efforts known as the "Holmes Project" which advocates a "collaboration partnership" between each of the vested interests. The

Urban Academy is the name given to the school that becomes the training ground for novice and veteran teachers to share theoretical perspectives, innovative techniques and skills to improve classroom practice.

The basic process for the PDS is that a school self-selects to participate in the Urban Academy. Since it is not feasible for the school to send all of its teachers to the Academy, the selects a small group of teachers and administrators to participate in the Academy. At this point, the school identifies individual and school-level goals known as the School Continuous Improvement Plan (SCIP). While each SPIP varies, school teams usually identify skill building in the area of reading or math, a school level goal (such as integrating technology) and a more locally specific goal. The Academy's professional development facilitator then matches participating teachers with teachers that possess the desired skills identified in the SCIP.a3

Given the data I had previously collected from interviews with substitute teachers who noted that long term assignments share the characteristics of both "substitute" and "regular" teaching, I was curious to see how professional development might alter the discourse practices of and interpretations surrounding substitute teaching. In other words, did the structure of the Academy create the conditions necessary to make this long-term assignment

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Group. A companion primer on the history and implications of this educational reform initiative can be found in the special edition of Teachers College Record, 1987, vol. 88, 3.
a3 Interview with Nan Johnson, Professional Development Facilitator, Columbus Urban Academy, February, 1999.
more a product of collaborative teaching than the typical substitute assignment?

Thus, in tracking this process of teacher substitution, I was particularly interested in the following elements of the Academy structure:

- pre-selection of experienced, credentialed teachers to serve as "support educators"
- previous teaching experience in the building and classroom to be covered
- on-going information-sharing meetings between the regular and support teacher
- in-class observation of regular teacher prior to assignment
- peer networking with other support educators during the assignment

While clearly not an "evaluation study" of the efficacy of professional development initiatives, my hope was to understand how these elements would shape how the teachers involved talk and think about the practices of "professional" and "substitute" teaching.

6.1 GETTING INVOLVED

During the winter of 1999, I interviewed several full-time teachers about their perceptions of and experiences working with substitute teachers. One of the teachers, Marie Foster, spoke of the practical implications of professional development initiatives. Marie told the story of how the Urban Academy at Clarmont received much flack during the 1996-97 school year from parents who were frustrated that the Academy teachers spent a large portion of their school

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* This is a pseudonym for one of the two "host" schools that participate in the Columbus Urban Academy.
year out of the classroom. Marie remembered the outrage expressed by parents in the Parent/Teacher Association such as calling for an explanation for the frequency of teacher absences in the newly formulated Academy (Columbus Dispatch, July 13, 1997). School officials reassured the public that such teacher absences were an aberrant exception and an unfortunate necessary step in creating the Academy within the Professional Development School model. (Ibid)

One of the key components of professional development is that participating teachers must leave their classroom for an extended period of time (4-6 weeks) to attend on-site training in one of the local Urban Academies. Thus, the day to day operation of the Academy relies on a cadre of substitute teachers in two specific ways. First, subs are needed to allow participating teachers (from school A) release time from their regular assignments. Second, substitute teachers are necessary to provide coverage for the Academy teachers (school B) who collaborate with participating teachers.

The headline in a local newspaper, “Academy Falls Short, Parents Say” speaks volumes about the public sentiment and unintended consequences of professional development initiatives. According to the article, parents are skeptical that the award-winning Urban Academy ultimately served the best interests of their children. Clarmont parents say that they were promised more than they received:

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Marie’s characterization of this situation was reiterated by Nan Johnson, Professional Development Facilitator at Clarmont’s Academy during the 1998-99 school year.
"We were told we would have the masters teachers, plus a fifth-year OSU education student and visiting teachers," said Tim LePontois, in coming Clarmont PTA president. "We were going to have, basically, two or three (adults) in every room." Instead, LePontois said, too many Clarmont students spent too many days with substitute teachers while their regular teachers attended professional development sessions.

School records show that Clarmont had 452 teacher absence days last year - an average of more than 40 per teacher."

"Last year, I felt, was a wasted year for many of the students," said Jodi Wagner, former Clarmont PTA president. "Teachers just weren't prepared. I was in the school every day. I saw when they were gone." (Dispatch, 1997a)67

These comments convey some of the public ambivalence about the role of professional development initiatives in larger reform efforts. While the public is concerned with the quality of teachers in today's classrooms, there is also great resistance to some of the specific implications of reform initiatives. Professional development schools require teachers (and children) to participate in on-the-job teacher training. Thus, as the Urban Academy becomes a training ground for teachers to improve classroom practice, it also becomes the experimental grounds for how wide-scale educational reform effects those whose everyday practice it will disrupt.

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67 Columbus Dispatch, July 13, 1997.

Again, to protect confidentiality, the names of some participants and school locations were changed. However, some participants requested the inclusion of their actual names. Thus, the narrative in this chapter involved a transposition of factual and fictional naming of people, places and events.
I spoke with Nan Johnson, Professional Development facilitator for the Urban Academy to get more information regarding the Urban Academy and the role of substitute teachers within it. She recounted the history and philosophy of the Academy and spoke candidly about the first year at Clarmont. Indeed, the large need for teacher replacement caused “alarm” within the community. She explains:

[The first year] there were many subs, and I suppose that teachers were out quite a bit. And of course that was difficult for parents. You know, it’s hard when you have a different person every day. It wasn’t that the subs were uniform and the same sub came back to the same classroom. So it was pretty alarming to parents. I think they had a rough year that first year. Since then, we have not had the same kind of problem. I think that that community alarm system really influenced the way that professional development was done in the future. Although there are times that a few teachers need to be out for specific trainings, we are very, very careful about using substitutes for anything except personal illness or personal leave.

Nan articulated two related concerns: 1) the number of days that professional development was taking teachers out of the classroom, and 2) a perceived lack of competent substitute teaching force to replace them. During the first year, there was little continuity in the classroom since various substitute teachers with differing skills and experience were utilized. Thus, in any given classroom students may have worked with as many as 40 different teachers that

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To protect the confidentiality of their responses, the participants in this section, like the previous one, were given pseudonyms.
first year. Nan said that the Urban Academy learned a lot that first year and made some significant changes for the 1999-00 school year. Nan summarized the changes that were made to strengthen the effectiveness and integral role of substitute teachers in the Academy:

1) only qualified (retired teachers) were invited to be field support educators
2) field support educators attend a paid ($100) two week mini-professional development in "innovative practices in language arts, math/sciences and classroom management"
3) field support educators receive $100 per day for service (as opposed to the district cap at $65 a day)
4) field support educators spend up to one week in classroom observation so that "everybody gets used to this person"
5) the same field support educator works in the classroom for four weeks
6) the field support educator has autonomy/responsibility for lesson plans

Johnson described how these changes shifted support for The Academy among parents and teachers:

Now you see, the teachers are more comfortable who are leaving because they know they have outstanding subs in their classrooms. Parents are really happy, because they even know some of these folks. They’ve had their other children or they know, at least, that they have much experience. And it just works out for everyone.  

6.2 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR SUBS?

In many ways the phrase professional development for subs is an oxymoron, in that, by constitutive definition, substitute teachers serve as the negative relational category to the "professional" teacher. Nevertheless, the

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\(^{69}\) January 25, 1999.  
\(^{70}\) January 25, 1999.
Urban Academy attempted to resolve this contradiction in terms by utilizing principles of professional development to prepare field support educators to work in the Urban Academy.

Educational researchers note multiple definitions and practices associated with "teacher professionalism" (Lieberman, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 1985; Popkewitz, 1998). The dominant model of professionalism reflects a bureaucratic model in which teachers seek to increase their status and classroom efficacy through acquiring additional professional skills such as classroom management, technology tools and innovative curricular practices. Perhaps more interesting are analyses that interrogate the epistemological assumptions that interrogate within contemporary strands of professional development. For example, Popkewitz (1998) and Labaree (1992) argues that such an approach positions teachers as passive receptacles of knowledge and information and deemphasizes existing social, cultural and institutional power arrangements that relegate "professionalism" to the development of instrumental skills. Furthermore, Popkewitz (1998) argues that educational reform operates from a logic of redemption. Popkewitz argues that educational reform, historically, was directed at "rescuing" and "saving" students from the vices of urban decay. Contemporary educational reform extends this logic to incorporate teachers into the larger project of education as redemption — offering teachers "new technologies" of professionalism in the form of information and skills in the form of "professional development." These new technologies, Popkewitz notes,
effectively renders teachers' classroom knowledge and experience peripheral to
the project of professionalism. Similarly, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) argue
that teacher professionalism is intricately tied to larger relationships between
knowledge and practice in teacher learning. Simply put, critical theories of
professionalism argue that teachers must attend to issues of voice, collaboration
and empowerment of teachers in order for any effective change to occur
(Anderson, 1998). Speaking from a position of "surviving school reform" Laraine
Hong (1996) calls for a revision of professionalism that is based on "fellowship
and mutual respect" between teachers rather than the acquisition of new skills
and credentials.

While there are multiple definitions and elements of "professionalism" at
work in reform movements, the professional development for substitute teachers
in the Urban Academy reiterated the traditional litany of skills-development,
teacher-networks, and reflective teaching. In addition, issues of voice,
collaboration and empowerment in professional development resonate in this
configuration of the Urban Academy.

Given the previous events and critiques, the Academy incorporated
substitute teachers into the central planning and organization of the professional
development initiative in several ways. First, the Academy took advantage of
the recent early retirement of Columbus Public School teachers by offering
written invitations to serve in the Academy as "Field Support Educators."
Second, to achieve the goal of continuity in the classroom related to the Academy
training, the Academy created a professional development workshop for the support educators as well as the participating teachers. Thus, rather than utilizing variously trained "substitutes," the Academy created a cohort of field support educators, consisting of retired teachers, who attended a two-week professional development workshop. This paid workshop included training on recent curricular developments such as innovations in reading, math and the sciences as well as issues of classroom management and health care. Furthermore, a significant amount of time and energy was devoted to information-sharing and social networking between the field support educators and the facilitators. This information sharing included getting to know one another and learning about the schools, teachers and students with whom the support educators would be working. Finally, the professional development workshop included a post-assignment feedback and re-tooling session that Rhonda Jackson, the Director of the Urban Academy, personally attended. This post-assignment session was also referred to as an interim workshop, since it occurred between assignments for many of the returning field support educators.

At the interim workshop, I was particularly struck by the level of engagement with which Dr. Jackson spoke with the group of support educators.\(^\text{71}\) Her opening address conveyed gratitude, support and the utmost

\(^{71}\) I attended and acted as a participant observer at this interim workshop that occurred on March 22, 1999.
attention to any concerns or suggestions the support educators could offer. Dr. Jackson's remarks echoed the sentiments of the group as she noted that to refer to this group as "substitute teachers is disrespectful" given the wealth of experience and knowledge that these educators brought to the classroom.

Indeed, to label the experience that this group would encounter as "substitute teaching" does not adequately describe their situation. As I discussed earlier, the transient and unpredictable nature of the assignment typifies the substitute teaching experience. If substitute teaching is characterized by last minute arrangements, lack of information-sharing and placing strangers in an unfamiliar classroom, the experience of support educators through the Urban Academy would not qualify. However, my argument is that the term "substitute teacher" applies to the situation at hand. Clearly, this cadre of "excellent retired teachers" deserves respect and a label that conveys the sense of authority and expertise that each of these teachers brings with them. Yet, even these well-seasoned teachers were not protected by the armor of experience, credentials or training when encountering their Academy assignment. The

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72 In fact, one of the documents from this workshop was an "evaluation compilation" based on the responses of field support educators regarding what they found helpful and instructive from their professional development training. These recommendations, from what I could tell, were incorporated into the future professional development training, thus giving field support educators a voice in re-shaping the structure and process of the Urban Academy. For example, two of the recommendations were to increase the duration of the observation period between participating teachers and to set aside teacher-teacher time for curricular planning. These recommendations were implemented and resulted in the grade-level meetings prior to the academy placement. Dr. Jackson assured the participants that other recommendations such as more information on "what's new" in CPS in terms of curriculum and testing policies would be incorporated in the future support educator training.
subject position of the substitute teacher is produced in the structure of the
discursive and material relations of the classroom. The teacher is constructed as
an outsider — thus a substitute — despite their institutionalized status as
"professional" teachers.

My conclusion that field support educators do at times function as
"substitute teachers" is supported by my observation of one classroom as it
proceeded through the Academy process. At the interim workshop I
approached several field support educators about observing during their long-
term assignment. My interest was met with strong hesitation. Three of the
support educators granted permission, but only after they "established their
presence and authority in the classroom." This was my first indication that the
Academy assignment shared at least some of the properties of a substitute
teaching assignment. (Hence the categories substitute teacher, field support
educator and teacher are less about fixed identities than subject positions that
may or may not be available to perform in specific classroom contexts.) One
teacher pairing stuck out as an interesting case to explore the dynamics of
teaching and learning. This pairing was the retired teacher Mr. Myers and Mr.
Anderson of Columbus Elementary.

At the interim workshop for support educators, Dr. Shirley Wilson, the
professional development facilitator from Rhodes Academy, introduced the
profile of Columbus Elementary as a "two story building with air-conditioning."
Several teachers from Columbus, including the principal were to attend Rhodes
Academy during the month of May. Among those teachers, was Mr. Anderson, a fifth grade teacher, who as Dr. Wilson noted, had requested a male teacher. Since there was only one male teacher in the support educator pool, it seemed pretty likely that Mr. Myers would be asked to take that assignment. Mr. Myers would cover Mr. Anderson's fifth grade class (classroom 13) during the time Columbus Elementary spent at the Urban Academy. At that point, I made the methodological decision to focus on classroom 13 to explore the cultural climate and pedagogical experiences of a "support educator" during a highly organized, coordinated and resource supported but nevertheless "substitute" assignment.

Two related questions framed my analysis of this local professional development initiative: 1) How does the Academy shape how teachers are positioned within discourses on teaching? 2) To what extent does professional development alter the substitute teaching assignment?

The Teachers
Mr. Anderson

Mr. Anderson is a young African American teacher in his early twenties. Like many teachers, working in schools is a family tradition—his mother is a former teacher and principal in a neighboring state. Mr. Anderson is a vivacious teacher that is deeply committed to broadening the horizons of the students he serves.

I first met Mr. Anderson via video teleconference with the other fifth grade teachers who participated in the Urban Academy. Along with the other
participating teachers, Mr. Anderson introduced his teaching philosophy, classroom climate and interests in professional development initiatives. In describing himself as a teacher, Mr. Anderson employed athletic metaphors such as conceptualizing his role in the classroom as the coach of a team who must all work together. Mr. Anderson's vision was visible throughout his interactions with students from connecting with students about WCW (World Championship Wrestling) to “coaching” his students through a math assignment. Furthermore, Mr. Anderson saw himself as a member of the school team at Columbus Elementary.

Like the other fifth grade teachers attending the Urban Academy, Mr. Anderson wanted to improve his students' academic achievement and expressed how community expectations framed his role in teaching. Mr. Anderson articulated two goals for his students that drive his teaching philosophy and practice: to increase proficiency test scores and to realize the importance of education (particularly reading and math) as lifelong imperatives. Mr. Anderson said that he follows a cooperative learning model, has sound reading, group reading and read-alouds. He uses newspaper articles to discuss current events and group work. He recounted a recent class project that involved students working in groups to research and write a report on planets. Asked to describe his classroom, Mr. Anderson said that he was embarrassed that Dr. Wilson saw his classroom when they were “tired” and
"moody." Dr. Wilson said she didn't see his class that way at all. His class size ranged from 32 to 60+ during days when the gym teacher was absent. There was a discussion about class size, that even though the district limit is 30, Mr. Anderson had extra students. About the size of his class, Mr. Anderson said "I really don't have any problems...Sometimes you got to be a team player." Mr. Anderson said he views all the staff at Columbus Elementary as a team who has to work together.

The Site
Columbus Elementary School

Founded in the 1960's, Columbus Elementary School is a school with a lot of community pride. Just a block from a busy city highway, Columbus Elementary School shares many of the characteristics of inner-city schools. It is located in a neighborhood that is predominately African American and with limited economic resources. Student pictures and poems line the halls and a large poster that chronicles African American history christens the stairwell. Throughout the school are visible markers of community pride for the students, teachers and visitors who pass through the corridors daily.

Students' backgrounds mirror that of the school's surrounding neighborhood: predominately African American, poor, single parent families. According to Mr. Anderson, most of the students live with an auntie or grandmother and have a family member who has been either currently or in the
past incarcerated. While obviously these characteristics are not inherently negative, it was not uncommon for Mr. Anderson to convey to the students how such characteristics would impact their educational opportunities:

You have two strikes against you because of who you are and where you come from. You’re going to have to work twice as hard (as students in the suburbs) to get the same things that other students get.  

Mr. Anderson amplified the school tradition of community pride by crafting a "team" culture in Classroom 13. Most apparent are the visages of athleticism throughout the room including stickers and posters from his hometown football team. It was not uncommon for Mr. Anderson to friendly goad students into a gentle rivalry among his alma mater and the local university football team. And I can still hear Mr. Anderson's voice echo "come on" as he encouraged student throughout their daily routine of drills and exercises.

At the grade level teleconference for the UA, Mr. Anderson described his philosophy as a team approach to learning. He spoke of the importance of team-building and being a team player throughout the conference. His goal was to have students feel a part of and participate in that team. Mr. Anderson noted, though, that he has a particularly key responsibility in the success of the

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team. He stated, "If the students succeed, it is because of me. If the students fail, it is because of me. If they fail, I know I need to do something differently."  

Mr. Anderson's team-building philosophy was present both inside and outside the classroom. Posted outside and around the enclosed walls of Classroom 13 are the following rules:

- We are a family.
- Never settle for second place.
- Do not quit in life.
- Work together as one.
- Accomplish all goals.

Mr. Anderson's vision of team-building transpired in the classroom and could be seen in his animated and directive pedagogical style. His energy is mostly effective in bringing together the attention of the 32 students in the classroom. Students are individually and collectively coached throughout the day with a combination of positive affirmations and inspired directions: "Don't you dare give up" and "You're smarter than the [math] problem" and "Don't be scared to try." Similarly, when traveling outside the school, Mr. Anderson encouraged students to think about the image they project: "Remember when we go to the t.v. station that you're representing yourself, me, Mrs. Williams, the school and the community."  

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75 Observation notes, Urban Academy Grade Level Teleconference, March 31, 1999.
76 Classroom observation, April, 16, 1999.
These comments were frequent and occurred at any time that students were in contact with 'outsiders' - including school visitors, class field trips or interactions with students and teachers from other school schools. Not coincidentally, Classroom 13 did take several field trips over the course of the two months in which I was a participant observer. During this two-month period alone, Mr. Anderson arranged and/or participated in field trips to a local university, a vocational high school, the Metro Zoo and Friday evening performance at the Metro Symphony Orchestra.

More germane to this analysis of the role of substitute teachers within professional development initiatives is the fact that Mr. Anderson coordinated an entire Career Day to be held at Columbus Elementary in which students would have the opportunity to interact with community members, and participate in their work. For example, Mr. Anderson had arranged for some pilots to come in and give the students a ride, etc. Unfortunately, the career day, which Mr. Anderson had planned early in the year, was canceled due to his participation in the Urban Academy, since it coincided with his three-week absence. I don't think anyone was more disappointed than Mr. Anderson himself, who worked hard to organize a meaningful day where his students would be exposed to careers outside their typical frame of reference.

These events and practices illustrate the kind of close relationship that Mr. Anderson had with the students of Columbus Elementary, but especially with students in Classroom 13. The curriculum, while heavily dictated by state
and city testing initiatives, expanded beyond the walls of classroom 13, Columbus elementary and formal schooling. In attempting to instill a lifelong love for learning and broaden the academic and social horizons of his students, Mr. Anderson engaged in various pedagogical practices which had very little to do with lesson plans and concrete curricular units. Instead, he drew on a broad range of experiences and tools to motivate his students to engage with knowledge and "real world" issues of direct communication, critical thinking and problem solving.

Mr. Myers

As I mentioned in the previous section, Mr. Anderson requested a male teacher to cover his classroom while he was participating in the Urban Academy. Being the only male teacher in the 1998-99 group of UA field support educators, Mr. Myers was the "natural" choice for this position. During the May workshop, Mr. Myers introduced himself to me and was enthusiastic about the upcoming assignment at Columbus Elementary. He seemed to fit in with the other support teachers and voiced his beliefs that the field experience was a good opportunity for veteran (and retired) teachers to stay connected to the classroom. Mr. Myers said something that sparked my attention at the May workshop. He leaned over and whispered that he thought it was very important that schools become more friendly to young male students. He cited his own experience as a student, saying that the elementary reading curriculum
was geared toward girls and did little to interest young boys. Given my interest in teaching as a cultural practice, Mr. Myers initial comments solidified my choice to focus on his experience as one case to explore substitute teaching through the Urban Academy. Thus, I asked Mr. Myers if he would allow me to observe his time in the classroom. He said yes, we exchanged phone numbers and I said I would call him when I had more details to offer.

Mr. Myers has a wealth of experience in educational contexts as teacher in the greater Columbus area for the past 32 years. After spending five years in the Cleveland area and 3 years as an instructor at Midwestern State, Mr. Myers spent the remaining years with the Metro Public school system in various teaching and administrative positions.

My goal was to observe the entire process of teacher substitution: observing Mr. Anderson's classroom for one week, observing the "observation period" where both Mr. Anderson and Mr. Myers were co-teaching, observe Mr. Myers as the sole teacher of classroom 13 and then to observe when Mr. Anderson returned. My "goal" was only partially realized due to my own schedule constraints and the wishes of Mr. Myers.

In attempting to be a "good" university researcher, I decided to follow a protocol for gaining permission in the order that I thought made the most administrative and ethical sense. Relying on that initial permission granted by Mr. Myers during the March workshop, I then contacted Mr. Anderson to get permission to use classroom 13 as the primary observation site. Mr. Anderson
quickly granted permission and asked what materials and information would be of most help to me. I told him that I was primarily interested in observing Mr. Myers, and that my observations with him would be more for getting contextual information about classroom culture.

I then contacted Ms. Williams, the principal at Columbus Elementary, to gain her permission. After a week of playing phone tag, and with the Academy quickly approaching, I went to the school, and met with Ms. Williams, where she granted verbal permission to observe classroom 13. I then tried to contact Mr. Myers to confirm the arrangements.

A professional conference required me to be out of town during the team teaching observation period. Time slipped by and I had not yet caught up with Mr. Myers. So, I came back early from the conference to go directly to the school to touch base with Mr. Myers. Given our previous interactions and Mr. Myers enthusiasm for the project, I thought it would be an informal check-in and did not anticipate any complications.

At this time, Mr. Myers said that he regretted to inform me that he did not feel comfortable with me observing classroom 13 until the third week of the assignment. He said that he did not foresee how difficult that first few days would be in "establishing his authority" and thus, he thought it would "a waste of my time." I tried to persuade Mr. Myers that this process of establishing authority was one in which I was interested, and thus, it would be an extremely valuable contribution in documenting the experiences of substitute teachers.
Mr. Myers said that he thought my presence would be disruptive and felt that the students would be distracted with me in the room. I reminded Mr. Myers that I had spent a full week with the students and actually attended two field trips for the very purpose of gaining rapport and diminishing my role as foreign presence that would distract students during the assignment. Mr. Myers said firmly but politely that it would not make a difference to him, and that I would only be allowed in once he was able to "establish control."

Given these concerns, I contacted Mr. Myers by telephone approximately two weeks into the assignment to determine his level of comfort in observation. At that time, Mr. Myers relayed his frustration and disappointment regarding this assignment. He cited school-level policies that he felt undermined the effectiveness of student performance. For example, one of the key issues was that students did not have an opportunity to "work off the sugar" from their lunch by taking an afternoon recess. He said that he thought that students would benefit from some sort of physical activity in the afternoons, that would allow them to better focus and be "on-task" in the afternoon lessons.

Despite his hesitations, Mr. Myers invited me to observe during the week of May 10, 1999. As this was two weeks into the assignment, some level of "normalcy" had been established. When I arrived on Monday, the morning lesson was already in progress. Mr. Myers asked the students to report to the class what they did over the weekend to show their appreciation on Mother's Day. This activity reiterated the everyday student "check-in" that I observed
with Mr. Anderson. In fact, the daily routine was identical to when Mr. Anderson was present. Monday's activity also included a read-along activity designed to introduce students to the practice of observation and evaluation using the five senses. The story, about a judge determining the truth claims made by a prisoner, lead to a discussion about using judgement and wisdom in making decisions. What was interesting about this activity is that during the read-aloud some of the students started to be "disruptive" by talking and yelling out ideas. Mr. Myers cleverly incorporated this behavior and the class's emergent role as "judges" in attempting to diminish it. He asked students, "How do we get rid of students who don't want to learn?" As students generated ideas, the conversation turned towards what Mr. Myers called "justifying" and "excuses for disrupting education." Students said that if they fell behind they could always get tutors or work around the system. Mr. Myers brought the conversation full circle by reminding them that they would ultimately have to decide between right and wrong in making decisions and urged them to not be tempted by "distractions" and "disruptions." I thought this was a very creative and in-promptu discussion that utilized Mr. Myer's personality and training as a humanistic teacher to get students to acknowledge the role of "choices" and "consequences" in classroom discipline and more importantly, in making the decision to actively participate in learning and education.
In a later interview, Mr. Myers made the connection between his experience at Columbus Elementary with his first year as a teacher. Mr. Myers described the similarity in experience:

...simply because you had to establish so much strong discipline and the students attitude was very aggressive. I always thought that students were very aggressive until I had proven myself. And once I had proven myself in gaining their confidence, things begin to level out. But in the urban program, working basically 3 weeks with the students its hard to get that establishment and then the leveling. You only have three weeks. Though we wanted to be called support staff, students still viewed us as traditionally a substitute. And that has a connotation of “Let’s take a vacation.” That’s why it reminded me of the first year because it took some time to get the discipline established so that you can go ahead and teach. Because without that discipline you’re not going to gain anything. (TU 13-26)

In this passage, Mr. Myers conveys that despite his efforts to be perceived as "support staff," students viewed him as a "traditional substitute." More important than simply mis-identifying the difference in terms, is that students responded to Mr. Myers presence and what that signified: a "vacation." In making sense of his experience through the Urban Academy, Mr. Myers struggled with these inconsistent representations and expectations of his performance. As a veteran teacher, Mr. Myers describes himself as a "humanistic teacher" that values student collaboration and independent thinking. However, Mr. Myers said that he struggled because he was unable to implement these humanistic strategies, given the climate of the classroom during his stay in Classroom 13. He noted:
I would have like to have done so much more with the students than I did. But I had to hold the reign so tightly that I didn't get to do the personality things. My personality was not given to them wholly, only part of it, because I had to make sure that I kept control. I think that was the thing that bothered me; the fact that I couldn't really express myself as I think I normally would have done. I consider myself a humanistic teacher and there were a lot of humanistic things that I didn't dare try to do because I thought I would lose control of the classroom. (TU 151-160)

Here, Mr. Myers replays the theme that discipline and control in the classroom are precursors to the "normal" learning environment. For Mr. Myers, this normal learning environment would allow for the free expression of true identities such as himself as a humanistic teacher and the students who exhibit self-control and cooperation. My sense is that holding on to the image of an ideal learning space lead to Mr. Myers evaluation of himself, the students and the situation as a disappointment for their failure to display and enact some imagined relations between teachers and students.

Evaluating his overall experience, Mr. Myers said:

Things turned out okay, but personally I wasn't satisfied with my own performance. I don't think I was as successful in this situation as I would have liked to have been. Like I said I'm being hard on myself because I know how I've taught and the things I've done. This was a challenge. (TU 148-151)

I shared with Mr. Myers that, as an outside observer, I thought that he was effective in the classroom. I told him that I observed students on task to the same extent that they were with Mr. Anderson. One way to read this situation is to say that taking the position of the field support educator restricted Mr. Myers ability to inhabit the position of the teacher as he has imagined it. My
own view of pedagogy as a space of negotiation, struggle and resistance leads to a much more generous reading of Mr. Myers' performance as a field support educator in specific and a teacher writ large. The practice of substitute teaching involves the movement between the position of the "substitute" and the "regular" teacher - yet both are imagined places where prototypes do more to create a sense of anxiety and disappointment than to adequately convey any substantive difference in performance.

Despite my analysis about the similarities between regular and substitute assignments, I observed two main differences between Mr. Anderson and Mr. Myers in the type of interactions with students. Mr. Anderson utilized the intimate information of familial connections in attempting to maintain order in the classroom. If a student would get "get out of line" by speaking or acting out, Mr. Anderson was quick to ask what the student's family member would think of their behavior- thus invoking a kind of intimate discipline and in bridging the home-school connection. Secondly, Mr. Anderson engaged with the students on a colloquial level -- speaking in the vernacular, discussing popular cultural events (such as movies, current events, and sporting events). Whether or not Mr. Myers could or could not adapt these literacies in the classroom would be a topic for further investigation. Certainly, with time Mr. Myers would develop the knowledge of familial relationships that structure the students lives and could draw upon them to solidify that home-school connection in handling matters of classroom discipline. However, relating with
students on a more popular cultural level (in terms of current vernacular, popular cultural events) is a pedagogical strategy that may be a function of Mr. Anderson's personality and thus, may or may not be easily adopted by Mr. Myers, given his own pedagogical strengths and interests. Regardless, although the two teachers had different teaching styles, I found both to be effective in delivering a lesson and interacting with students.

When asked to assess the professional development training involved in the Urban Academy, Mr. Myers relayed the importance of the observation period prior to his assignment. The observation period allowed him to get a sense of the "personalities" of teacher and the students he would be working with. For example, Mr. Myers did incorporate the practice of beginning the day with a student check-in. Having a sense of existing personalities helped him to identify potential problems and strategies for dealing with those problems. Yet as Mr. Myers notes, having a knowledge of those personalities is different than the ability or desire to adopt those personalities (such as the teachers) or an ability to respond to those personalities (such as the "trouble students") in the context of substitute teaching.

6.3 POSITIONING KNOWLEDGE AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS LOCAL PRAXIS

As with many fieldwork experiences, the plans for research (design) deviated from the events as they happened in the field. This turn of events provided great insight about some of the dynamics involved in researching
substitute teaching that had both theoretical and methodological implications. Methodologically I came to realize why there might be so little empirical research on substitute teaching. Substitute teaching is an activity characterized more by contingent techniques and emergent practice than by a priori design. Thus, the planning involved in doing focused inquiry on this topic means that a researcher must be flexible to accommodate the nature of the assignment, even if that means not observing the crucial first days of the assignment to witness how this process of establishing authority takes place. The Urban Academy assignment could be considered an "ideal" substitute teaching experience. The assignment was planned many weeks in advance; the support educator had observed "student personalities" and the regular teacher's style and possessed expertise in the content area. Yet, Mr. Myers still had to negotiate his authority with the students — a process that remained incomplete given his definition of "good teaching" as "humanistic" rather than "authoritative" pedagogy. Mr. Myers was not alone, though. As I mentioned earlier, none of the support educators would agree to let me observe the first day of their assignment. Thus, research on substitute teaching is limited by the methodological constraint that no observation of classroom relations is possible until after that period of "establishing authority" reached a certain level.

The theoretical implications are of a similar nature. Previous research shows that substitute teachers are "invisible" within schools and educational policy (Morrison, 1994a). My research indicates, however, that substitute
teachers participate in maintaining that invisibility. I think Mr. Myers concern
with my observation was driven primarily by his belief that it would be yet
another distraction for students during this crucial period of establishing
authority. However, I also think that part of his concern stemmed from the fear
of being represented as a teacher who had little control over the classroom
when this matched neither his self-perception nor his actual competence.

Mr. Myers' concerns for establishing authority and confusion at the lack
of achieving it say more about the structure of his position as an "other" teacher
who is replacing Mr. Anderson. While "field support educators" may be a term
generated to grant more respect to veteran teachers participating in the Urban
Academy, it is not a position or term that has any currency with students.
Students, at least in this instance, view teachers in three categories: their regular
teacher, other teachers in the school, and outside teachers (substitute teachers).
Thus, to students the term "field support educator" carries no meaning.
Perhaps it even further distances the support educator from the familiar and
affectionate term "teacher" which does hold meaning for students.
Furthermore, as one teacher reported, "the term field support educator sounds
so technical."

Like many of the other teachers surveyed in his research, Mr. Myers
preferred the term "support staff" or "guest teacher" to describe himself rather
than the term "substitute." Yet, even though there is reason to emphasize the
"special status" of the UA teachers as "guests," this, again, asks students to infer meaning into a term that has little currency in schools or in the popular media. More visible and familiar is the image of the substitute. Thus, students base their expectations for outside teachers according to the images of substitute teachers they have experienced in the classroom and have seen on television. For students, the figure of the substitute signals a "vacation" or at least a break in routine, despite the teacher's qualifications and classroom performance. The interactions between students and teacher can be seen as a contested negotiation for representation. While one might argue that this struggle appears in all pedagogical relations, it is particularly apparent in the stories of substitutes, as images of good and bad teaching get projected onto their bodies.

In addition, the idea of a guest teacher is not supported at the level of school districts and popular media. A bureaucratic model of education, structurally, does not include "guest teachers" - teachers who come in to share their experience with students while the "host" teacher is present. Rather, "guest teachers" function to replace the classroom teacher - and in some instances, simply "cover" the classroom. Altering the status of "guest

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77 Michelle, grounded survey and telephone interview, June 10, 1999.
78 For example, Mr. Anderson comments that the students would "wreak havoc" on any teacher that filled in for him, no matter what their role was outside of the classroom. I did have several occasions to observe student behavior such as loud and excessive talking, freely moving about the class and picking on other students and the "covering teacher" in Mr. Anderson's absence.
79 Throughout this investigation I heard undercurrents from administrators and teachers that at times decisions about teacher replacement have more to do with "filling the classroom with a warm body." In this sense, when the teaching position is more tied to school accountability and
teachers/substitute teachers in the classroom may require restructuring the institutionalized position of substitute teachers in the educational/professional framework. This may include changing our notion of teaching to reflect a more fluid conception of authority in the classroom. Just as the movement to professionalize teaching has made our image of "professional" teachers to be a more standardized, credentialed pool of teachers, the reality of teaching in the late 20th century is that teaching as a profession is as tentative and transient of an occupation as in previous generations. Thus, Bledstein's construction of professionalism as the development of "career" is put to test in the case of teachers, in general, and substitute teachers in specific. Furthermore, I think we need to re-signify the representation of substitute teachers — alter our practices and conceptions of substitute teachers as more than "replacement" teachers in educational policy and practice.

One step towards a more fluid conception of the categories of teachers is exemplified by some of the "outcomes" of the Urban Academy. Mr. Anderson told me that one of the best things that came out of the PDS experience was the connection made between him and Mr. Myers. Mr. Anderson said that he looked up to Mr. Myers as a veteran teacher, and hoped to institutionalize the mentoring relationship that he felt had emerged. As part of his new position at

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legal liability than opportunities for learning, the bureaucracy of professionalization and its effects are highly visible.

80 I am reminded, however, of Britzman's caution that we don't simplify the issues of "deviant" or stigmatized identities to a matter of "replacing bad stereotypes with good ones" (1998).
Rhodes Academy, Mr. Anderson requested Mr. Myers as his "mentor-teacher" in the PDS. In this instance, the field support educator ("substitute teacher") became the mentor to the "professional teacher." This pairing works against the "too-easily theorized" lines of power that are simplified in traditional ways of thinking about "professional/substitute teachers." Moreover, this pairing suggests that teacher-networks are important and instructive in situations where teachers are allowed to define when and how they might participate.

In conclusion, professional development initiatives such as the Urban Academy rely on the use of substitute teachers as a central part of its program. The lack of attention paid to the role of substitute teachers within such initiatives proved to be detrimental in establishing public/parental support for such initiatives. Subsequently, UA administrators used a form of "action research" to gather and analyze data and reformulate future implementation of professional development. Substitute teachers played a central role in articulating strategies for how to improve the process of teacher replacement. Thus, the UA should be applauded for their efforts to incorporate the voice of substitute teachers in directing and implementing professional development initiatives.

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Shorty after attending the Urban Academy, Mr. Anderson was asked to join the staff at Rhodes and become a permanent part of the PDS. This promotion was an indication of his previous success and efficacy at Columbus Elementary and amplified by the fact that his students performed significantly higher on the proficiency tests taken earlier that spring. Mr. Anderson's promotion reflects the historical pattern of career mobility through participation in professional development initiatives (Labaree, 1997).
With that said, it is only recently that substitute teachers have been named and granted legitimacy within discourses of professionalism. More importantly, support educators' interpretation of their experience within such initiatives present a certain practical and theoretical challenge regarding the professionalization of teachers. As this case illustrates, the process of teacher replacement and/or substitution is a turbulent process felt by students, teachers and parents and others involved. Several strategies were incorporated to reduce that turbulence: 1) utilizing experienced and certificated teachers; 2) differentiating "support educators" from "substitute teachers"; 3) providing professional development for support educators; and 4) matching substitute and regular teacher demographics. Despite these efforts turbulence was encountered during the Academy process.

This turbulence is indicative of the discursive contradictions that substitute teachers encounter when they enter the classroom. By discursive contradiction I refer to the space of ambivalent positioning illustrated when "professional teachers" become "support educators." While support educators are granted a certain level of authority through discourses of professionalism, the contextual nature of the situation in professional development initiatives undermines that authority as students make sense of their presence as a

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For a discussion of the practical implications of professional development initiatives that resists the "tidy tale" see Laraine K. Hong, *Surviving School Reform: A Year in the Life of One School*. In her detailed account of one school's struggle to implement site-management, Hong describes how school change requires a redefinition of the relations of power at the local level.
"substitute teacher." The ability of students to "mis-read" the teacher and thus re-cast their performative authority underscores the importance of youth culture, popular media and local forms of knowledge in disrupting institutional discourses on teaching. Perhaps what is learned is that professionalization cannot be thought of as a "too-easy" answer of more training, new titles and matching identities.
CHAPTER 7
RECASTING NORMATIVE DISCOURSE ON TEACHING

In chapters three, five and six I presented three distinct representational "cases" of substitute teachers. The first case explores how the figure of the substitute reflects a cultural imaginary involving chaos and violence in contemporary schools. In this fantastic film story, the image of the substitute is one of a guerilla educator, potently (hypermasculine pun intended) capable of transforming the chaos of classrooms and schools. I argued that the film's main character, Shale, represents the dominant image of the male schoolteacher as a cultural hero that has the potential for "restoring order" in the classroom and in society writ large.

The second case tells a collective story of how substitute teachers utilize discourses of professionalism to narrate their experiences both inside and outside the classroom. In that representational case, substitute teachers re-work familiar discourses of teacher equity and classroom management to resist marginalization and exploitation by the school systems they serve. Liberal humanist notions of identity, efficacy and equity serve as legitimizing discourses that authorize the "experience" of substitute teaching. Yet, strategies for "empowerment" claimed by "deviant" subjects often serve to reinforce normalizing classifications between
normal and deviant subjects and thus may undercut their own intentions (Foucault, 1978). By parallel example, I suggest that claims to "experience" and "classroom management" as legitimizing discourse practices effectively maintain distinctions between the "real professional" and the "substitute teacher" and thus may undermine the struggle for "equal" treatment in the classroom and status within the educational profession.

The third case explores the micro-politics of a professional development initiative from the position of the substitute teacher. In terms of the pedagogical efficacy of substitute teachers, this case "should" provide an example of a "best practice" of teacher replacement given that substitute teachers are consciously integrated into professional development initiatives and that specific techniques were in place to facilitate a successful assignment. Instead, this case illustrates the limits of a technical/rational way of thinking about the practice of teaching. A retired teacher's assessment of his substitute experience as a "disaster" reminds us that in a place called the classroom, a teacher's authority is less a function of credentials and prior experience in the field and more about interactions between teachers and students and the meanings they co-construct about those interactions. Definitions of teacher efficacy that center on acquiring and implementing standardized skills and techniques of "classroom management" underestimate the ways in which teaching involves situated performances in specific educational contexts. In this way, the position of substitute teaching offers instructive lessons about the nature of teaching as a series of dynamics and
relations between students and teachers, whether full time or support. This case
demonstrates that authority is contingent and contextually based, whereby the
distinctions "full-time" and "support staff" designate temporary positions that
both produce and constrain one's ability to be read as an authority. That the
substitute teacher became the mentor for the regular teacher, a teacher who has
been identified as a model teacher with the Urban Academy, speaks volumes
about the ways in which subjectivity is discursively produced, contextually
performative and constantly in flux.

Despite their disparate connections, the substitute teachers within these
tales mobilize institutional and popular cultural discourses on teaching.
While discourses of professionalism serve as an authoritative discourse for
teachers to make sense of and talk about their work (particularly in terms of
"classroom management") these three narratives illustrate how the work of
teachers (both real and imagined) exceeds the boundaries of that discourse. This
is particularly true if we take into account popular and historical representations
of substitute teachers. In these representations, teachers are likened to images of
babysitters and drill sergeants more than doctors or lawyers. This could in fact
be a good starting place to investigate the limitations of professionalism as a
model for thinking about the work of teachers.

7.1 CONSTRUCTING AN ORDER OF DISCOURSE

Foucault uses the term "order of discourse" for understanding the
relationships between competing and complementary discourses that circulate
around a given social problem or identity category (cited in Fairclough, 1995, p. 135). An order of discourse refers to the "totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relations between them" (Fairclough, 1995, pg. 135). One might think of an "order of discourse" as a map that provides the socially intelligible codes for navigating through the discourses in circulation. But it is important to think of this map as itself a social construction that attempts to arrange disparate strands and contexts that are contingent rather than as pre-cut pieces of a puzzle.

Keeping with Foucault's tendency to highlight discontinuities and transformation of discursive formation, I conceptualize discourses as indefinite series of codes and images and language that only hold together in particular contexts and situations. Like Foucault's notion of discourse as a constellation of statements, an "order of discourse" operates as a constellation that takes shape and form as one reads the series of discourses into a familiar pattern. Discourses work on and through each other making their boundaries permeable but coherent.

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83 Foucault's methodology of genealogy/discourse analysis as a "pure description of events" (1970) privileges the heterogeneity of texts and the ability for multiple readings of discursive events. Nevertheless, as Foucault strives to understand language as social practice, the notion of order of discourse is helpful for thinking about the relations between discursive formations and how practices that have the potential for multiple readings tend to get reinscribed in normative storylines and epistemological frameworks.

84 Similarly, one might be tempted to spatialize an "order of discourse" in terms of hierarchical arrangement of determined forces such as liberal humanist and Marxist images of the State and ideology as forces that either "trickle down" or seep up into the neutral "self."
Representations of substitute teachers reveal a proliferation of available discourses on teaching that include juridical, moral, scientific, institutional (bureaucratic), social and cultural ways of imagining the teaching Subject. Moral discourses on teaching could be heard in Monica, Sharon and Maggie's interviews as they shared their interest in "helping kids," "acting as community role models" and instilling/maintaining values such as "discipline" and "order" in a younger generation. For example, a re-occurring theme involved how this generation of children has lost their appreciation and "respect for authority." While not selecting teaching profession as their chosen occupation, substitute teaching provided the space to act as a "community role models" for all students, but particularly for urban African American youth. These narratives emphasized the role of the teacher as a position of moral responsibility to shape the attitudes and "character" of future generations of students.

Another manifestation of the notion of teaching as a moral project, was illustrated in Michelle's characterizations of her relationships with students. She spoke candidly about how she came to view "her class" as surrogate children, and the psychic and social trauma she experienced when teachers failed to recognize to how a "substitute teacher" could perform the maternal role of teachers in connecting with students. Further, in his own way, Shale reenacts the

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Monica, Tyrell, Maggie and Mr. Myers talked about the importance of re-instilling values such as "respect" and "discipline." Mr. Myers motto "self-control and cooperation" I think illustrates that moral discourses on education borrow from both authoritarian and democratic conceptions of freedom and order.
narrative of education as moral development as he instructs his students in the "proper" application of violence.

This kind of moral reasoning to describe the work of teachers, as I illustrated in chapter two, dates back to the 19th century, such as the Common School and normal school movements that place the role of teachers as the "moral" leaders in society just outside of the religious occupations. However, discourses on teaching transformed during the Progressive Era as scientific constructions of "the professional" became dominant both inside and outside of educational contexts (Popkewitz, 1998; Labaree, 1992). Historical narratives tend to equate professionalization with standardization and bureaucratization of the field, concomitantly with the feminization of the field. During the twentieth century, the growing fields of education and human sciences gave rise to the notion of education as "scientific management." And in the current round of educational reform, the language of education reflects a market-based orientation such as the tendency within educational policy documents to construct students as "consumers," and teachers and parents as "competing stakeholders" in "educational markets." Relative to other ways of talking and thinking about

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teaching, moral discourses on teaching take a back seat to the more scientific and economic logic of teaching as "management."^87

I think it more than mere coincidence that moral discourses on teaching, while apparent across the interviews, resonated the most clearly among the African American teachers in this substitute teaching pool. Michele Foster (1993), Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) and others have provided rich interpretive histories of the difference in historical tradition between African and Anglo American teachers in the U.S. Analyzing interviews with African American teachers pre- and post-segregation, Siddle Walker argues that the tradition of teaching within the African American community is linked to a larger project of moral service the community and envisions education as a primary component of achieving racial justice. These narratives illustrate that conceptions of teaching are an interplay of available discourses that authorize the speaking subject, in this case the substitute teacher, in constructing the purpose, possibilities and limitations of their position.

**Juridical discourses** also constituted notions of substitute teachers. I use the term "teachers" versus teaching, in that it is the teacher, as a person, that is described in juridical/political terms rather than the activity of substitute teaching.® As Judy elucidates in her characterization of substitute teachers as a

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^ For a good discussion of the rise of market-based orientation on education and critique of the discourse of "excellence" see Readings (1996).
® Britzman (1991) notes a similar tendency within student teachers to lay claim to the discourses of "personhood" to attempt to make visible their presence and power in the classroom. However,
group of "third-class citizens," substitute teachers can be read as a category of
teachers whose rights and merits as citizens-subjects have yet to be achieved. For
Judy, the substitute teacher is involved in a political and economic struggle for
recognition, respect and equal compensation. She resists being marginalized and
exploited by the local schools and teacher networks in which she participates.
This juridical/political narrative of teachers links visibility with compensation
and equal participation in educational structures that are assumed to mirror the
democratic possibilities of society and schooling.

To this end, some substitute teachers, as individuals and as a group, have
initiated efforts towards "equity" in terms of institutional recognition and
economic compensation. For example, despite the intentions of its founder, the
Substitute Teacher Association, holds within it the possibility for grassroots
organizing as a political group. Likewise, the class action lawsuit raised by
Rebecca Waits in Ann Arbor, Michigan illustrates that substitute teachers are
using the legal system to "fight back" against institutionalized exploitation of the
labor of substitute teachers. Empowered through the juridical act of a class-

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as Britzman notes, this move towards claiming "personhood" falls short in that as student
teachers - being both students and teachers and neither teachers nor students makes their
position in the classroom ambiguous.

* According to its founder Mike Morowsky, the Substitute Teacher Association, was designed for
the better administration of the local substitute teaching pool by establishing a local registry of
qualified subs to be able to "market" to local school districts.

* Due to a teacher shortage in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the school district implemented a "waiver"
policy from 1989-1999 in which substitute teachers were asked to forfeit their rights (under state
law) to a full-time teaching position after 120 days of employment. In 1992-3 Rebecca Waits
subbed an entire year replacing a teacher on medical leave. In September 1994, in the absence of
being offered a full-time position, Waits files a law suit claiming that she is entitled to a job under
action lawsuit, substitute teachers are putting to use one of the effects of the discourse-practices of professionalization: unionization, collective bargaining and legal repercussion.

While juridical discourses make possible this growing movement for substitute teachers to organize as a class of teachers, far more prevalent are the institutional discourses on teaching in which substitute teachers are either absent or deficient. I am speaking here of the dominant discourse of professionalism that has predominated in educational reform policy and practice since the Progressive Era (Popkewitz, 1998). Both Popkewitz and Labaree (1992) document how educational reform policy has been intertwined with the movement to professionalize teachers and has impacted the construction of teachers within educational writing. However, it is the everyday way that teachers talk about their work— the centrality of classroom management, lesson plans, testing and accountability — that brings to life the scientific and rationalized ways of thinking about the nature of teaching.

In a critical examination of school communication, Samuel Fassbinder (1998) discussed the importance of managerial discourses in shaping how we think and talk about teachers, education and the role of schooling in society. He

state law. In December, 1994, Washtenaw County Circuit Judge Donald Shelton ruled in Waits' favor and declared the waiver void. In July 1995 a class-action lawsuit was filed on behalf of the substitutes who had signed the waiver to recover lost wages and benefits plus interest. The Michigan Court of Appeals upheld earlier decisions in favor of both Waits and the class action lawsuits. Despite its legal problems, the district continued to use the waiver through February 1998. The Ann Arbor school district was ordered to pay out over 12.3 million dollars in lost wages and benefits plus interest (Substitute Teacher Lawsuit, 1999, August 15).*Ann Arbor News.*
argues that "managerial discourses about schooling conform to an implicit notion of schooling-as-production that constrains the public debate about schooling as if school were a typical field of industrialized labor" (1998, p. 20). Fassbinder's analysis builds on Foucault's observation of education as a disciplinary enterprise whereby the function of schools is to produce "docile bodies" (1977). This notion of education as a disciplinary enterprise reiterates Foucault's theory of the productive nature of discipline and power. The productive process of discipline infers that schooling operates to 1) provide children with definable skills and literacies and 2) instill the (class) appropriate disciplinary practices to dominate oneself (Fassbinder, p. 23).

In a similar fashion, the authority of teachers is inscribed in their literacy and competence in "classroom management." Classroom management refers to as a "set of techniques through which to achieve student compliance with certain standardized classroom performances in the form of skills, tests, etc." (Fassbinder, 1998, p. 36). Fassbinder argues that handbooks on teaching, directed at both the "professional" and "substitute" teacher, are defined by the twin logic of "classroom management" and "classroom discipline." The disciplinary effects of power can be seen in the plethora of handbooks on classroom management and teaching designed to enlighten and empower teachers as effective classroom managers. Such handbooks draw together elements of child psychology and administrative management to provide
teachers with a set of definable skills involving how to "manage discipline" in the classroom.

Substitutes, like their professional counterparts, frequently use a set of terms, assumptions and practices within the classroom, termed "management," to describe their work. For example, many of the teachers I interviewed said that classroom management was the "most important part of the [professional development] workshop" and/or talked about wanting "more training in classroom management" to feel better prepared for their teaching assignments. "Classroom management" involves a set of codes that serve as "advice" to the teacher about how to create classrooms and students that are "productive," "efficient," and "on-task." In a review of classroom management texts, Fassbinder identified five genres of discourse on classroom management. Fassbinder found that discourse took the form of "advice to teachers" in the following areas:

- Advice on how to communicate properly to students, how to communicate "instruction" in the rituals of instruction
- Advice on how to create an appropriate classroom environment by appropriate arrangement of material objects and appropriate use of scheduled classroom time
- Advice on how to design classroom rituals by giving appropriate instructions
- Appeals to a "student-centered" teaching philosophy that actually emphasizes the authority of the teacher in policing and evaluating student behavior
- Ways of using teacher power to ritualize student-led learning initiatives (1998, p. 150)

While classroom management serves as a powerful discourse that shapes how all teachers view their role in the classroom, texts directed at substitute

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*Observation notes from field support educator workshop, May, 1999.*

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teachers reinforce their "liminoid" (Fassbinder, 1998) position in the classroom. Texts aimed at substitute teachers emphasize "surviving" or just "getting through the day" by having students complete the lesson plans left by the regular teacher (Fassbinder, 1998, p. 143). These texts, "based on guesses and expectations" about the "typical substitute" in a "typical classroom" with "typical students" rely on stereotypes that are "intended to fill the symbolic void when a stranger steps into the role usually occupied by the regular teacher" (Fassbinder, p. 127). The sheer quantity of handbooks is an attempt to remedy this symbolic void that substitute teachers hold in the profession and classroom, as if a multitude of prescriptions can supplant the lack of attention given to the purpose and implications of substitute teaching. As Fassbinder notes, handbooks directed at substitute teachers seek to articulate "practical strategies" for the substitute to use in keeping students "on task" and in "getting through the day." The genre of classroom management, couched in "student-centered learning" actually reinscribes the authority of the teacher in deploying such tactics. The irony, for substitute teachers, is that such advice relies on constructions of "typical students" in "typical classrooms" on "typical days" which for substitute teachers, never comes to fruition because of the definition of substitute teaching as an interruptive event in student's daily routine.

As I described in chapter two, educational policy and reform initiatives focus on the "professional teacher" — how colleges of education can create them,
how schools can keep them and how students will learn from them. In presenting a vision of the educational profession, substitute teachers are largely absent from educational policy material. Furthermore, as the practitioner literature bears out, substitute teachers are constructed as part of the problem with today's teachers and schools, the lack of training, experience and competence in the field.

That images of substitute teachers are both present and absent in institutional discourses on teaching gives weight to Foucault's theory of the power of the dual nature of language. Foucault argues that the said and the "not-said" between and within discursive formations operate to regulate the boundaries of the normal and acceptable. In this case, representations of substitute teachers as incompetent, untrained or inexperienced, function to give definition and power to the implicit vision of teachers as professionals with a particular set of techniques (such as classroom management) and "standards" (such as certification). Yet, as the substitutes in this research illustrate, the boundaries between the professional and substitute are blurred as teachers negotiate their interactions with students, teachers and their own self-constructions.

7.2 THE PROFESSIONAL PARADOX REVISITED

Representations of substitute teachers illustrate how a subject position or category can appear simultaneously empty and yet overburdened by images and expectations that seem deterministic and insurmountable. Judith Butler makes a
similar argument in describing how the category homosexual becomes a cultural repository for cultural anxieties about sexual identities and practices. She writes:

A homosexual is one whose definition is to be left to others, one who is denied the act of self-definition with respect to his or her sexuality, one whose self-denial is a pre-requisite for military service” (1998, p. 105). By extension we can think of substitute teachers as a whole class whose self-denial as teachers is a prerequisite for teaching.

In this dissertation I have explored some of the narrative themes and issues that hover around representations of substitute teachers. Some images are self-constructions while others were projected onto the bodies produced by and for popular consumption. It is not easy to be a sub. What I mean here is both literal and figurative. From the narrative accounts of subs we see that the working conditions make the everyday experience of substitute teaching a time of chaos, conflict and sometimes confusion. But more figuratively, I mean to suggest that it is difficult "to be" a sub. The stigma attached to the label "substitute" makes subs retreat from identification with that term in constructing their own identity. However, in talking about what unique attributes and purpose they bring to the classroom, substitutes cite these very characteristics as merit badges of professionalism and being a "good teacher." Further, these attributes and purposes are cited as professional: "freedom" (i.e. not being tied to one school); and credentials (i.e. real-world experience; and professional experience with various subject areas, school systems and kids on their "worst
behavior.

Are these claims not reminiscent of Bledstein's depiction of career and character as the two constitutive elements of professionalism?

For the most part, substitute teachers insist that they are "teachers" not "substitutes." I understand this as an attempt to normalize their experiences and identities and to lay claim to the image of the "professional teacher" viewed with respect and authority in the classroom. Substitutes mobilize the same discourses on teaching that "regular" teachers use to describe their work such as classroom management and preparing students for "life" and "work." Not taken into account is how professionalism as a model renders their experiences invalid and less than their regular counterparts. It is not only that substitute teaching is not considered "real experience" but also that the primacy given to experience in discourses on teaching further distance educators from their medical, legal and scientific counterparts in "the professions." (Pratte and Rury, 1991) Teachers may be slow to learn that discourses of experience are held in theoretical opposition to constructs of expertise in discourses of professionalism (Labaree, 1998).

Furthermore, substitute teaching offers insight that such claims to experience work against claims of normalization, given how power gets attached to certain kinds of experience in particular contexts.⁹³

⁹³ I am thinking here of how several Anglo-American substitutes differentiated between "real" experience that "counted" as they tried to make themselves intelligible to middle class schools as well as Sharon's insight that seventeen years of substitute teaching did not register as "professional" experience.
Despite their efforts to be read as professional teachers, the teachers in this study could not escape the label of substitute teacher and the images and expectations that accompany it. While substitute teachers see themselves as "real teachers," "real teachers" are quick to maintain the boundaries that separate kinds of teachers by their credentials and terms of employment (full-time vs. part-time). This is not to say that substitute teachers either are or are not "professionals" in their teaching practices. Indeed, the narratives with substitutes indicate that they do position themselves within discourses of professionalism. The self-narratives illustrate how substitute teaching involves a movement between and within subject positions of teaching and that such movement is mediated by institutional, local and cultural constructions of teachers. However, representations of substitute teachers in popular media illuminate how the cultural construction of teachers exceeds the boundaries of professionalism. So how do we make sense of figure of the substitute?

7.3 THE SUBSTITUTE TEACHER AS WISH IMAGE

Representations of substitute teachers have captivated my attention on two levels. First, as the ethnographic narratives suggest, the practice of substitute teaching demonstrates that subjectivity involves the movement between discursively produced subject positions. Second, and perhaps more importantly, I have been interested in how images of substitute teachers represent the collective (even if contestatory) unconscious of cultural discourses on the work of teachers. I have attempted to show how cultural myths about
teaching and teachers are embedded within representations of substitute teachers. The category of substitutes become a primary site to try out "old" and "new" ideas about teaching precisely because of its position as a deviant category within discourses of professionalism.

Walter Benjamin's theorizing on the "contradictory faces" of commodities is helpful for thinking about the production and reception of representations of substitute teachers in popular culture (Buck-Morss, 1995, p. 211). Benjamin uses four terms to describe these contradictory faces of commodities: fossil, fetish, wish image and ruins. Fossilized images of teachers are epitomized in the image of the substitute as babysitter — a teacher imagined to have no prior or relevant teaching experience or expert knowledge. Thus her activity in the classroom is assumed to be anti-intellectual and merely marking time. This fossilized image of the teacher as babysitter was present in representations of substitute teachers most clearly in policy literature and "teacher talk" because it is the counter-image to the "professional" that educators are haunted by and work hard to put to rest.

In contrast, new images of substitute teachers have emerged most clearly in popular culture and suggest that the figure of the substitute teacher holds a transformative possibility. The new substitute carries with it the desire to transform education from the inside out. Benjamin would refer to this as a "wish image" — "the transitory, dream form" of the potential for political action (Buck-Morss, p. 212). The wish image is an object that engenders hope for revolution, transformation and change. Benjamin elaborates:
To the form of the new means of production which in the beginning is still dominated by the old one (Marx), there correspond in the collective consciousness images in which the new is intermingled with the old. These images are wish images, and in them the collective attempts to transcend as well as to illumine the incompletedness of the social order of production. (quoted in Buck-Morss, 1995, p.114)

The wish image "expresses a desire to 'return' to a mythic time" (Buck-Morss, p. 114). The mythic time, here, involves a nostalgia about teachers and the role of education in society. As a guerilla educator, the substitute teacher is the wish image to restore order, discipline and virtue to American education. The new substitute is not merely marking time, but changing the conventional practices of teaching, cleaning out the classroom and restoring hope to a lost generation of teachers and students. The new substitute teacher is charged with an urgent mission: to rescue education from the tyranny of schools. Put another way, the wish image of the substitute embodies the hope to rescue students from the chaos that schools have become. The new substitute brings with him the possibility for political action. The revolution might look like Dewey's dream of education as democracy or Woodson's education for social justice. However, given the "contradictory faces" of commodities, the image of the substitute cannot withstand fetishization and being pulled into the mythic history of schooling and old technologies of discipline. Mythic history involves the co-mingling of the old and the new — and results in the re-instillation of the image of the teacher as hero. The teacher as hero instills a passion for learning, a desire to disrupt convention and fulfill a deficiency in culturally relevant moral
leadership. As this image is fetishized, the teacher as hero reinscribes modernist notions of teaching as the development (civilizing, masculinizing) of reason, the production of docile bodies and the transmission of (Western) culture. Thus, representations of substitute teachers hold within them the potential for political action and the transformation of discursive formations. But they do not "liberate humanity directly" (Buck-Morss, p. 120). The power of the wish image lies in its transitoriness, to point to what never was and what might be, and the potential for collective imagination to conceptualize the "not-yet" of education.

7.4 SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

David Labaree (1992) describes the ways in which educational reform works in cycles and that our current cycle privileges depictions of teachers as "technocrats." The vision of teachers as technocrats is implicit as educational policy focuses on the role of teachers to disseminate information and assess students' development of skills. He calls this the privatization of schooling in which the role of the teacher is to allocate individualized curricular plans towards the goal of preparing students for their future vocation.

The position of substitute teachers helps make visible the disjunction between what's happening in schools and colleges of education. My point may be a simple one: educational reform is happening and is happening differently at the level of institutional reform and local reform. My desire here is not to create a meta-narrative about educational reform and school reform as monolithic philosophies and practices. Much of my argument centers around the
multiplicity of practices that operate under the sign of reform and how
multiplicity of meaning gets flattened through policy documents that speak "as
if" students, teachers and the space of the classroom are standardized,
universalized constructs.

Institutional reform lead by national groups such as the Holmes Group
and others call for and implement programs that increase the level of education
and training of pre-service and in-service teachers. However, local reform
practices widen the gap between training, certification and hiring practice.
Schools are responding to the teacher shortage crisis by implementing
"alternative certification" programs or simply circumventing certification
standards for teachers in order to needs of a growing student population. For
example, in December 1999, Wyoming and Nebraska are among the states that
have legislated a decrease in certification requirements for hiring and placing
teachers. Thus, these states, and many more schools districts across the country
are moving away from the national reform effort known as the movement to
professionalize teaching. Simply put, public schools cannot sustain educational
reform as it conceptualized by educational researchers and policy reform leaders.
Educational researchers continue a century old debate of whether to
conceptualize the teaching profession as a craft (Pratte and Rury, 1991) vs. a

\[^{45}\text{CNN Headline News, December 23, 1999.}\]
science (Tyler, 1949). Yet public schools (particularly urban and rural school districts) are forced to resort to market logic of employment practices that reflect a larger pattern of relying on "part-time" and "non-professional" teachers to carry out the day-to-day business of schooling. In this market-based model of education, the teacher's job is to "deliver" lesson plans, administer tests and calculate grades. Such discourses position the "professional teacher" as an educational manager in charge of managing curriculum and instruction, student discipline and tests; in short demonstrating the "work" of education (Popkewitz, 1998).

At this point I want to reiterate my concerns with Popkewitz's read of how teachers are positioned within discourses of administration. Specifically, my concern is that Popkewitz's analysis constructs teachers as passive receptacles of hegemonic reform practices. I think it is more in the spirit of Foucault to articulate the ways in which teachers move in and out of culturally available discourses in constructing their teaching practices. Available discourses

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include hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses as well as other culturally specific discursive practices that disrupt a simple Marxist binary of power-resistance. For example, in a recent discussion with practicing teachers the point was made that teachers are positioned within competing discourses on teaching. Whereas current reform discourses position teachers as the implementers of standards-based curricular plans, teachers actively create/erase/revise those standards by introducing problem-based activities, experiential projects, or by openly discussing the limits of certain practices and activities with the students they encounter. In this way, every day teaching practices can be seen more as iterations of locally derived and heterogeneous discursive practices, rather than a linear implementation of hegemonic curriculum.

Within market-based discourses on teaching teachers are seen as replaceable, as we've seen in the growing trend across various levels of education to employ more part-time teachers and professors. In some ways, the growing trend to utilize substitute teachers as "temporary workers" simply reflects this larger trend across primary, secondary and post-secondary education. These shifts, however, greatly impact the future direction of the education profession both theoretically and pragmatically. Constructing substitute teachers as

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"temporary workers" coupled with the de-skilling of teaching, has direct implications for the "need" for professional development. Minimal requirements are necessary in preparing substitute teachers to participate in educational profession because it is assumed that their participation is temporary and dictated by pre-established and easy to deliver "lesson plans."

There are two related points here. First, as public school districts face the daily challenge of "covering classrooms" one of the key markers of professionalism—certification—gets displaced in making hiring decisions. Second, while this trend is seen as "problematic" by educational professionals and policymakers, there is little evidence from the larger public that such trends negatively impact the quality of instruction their children receive. If anything, in communities where the teacher shortage is most felt, there is more emphasis on hiring community role models than hiring certificated personnel.99

In fact, one might argue that this "crisis" in school reform has created an open space where discussions about certification highlight some of the underlying tensions of the function, goals and practices in public schooling and the usefulness of the model of professionalism in driving and achieving those reforms. As Labaree (1998) points out, there are at least two competing

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99 During this investigation the local media has heavily tracked the case of one charter school, Riser Academy, so named for its founding superintendent Colonel Daryl Riser. Riser Academy is among the growing body of schools that emphasize "discipline-based" education—thus recruiting teachers with prior military experience and/or "real-world" experience working with students who have "problems with authority." While the State Board of Education and other prominent educational professionals have criticized the schools for its unorthodox teaching methods and curricular practices, parents have repeatedly voiced their support for the schools and its leaders.
perspectives on the role of education in society: education for social mobility and education for social justice. Labaree notes the prevalence of the social mobility model where the primary function of the public school is to provide equal opportunity to develop skills and credentials necessary to "compete" in a capitalist economy. In contrast, the social justice perspective emphasizes the role of the school in equalizing power imbalances in a democracy. My research does not provide enough data to deal with Labaree's analysis in great depth.

Nevertheless, I think that discourses on substitute teaching and alternative certification have the potential to bring to light how local school buildings are subverting wide-scale reform to meet their local needs. While those needs are typically framed as simply "getting enough teachers to fill classrooms" — there is evidence that some school districts (and individuals) utilize the space of substitute teaching to introduce "non-traditional" or traditionally "marginalized voices" into classroom settings. I am thinking here of an organization out of Detroit, Michigan that specifically recruited African American males into the profession through alternative certification training programs. These practices present a theoretical and practical challenge to the professional model of teaching by placing higher value on experience in the community than experience in the classroom.

7.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I explored the "exteriorization" of representations of substitute teachers (Foucault, 1991). I discussed how institutional discourses of
professionalism work in collusion and competition with socio-cultural discourses on teaching, such as market-based, juridical and moral conceptions of the role of teachers, teaching and education in society. I suggested Walter Benjamin's notion of the "wish image" as a way for thinking about how representations of substitute teachers figure into the cultural unconscious by catalyzing public and institutional and local debates regarding assumptions about the role of teachers in society. Finally, I drew from contemporary events in public schooling that illustrate how public schools, on their own terms, are grappling with the limits and possibilities of contemporary initiatives towards the professionalization of teachers.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Early 20th century conceptions of the professional greatly shaped the burgeoning image of the professional teacher as a rational subject equipped with the "science of instruction." These images mapped onto moral discourses on gender and teaching to produce the image of the "good teacher" as a white middle class female. In the late 20th century, socio-political and cultural politics have intervened in both scientific and cultural constructions of "the good teacher." The good teacher is still one who can effectively "manage" and "control" the classroom. But femininity, or more specifically the notion of the teacher as nurturer, has lost its privileged place in those constructions. This makes possible the radical transformation in popular cultural images of the teacher from "missionary" to "drill-sergeant." It is not that scientific and moral discourses do not currently influence the representation of teachers, but that discourses on teaching have transformed as a result of socio-political and cultural forces. For instance, many scholars have identified how feminism and changing economic dynamics have expanded employment opportunities for white females, thus many women do not take the professional teacher path over the last fifty years (Labaree, 1994 and Ingersoll, 1998). And in another vein,
unionization and bureaucratization has furthered embedded "market logic" into the structure of schooling. Similarly, movements for social justice, culturally relevant teaching and liberatory pedagogy have provided challenges to the model of schooling as the assimilation of cultural difference and have manifested in explicit efforts to recruit more male teachers as the "new" role models of education.

Substitute teachers figure into this order of discourse in quite fascinating ways. As excessive subjects, the category of substitute teachers becomes a place of excess and imagination. Representations of substitute teachers are more than realist portraits of the experiences of part-time teachers. Representations of substitutes become the space of supplementarity (Derrida, 1976) — a cultural imaginary where the public and profession project and try out images of what teachers ought to be or never become. If we return to Foucault's analysis of the invention of homosexuality and homosexual identity as a metaphor, we can say that substitute teachers are invented and serve as the category of deviant subjectivity where the systems of normativity regarding professionalism and teaching are worked through and negotiated. Although "invisible" in educational research and policy, representations of substitute teachers proliferate in practitioner and popular cultural discourses on teaching. Regardless of their authorial intentions, these images provide an acceptable space for projecting

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100 "Clark Says Teacher Certification Tops Diversity as Recruiting Goal" The Washington Post, April 2, 1998; "Role models in the making Black graduates answer calling" USA Today September 30,
alternative constructions of teachers and their socio-cultural position.

Foucauldian discourse theory allows for a more complicated reading of the relations between normal and deviant categories. By definition, the deviant category is in a position of relatively less power than its "normal"/professional counterpart. Furthermore, as Foucault notes, power is constantly circulating between and among position, authorized more by discursive readings and epistemic intelligibility than deterministic institutional arrangements. Because the "deviant" largely serves to regulate normativity, it holds within it the possibility to interrupt, disrupt and perhaps transform dominant narratives, storylines, identities and practices. Thus, these representations challenge discourses of professionalism as an authoritative discourse on teaching. In this project, I have attempted to displace the question of whether substitute teachers engage in "good" or "bad" teaching, but rather to examine how representations of substitute teachers indicate shifting boundaries of the practices and positions of teaching and professionalism and images of the "the good teacher."

The final chapter in a dissertation is typically reserved for discussion of the implications and limitations of the study as well as to offer recommendations for future policy. Under this model, it would "make sense" to offer suggestions on how to increase the status of substitute teachers within contemporary educational reform and local schooling contexts. For example, it would "make

sense" to recommend increasing the professional development opportunities for substitute teachers, such as more field-based experience, skills-development in classroom management and curricular planning. Despite the potential significance of such suggestions, this chapter steers away from such a model in which I, the researcher, offer a laundry list of implications and recommendations. As Lather (1999) has suggested, such a model reinscribes the tendency within educational research to operate within a diagnosis/curative model of educational reform.

In contrast, this chapter returns to the larger discussion of the discourses that constitute the (subject) position of substitute teacher, in particular, and teachers in general. In doing so, I return to the larger problematic of professionalism and explore how representations of substitute teachers are both enabled and constrained within this problematic. Specifically, I show how the category of substitute teachers as a liminal category both reinscribes and disrupts familiar discourses involving the position of teachers in today's schools and society. To the extent that representations of substitute teachers exceed normative constructions of teachers as "heroes" and "professionals," such

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101 I would like to thank two reviewers who offered these suggested recommendations regarding my dissertation research. My choice to background such recommendations in no way is meant to discredit the merit of these observations.

102 See McCoy (1995) for a discussion of how discourses of multicultural education tend to operate with this "epidemic" logic. McCoy argues that discourses on multiculturalism construct "diverse populations" and "ethnic cultures" as a problem for which multicultural education can intervene. In that problematic, "knowledge" of cultural diversity, is offered as a cure, rather than critiques of racist, sexist or xenophobic cultural practices.
representations serve to interrupt and recast authoritative discourses on teaching.

In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault separates the project of discourse analysis from that of the study of language. Whereas, the latter is interested in uncovering the rules and intentionality that structure and give meaning to a particular group of statements, discourse analysis attempts to provide a "pure description of discursive events" (1972, p. 27). In this dissertation, I have attempted to provide the reader with a partial and incomplete account of how substitute teachers are positioned within discourses of professionalism. Using an archive that consists of newspaper articles, film clips, ethnographic interviews, children's literature, educational research and practitioner literature, I show that images of substitute teachers place them at the boundaries of the educational profession. These representations can be considered discursive events that, taken together, illuminate discourses on teaching as a dense space, filled with contradiction, paradox and irony. Practitioner literature offers prescriptive advice on how to better train and administer substitute teachers, often constructing substitute teachers are deficient, unqualified or incompetent. The source of this deficiency in such constructions is located in the substitute teacher herself, rather in the dynamics of teaching/learning, teacher replacement, or in the underlying tensions between what is expected of teachers and the actual practices of teaching. If we look at educational policy, the function of the teacher is relegated to the role of delivering lesson plans and managing students,
whereas, the practice of teaching involves purposeful interactions with students
towards establishing "critical thinking," "instilling values" or bearing "witness" to
historical traumas (Ellsworth, 1998).

The ethnographic narratives illustrate that the position of substitute
teacher is a site of contested identities and practices. Discourses of
professionalism shape how the teachers see themselves and how others see
them— specifically the struggle to define oneself as a "real" teacher. But what
these narratives suggest is that titles, credentials and professional status get
backgrounded in the classroom, as authority is locally constructed through
processes of negotiation with students, teachers and others they encounter. To
the extent that professionalization of the field has made visible and immediate
issues of "credentials" "standardization" "training" and "experience" —the
narrative accounts of substitute teachers trouble the status afforded to the model
of "professionalism" and its constitutive elements in describing the work of
teachers.

Popular media accounts of substitute teachers similarly offer insight into
the model of professionalism. Quite simply, images of substitute teachers in
popular media transgress and often outperform the "regular teachers" they work
alongside. That the popular media seems fascinated by the transformative
possibility of substitute teachers indicates a growing public ambivalence about
the quality and effectiveness of existing teachers. However, unlike educational
reform which privileges the model of the "professional" as a way to garner public
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support and trust in today's teachers as competent and qualified educators, in
the popular media it is the figure of the substitute teacher that possesses the
willingness, spirit and passion to radically alter the everyday ritual of classrooms
and schools. The popular media suggests that teachers do not need more
training or professional development, but rather to be inspired by some sort of
innate or primal instinct to instruct, model discipline or critical thinking or
simply challenge formal establishment or commonsense ways of thinking about
themselves and the world around them.

Please do not misunderstand my argument to think that I am suggesting
that we get rid of teacher training, professional development and rigorous
standards of competence. My argument is actually an attempt to displace such
terms given the constructions of professionalism at the forefront of dialogue
around conceptions of teaching, schools and education. I merely suggest that the
model of professionalism and its current manifestation in the science or
rationalization of teaching limits our purview about the underlying assumptions
about the purpose and possibilities of education. To the extent that
representations of substitute teachers are excessive, interruptive and even
transformative, they may be instructive for re-thinking the future of the
educational profession and the teachers it leaves behind.

Tracking such discursive shifts in the cultural construction of teachers
from hero to drill sergeant reveals the displacement of the stability of the
bureaucratic model of professionalism which positions teachers as managers of
virtue. Through the position of substitute teachers, a more complicated picture emerges that moves away from the dominant images of teachers that govern educational research and the professional development it underwrites. The lived experience of the classroom, coupled with popular media constructions of teachers, illustrate the material and discursive limits to the model of professionalism.
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APPENDIX A
Profiles of Participating Substitute Teachers *

*Participants were allowed to select a pseudonym or utilize their real names. In addition, I asked each of the participants if they wanted to write their own profile. Monica was the only participant that chose to write her own profile. Thus, in most cases I constructed a profile that utilizes their words and self-descriptions from the interview transcript.

**Kelly** is a young (early 20's) graduate of Midwestern State University education program. She spent a quarter as a substitute teacher before she began her graduate education program. Kelly grew up and attended schools in a fairly affluent predominantly Anglo American suburb of central Ohio. In her interviews, Kelly reflected on how her own position as a young Anglo-American female impacted her interest and performance in inner-city classrooms. Kelly was anxious to get classroom experience and thus became a substitute teacher as her schedule allowed.

Like Kelly, **Lisa** was also a graduate of the education program at an in-state university. She too became a substitute teacher immediately after graduation from completing her undergraduate education degree. Lisa had approximately one year teaching experience as a substitute, in both one-day and long-term assignments. Although uncomfortable at times, Lisa said she felt at home in the school where she did her long term position; she said the students were working class white kids, "Just like me."

**Maggie** derives much pleasure and satisfaction spending time with her grandchildren during her retirement from banking. Her passion for working with children lead her to become a substitute teacher in early childhood classrooms. Driven by the desire to see kids in her community succeed in schools, Maggie founded and maintains a summer enrichment program based in African-American culture and a proficiency tutorial program.

**Monica:** I’m 23 years old. I have a bachelors in science in Recreation and Park Administration from Indiana U. I’ve been in Columbus for 2 years. I want to develop my own curriculum for my own non-profit organization, Options for Youth. I am an advocate for youth. I like to work with children. Definitely my
passion is youth. I want to let students know that they can rise above their circumstances and achieve excellence, not only in the classroom setting, but personally, academically, professionally, socially and financially.

**Mr. Myers** is a retired teacher of 32 years. He participates in this study as a "field support educator" in conjunction with the Urban Academy. Mr. Myers received his masters degree, completed graduate coursework and taught math and science education at a midwestern university during the 1970's. Since then he has been in and out of the classroom working with primarily early adolescent students. Mr. Myers describes his most recent experience in the Urban Academy as a tremendous challenge. Underlying Mr. Myers teaching philosophy is an humanistic approach to education which values self-control and cooperation. Mr. Myers is African American.

**Sharon** jokes that she is entering a new career while her peers are retiring. Sharon is the only true "career substitute" in this sample. After completing a masters degree in the humanities, Sharon was a stay-at-home mom. As her children grew, Sharon became a substitute teacher and now has over 15 years classroom experience. In our discussions, Sharon added invaluable insight about the critical issues faced by substitute teachers. Although she has experience in various districts, Sharon, Anglo American, has "settled" into a key position as a substitute. She currently subs at only one suburban school building. The fact that she has experience with most of the students, teachers and staff in that building greatly impacts her success at "blending in" with the school culture.

**Tanya** stressed her passion for working with children and a generalist approach to education. She emphasized the transformative power of education as opposed to the constrained nature of schools and teachers. She saw transformative possibility as a substitute. She brings knowledge of current events and real life world experiences to the classroom, compared to the teachers who in her words, "get stuck in the bureaucratic features of schooling." At the time of the interview, Tanya had about one month teaching experience. She noted that if she secured a full-time job in her area of interest, she would not continue to substitute.

**Tyrell** identifies as a Black American in his late 30's. Tyrell received a Bachelor's degree in political science from an historically black institution in the South. He returned to central Ohio to care for his mother. Tyrell viewed substitute teaching as way to be a positive influence in the community as well as to help him decide whether or not to become a full-time teacher. Tyrell has one year experience as a substitute teacher and also works in banking.
APPENDIX B
Interview Schedule

Teachers In-Between:
Substitute Teachers, Teacher Identity and the Paradoxes of Professionalism

Thank you for participating in this research project. As an educational researcher, I am interested in issues of professional development of teachers and the meanings associated with the term "professionalism." As a teacher, I am interested in representation of teachers and teaching by those most vulnerable to criticism from other educators, parents, students and the general public. A major goal of this research is to document the experiences of substitute teachers and expand contemporary theories of "teacher identity."

To date, there is little written on the policies and practices regarding substitute teachers across the country and virtually no research on substitute teachers in Ohio. Your participation in this project gives a voice to substitute teachers as a group which is often overlooked but essential part of the educational community.

I want to remind you that all information you provide will be confidential and anonymous.

Personal Background. What is your age? How long has it been since you earned your last degree? When you are not substituting, what are you doing? When and why did you decided to substitute teacher? What particular abilities do you have that enable you to be an effective teacher?

Professional Training. Please briefly describe any/all professional or educational training you received prior to becoming a substitute. Describe any in-service or training you received specifically for substitute teaching? Have you participated in ongoing professional development seminars or workshops? How are you made aware of local professional development opportunities (i.e. computer workshops, classroom management, innovative teaching strategies, etc?)
Professional Roles. Typically, do teachers prepare adequate lesson plans for your use? When a teacher has not left you lesson plans, do you have your own set of plans? What are the advantages/disadvantages of being a substitute?

Routines. How many days a week do you usually substitute? Do you try to establish a relationship with a new class? How do you accomplish this? Are you partial towards particular buildings, districts, or geographic areas?

How many days in the last twelve months did you substitute? Describe the best and worst conditions. Please be specific.

Handling Discipline. Describe how you handle discipline problems— including any kind of preparation you do prior to meeting the class as well as what you do when confronted with unexpected problems.

Expectations. Were expectations for substituting clearly explained to you? Did you receive any materials that explained what was required of substitutes?

Successes. When you are a substitute, how much do students learn? Describe how you know that you are successful.

Perceptions. In general how would you describe the teachers in the schools where you have substituted? How do students perceive students? How would you describe your relationships with other teachers, both locally or in general?

Recently in Wellston, Ohio, a woman, a leader of a teacher union described substitute teachers as "ineffective outsiders." How would you respond to the claim that substitute teachers are ineffective outsiders?

Can you think of anything I may have forgotten to ask— or anything additional you would like to say about being a substitute?

Thank you again for you participation. Please do not hesitate to contact me, if you think of anything else you would like to include in your account. Once I have transcribed and reviewed all interviews, I may contact you to perform a "member check." Member checks are considered a routine aspect of qualitative research— just another formal opportunity for clarification of your viewpoint. At that time you will have an opportunity to give feedback on my write-up and interpretive analysis of the research project. Until that time, thank you and have a good day.
APPENDIX C
Substitute Teacher Survey

Please read each question and circle the most appropriate response. You may select from the following: SD (Strongly Disagree), D (Disagree), N (NEITHER disagree or agree), A (Agree) and SA (Strongly Agree) Please feel free to write any qualifying comments in the margins or include additional pages.

The term “substitute teacher” adequately describes my identity as a teacher.  

I enjoy being a substitute teacher.  

The work of substitute teachers is valued in today’s schools.  

I feel that I am a valued member of at least one school community.  

My effectiveness in the classroom is a matter of personal competence.  

My effectiveness in the classroom is a product of external factors such as ______________.  

Control in the classroom is the key to learning.  

Achieving control requires substitute teachers to be more strict than full-time teachers.  

A well ordered classroom means that students will do work quietly in their seats.  

Authority in the classroom can be achieved by experienced teachers regardless of personal characteristics such as race, gender or cultural affiliation.  

As a substitute, it is my job to assume the regular teacher’s identity in the classroom.  

As a teacher, it is my job to use whatever methods or style that works best in my experience.
Substitute teaching is a way to be a role model for youth.

All teachers struggle with issues of classroom management.

I would attend a paid in-service for substitute teachers.

I would attend an in-service for substitute teachers regardless of pay.

I prefer to substitute in my own and surrounding neighborhoods.

Low pay is an obstacle faced by substitute teachers.

Low pay is an obstacle faced by all teachers.

I would be a substitute teacher regardless of pay.

Little learning occurs during a one-day assignment.

Little learning occurs during a long-term assignment.

My real world experience provides the experience necessary to be an effective teacher.

Only certificated teachers with classroom experience should be eligible to be a long term substitute.

Type and form of certification are not measures of quality teaching.

Some districts utilize the terms “guest teacher” and “field support educator” rather than “substitute teacher.” Please list the term which best describes your identity and explain:

Please include any additional comments:
CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH

I consent to participating in (or my child’s participation in) dissertation research entitled:

Teachers In-Between: Substitute Teachers, Teacher Identity and the Paradoxes of Professionalism.

Lisa Weems as an authorized representative of the principal investigator has:

explained the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the expected duration of my (my child’s) participation. Possible benefits of the study have been described as have alternative procedures, if such procedures are applicable and available.

I acknowledge that I have had the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction. Furthermore, I understand that I am (my child is) free to withdraw consent at any time and to discontinue participation in the study without prejudice to me (my child).

Finally, I acknowledge that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Date: __________________________ Signed: __________________________

(Participant)

Signed: __________________________ Signed: __________________________

(Principal Investigator or her authorized representative)