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A STUDY OF NEGOTIATIONS IN
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Arlene Judith Anang

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Susan Florio
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THE HIDDEN DIMENSIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF NEGOTIATIONS IN TEACHER/DEVELOPER INTERACTIONS

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Arlene Judith Anang

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ABSTRACT

THE HIDDEN DIMENSIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT:
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TEACHER/DEVELOPER INTERACTIONS

By

Arlene Judith Anang

Staff development is generally thought of as a process of promoting or facilitating positive change in teachers. It takes many forms but usually includes one person with specialized skills, knowledge, or techniques who teaches or otherwise helps school faculty members who need or want to learn these skills and techniques. The purpose of this study was to examine the face-to-face interactions between a staff developer and the teachers with whom she worked in order to gain a better understanding of what actually occurred during the process of staff development and how the participants made sense of the event. The goal was to describe the dynamics of the staff development process and develop a better understanding of the staff developer's role in its entire range of contexts, activities, and topics.

The methods used in this study were ethnographic and involved seven months of gathering data on one staff developer as she interacted with a variety of school personnel. The data consisted of extensive field notes, videotapes, audiotapes, formal and informal interviews with many informants, questionnaires, and other written documents. Through a microanalysis of selected interactions, some

recurring patterns and regularities emerged which were then cross-checked across the broader body of data. This process led to a theory about the role of staff development which was grounded in data.

The study showed not only that staff development is multidimensional, ambiguous, inherently face-threatening, and extraordinarily complex, but also that it is highly dependent on the negotiations that take place within the interactions. Teaching and learning in staff development interactions are dependent upon the collaboration, work, and effort of all of the participants throughout the event and if, how, and when a working consensus is achieved and maintained. The skills and knowledge of the staff developer cannot be communicated in a vacuum, but are dependent upon the social relationships of the participants and how they negotiate the purpose of each interaction as well as their relative statuses and roles.

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Staff development is generally defined as all deliberate efforts to improve the practices of classroom teachers. In spite of what is known about effective classroom practices, it has been very difficult to convey this knowledge to teachers, either directly or systematically. Staff development has become the subject of much discussion, theorizing, research, and practice over the years; but the problem remains the same: how can teachers learn how to teach better? Many answers have been attempted, but none have answered that very basic question.

In this study staff development has been looked at as it occurs in order to gain a better understanding of why it is so difficult to enact successfully. The complexities and dynamics of the interactions between a staff developer and a group of teachers and administrators have been described and analyzed in order to gain more insight into the problems of staff development, how the process is enacted, and under what conditions or circumstances it is successful.

Over the years staff development has been simultaneously condemned and extolled, viewed as a potential panacea by some and with hostility and contempt by others. It is abhorred if authoritarian, praised if democratic, and viewed with suspicion if scientific. It attempts to solve all the cognitive, behavioral, and social-emotional problems that

teachers may have by way of a single methodology.* It has been called instructional supervision/clinical supervision/organizational development/staff development, and it has been carried out by advisors/teacher facilitators/program facilitators/helping teachers/supervisors/clinical supervisors/organizational developers/staff developers/consultants in places such as teachers' classrooms, school buildings, district offices, college campuses, and teacher centers.

In spite of the problems with "whatever-it-is," it continues to exist to some extent in nearly every school district in this and other countries and, in fact, may be experiencing a resurgence of current interest, both in spite of and because of budget difficulties. Districts have had to lay off newer and untenured teachers, so tenured teachers find they can no longer depend on "new blood" to keep the schools abreast of new ideas, techniques, or trends or to maintain high levels of enthusiasm for the profession in general. Instead, districts must consider the needs of the existing staff members for what is widely called "inservice education" or "professional development." The 1981 Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) Yearbook has called "staff development" one of the most important and compelling issues in education today, especially as it affects educational leadership. The president of this organization, Barbara Day, stated:

> Change and growth are endemic in our complex modern society; the school or staff which does not change and grow is destined to atrophy, to become obsolete, and to be a burden

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*The descriptive terminology was borrowed from R. H. Weller, 1971, pp. 1,6. I couldn't improve upon it.

> rather than a bulwark to us and to the communities we serve. This is particularly true in view of the increasing pressure put on our institutions by the upward expansion of the whole learning cycle (Dillon-Peterson, 1981, p. vii).

Bruce Joyce (1981), in a review of the history of school change and motivations, reiterated and added to this statement about the importance of staff development. He said:

> ...substantial, continuous staff development is essential to the improvement of schooling and, equally important, to the development of the capability for the continuous renewal of education. A static school is a dying school. Staff development is one essential ingredient of a lively, dynamic school that improves itself through the release of a self-feeding energy born of the quest for understanding about how creative teaching and learning can best take place (p. 117).

Titles and Trends

Finding a title for the practice of staff development and the people who do it is an example of its difficulty and contraditions. The changing preferences for what to call the act of improving practicing inservice teachers' performance through planned interventions provides some insight into what has been learned over the years.

Supervision

The most common term over an extended period of time has been "supervision." It is still in use, but usually connotes an evaluative function. It implies that one person, the supervisor, has the power to pass judgment upon the other and, therefore, has more status as well as knowledge or skills.

Within the field of supervision, there have been several variations and interpretations which have been tied to general historical trends. The earliest trend was known as "supervision as inspection" which

involved assessing teachers in order to maintain common standards of instruction and to make decisions about retaining or promoting teachers (Mosher & Purpel, 1972). From about 1920 to 1950, there were two major theories of supervision. One was known as "scientific supervision" which emphasized careful empirical research to discover educational laws and then applying these laws through the labors of the teachers (Lucio & McNeil, 1962). Another, called "democratic supervision," grew out of the progressive education tradition and emphasized the dignity of the individual teacher and full staff involvement in educational planning and policy formulation (Lucio & McNeil, 1962).

In the 1960s a commonly used term was "clinical supervision." It differed from the older concept of supervision both in how it was practiced and in its goals. In practice it means "supervision up close" and "supervision of actual practice" (Goldhammer, 1969, p. 54), and it always implied some sort of face-to-face relationship between a supervisor and a teacher. Its goal was to develop in teachers "a conviction and a value that teaching, as an intellectual and social act, is subject to intellectual analysis" (Mosher & Purpel, 1972, p. 79).

Teacher Centers

Another type of inservice grew out of teachers' reactions to being supervised or "judged" as well as their own needs to get answers to specific questions or have certain issues addressed. This was provided by people called "advisors" or "resource teachers" who responded to specific teachers' requests in places called "teacher centers." Teacher centers became popular during the late sixties and early seventies and still continue to exist. But what went on in these centers and what

their advocates mean differed widely. According to Feiman (1977), some advocates used

> ...the language and logic of behavioral psychology, systems analysis and management planning. They [spoke] of cost/effective settings for retooling teachers. Others [used] the lexicon of humanistic psychology; still others, developmental learning theory. These latter advocates [talked] of supportive environments where teachers learn on their own and from each other, and integrate this learning into their personal and professional lives (pp. 85-86).

These conceptual differences paralleled those of scientific and democratic supervision but also reflected the amount of opinion and knowledge that was surfacing about how supervision, or the act of one person's attempting to improve the practice of another, was or could be coercive and threatening to the teacher.

Teacher Development

More recently inservice education has been described in terms of "development" such as developmental supervision, organizational development, and staff or professional development. Concepts of teacher development have enjoyed increasing popularity in recent years (Feiman & Floden, 1980), partly because it resolved the controversy of whether teacher educators are "training" or "educating" teachers by presenting another, more ambiguous term, and partly because it presented another way of looking at teacher growth. The term "development" means growth, expansion, and evolution; and as in biological development, it connotes that there are specific stages through which all teachers pass eventually until they reach "maturity." The use of this term resolved the issue of whether inservice education for teachers should be considered remedial, as many felt was implied by the term "supervision," or

developmental. It means that questions of "teacher deficiencies" could be reconsidered in terms of their stages of growth or skill development.

Specifically, the term "developmental supervision" as discussed by Glickman (1981) assumed that there were methods or orientations through which all teachers would learn to teach, some of which were more appropriate than others for meeting specific purposes for teachers at varying stages along the developmental continuum. In practice, it meant that teachers' specific needs could best be met through individualized sessions rather than through large group sessions or university courses.

The term "staff development" will be used throughout this study because it is the term most commonly used at this point in history. It must be recognized, however, that this term, as with "supervision" or "teacher centers," means different things to different people. Its definition, as currently used by the National Institute of Education and others, avoids the theoretical controversies and refers only to all deliberative efforts and planned interventions upon the natural development and socialization processes of school faculty members.

The State of the Art

This section reflects that the ambiguity about what to name the practice of helping teachers to improve as well as the theoretical differences about how teachers improve also pervades how staff development has been enacted over the years.

The Cynicism

In spite of the fact that staff development not only exists, but also may be going through a resurgence of interest, it is generally agreed that

> ...what we have now in the way of staff development isn't very good. Teachers, administrators, researchers, and bureaucrats agree that current staff development or in-service programs are irrelevant, ineffective, and generally a waste of time and money (McLaughlin, 1977, p. 76).

In the same article, it was written that staff development as it is commonly enacted "appears to be a hodgepodge of incompatible workshops and courses" which were based on no conceptual model. In another, less kind, article by Rubin (1971), the three-faceted conclusion was:

> (1) teacher professional growth has not been taken seriously, (2) it lacks systematic methodology, and (3) has been managed with astonishing clumsiness (p. 245).

Goldhammer (1969) questioned both the lack of content and process in staff development, stating that "both its stuff and its methods tend to be random, residual, frequently archaic, and eclectic in the worst sense" (viii).

The Reasons

Such expressions of cynicism about the state of the art of staff development are extremely common in the literature and frequently precede recommendations for new programs, systems, or "revolutionary" techniques to improve this unfortunate state of affairs. Some, however, have begun to suggest that the reasons for this unfortunate situation are, in fact, complex and pervasive. Weller (1971) suggested that

> ...both supervisor and supervisee face formidable obstacles [because they lack a] specifically identifiable "product" in an area where changes are difficult to justify, produce, or even measure, and where prompt feedback is practically non-existent (p. 1).

B. M. Harris (1965) focused on some of the elements of the complexity of the supervisor or staff developer's role:

> The work of supervisors is characterized by very diverse human relationships, a multiplicity of kinds of tasks, and no fixed locus of operation. The supervisor works in many organziational climates, deals extensively with subordinates, peers, and superordinates, ranges over a wide variety of substantive and procedural problems, produces no readily visible product, is held only vaguely accountable for certain ongoing events in the school, and is almost immune to systematic evaluation (p. 87).

Anderson and Krajewski (1980) in their recent revision of Goldhammer's work have spoken of the problem of dealing with the numerous goals and definitions of staff development. What they term "clinical supervision" has nine different but interrelated perspectives, prerequisites, or goals: (a) a technology for improving instruction; (b) a deliberate intervention into instructional processes; (c) goal-oriented, combining social and personal growth needs; (d) a working relationship between teachers and supervisors; (e) requiring mutual trust; (f) a systematic process that requires flexible methodology; (g) an approach that generates a productive tension; (h) assuming that the supervisor knows more about instruction and learning than teachers; and (i) a system that requires training.

The Complexity

This role of staff developer is necessarily enormously complex because of the various definitions of teacher growth, the multitude of opinions about how to foster positive change, and the differing definitions of what positive change in teachers looks like. Understanding this role becomes even more complex when one considers the multidimensional aspects of the people--the staff developer and the teachers or administrators with whom he/she works and the kinds of relationships that exist and develop between these people; the context--the timing

and place, the personal knowledge about each others' background, history of previous interactions, etc.; and the kinds of problems that are faced in staff development--the infinite range of practical and substantive issues that teachers and staff developers confront.

Another source of complexity deals with the diversity of roles played by a staff developer. These roles are related to the various expectations and responsibilities of staff development. Each may require different approaches or emphases and certainly different theoretical perspectives and backgrounds of knowledge ranging from counseling to cognitive psychology to behaviorism. Finally, each requires much practical knowledge about curriculum, sources of information, classroom organization, and district policies. Gwynn (1961) summarized these multiple roles and expectations:

> Some authorities would make the supervisor a strictly professional official, highly trained to do a major administrative job. Another group would go far in the opposite direction, divorcing the supervisor from administrative duties and responsibilities; this action would result in a supervisor whose main responsibility is to help teachers meet their problems. A third group of educators would make the supervisor's position mainly that of a teacher of teachers, improving instruction through programs of in-service education. A fourth group, active and vocal, would center the emphasis around human relations; they would interpret the supervisor's responsibility as the effective use of group processes with teachers, pupils, and other school personnel. A fifth group regards supervision as a task including supervision and curriculum revision or curriculum rebuilding; in this dual role the supervisor has to add to the responsibility of helping teachers the allied responsibility of stimulating curriculum development (pp. 27-28).

Unfortunately, it is often the case that these multiple roles and duties of the staff developer are neither clarified nor specified at the time a staff developer is hired. This leaves the individual, the hiring agency, and the teachers with whom this staff developer works in a position of

constantly having to negotiate and prioritize what he/she is doing--administrating, helping teachers, teaching teachers, improving curriculum, etc.

The greatest frustration to staff developers, according to McDaniel (1981) is the contradictory expectations of teachers. This grows out of both the lack of clarification of a staff developer's priorities, the unrelenting demands upon the individual's use of time, and conflicting ideas about how he/she should carry out this role. McDaniel felt that this put the staff developer in a "no win" situation of dealing with these conflicting dilemmas because any decision could be challenged or questioned.

The Threat to Teachers

One common explanation of the cause of the problems of staff development relates to the face-threatening quality of any situation in which one person is expected to "help" or "change" another. The most commonly mentioned source of threat is in the evaluative function of staff developers. In some situations, this function is explicit because the staff developer makes recommendations about rating, promotion, tenure, and salary increases (Goldhammer, 1969). In other cases, this function is more implicit. Another source of anxiety deals with judgments' being made unilaterally and the degree to which teachers feel that they are valid (Withall and Wood, 1979). It was suggested that this source of anxiety could be alleviated if the teacher participated in identifying aims, procedures, and assessment processes (Weiner, 1974).

Social psychologists have spoken of the problem of resistance to change. Change is, of course, the intent of staff

development (Lewin, 1948). Change suggests a "better way" of doing things which puts questions on the "old way" and with it the teacher's dignity, professional standing, and self-confidence.

Another problem is the inequality of the relationship between staff developer and teacher. Carl Pickhardt (1981), a psychologist, makes the point that because staff developers are trying to help teachers, that alone puts them in a position of power. He says that it is a misconception to consider "help" an offering or gift. The staff developer is asked for help by the teacher because it is thought that the individual posses the understanding or knowledge needed. The greater the urgency of the problem, the greater the potency of the staff developer's power. He adds that while the staff developer has the power to give help, the teacher also has power to receive or refuse that help.

These problems offer potential explanations for the difficulties inherent in staff development. The next step is to look at the research that has been done and how it attempts to deal with these problems.

The Research on Staff Development

Overview

Because the "art" of staff development has generated such cynicism and was found to be both very complex and inherently threatening to teachers, many of the researchers who have focused on staff development, as opposed to supervision, have chosen to look at successful and preferred programs of staff development in order to gain more knowledge of what "good" staff development looked like. These will be summarized briefly as will those studies which have focused on supervisory

conferences which have been found to be the most frequently used and most effective practice with both preservice and inservice teachers (Nichlas, 1960; Bennis, 1964; Wilkinson, 1958; Bradley, 1966).

Effective and Preferred Staff Development Programs

Probably the most extensive study of staff development was the four-year, two-phased study done by the Rand Corporation beginning in 1975 which included extensive surveys of teachers and administrators as well as some observational field studies. The researchers initially looked at successful educational innovations in general, but also found that effective staff development had basic similarities to educational innovations in that (a) they both presented a variety of options, (b) had flexible program formats, (c) stressed individual and small group learning, and (d) were "concrete, ongoing, and teacher specific" (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978).

The Rand study found that effective staff development programs supported some precepts of learning theory such as (a) learners have different needs at different times, (b) the learners themselves must identify their own learning needs, (c) the learners must be willing to learn and needed incentives. It was found, however, that money had either insignificant or even negative effects as an incentive, but that staff support activities such as regular problem-solving project meetings in which teachers were actively involved in decision making or classroom acceptance by resource personnel were extremely important in enabling teachers to carry on successful programs (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978).

The Rand study also found that the most important concept behind effective staff development was the administrative and district

recognition of teachers as professionals and learners. This was found to be even more important than any of the specifics of the staff development program (McLaughlin, 1977).

Another study which generalized about successful programs was based on a comparison of 97 other studies or evaluation reports of in-service education (Lawrence, 1974). Findings similar to those of the Rand study were discovered. Lawrence found that programs with individualized activities were more likely to meet the objectives of teachers and staff developers than were programs involving large groups. Programs which emphasized demonstrations, trials, and feedback were found to be more effective than lectures. School-based programs in which teachers participated in planning, influenced complex kinds of behavior changes, such as attitudes and beliefs, more than did programs which were run by outsiders.

Some other studies based on interviews with teachers, administrators, and college faculty reported on the kinds of programs which were preferred by teachers and administrators. Over 1000 interviews were conducted by Joyce (1976) and his colleagues, and the resulting opinions and concerns again confirmed that teachers <u>preferred</u> to have more responsibility for program content and saw "timeliness" as the crucial determinant for content.

Johnston and Yeakey (1977) found in another survey that administrators and teachers differed in their ideas about preferred content and who should plan and conduct workshops. There were common themes across all of these studies on both effective and preferred programs of staff development that again emphasized the need for more teacher participation in staff development programs, more active participation in program

activities, and programs based on individualized needs. In a later study of trends in inservice teacher education programs (Cruickshank, Lorish, & Thompson, 1979), it was found that, indeed, the preferences and findings of effectiveness as determined by the Rand study, Lawrence, Joyce, and Johnston and Yeakey had been utilized in determining content, planning, and structure of inservice education.

Supervisory Conferences

Much of the research on the general area of staff development has been limited to studies of effective and preferred programs. Some of these deal with unique needs of special programs or local contexts, but almost all are based on survey research and reflect the primary findings stated previously: the need to give teachers the opportunity, support, and resources to make instructional innovations of their own (Esposito, 1981).

There has, however, been a great deal of research on supervision which deals specifically with student teachers and college-based supervisory staff. The difference, of course, is that experienced teachers have different needs and want to be treated as professionals, whereas student teachers still have the primary status of students and have a variety of expectations. The similarity is that supervisory work with preservice or inservice teachers has the basic goal of improving the quality of instruction primarily in the format of conferences and consultations. Some of the relevant work will be cited in order to show what is known about the work of supervisors and supervisory conferences that has implications for experienced teachers as well as beginners.

Most of the studies about what supervisors do typically use data acquired from questionnaires or direct observations (Mosher & Purpel, 1972). One of the most sophisticated studies in this area has been reported by Blumberg and Amidon (1965) who studied how teachers perceive the conference, the supervisor's behavior, and the apparent consequences. They asked 166 teachers to classify the frequency of their supervisors' direct or indirect behavior. They spoke of "direct" behavior as giving information or opinion, directions, and criticism, and of "indirect" behavior as accepting feelings and ideas, giving praise or encouragement, and asking questions to the teacher. The teachers were also asked to evaluate their supervisors on standards of "communicative freedom" and supportiveness, learning outcome, amount of supervisory talk, and general productivity in the conference.

The Blumberg and Amidon study concluded that (a) teachers tend to regard supervision conferences as more productive when they are primarily indirect (i.e., characterized by the eliciting and acceptance of the teacher's ideas and feelings and by positive reinforcement of the teacher); (b) when the supervisor uses a combination of both high direct and high indirect behavior, teachers learn more about themselves as teachers and as people; (c) if the supervisor is highly directive, freedom of communication is curtailed; and (d) teachers were most dissatisfied with supervisors who minimize or deemphasized indirect behavior (Blumberg, 1974).

Procedures for describing and analyzing conferences between supervisors and student teachers, interns, and experienced teachers have been developed by Blumberg and Amidon, Brown and Hoffman (1966), Heidelback (1967), and Weller (1969). The latter instrument is called

Multidimensional Observational System for the Analysis of Interactions in Clinical Supervision (M.O.S.A.I.C.S.) and is based on some of the earlier systems and is one of the most comprehensive. It provides objective data about the patterns of communications, the content of the conference, the logic of the discussion (e.g., definition, explanation, evaluation, justification, opinion, etc.), and procedural aspects of the conference. Data were gathered from tape recordings of conferences between clinical supervisors and interns in the Harvard-Newton Summer School. The goal of the clinical supervision program was to improve "instruction through systematic and continuing cycles of planning, observation, and intensive intellectual analysis and evaluation" (Weller, 1971, p. 135).

A preliminary study was done in the science department of the summer school to show the use and potentialities of the research instrument. Weller found through the use of this instrument that 93% of conference time involved the analysis of instruction and almost 100% focused on instruction, supervision, or subject matter with very little time spent in nonpertinent areas of discussion. The focus of the instruction was divided between methods and materials (37.3%), instructional interactions (35.9%), and objectives and content (20%). Two-thirds of the discussions in clinical supervision concentrated on the cognitive domain, and one-third was on the affective and social-disciplinary domain. These results tell more about the specific clinical supervision program used than they do about conferences in general, but these provide a basis of comparison. Weller concluded generally that

> ...clinical supervision in the science department of the Harvard-Newton Summer School is definitely not a one-sided affair in which the supervisor transmits information and advice to novice teachers. Rather it is an intense intellectual analysis and evaluation of complex instructional issues in which all participants are actively engaged (p. 186).

Blumberg and Cusick (1970) also used tape recordings of conferences between supervisors and teachers to study the nature of the interaction. They coded the interactions in 15 behavioral categories (support-inducing communications behavior; praise; accepts or uses teacher's ideas; asks for information; gives information; asks for opinions; asks for suggestions; gives opinions; gives suggestions; criticism; asks for information, opinions, or suggestions; gives information, opinions, or suggestions; positive social emotional behavior; negative social emotional behavior; and silence or confusion).

In the analysis of 50 recordings, they found that 45% of the conference time was used in supervisor-talk, 53% was teacher-talk, and 2% was silence or confusion. Supervisors gave information more than five times as often as they asked for it, and their behavior was direct one-third more often that it was indirect. They also found that supervisors asked opinions of teachers about one and one-half times more often than they gave them and that supervisors told teachers what to do seven times more often than they asked for the teachers' ideas. Blumberg and Cusick concluded that there were questions to be raised about the inadequate interpersonal skills and insights possessed by many supervisors, the level of training they received, and how selection of supervisory personnel was carried out.

These two examples about the content of supervisory conferences are part of a large body of research, but are among the few that investigate

actual conference behavior rather than participants' perceptions. While these two examples have been directed toward developing conceptual tools for analyzing verbal behavior, they tend to focus on treatment effects of different supervisory programs or approaches. They provide more substantive data on supervisory conferences than most other studies, but they still add little to our knowledge about the process of supervision or staff development as it is actually enacted in face-to-face interactions.

Limitations of the Current Research

What the Research Provides

Most of the studies reviewed concentrate on programs of inservice education and the techniques and strategies, etc., which have been found effective and are preferred by teachers. This knowledge has been particularly valuable for those people at the district or state level who are responsible for staff development. The knowledge that teachers want to be involved in planning inservice and prefer and learn more from individualized programs has indicated that staff development really has to occur at the building level rather than at the district or state level. It has also indicated that a good portion of staff development should occur in conferences between one staff developer and one or two teachers who have similar concerns or needs.

As a result of the research and the political, social, and economic trends in this country, teachers are not only asking for more direct control over their professional lives; they are demanding it. Fewer and fewer teachers are willing to allow administrators to unilaterally determine their needs, their salaries, or their working

conditions. Likewise, teachers are not willing to accept deficit models of inservice which make assumptions that they are deficient in certain skills or have inadequate knowledge, as determined by other people, but insist upon developmental models. Instead, they are asking for and demanding recognition of themselves as professionals who are willing and capable of determining their own needs and cooperating with administrators in fulfilling their needs.

The idea that teachers want efficacy in their careers implies that developmental models of inservice, based on assumptions that teachers can and will identify their own professional needs, will be the most effective in creating positive change. If such is the case, a great deal of inservice will likely take place in small group conferences. Then, it is thought that the outcome of the conference is dependent upon the effectiveness of the staff developer. It is commonly thought that the success of a conference depends upon the social-emotional climate created by the staff developer and that the ability to create this climate is made up of techniques and strategies of using praise, questioning, timing, etc., which a successful staff developer possesses (Kindsvatter & Wilen, 1981). The research has quantified different types of verbal behavior and has implied that some combinations are preferred or more effective, but has only stated which are most frequently used.

What the Research Doesn't Provide

At this point, there is very little research to guide the individual staff developer. He/She is left to depend upon intuition or very generalized statements about the importance of developing a "trust

relationship" or using praise especially if it is specific and is perceived as authentic (Kindsvatter & Wilen, 1981), or of letting the teachers give their own opinions and ideas (Blumberg & Cusick, 1970). The problem with these statements is that judgments might differ on such things as the patience of the staff developer as a listener or whether his/her questions encourage the teacher to reflect and analyze or whether a trust relationship has been established.

What the field of staff development doesn't know at this point in history is what actually happens when a staff developer and a teacher meet to solve problems. How did or didn't the staff developer create a comfortable, productive climate? How or when did he/she use praise or different questioning strategies, and how did they affect the working relationship between the teacher and the staff developer? The most sensitive and unanswerable questions deal with the face-threatening quality of staff development which is so prevalent in the literature. Did the teacher appear to be defensive? Did he/she become more or less defensive during the course of the interaction with the staff developer? What happened to affect this change? How did the teacher express or show defensive behavior? What did the staff developer do about it? How, in fact, did he/she recognize it?

These and many more questions may lead to an understanding of the dynamics of staff development. They focus on the process of intervention and, hopefully, will provide understanding of how or why staff developers affect the performance of teachers and influence the impact of the intervention. Answers to these questions may be able to lead to a better understanding of the complexity of staff development and why, in fact, it is so hard to accomplish effectively. Knowing <u>what</u> works in

general terms does not give specific information about why it works or how it works. Simple answers are not forthcoming. They will not tell us how to do it because staff development is not simple and neither are the processes that it involves. It is exceedingly complex; but until we have a better understanding of these complexities--what they are and how they function--we cannot really understand the function of staff development and its consequences. As stated by Fox (1981):

> Without a comparative increase in our empirically-based knowledge about the staff developer's role in the development of teachers, our understanding of how effective staff development is performed and why certain interventions are or are not effective will be incomplete, faulty, and unrealistic (p. 1).

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY

Introduction to the Study

Staff development, as a field designed to improve teaching practices, has proven to be an enigma for practitioners and researchers alike. The more that is learned about effective practices and preferred programs, the more elusive it has become to replicate those programs and practices in small group conferences, showing that the theory does not determine the practice in and of itself. Even when "effectiveness" can be recognized and scrutinized for common patterns, it still isn't understood how it became effective. The "ingredients" of successful staff development interactions such as warm climate, trusting atmosphere, active listening, etc., can be specified, but the "directions" for reproducing this combination is missing.

The goal of this study was to look at the process of staff development in order to understand how some staff development interventions were effective. The purpose was to develop a greater understanding of the working dynamics of the process, specifically that part which was enacted in conferences between teachers and a staff developer. The attempt was to study systematically how the participants in such a conference made sense of an outwardly complex and potentially ambiguous phenomenon and to learn when, if, or how the conference became an opportunity for the teachers to learn new skills or attitudes or to otherwise

change their teaching behavior. In trying to portray what actually happened when a staff developer met with teachers, and to discover how these participants collaborated on making sense of the situation and coordinated and synchronized their relative behavior, it was necessary to focus on the whole event of the staff development conference.

In order to study how the roles of the participants were enacted and to gain a complete picture of the event, it was necessary to try to unravel the various goals and perspectives of the participants and to describe the events as they saw them and, at the same time, to keep in mind all the goals, demands, and built-in conflicts of the individuals and their relationships to each other and to the overall system. Just as importantly, it was necessary to see how these goals and perspectives, demands, and conflicts interacted within each individual. This meant going beyond defining categories of behavior which were determined by outsiders in the situation or beyond the self-report data of what the various individuals said they were doing, thinking, or ought to be doing or thinking. It involved focusing on the interactional event of the staff development conference in order to describe how it unfolded and how the details or analytic categories functioned together to produce the event.

This chapter covers the study's motivating questions, the research methods, the theoretical framework, and analysis of the data.

The Questions

The Broad Questions

The study was based on three sets of questions in descending order of comprehensiveness. The first set included the broadest and most

gereral question which underlies the field of staff development: how can positive change in teachers be facilitated? Although it was not directly answerable within the scope of this study, it was maintained in order to preserve the broad perspective for this and other research. It represents the goal for the entire field.

The next two questions, also at the broadest and most comprehensive level, focused on the enactment of the role of the staff developer and how the job was accomplished. The second question asked how was the role of the staff developer enacted. Since we know that this or any role does not exist separately from other roles and contexts, it was necessary to frame the inquiry in terms of the negotiation of roles between the expertise, working style, goals, and personality of the staff developer and the needs, goals, and personality of the people with whom she worked. It was also necessary to consider the physical setting of the school and the confines or limitations it imposed. One aspect of the enactment of the staff developer's role dealt with the status and role of the various participants--how each conceptualized and made sense of his/her own status and role within the interaction and how they were negotiated during the course of the interaction.

The third broad-level question asked how can culture-sharing oeople make sense of each other in face-to-face interactions? What did various behaviors mean? How did others interpret and react to them? And how did these reactions shape the rest of the interaction? What enabled people, in general, to behave sensibly with others? What information was used in making interpretations about another's behavior and in predicting what was likely to occur next? People of any culture interact continuously with each other and carry out a very complicated series of

actions and reactions in very routine ways. How they do this remains a mystery to those both inside and outside the culture. They can do it, but they cannot explain how they do it. The series of behaviors that are repeated daily with infinite variation have been internalized to such an extent that they can't be explained easily or objectively. Outsiders may question the ritualized series of behaviors that they may see, but are not privy to the answers, while insiders may be able to locate the answers if they had the questions.

The Middle-Range Questions

The middle-range questions related to a specific staff developer in the multiple contexts of her work. The first question asked: how are interactions between the staff developer and her clients patterned? The second and third questions asked: how are these patterns of interactions sequenced? and how, when, and why do the patterns change? The primary attempt was to determine the order and logic of the interactions between this staff developer and teachers in order to see how the participants used this order to organize their behavior. Some of the specific questions in this category dealt with cues and strategies they used to determine the appropriate context and to direct or control it. How were these relationships established? How did these patterns, once established, affect the teaching and learning goals of the participants? The intent was that by locating and studying these patterns of behavior in a variety of cases involving a single staff developer, generalizations could be made to a broader class of relationships between teachers and those who try to help them.

The second set of questions fell in the middle-range of comprehensiveness. The answers to these questions were not based on directly

observable behavior, nor were they representative of grounded theory relating to staff development in general. This set of questions provided the conceptual linkage between what was observed and how it made sense. It dealt with the general patterns of interactions between one staff developer and the teachers with whom he/she interacted. In looking for these general patterns of the interactions, changes became the focus of attention: what changed, when it changed, and what seemed to precipitate or follow these changes. Also, identifying and locating a sequence of patterned behavior became an intermediate goal and a source of working hypotheses.

The Lower-Level Questions

The third set of questions dealt with the specifics of directly observable behavior. The attempt was systematically to gather information about how this specific individual operated with different teachers. What did she do and how did she do it? How did she spend her time? How did new teachers learn who she was and what she did in the school? What was her status in the school, both formally and informally? How did she develop her working strategies with different teachers? Why did many teachers describe her in similar ways when she appeared to work with them differently? Why was she called "effective"? What could we learn from a careful study of her behavior that might apply to staff development in general?

Conclusion

Although the three sets of questions went from the most comprehensive to the most specific, that did not imply that the researcher worked on one set at a time or in one direction only. The questions at the lowest

level led to understanding or answers at the middle level, but the broadest issues affected the questions that were asked and what was seen as salient at lower levels. Therefore, it was necessary to keep all three sets in focus and to work up and down the levels of questions in order to fit the answers together and draw conclusions about the general phenomenon of staff development. The multiple data sources provided answers to the lowest level of questions, but the cohesion of the final product came from weaving the multiple questions and answers together.

Ethnographic Research: Method and Rationale

The approach used to answer these questions was one that focused on interactional behavior in staff development conferences and its meaning as it occurred in its social context. In order to answer both the general and specific questions, it was necessary to maintain and consider the complexities of the interactions rather than to try to simplify and measure them. The ultimate aim was understanding of a multidimensional, complex phenomenon. The researcher's intent was to capture and examine the process of staff development in time and space with all of its dynamic qualities intact. Questions that generally ask "What is happening here?" or "What do these events mean to the people involved in them?" are called ethnographic because they depend on descriptions and analysis of naturally occurring events for answers.

An ethnography is an attempt to describe the procedures group members use to relate to each other in culturally sensible ways (Cicourel, 1974; Frake, 1974; Garfinkel, 1967). People use knowledge to generate and interpret social behavior, and this knowledge is learned and to

some extent shared between members of a culture (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972). In order for an ethnographer (or anthropologist) to answer "What's happening?" questions, he/she must go beyond objective description of the people and their behavior from an observer's viewpoint. He/She must attempt to discover the knowledge that the insiders must have in order to produce this behavior.

Ethnographic research can be said to strive to reveal "what everybody knows" (Davis, 1971) by capturing the participant's actual practice. Mehan (1979) states, "I see a major purpose of constitutive ethnography to be the presentation of information that the participants themselves already 'know' but may not have been able to articulate." This recognition by participants serves as an affirmation of the researcher's description because they are the knowledgeable members of a culture-sharing group. The hoped for results of ethnographic research is a description of events that uncovers and makes explicit the institution of the people being studied. Frake (1969) states:

> Ethnography...is a description which seeks to account for the behavior of a people by describing the socially acquired and shared knowledge of a culture that enables members of the society to behave in ways deemed appropriate among themselves....Accounting for socially meaningful behavior within a given society is not the sole aim of ethnography. By developing methods for the demonstrably successful description of messages, as manifestations of a code, one is further seeking to build a theory of codes--a theory of culture (p. 123).

This is the same whether it is linguistic knowledge being described (Chomsky, 1965; Hymes, 1974), cultural knowledge (Tyler, 1969), or, more simply, "commonplace" knowledge (Schutz, 1962; Garfinkel, 1967). In each case the goal is to make the implicit explicit and the invisible visible.

Ethnographic methods assume that people work at interpreting what is occurring and then attempt to respond in ways that they consider to be appropriate to the situation. They give cues to each other in their speech, body movements, and facial expressions and thus inform each other of what is going on and what is going to happen next (McDermott, 1976). This mutuality is another important assumption underlying ethnography that distinguishes it from other methodologies used to study social situations.

Ways of listening and speaking create impressions and reactions of the other person which, in turn, create further impressions and influence future reactions of the first speaker. In this way conversations are reflexive and jointly produced (Erickson & Shultz, in press). Actions, etc., are not seen as unidirectional; that is, one person acting on the other. Teachers don't teach by assuming that their students are passive receptacles to their personality, styles of teaching, attitudes, and practices. They orient their behavior, plan their lessons, and make predictions of how students might react by considering the needs, attitudes, and attributes of their students (Becker, Geer, & Hughes, 1968). Furthermore, students can mediate teachers' behaviors by how they participate or the degree to which they cooperate in class (Doyle, 1980). Likewise, staff developers do not deliver their skills and knowledge to teachers without considering and reacting to the needs and behavior of the teachers. The context is not a vacuum of activity or meaning, but a dynamic, ever-changing environment. How the context is created affects the learning that takes place, how it takes place, and if it takes place.

A final assumption of etnnography, particularly of microethnography or constitutive ethnography, is that the ways people express themselves in their talk and their action is not only available to their interactive partners in order to generate further behaviors, but also is available to the researcher. Although the participants in an event do not articulate the structure of their behavior, they must interpret the on-going behaviors of their co-participants in order to determine what is appropriate behavior. These same behaviors are also available to the ethnographer if he/she can gain access to the insider's tacit knowledge and point of view (Cooper, 1979).

An ethnographer can uncover and explore what the participants are doing and how they are making sense to each other by studying their linguistic and nonverbal behavior in the contexts in which they are occurring. There are some occasions when this is easier to do, especially if there have been some breaches in the formulated order so that the participants have to struggle to maintain order in their relationship, or if they have reached a transition in what they are doing (McDermott, 1977). Either of these situations are marked by changes in the type of activity going on and the way the participants orient to each other as they try to make unstated norms more explicit.

The Importance of Context

The importance of considering how the context affects behavior is implicit in the definition of ethnography, its goals, and assumptions. The term "context" is often used as a synonym for "environment," but within the ethnographic framework, it is defined more specifically.

In trying to understand how "context" influences behavior, it is important to look at all aspects of a context and how each is revealed

in the naturalistic setting. This includes first noting aspects of the immediate environment such as time, physical sense, location, participants who are present, etc. By carefully watching a group of people as they interact, it is also possible to determine the subject of their conversation, the activity in which they are engaged, the sequence of events. Physical setting, subject, and other aspects of the context are usually directly observable. Some aspects of the context are more difficult to determine since they involve looking for the meaning that the event has for the participants and, therefore, must be sought from their multiple perspectives.

Some aspects of the context are brought to the event by the participants as a result of their own personal histories and culture. This involves prior experiences in this setting or with these people and the learning and knowledge gained by being a member of a culture.

Other aspects of the context are constantly evolving and changing in the talk and actions of the participants. According to McDermott (1976), the people in the interaction become environments for each other. Together, they collaborate on their relationship to each other, their status and roles in the social system both outside the immediate environment and within the situation they are creating, and the purpose of their activities (Hall, 1976; Scheflen, 1974; Mehan, et al., 1976). As stated by Erickson and Shultz (1981):

> These interactionally constituted environments are embedded in time and can change from moment to moment. With each context change, the role relationships among participants are redistributed to produce differing configurations of concerted action....Mutual rights and obligations of interactants and redistribution into differing configurations of concerted action...or coherently cooccurring sets. These structures include ways of speaking, listening, getting the floor and holding it, and leading and following (p. 148).

A competent communicator can use several sources of information in order to determine the context and the appropriate behaviors within it. The situation itself provides the framework in which the participants interact and limits the scope of choices or decisions that they can make. For example, if a conference between a teacher and a staff developer takes place in an empty classroom and both participants have the expectation that the staff developer has come to help the teacher solve a particular problem, appropriate behavior would be considered to be any that "fit" those expectations and setting and would not consist of public or impersonal behavior nor of overly intimate behavior either. Knowing what behavior "fits" certain situations is learned through previous experiences and becomes part of the shared norms of the group. These become the "basic rules" (Cicourel, 1972) which set the minimal conditions for "correct" or "appropriate" behavior.

Talk and actions are orderly in one way and improvisational in another, yet they help the participants identify what is taking place (Hall, 1966; Birdwhistell, 1970; Erickson & Shultz, 1982). So while certain aspects of the interaction are influenced by cultural conventions and norms, the interaction is still "locally produced" (Erickson & Shultz, 1981) because the participants are making decisions and taking action in a particular moment (Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1973; Mehan & Wood, 1975). According to Erickson and Schultz (1981):

> The production is orderly and institutionalized, yet also creative and spontaneous. We assume here that people apply cultural principles in their social operating face to face, but that the practical application of these normative standards is not done by people in mechanical ways. That is why although we are now able to program computers to talk we are unable to build them to act as engaging conversationalists. People can do that, we argue, because they are able to make sense in the immediate circumstances of the "local" scene from moment to moment in real time.

> It is necessary to assume that the normative prescriptions for how to act in practical circumstances are inherently incomplete (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; McDermott, 1976; Gumperz, 1976). They do not provide conversational patterns with the specific knowledge that is necessary to accomplish conversation successfully. If one thinks of a conversation as role playing, it is as if the conversationalists must "fill in" what is left unspecified on their role cards. If one thinks of conversation as if it were musical performance, it is necessary for the conversationalists to play together "by ear" (Meyer, 1956; Sudnow, 1978, 1980) (pp. 8-9).

Summary

In order to try to gain a better understanding of how the process of staff development was actually enacted in conference with teachers, ethnographic theory and method were used in this study. The intent was to maintain and consider the complexities and dynamics of this process and to describe, uncover, and make explicit the participants' knowledge and multiple perspectives about what they were doing together.

There are two sets of hypotheses and related assumptions underlying the methodology. The first is the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis (Wilson, 1977) based on the theory that human behavior is influenced in complex ways by the context in which it occurs. The context involves the surface aspects of setting, subject, or activity and the less visible aspects such as prior experiences and cultural knowledge. It also involves relationships of the participants and the purpose of the interaction that are defined and agreed upon within the interaction. The second hypothesis is called qualitative-phenomonological (Wilson, 1977) and is based on the theory that human behavior has more meaning than its observable "facts" so that the researcher must attempt to uncover the meaning from the insider's and outsider's perspective. This again refers to the complexities of understanding the evolving and dynamic

nature of context and how the participants work at interpreting it and at behaving appropriately within it. A related assumption is that the researcher can analyze behavior in much the same way as the participants do, but in articulate and explicit ways, in order to uncover the tacit meaning and knowledge of the people.

Sarason (1971) gives three reasons why the ethnographic or ecological approach is not used more often in educational research. The first reason is that the roots of educational psychology lie in and have been dominated by the field of psychology with its focus on the individual and individual differences rather than on the interactions that take place between individuals in educational settings. The second reason that the ethnographic approach has been neglected is that "it appears to be dreary stuff," laborious and time-consuming, and that it "lacks the glamor that is ordinarily attributed to scientific investigation." The third reason for the neglect of this methodology is that it is extraordinarily difficult "to suspend one's values, one's conception of right and wrong, good and bad, and instead to describe what's 'out there'" (pp. 103-104).

In spite of the difficulties, the "lack of glamor," and the "laborious and time-consuming" aspects of doing ethnographic research, it was chosen for this study because of the nature of the questions and their focus on understand what is happening and/or why things happen the way they do in staff development. Because the attempt was to learn to understand and relate to staff development interventions as the actual participants did, it was necessary to try to gain their insiders' perspective with all of its dimensions and dynamics intact. More traditional educational research methods would not have allowed for either

the exploratory nature of either the questions or the focus of this study. The aim was to produce new understanding and knowledge about a very ambiguous and complex phenomenon, so it was necessary to withstand the "dreary stuff," withhold and suspend values and judgments, and simply describe the events, carefully and systematically, in order to reach these goals.

The Research Process

Introduction

The process of gathering and analyzing data in ethnographic research could have been described in this section in general terms--how it is usually done or, in specific terms, how this researcher did it, depending upon the purpose of the description. In this case it was decided to be specific about how data were gathered and analyzed in this study in order to illustrate more clearly how the processes reflected the general methodological assumptions and affected the building of theory and also to show how the data presented in the next chapter were gathered and what decisions were made along the way.

The choice of methodology used in this study as with other ethnographic studies was guided by the questions being asked and the underlying goal of trying to gain a better understanding of how participants in a specific kind of environment made sense of it and knew how to behave appropriately. The researcher's primary interests were to describe events as they were witnessed, record the participants' understandings as stated by them, and analyze and reveal their underlying meanings.

The major tool for data collection and analysis in this process was the researcher herself. She began the research process by entering the previously determined field, being sensitive to the way she established

her role so that it facilitated the collection of information and the open sharing of thoughts, information, and reactions by the participants. General approaches and suggestions for doing this have been outlined in the literature (Wilson, 1977; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Agar, 1980), but they are usually accompanied by the statement that there is no one right method to prescribe; instead the method must be matched to the particular study (Wilson, 1977). According to Schatzman and Strauss (1973), "method is seen by the field researcher as emerging from operations--from strategic decisions, instrumental actions, and analytic processes--which go on throughout the entire research enterprise."

> The field researcher is a methodological pragmatist. He sees any method of inquiry as a system of strategies and operations designed--at any time--for getting answers to certain questions about events which interest him. He understands that every method has built-in capabilities and limitations that are revealed in practice (through the techniques used, for giving purpose and with various results), evaluated in part against what could have been gained or learned by any other method or set of techniques. Also, he understands that a method of inquiry is adequate when its operations are logically consistent with the questions being asked; when it adapts to the special characteristic of the thing or event being examined; and when its operations provide information, evidence, and even simply perspective that bear upon the question being posed.
>
> As a methodological pragmatist, the field researcher concerns himself less with whether his techniques are "scientific" than with what specific operations might yield the most meaningful information (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, pp. 7-8).

Data Gathering

One staff developer was studied in the interactions she normally had with the teachers and administrators of two schools. The decision to work with only one key informant was made for two reasons: the first reason was purely practical; i.e., limited resources; and the second reason was methodological.

Since the goal of the study was to develop a better understanding of how staff development was enacted in conferences with teachers, breadth was sacrificed for depth. This is true in many ethnographic studies where the purpose is to study and understand certain processes of interaction. The whole category of people in particular positions such as staff development are not studied because the questions did not make it necessary. What was necessary was to look closely at how the position was enacted in its entire range of contexts. Thus, the scope of this or any ethnographic study must be increased to include all the details that account for differences which may turn out to be salient, and decreased to focus on a single case.

Data were collected from multiple sources in multiple ways over an extended period of tiem. In this case they were gathered over a seven month period. The data came from six sources and covered the five categories of relevant data to which Wilson (1977) referred:

1. Form and content of verbal interaction between participants
2. Form and content of verbal interaction with the researcher
3. Nonverbal behavior
4. Patterns of action and nonaction
5. Traces, archival records, artifacts, documents (p. 255)

Multiple sources of data were used to gather new kinds of information and also to cross-check results and tentative hypotheses. This process is called "triangulation " (Denzin, 1978) and is accomplished when two or more distinct methods were found to be congruent and yield comparable data (Jick, 1980). Triangulation enables the researcher to turn multiple sources of data into evidence when drawing inferences.

The essential task was learning what data would be necessary to answer both the original questions and those that emerged from the data

analysis, and then getting access to those data. The latter task consisted of making constant decisions about where to be at any particular time, what kinds of data to collect there, and with whom to talk. "Unlike prestructured research designs, the information that is gathered and the theories that emerge must be used to direct subsequent data collection" (Wilson, p. 256). So while the initial phase of this and other kinds of fieldwork consisted primarily of general observations, latter phases consisted of continually testing "either implicitly or explicitly--the relevance of a large number of hypotheses, hunches, guesses" (Strauss, et al., 1964) through more careful focus on specific events and through asking particular questions to key informants. According to Wilson (1977):

> Ethnographic inquiry is a systematic research process, just as are the quantitative approaches more familiar to educational researchers....Ethnographic researchers methodically plan the forms of data they will collect, the settings in which they will gather the data, the participants with whom they will interact, and the questions they will ask. They also try to be open to new information, but they do so in a calculated fashion, for example, by seeking out places that are likely to present this new information (p. 257).

Sources of data. The six sources of data used in this study included field notes (Appendix A); formal and informal interviews (Appendix A); videotapes of staff development conferences; audiotapes taken from the videotapes, from interviews, and from other kinds of interactions; questionnaires filled out by teachers (Appendix B); and written documents (Appendices C, D, E, F). Such a combination of sources is not unusual for an ethnographic study. However, videotaping is somewhat less commonly used than the others, but it made possible a more careful microanalysis of face-to-face interactions at the end of the

data-gathering phase. Each data source played a different function in the analysis, but all were included to some extent.

Field notes were taken throughout the seven months of data gathering as the researcher observed and participated in interactions between the staff developer and faculty members at two schools. The attempt was to provide a detailed chronicle of what she said, with whom she spoke, where and when interactions occurred, and how this particular individual spent her day. Since the individual who was "shadowed" led a very active day during which almost all activities involved other people, data collection became a relatively selective task. It was not physically possible to provide all the details, so a priority was given to conversational transcript. Other details were filled in later when the field notes were retyped.

Formal and information interviews occurred at times when the researcher was not shadowing the staff developer. Sometimes questions were asked to clear up ambiguities; other times perspectives and opinions were solicited; and other times interviews were open-ended where the staff developer, administrator, or teacher spoke of his/her professional life and development in more general, abstract ways.

Videotapes were made of various conferences between teachers and the staff developer. They were all made by a school technician, and the researcher was not always present. In each case, the teachers agreed ahead of time to be videotaped and were aware of the camera's presence. Teachers who might feel threatened by the presence of the recording equipment were not asked to participate; so, as a result, the videotapes are representative only of those teachers who felt confident about

themselves as teachers and did not necessarily feel that the admission of teaching concerns or problems was a personal reflection.

Audiotapes were made during various interactions and in most cases represented an attempt to cover different sorts of activities in which the staff developer participated. They were also made off the sound tracks of the videotapes for more careful analysis and transcriptions. Interactions which were taped and transcribed were available for analysis of what was being said as well as how it was being said, including aspects of speech style, voice pitch, tone and volume, speed of talking, and how and when these elements changed.

Questionnaires were sent to all teachers in the two schools. They asked for teachers to rate the effectiveness of the staff developer, in what categories she had been most helpful, frequency of interaction they had with her, and an explanation of why. There was also room left for more open-ended responses to these and other questions (Appendix B).

Written documents were gathered systematically. Many of these included bulletins which were available to all faculty members. These included copies of the staff developer's schedule, maps of the schools, lists of personnel, and forms to request meetings with this individual, etc. Others were of a more restricted nature and were copies of such things as the staff developer's summary and evaluation of her visit written for administrators, notes she sent to specific individuals, or notes received by the staff developer.

Data Analysis

The preliminary analysis began early in the data gathering phase as the researcher developed hunches or working hypotheses or new questions and problems, sought further evidence to support these hunches,

cross-checked them with other sources of data, and looked for disconfirming as well as confirming evidence before deciding to further develop that hunch or idea or to put it aside. For these reasons, it can be said that the analysis process in qualitative research is both simultaneous and continuous as well as self-corrective and cumulative in character (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973).

A more intense analysis occurred after leaving the field when the researcher could develop a more generalized perspective of the events and activities that were witnessed in the field. The researcher could now try to make comparisons of what was gained from the outsider's or "etic" perspective as well as the insider's or "emic" perspective (Sapir, 1925; Pike, 1967; Pelto, 1970) and further reflect on the staff developer's relationship to the scene and to the various participants and the teachers' relationships to the staff developer, the administrators, and also to each other, the students, and the parents of the students.

One of the more difficult steps in the ethnographic process for all researchers is knowing where to begin the more systematic, objective data analysis when there are so many data to consider. There are many options which range from going from the generalized perspective and trying to break it down into relevant categories, to beginning with one interaction, locating changes in behavior within that interaction, looking at the functions of each class of behavior, and then seeing if and how patterns located in specific cases hold up across the broad range of data. Theorists have used the term "frames" (Goffman, 1974; Frake, 1974; Erickson, 1971; Labov & Fanshel, 1977) to refer to the principles by which situations and experiences are organized from moment to moment.

Frame analysis is a way of defining figure-ground relationships by highlighting the salient features of an interaction. Frames may vary in their degree of organization, some of which

> ...are neatly presentable as a system of entities, postulates, and rules; others--indeed most others--appear to have no apparent articulated shape, providing only a lore of understanding, an approach, a perspective. Whatever the degree of organization, however, each primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms. [She] is likely to be unaware of such organized features as the framework has and unable to describe the framework with any completeness if asked, yet these handicaps are no bar to [her] easily and fully apply-it (Goffman, 1974, p. 21).

Labov and Fanshel (1977) have used the concept of "frames" to locate distinct linguistic forms that occurred within these segments during a psychotherapeutic session. Once the frames are defined and located within one interaction, they can be checked in other interactions of the same nature (e.g., psychotherapeutic, counseling, or staff development) to see if or how these frames vary. Erickson and Shultz (1981) located an invariable sequence of three conversational topics which occurred in a particular kind of counseling interview, then within each sequence they were able to locate variations which indicated particularistic influences on what outwardly appeared to be the same thing.

The present study was approached in a similar manner. Two videotapes showing one staff developer with different teachers reflected differences which were discernible, but not easy to explain. These two tapes became the central focus of the early analysis and were used in the final analysis to explain how these differences were enacted during the process of staff development and how they impacted upon the outcome of the two conferences. Later, these patterns of behavior or frames

were cross-checked with the other data sources to see if and to what degree they were reflected across cases. More importantly, it was decided that careful analysis of a few case studies of the staff developer's interactions accurately and adequately portrayed the complexities, ambiguities, and multiple dimensions of the staff developer's role.

Discourse analysis. The first analysis to be completed was of the discourse among the various participants. This was begun by making a transcription of the initial several minutes of the two interactions as they were recorded on video/audiotapes to see what differences would emerge. Care was taken to make these transcriptions as accurately as possible in order to show not only what was said, but also to show how it was said. Therefore, the transcriptions depicted how these people actually talked, including their pauses, false starts, hedges, interruptions, and overlapping speech.

This distinction is also referred to as the difference between the referential meaning (literal meaning) and the social meaning (the manner in which the information is communicated) (Erickson, 1976; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Hymes, 1964; Austin, 1962; Blom & Gumperz, 1972). So, while it is possible to say things differently and for them to have the same referential meaning, they may have different social meanings. An excellent example used by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) shows this.

> Can you shut the door
> Would you mind shutting the door
> I wonder if you could shut the door
> The door is still open
> The door (p. 28)

Each choice functions as a request to have the door shut whether it is made as a question or as a statement of fact, so the referential meaning

is the same. But the social meaning of each of the above choices is quite different and reflects different degrees of status and politeness.

Cazden (1974) refers to two basic dimensions of any interaction that further elucidate the discussion of different kinds of meanings existing in any statement or sequence of utterances. These are called "syntagmatic" which refers to the speakers' intentions within the events in which the participants are engaged as contrasted by "paradigmatic" which refers to the options selected by these participants to express their intents. Erickson and Shultz (1981) spoke of the great significance of how social meanings and social identities are manifested in communication through behavioral means of the speaker and through the inferential means by which they are interpreted by the listener. These interpretations may vary greatly so that it is possible that two people can come away from an interview with a very different notion of the other person, his/her intentions, and what really happened.

The initial discourse analysis of two staff development interactions raised many questions about what was going on and why. On the surface they both portrayed the event of a staff developer's trying to help classroom teachers with specific problems, but beneath the surface they had very different social meaning. Certain linguistic structures occurred more frequently in one interaction than the other, one involved almost equal numbers of turns while the other involved one person's doing most of the talking, questions were asked differently in each case, different pronouns were used, one involved more direct speech while the other showed a lot of indirect sentence structures, and turns were allotted differently. Within each interaction, there were also differences. When changes occurred, it became useful to look at the

interaction as a whole to see what was changing and how the changes reflected transitions from one frame to another.

Kinesic and paralinguistic analysis. Questions and hypotheses about what was going on, when changes were occurring within an interaction, and what the various frames signified were then analyzed at two other levels or channels of communication. These included the nonverbal accompaniments to speech such as movements, gaze direction, gestures and their rhythm and timing, and some paralinguistic features of the speech such as volume, pitch, speed, and some variations in voice quality or registers. Interpretations of these changes and their meanings were based on how they functioned and affected coparticipants.

Cross-checking. As it became more obvious that some very complicated maneuvering was occurring at the microanalytic level, the researcher began to look across other forms of data, notably the field notes, in order to do a more macroanalysis of why the participants in some of the interactions had to work so hard in some segments of the interaction but not others and why some interactions seemed to go so smoothly while others were asymmetrical and characterized by elaborate forms of politeness. At that point the larger context of the school, the teachers' stated goals, and their knowledge and experience with the staff developer were explored more deeply in a search for explanations of the differences. The larger body of literature on staff development, sociolinguistics, and dyadic interactions were also searched for possible explanations.

The Generation of Theory

This section of the report of methodology deals with a more general explanation of how theory is usually generated in ethnographic research. The theory that emerged from this particular study of a staff developer will be explicated in the next two chapters.

Theory, in ethnographic research, is not preconceived as it is in many other forms of educational research, nor is it generated by logical deduction based on a priori assumptions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Ethnographic researchers do not attempt to develop any broad-based conceptions of what they think will happen and why and then set out to design a way of testing the theory and underlying hypotheses. Instead of using that type of "top down" theory, ethnographic research depends on what is known as "grounded theory" (Glaser & Stauss) which begins at the bottom and works up and is grounded or based in the actual data. This type of "bottom up" theory begins with the data or evidence and works up through the discovery of conceptual categories. "The evidence is used to illustrate the concept that has been described" (Janesick, 1981, p. 21).

Mitzel (1977) has lamented over some of the unproductive findings of educational research over the last several decades and attributes this problem to an inadequate conception of causative factors. He suggested that a way of solving the problem and developing a "deep running viable theory" would be to "establish one that was consistent with the observable phenomena" (p. 16).

Grounded theory as described by Glaser and Struass (1971) is a method for discovering theory from data. According to Yinger (1978), "it allows one to begin the task of theory construction without the

flash of insight, the vivid imagery, or the inventive conceptualization needed for other methods" (p. 10).

The basic position of Glaser and Strauss is "that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses." They see "theory" as serving several interrelated purposes:

> (1) to enable prediction and explanation of behavior; (2) to be useful in theoretical advance in sociology; (3) to be usable in practical applications--prediction and explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of the situations; (4) to provide a perspective on behavior--a stance to be taken toward data; and (5) to guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of behavior (p. 3).

They further state that theory should "fit the situation being researched, and work when put to use." By this they mean that the categories which have been discovered should be the basis of the theory, so it is known that they are both relevant and explain the behavior which has been studied.

Wilson (1977) added that "the development of grounded theory is not haphazard" since "the researcher constantly tests his emerging hypotheses against the reality he is observing daily" (p. 260). Since emerging theory is constantly being tested with the real data, and negative or disconfirming evidence (Becker, 1961) is constantly being sought in order to test and refine theory, Glaser and Strauss (1971) refer to the method of generating grounded theory as a <u>constant comparative method</u>. "Hypotheses and constructs not only arise from the data but are systematically elaborated and refined in relation to the data as the research progresses" (Yinger, 1978, p. 11).

Glaser and Strauss argue that the traditional criteria for judging the usefulness of theory such as logical consistency, clarity,

parsimony, density, scope, and integration are not sufficient if no concern has been shown as to how the theory has been generated. They suggest that the quality of the theory cannot be judged independently from how it has been generated but that it is likely to be a better theory if it has been inductively developed consistently and systematically.

Yinger (1978), in his work on theory building, said that the theories which initially emerge from fieldwork will be rather limited in scope. They are not of a broad, general nature and will not give answers about teaching, staff development, or social interaction as broad categories. Instead, fieldwork will produce something like what Merton (1967) called "special theories," or Snow (1977) called "local theories" which are applicable to limited conceptual ranges. It is, however, through the integration and summarization of smaller, grounded theories that more general theories may emerge which are both descriptive and prescriptive.

According to Diesing (1971), the researcher's purpose is to develop more complex and detailed patterns of events which he calls "general theory" which are intended to apply to all types of interactions and do more than "simply classify them into types" (p. 203). He outlines four common characteristics of theories which emerge from case studies:

> (1) they are holistic; (2) they are concatenated rather than hierarchical (Kaplan, 1964, p. 298) and therefore involve little deduction and no mathematical or symbolic logic; (3) their concepts are empirical--close to ordinary experiences, and frequently include emotive and subjective elements; and (4) their concepts are frequently related dialectically (p. 203).

Diesing also suggests that general theory performs three functions: (a) it explains individual types and "how and why the various elements that

have been continually found together in actual cases belong together"; (b) it specifies causal, logical, structural-functional, etc., connections which makes the type a more reliable guide to classification and observation; and (c) "it explains a typology by ordering it in some fashion" (p. 226).

Summary of the Process

This section of the chapter on the study dealt with both ethnographic studies as a whole and this study as a specific example. The first and last subsections, data gathering and the generation of theory, were of a more general nature, while the middle subsection, data analysis, used the data gathered for this study as an example of how one researcher went about reducing and comparing data at both the micro- and the macroanalytic levels.

The data gathering process was both eclectic and pragmatic because many sources of data were used, some of which were rather structured (questionnaires and some of the interviews) and others of which were open-ended. It was pragmatic because any source of data which was potentially useful was collected. Some of the observation periods were very focused such as when specific questions or preliminary hypotheses were being cross-checked, and others were very open-ended and unstructured.

The data analysis process involved the description of key incidents in functionally relevant terms and then the placement of these key incidents into the wider social context of staff development. The key incidents were derived from what Malinowski (1922) called "imponderabilia" or the taken-for-granted parts of everyday life. In this case they were the two videotaped conferences which

were perplexing or imponderable, yet intuitively seemed important. It was felt that if these differences could be unraveled and systematically described, it would lend insight into some of the complexities of staff development. These key incidents were felt to be "of working theoretical salience" (Ogby, 1974) which potentially could "tie together the whole qualitative account" (Erickson, 1977).

These descriptions began by identifying and analyzing those aspects of language or behavior which served "to control or regulate the behavior of the participants in relation to the currently established patterns" of behavior (McDermott, et al., 1976). So it was necessary to locate regularities in behavior as well as changes. This approach was based on the assumption that there was an initimate relationship between forms of language that were used in discourse, the functions they serve in the interaction, and the social context in which they took place (Gumperz, 1971; Hymes, 1974; Philips, 1974; Erickson, 1975; Florio, 1976). It was also assumed that communicative behavior is learned as a part of a culture (Hall, 1959, 1966), is orderly, and yet is open to a great deal of variation (Byers & Byers, 1972; Scheflen, 1974). The specific variation chosen reveals the speaker's social meaning and is a performance of his/her social identity at any point in time (Gumperz, 1971).

Theory is generated through ethnographic descriptions and is an integral part of each stage of the research process. The theory is grounded in the data and serves to predict and explain behavior in ways which are both recognizable to the insiders yet which lead to an understanding of events, categories, and processes from which generalizable statements about certain aspects of human behavior can be made.

The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study involves several models and concepts from the literature. Their relevancy and applicability were apparent in the early stages of analysis and, in turn, helped the final stages and the generation of theory.

One way of looking at staff development and its inherent difficulties is systematically to study how the roles of staff developer and the teachers with whom he/she works are negotiated in face-to-face interaction. The focus is the actual process--where, when, how staff development conferences are enacted. Who asks the questions; how are they asked; and who gives the answers and how? What is said and how is it said? How does all of this make up the context of the interaction and how then does the context affect the staff development conference? What do the members of this interactional event need to do in order to define a problem and then find a solution to it?

Status and Role

The process of defining a situation and making sense of it involves the negotiation of relationships of the participants. They have to know who the other person is and his/her status in order to know how to interact. Some social positions (such as that of judge, teacher, physician, etc.) are institutionalized. These are known as statuses because they carry meaning about certain norms and expectations for behavior as well as some formal properties, such as rights, duties, privileges, powers, liabilities, and immunities (Goodenough, 1969). How the person actually performs and carries out these requirements of status are known as roles (Davis, 1949). So while "status" is institutionalized, "roles" are

continually negotiated during the course of any interaction and are open to change. For example, the status of "teacher" carries with it the rights to give directives, the power to give or withhold rewards, the duty to provide instruction, and the privilege of determining or changing the order of events. These rights and obligations would, of course, change if the teacher were interacting with a colleague, parents, or superordinates such as principal, supervisor, or superintendent. The role of teacher, on the other hand, is open to individual negotiation and is, in part, created differently across interactions.

According to Cicourel (1972):

> The term "status" suggests stable meanings about "position" vis-a-vis others in some network of social relationships. There is an implied consensus about the rights and obligations of actors occupying some commonly known and accepted "status" (p. 246).

Statuses are relatively static because they are governed by strict social and/or organizational rules in which rights and obligations of each of the participants remain exactly the same throughout the encounter and from one encounter to another (Shultz, 1975). These governing "rules" have been developed over time and through the consensus of a group of culture-sharing people. These usually involve non-reciprocal amounts of power. For example, when a "teacher" interacts with a "student," there are non-reciprocal amounts of power. Students learn as a part of their early socialization experiences (Mead, 1934) how to interact with people who are in the formal status of "teacher."

The role of teacher, on the other hand, can be carried out in a broad variety of ways. Not only do individual teachers have preferred and stylistic ways of carrying out their roles, but also these roles are negotiated on the basis of their moods at the time, who they are

interacting with, what is being done, and many other features of the context. As situations change, so does the way roles are enacted (Goffman, 1961), and these changes are realized in various linguistic and kinesic features such as when a teacher decides to give orders in an authoritative way ("Close the door!") or as a request ("Would you mind closing the door?"). This role-making process is open to individual interpretation within the social situation and is socially produced and jointly negotiated, implying that people have options available to them and can determine consciously how these relationships are to be carried out (Cicourel, 1972). According to Goffman, as related in Cicourel (1972), "The critical feature of the concept of role lies in its construction by the actors over the course of an interaction" (p. 243). Negotiations over time cause the relationship to be in a constant state of flux so that rights and obligations are also continually shifting (Goffman, 1959). So, although the teacher is still the teacher and the student is still the student in their formal characteristics, the latitude of their relationship and the ways they are able to interact varies. Gumperz (1976) hypothesizes that the way this is done in moment-to-moment decisions made by participants. Each participant makes judgments about what is being said and how it is being said, based on verbal and kinesic behaviors that function as "cues" to context. He states:

> ...at the start of any one verbal encounter, a speaker, building on his background knowledge, makes a semantic judgment about what activities can normally be enacted. Once talk begins, this judgment is then either confirmed and sharpened or altered by assessing discourse topic and nonverbal cues... (p. 281).

Gumperz calls these "contextualization cues" which are learned as a result of experience in a particular culture.

Defining the Situation

People decide which status is appropriate for themselves at any given time by making judgments about the setting, the situation, or the occasion. According to Shultz (1976), it is the primary task to be undertaken at the beginning of an encounter in which two or more individuals are going to be engaged in face-to-face interaction. Basically, this involves determining who the other person is and what his/her relationship is to those present. Since people have more than one status, the one they choose to enact is dependent on their perceptions of the situation. According to Goffman (1959),

> ...an individual communicates which status from his total repetoire of statuses will be relevant to the given situation by overcommunicating those statuses, and undercommunicating those statuses which are not relevant (p. 141).

For example, if a single individual holds the multiple statuses of parent, history teacher, community leader, and coach and meets another individual downtown who also holds some of the same statuses, they must cooperatively determine if they are going to exchange friendly greetings, hold a parent conference, discuss game strategy, or some other item of business.

Barth (1972) describes this process of defining the situation as follows:

> When we come into each other's presence we do so in a physical environment--one which we perceive selectively and classify culturally as a potential scene for certain, and only certain, kinds of activities. We add to these constraints, or modify them, by communicating with each other as to who we are and what we intend to do, and thereby we arrive at an agreed definition of the situation, which implies which status out of our total repetoire we shall regard as relevant and to what use we shall put it. The agreement will be workable only if all participants have a status in their repetoire which articulates with those of the others and are willing to act in this capacity. A definition of the situation thus implies

> the mobilization, as relevant and acceptable, of a set of articulating statuses. Through such understandings, social statuses are mobilized and activity ordered in the manner we can describe as social organization (p. 209).

Culture-Shared Knowledge

Fortunately for all of us, our culture defines certain roles and interrelationships that are appropriate in a particular setting and thus limits the universe of possible relationships. Our social norms prescribe relationships and competent or appropriate behavior. For example, a chance meeting between two individuals on the streets of downtown may not be the appropriate setting for the teacher to tell the parent that his child is having difficulty in history class. Any particular social order is achieved interactionally and involves an effort on everyone's part of make sense in common with the people around them. This is accomplished through a variety of visible and audible signals, some of which are intentional and some of which occur less consciously as a result of our learned social competency within the culture.

Although cultural learning greatly simplifies human interactions and allows much of what people do to occur unconsciously, there are still certain decisions to be made every time one person engages in an interaction with another. Argyle (1969) defines three "problems" of interaction: (a) predicting the other's behavior; (b) selecting an appropriate interactional style from one's repetoire; and (c) getting information from the other's reactions to modify behavior when necessary based on perceptions and evaluations of the other's attitude, emotional state, degree of understanding, etc. These three "problems" are solved by conveying the necessary information through the microevents of an encounter, such as bodily contact, proximity, orientation, gestures,

facial expressions, eye-movements, and the verbal and nonverbal aspects of speech. These microevents or cues are not overtly verbalized and wouldn't appear on transcripts of conversations, but are learned indirectly through regular and direct associations. Gumperz (1976) attributes this learning to shared backgrounds, similar past communicative experiences, and shared values. He adds that successful communication is a function of shared understandings or presuppositions which govern a participant's interpretations of what he/she sees or hears. A speaker may use cues such as voice quality, specific kinds of pronunciation, use of dialect or technical terms, speech rhythm, speed, or nonverbal signals to indicate how he/she wishes his/her words to be interpreted. There are also other things that constrain interpretations of appropriateness but do not necessarily determine them such as a particular physical setting, personal knowledge of the other's background, the history of previous interactions with this individual, social expectations, as well as decisions about each other's status which are implied by the activity.

Argyle (1969) expands on how interpretations or definitions of the situation are reached and how the interactional "problems" are solved by stating that they have to be "coordinated, synchronized, and meshed" early in the interaction. First, he says, the participants must decide upon "the game being played" and topics of conversation. Then they must agree on which status out of their total repetoire they will use, which in turn provides information about degrees of intimacy which are to be allowed and which person is dominant. Determining dominancy, then, provides information on who is to be entitled to the most deference, allowed to talk the most, make many of the decisions regarding

the pace or rhythm of the conversation and also when to make shifts in topic, etc. Then the participants need to consider timing of speech and turn-taking. Through a variety of verbal and nonverbal cues, people of a shared culture have learned how to signal whose turn it is to speak and when the other person wants a turn. In some situations people may compete for turns in which case they might use more forceful ways of claiming attention or putting pressure on the other to respond (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

Dynamic Dimensions

Participants in a conversation also have some unconscious knowledge about appropriate sequences of beahvior, so that after initial definitions and understandings of a situation are reached, the interaction becomes more synchronized.* Synchronized behavior is exemplified by a smoothness of interaction--when participants seem to know such things as if the appropriate response of a question is answer or a physical action by determining if the question is functioning as a real question or as a command. There are also a wide variety of appropriate nonverbal responses which signal such things as active or attentive listening behavior such as head nodding and other small movement of eyes, hands, and mouth.

Of course, topics, emotional tone, timing, and even dimensions of the status and role change during the conversation because agreements are continually and actively negotiated throughout an interaction. There is not one set of agreements made at the beginning of a

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*This is not always the case, however, because one of the participants may also choose to renegotiate the situation.

conversation which hold or are in any way binding throughout that conversation. There are many consensual agreements, each of which may be confirmed or altered. As long as there is a synchronization of these agreements, the interaction can proceed smoothly; but if there are differing understandings about expected performance and role-relationships, then all participants must work together using a different set of verbal and nonverbal behaviors to repair the differences and reach a new consensus (Erickson & Shultz, 1976).

A Working Consensus

Few shared definitions or "working agreements" are necessary for the simplest, most straight-forward kind of work to go on between a staff developer and a teacher, such as giving answers related to some piece of knowledge that one person has that the other doesn't (e.g., what kind of English program is being used in another school). However, questions that get at the heart of the teacher's profession (e.g., how am I doing as a teacher? or asking for suggestions about ways to handle a particularly annoying behavior management problem) are dependent on well-understood, coordinated definitions, agreements, or consensuses.

McDermott (1977) refers to the quality of a relationship that allows or encourages the handling of such "touchy issues" as a "trusting relationship" and calls it a subset of a working agreement. He defines this as a "quality of the relations among people and a product of the work they do to achieve a shared focus." He cautions that this is very different from the quality of "basic trust" referred to in developmental literature which is a property of a person's personality

which can be used in all situations. McDermɔtt says "trust is not a property of persons but a product of the work people do to achieve trusting relations, given particular institutional contexts." In the classroom,

> ...these issues translate into how the teacher and children can understand each other's behavior as directed to the best interests of what they are trying to do together and how they can hold each other accountable for any breach of the formulated consensus" (p. 199).

The outcome of trusting relationships between teachers and children is that learning can occur. When teachers and staff developers have enough resources to establish a trusting, then the participants have "sufficient energy to devote themselves to the intellectual tasks set before them," and without it "learning can only result from solitary effort" (p. 199).

Various combinations of verbal and postural signals communicate to others what is going on and what is likely to happen next. Voice quality, use of specific vocabulary forms, and spatial relations between people are some of the ways speakers signal these various meanings. According to McDermott (1976), social interaction is

> ...a delicate balance of members knowing approximately what to do, doing it, carefully monitoring how everyone else is doing it, and holding each other as close as possible to the "working consensus" achieved by simultaneous attention to the task at hand. Thus, it is possible for all members to respond simultaneously to numerous cues. The attentional and postural balance is always dynamic. Members are constantly moving in and out of the postural configuration shared by others in their group. And members constantly are being called in or pushed out of that configuration (p. 25).

An Analytical Model

Brown and Levinson (1978) presented a sociolinguistic model which was based on contrasting politeness phenomena and their relationship to

the possible threatening nature of the act in which people were engaged. They noted that many forms of language people commonly used are very inefficient and that there were easier ways to express similar ideas or thoughts. They tied the use of what would appear to be irrational linguistic forms to how threatening an act might be to one of the participants. Brown and Levinson said:

> We believe that patterns of message construction, or "ways of putting things," or simply language usage, are part of the very stuff that social relationships are made of... Discovering the principles of language usage may be largely coincident with discovering the principles out of which social relationships, in their interactional aspect, are constructed: dimensions by which individuals manage to relate to others in particular ways. But what we present here is the tool, rather than its sociological application. It is a tool for describing...the quality of social relationships (p. 60).

The face-threatening nature of staff development was a common theme in teacher interviews and in the literature on staff development, so Brown and Levinson's model was very relevant. This model was also used by Cazden (1979) as it applied to the variations of register in "teacher talk" and the educational significance of that variation by Orban (1981) as it applied to instructional development conferences with college instructors.

Brown and Levinson's (1978) assumptions have been summarized as follows:

1. Actors act rationally, though not necessarily consciously, and construct verbal strategies to achieve certain ends.

2. These ends almost always include both conveying certain information and doing so in a way that will minimize "face-threatening acts" to their addresses and to themselves.

3. "Face" has two aspects, either or both of which can be threatened by a particular act: negative face is a

person's claim to freedom from interference and constraint; positive face is a person's claim to be appreciated by others.

4. Rational actors will usually not do face-threatening acts badly or without some sort of redressive action or forms of compensation. The choices are to go "off-record" or to use positive or negative politeness styles. Positive politeness phenomena are exaggerations of normal behavior among intimates and rely on the use of intimate language. Negative politeness phenomena are used for social-distancing and minimize the face-threatening quality of an act through expressions of deference and respect. Off-record strategies are attempts to make meanings deliberately ambiguous and therefore negotiable.

5. The seriousness of any face-threatening act is dependent upon the participants' assessment of their social distance and relative power.

6. The perceived seriousness of a face-threatening act will determine the selection of a particular redressive strategy. To do an act badly, without redressive action, implies overwhelming urgency, minimal threat, or vastly superior power on the part of the speaker.

The model and the examples given by Brown and Levinson shed light on why interactions between the staff developer and some of the teachers seemed so complicated while others were relatively straight-forward. It was particularly helpful in giving further insight on concepts of status and role were played out and developed lingusitically in face-to-face interactions. It also helped the researcher locate more precisely where things were changing within an interaction. Pronominal shifts, change in questioning strategies or directness, variation in the frequency of particular linguistic turn-taking and listening strategies were all indicators of change and were often very similar to some of the examples given by Brown and Levinson.

Summary of the Study

It has been said that staff development is complex and multidimensional because there is ambiguity about the status a staff developer may hold. The staff developer's status does not have either the advantages or disadvantages of culturally-shared norms similar to those of a teacher, doctor, or judge. All of the roles the staff developer might play, the contradictory expectation teachers might have, the differing definitions and goals of staff development encounters make staff development unpredictable. This may add to an already inherently threatening situation in which the teacher is required to articulate his/her problems and needs. How then do the teachers and staff developers decide which roles to play, what to expect, and how directive, evaluative, or defensive to be? When do they make these decisions? How are "warm climates" and "trusting atmospheres" produced? Most basically, how do the teacher and staff developer know how to behave when they come together?

It was said that certain statuses have been institutionalized by societal and/or organization rules resulting in normative rules of behavior, such as those statuses of teacher and student or doctor and patient, etc. In the case where a staff developer can play the roles of an evaluator, a facilitator, an advisor, or helper such norms do not exist, and ambiguity about how to behave and how to treat the other person results. Neither the staff developer nor the teacher can know who the other person is to them ahead of time without some previous knowledge or interactional work.

There is no clear set of right and obligations because of the broad range of interpretations available for people in the status or

role of staff developer and teacher. Therefore, teachers and staff developers must somehow coordinate and synchronize their relationship to each other based on what they perceive to be the purpose of their interaction. If they believe that the purpose of their meeting is to have a good time, to get some information, to solve a problem, or to pass judgment, then their relationships and incumbent behavior would be prescribed accordingly. They would then have some indications of who should open the meeting, who should prepare an agenda ahead of time, who should do the most talking, or who should make the decisions about when or if to change the topics of conversation. They would also have some indications as to who should be deferred to and what would be appropriate behavior.

It is true that the inherent purpose of staff development is for one person to promote positive change in the other person, but this can be done in a number of ways (giving/getting information, passing/receiving judgments or evaluations, solving problems, etc.). Each of these ways varies in potentially how threatening it will be for the teacher and how defensive he/she will have to be. Since defensive behavior can inhibit or prevent the staff developer from making meaningful changes in the teacher, then the staff developer must attend to and try to prevent the problem and thus preserve the "face" of the teacher.

Some of the definitions of the purpose of the interaction and the relative status and role-relationships of the participants are reached prior to the interactions and are a result of previous experiences and informaton about who the staff developer is, what he/she does (official job description), how he/she might be helpful to the teacher, his/her areas of expertise or strength, and the relative power or status

this person holds in relationships to others both in the formal and informal hierarchies of the school or district. Other definitions are worked out or modified during the course of the interaction.

The degree to which the participants of an interaction can reach common agreements about the purpose of their meeting and their relative positions in social space determines when and to what degree a working consensus has been reached. This, in turn, affects the opportunity for the staff developer to teach and for the teacher to learn. How this is done is the subject of this study.

CHAPTER III

THREE CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the schools in which the study took place, the staff developer, the school community, and the conditions and constraints of the role. The purpose of this is to present the reader with a broad picture of the context of the school, its unique features as an international school, and how this context affected the staff development program. The data which follow are based on three different case studies of the staff developer's interactions with various members of the school community. These three cases represent a range of ways in which this role was enacted and show how the various participants negotiated and collaborated on the staff development event.

The Setting

The Staff Developer

This particular individual was selected because she had the reputation of being effective as a staff developer. Teachers who worked with her described her as having good ideas on management and on increasing the teacher's efficiency, being able to identify and solve problems and provide concrete and workable suggestions, and as being very direct in the way she gave advice (based on questionnaire data--

see Appendix B). Her name was Betina Leslie, but she was called Betty by her friends and those colleagues who had a social relationship with her.

Behind these descriptions of Betty as effective and direct was an implicit understanding that what allowed her to be so direct and to express her insight and opinions so straightforwardly was the sense of self-confidence and assurance she projected. She had a charisma which often aroused a great deal of enthusiasm in the way she was described by teachers and administrators alike. It was this charisma which made her unique among the people and personalities with whom she worked and associated.

Betty described herself as an organizer and decision-maker and said that being raised as an only child and as "a rugged individualist" encouraged her to become that way. Her parents had given her important responsibilities when she was quite young, had shown respect for her opinions, and had expected her to make her own decisions and take full responsibility for them. Her earliest formal experience in teaching organization skills to others occurred one summer when she was in college and trained summer playground leaders. She planned their orientation and gave them information on how to plan a day, keep track of equipment, and deal with misbehavior (Interview, 3/2/79). These facts about Betty's life and career provide the context for her own description of how she got to be the way she was and how she defined and developed her position as a staff developer in international schools.

She began her teaching career in Ohio, then moved to California and taught there after she got married and her first child was born. Then

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*a pseudonym

she moved to Southeast Asia in 1963 where her husband was working in one of the capital cities there and became involved in the beginning stages of organizing an international school which was being set up to serve the children of the growing English-speaking community. At that point the school lacked trained teachers, so Betty trained English-speaking professionals to teach and, at the same time, taught one class herself and occasionally acted as interim principal.

After living in Asia for three years, her family returned to Ohio where her second child was born. She began work on her graduate degree in Master Teaching and Supervision and finished it at American University while her husband worked in Washington, D. C. She became involved in team teaching in Reston, Virginia, where she served as a teacher, team leader, administrative trainee, and assistant principal who recruited and oriented new teachers. She went to a six-week summer workshop with her team to learn more about the processes of team teaching. She disagreed with the workshop leaders on the kind of support they gave teachers and made specific suggestions to these leaders on how to help teachers. They appreciated her suggestions and asked her to join the team of workshop leaders and give the workshop to administrators.

She moved back to another capital city in Southeast Asia in 1971 with her family. There she was asked by the Office of Overseas Schools in Washington and the administrators of four international schools in the region (including the school in which she had formerly worked) to help introduce and train teachers in the processes of team teaching (Interview, 3/2/79). To do this she spent about two weeks a month traveling to these various international schools for a week at a time to consult with administrators and teachers. The rest of her time

approximately two weeks per month) was spent doing a variety of staff development and administrative tasks at the American school in the Asian city where she and her family lived. During the summers, she organized and ran two-week workshops on the processes of team teaching such as goal setting, decision-making, continuous progress, and self improvement which were components of a program for training teachers to work with a model of school organization and management called Individually Guided Education (IGE). Over time, her role enlarged to one in which she consulted with all teachers who wanted help on specific issues related to their jobs and worked extensively with principals on issues of organization, management, program evaluation as well as general problem-solving. She remained in this role until 1980 when she became a full-time administrator at the American school in which she had worked part-time over the past nine years.

Data for this study were collected informally during five years of working with Betty. In addition, data were collected systematically during two weeks of observation and informal interviewing at a workshop and during eight months of observation; formal and informal interviewing of Betty, teachers, and administrators; audio- and videotaping of her interactions; and collection of relevant memos, notes, and other materials. These all were done at two campuses of the international school at which the researcher was a faculty member.

The Research Site

This international school, like other international schools, was designed to serve the children of diplomats, personnel of other international agencies, and executives and managers of international businesses. It was the major school in the country in which English was

the language of instruction. The curriculum, the administrators, and most of the teachers were American. Prior to the year this study took place, the school was sponsored primarily by the four largest embassies in this city, those of the United States, Canada, Australia, and Yugoslavia. But because the student population consisted of more children of business personnel than of diplomats, the government of the country insisted that the school change its charter and give up its diplomatic status and privileges.

The student population was approximately 1500 in grades kindergarten through twelve during the year the study was conducted. There were two physical sites: one was on the edge of a rather exclusive residential area and housed grades kindergarten through four. There were 20 teachers, a librarian, a part-time reading consultant, and a principal at this site and slightly under 400 students. The other, and newer, site was further away from the business districts in a much newer section of town. It consisted of two schools with some shared facilities. The high school consisted of grades seven through twelve with an administrative staff of a principal, vice-principal, and several counselors. The elementary school had a principal, a librarian, and a part-time reading consultant, and 33 teachers who taught grades kindergarten through six. There was one superintendent and business manager who served all three schools. Although Betty divided her time between three schools, this study was limited to her work with the two elementary schools.

The smaller and older elementary school had been built around a central courtyard which was dominated by a huge tree. The classrooms were on three sides of the courtyard, and the administrative office,

supply room, and library were on the other side. One side of classrooms continued beyond the office complex and ran alongside the playing field in the back of the offices. The school had recently been remodeled so that there were two team rooms, one for two teachers and the other for three, and so that all classrooms and offices were air conditioned and carpeted.

The newer facility was made up of seven separate or semi-detached buildings called "modules." Each was in the shape of a hexagon and consisted of six classrooms with semi-permanent or sliding walls between them and had a central area most frequently used for storage. The modules were made of brick covered with flat green stones. The surrounding woodwork was painted differently on each module, so that the modules were referred to by their colors. One module contained the administrative office, supply room, and staff room. The library was next to the high school library in another and larger module. Five of the modules were built around a large, grassy area dominated by a large fish pond, and two were across the access road. Each room was air conditioned and carpeted, and the modules were surrounded by broad covered walkways. There was a large covered area between two of the modules which was used on rainy days and for assemblies and three large playing fields on the side of the complex, two of which were shared with the high school. In addition there was a gymnasium and a theatre used occasionally by the elementary school, but more often by the high school. There was also a swimming pool which served all students of this international school. The campuses were beautifully landscaped in trees and flowers common to Indonesia, including a variety of palms, flowering trees and bushes, and a few orchids. The buildings and

grounds were also excellently maintained by a large staff of indiginous personnel. The buildings were well furnished and had an abundant supply of curriculum materials, books, and supplies (see maps in Appendix C).

The school operated as a private school, meaning that the majority of the funding came from the parents of the students. There were actually two separate funds, a building fund and an operating fund. The building fund was paid once for each student and was good for a period of twenty years. The operating fund, or tuition, was paid yearly. In most cases it was the embassies, businesses, or agencies for whom the parents worked that paid these fees and was usually an integral part of the parent's contract. The parents were all members of the Parent Association which maintained four seats on the governing council. They were also actively in support of school programs and raised money through an annual school carnival which regularly cleared over $10,000 in one afternoon of sales and activities.

The Student Body

The student body was primarily English-speaking but represented over 40 nationalities. There was always a contingent of students who were non-English-speaking when they arrived and were provided with lessons in English as a foreign language. Approximately half of the student body was American, and the next sizable group was Australian. Citizens of the host country were not permitted to attend the school due to regulations of their government. The students were from well-educated middle- or upper-middle class homes. As such, they represented a very elite group in the country. All of the students were

experienced travelers, and many had lived in at least two other countries prior to moving to this one. Because many of their parents were employed on two- or three-year contracts, there was a high mobility rate among students (an average turnover of approximately 30% annually).

The Faculty

The teachers were primarily American and the majority had Master's degrees. Their mobility rate was slightly lower than that of the students (at approximately 20% most years). According to the formal structure of the school, the faculty fell into three categories: overseas-hired, local-hired, or local nationals. The overseas-hired teachers were recruited from the United States, usually by the superintendent, and included all of the school administrators. With a few exceptions, the overseas-hired faculty were married to other faculty members in the same category. Although salary for all expatriates was the same, the teachers in the overseas-hired category received substantial additional benefits such as free housing and utilities, local transportation, transportation to the country and round-trip tickets to the United States every other year, medical and emergency care, some embassy privileges such as use of the commissary and recreation club, and the use of a cabin in the nearby mountains for private use on a rotating basis. All of the administrators plus 24 of the elementary teachers were members of this category.

Local-hired teachers were primarily the wives of diplomats or businessmen and received only a salary and their contributions to a retirement fund. There was, however, a subcategory of people who were considered to be "heads of households" and, as such, received some

dditional benefits such as the payment of school fees for their children, a housing allowance, and help in obtaining visas and permits to remain in the country. There were 25 elementary teachers in this category, 14 of whom were American, five British, two Australian, and one Filipino, New Zealander, French, and Sri Lankan.

There were seven host-country nationals on the teaching staff who were paid on a separate scale of salaries and benefits. Their salaries were far above those of most host-country teachers, but below those of the expatriate teachers at the school. All were women, and four taught primary grades, two taught courses in the local language which all students above grade four were required to take, and one was a librarian. They all were fluent in English and had taken courses from American universities through overseas programs.

The School Community

This combination of facts about the faculty and their working conditions had implications on the dynamics of the school and the way Betty, the staff developer, could enact her job. In each elementary school, there were both formal and informal models of cooperation and working together.

The formal network. The formal model had been outlined by the administrative staff and developed with Betty and the teachers. It had been in operation for five years. In both schools there were some classrooms which operated on a model known as IGE. These consisted of teams of two to four teachers who shared the responsibility of groups of students in two grades. The teachers teamed or worked together in a variety of ways which evolved from their training, their own

conceptions of what team-teaching could or should be, as well as their own inclinations to experiment with new ideas. Teachers who were not assigned to team with another teacher (or teachers) or did not choose to were in self-contained classrooms, meaning one teacher who was responsible for one group of students at a single-grade level. Students were assigned to either IGE or self-contained classrooms on the basis of their parents' decisions or, occasionally, on the availability of space.

The group of two or three teachers who taught self-contained classes at a particular grade level worked together in much the same way as did teachers in IGE. During the first week of school, prior to the arrival of the students, they worked out their schedules and school calendars together, selected representatives for various committees, and decided if or how they were going to share their teaching load, and generally spent a great deal of time together planning and developing their instructional programs. After classes began, they usually continued to meet every afternoon after the students had left for the day. Formal meeting time tapered off as the demands of working with students increased, but there were always a number of issues to be discussed informally (e.g., changes in schedules, planning for open house, sharing of materials, idea sharing, etc.).

There was also a formal decision-making/advisory group at each school known as Program Improvement Council (PIC) which met weekly with the principal to discuss, plan, and make decisions or give advice on school-wide issues. This was comprised of representatives from each module or building in the school, so that each representative was to seek and disseminate ideas and information to and from approximately

four other people--usually one IGE team and the self-contained teachers from one grade.

The informal network. These formal networks of ways of working together encouraged the development of social networks also. Social relationships frequently emerged out of working relationships and also extended working relationships into other groups within the school so that if an elementary teacher and a high school science teacher became friendly on a social basis, for example, the science teacher might extend the laboratory facilities at the high school to the students of the elementary teacher. Administrators were frequently involved in social relationships and other informal relationships based on both friendship and shared interests. The strength of both the working and social relationships were due, in part, to the number of things the expatriate teachers and administrators in the school had in common. The primary commonalities were language and culture and the fact that the host country was so unlike any Western (English-speaking) society. Most people in the city did not speak or understand English nor were they very familiar with foreigners in general. This meant that anonymity was almost impossible for white-skinned, English-speaking people. It also made it difficult for foreigners to move easily around the city and to feel comfortable within it unless they had taken the time and made the considerable effort to learn the language and culture. There were so many elements in this country that were different and unfamiliar that it made life generally unpredictable to newcomers and, therefore, uncomfortable. It was difficult, for example, to know where it was safe to eat or to be able to predict the

price of commonly bought articles or to predict how people would act toward you in various situations, especially in one in which there were an emergency, such as an accident or a case of ill health. Even for the most adventurous people, life in this city was a challenge. This seemed to be the major reason that foreigners developed their own communities within the city rather than joined with the community at large.

Teachers had many more commonalities that went beyond language and culture. There were the obvious ones such as education and experience (they all had approximately the same amount of formal education and teaching experience), and less obvious ones such as age, marital status, style of dress, and values. It happened that most of the teachers were in their late twenties or early thirties, were married, and had placed a high priority on traveling and living overseas. They had all given up jobs and relative security in their own country and had been willing to give up the comfort of familiar places and people, including their extended families. The sub-category of "overseas-hired" teachers had other commonalities based on their dependency on the school for such things as getting plumbing repairs, getting permits to leave the country for a holiday, or providing transportation. They were almost all married to other teachers or administrators, meaning that their social contacts with expatriates outside of the school community were somewhat limited.

The evidence that this community existed and provided support to its members was found in how the people spent their free time and with whom, and to whom they turned in times of difficulty or stress. The fact that there weren't many public recreational facilities and other

things to do in the city meant that teachers spent more time on school-related business and socializing. This was facilitated by the fact that every home had servants to do shopping, cleaning, cooking, etc. On weekends many teachers were at the school, either working or taking advantage of the sports facilities. There were several softball teams comprised entirely of teachers, many teachers and administrators jogged on the school track, and even more played tennis and swam. On holidays, groups of teachers often went on trips to various parts of the country. In the event of marriage, birth, illness, or even death, the teachers and administrators provided a close network of support. The fact that so few teachers became fluent in the local language or developed good friendships among host-country nationals provided further evidence that teachers must have been able to have their needs met and found sufficient social and emotional outlets within this school community.

The Staff Developer's Relationship to the School

Betty both had knowledge of this social system and was a marginal member of it. Because she lived in another Asian city in a more developed and cosmopolitan city and country, she frequently served as a link between teachers in one city and the facilities of her city. Teachers often went to that city to shop or for medical and dental care, and Betty frequently did such things as make appointments or reservations or bring difficult-to-purchase items for specific people with her on her trips. She was also a professional link among various international schools and, as such, kept teachers and administrators informed on both the professional and personal happenings at the various schools.

She passed along "good ideas," and let others know how the people in one school were dealing with a particular issue or problem..

When Betty was in the city where the major portion of the study occurred, she participated in the social activities of both administrators and teachers. The administrators had both an official and a social responsibility toward her. They were responsible for determining her working schedule, arranging housing for her at the homes of the various principals, arranging her social schedule and her transportation. She spent one or two nights at the home of each of the three principals, and they, or their chauffeurs, took her to the particular school in which she was working each day. Because of this, she had more open or free time with administrators and got to know them quite well, both professionally and socially. She frequently reciprocated their hospitality when these people visited the city where she lived.

Many teachers, especially those who had been at the school for a long time, were part of Betty's social network in much the same way as the administrators. Both the administrators and teachers were able to expand Betty's access to other teachers, especially newer ones, by telling them "who she was" and "what she did" in both formal and informal settings. Her reputation as both an effective staff developer and as a pleasant guest was spread by those who knew her to those who didn't. The strength of the social relationships teachers and administrators had with each other added credibility to their reports about Betty. These social relationships and networks also provided Betty with different sources of information and perspectives of school events, particularly those of a controversial nature.

The IGE Workshop

The other source in which teachers and administrators could get to know Betty was at the yearly IGE Workshop held each summer. All new teachers were encouraged to attend and were given a per diem allowance for the two weeks they attended. It was not necessary that the teachers be planning to do any formal team teaching since Betty and the administrators felt that the processes taught in the workshop would help all teachers learn to individualize their instruction and work productively with others. Some of the processes taught in the workshop were "team-building activities" in which the objective was to get to know others and "group decision-making" which involved brainstorming, analyzing, and reaching a consensus. Designing interdisciplinary curriculum, assessing individual needs and critiquing working relationships were also included. Throughout the workshop, Betty emphasized activities that would make people analyze, problem-solve, and reach consensus in group.

During the workshop, Betty was the primary administrator and organizer. She had packets ready for participants that were waiting for them at their hotels when they arrived, put out daily agendas that included "outcomes of today's activities" stating what each group will have done or learned by the end of the day, and gave out "memos" regularly on such topics as "planning your 'resource unit,'" "guides to writing behavioral objectives," or "design planning." She was also very directive and straight-forward in her approach as reported by teachers in interviews and on the questionnaires (see Appendix B). She made clear which decisions she was making and which should be made by teams or individuals. She emphasized the importance of teams'

reaching consensus on issues that involved everyone, such as when to have a specific task completed and made a priori decisions about the schedule, pace, and demands of the workshop. She tried to model the processes she taught and frequently mentioned what she considered the dual dangers in teaming of (a) lack of communication and (b) unilateral decision-making. She began workshop sessions on time regularly, regardless of whether everyone was ready or not in order not to penalize those who were ready (Observational Notes, 8/7/78, p. 7) and kept a close watch on how groups were progressing in order to look for and head off potential problems. She evaluated people and processes and was judgmental, but usually only divulged personal judgments to those closest to her.

Teachers who participated in the workshop learned about Betty's style of working, the things she felt strongly about, and her propensity for being well-organized and directive. Some of the descriptions of Betty gathered toward the end of the workshop included the following: She is

> ...systematic, organized, enthusiastic; she knows her subject inside-out; her energy is unreal; she focuses on the positive; she's straight-out; she perceives quickly; she is objective; she gives answers without making a value judgment; she's very aware of what's going on; she won't ignore things--she confronts them; she forces you to be open; and it's easy to take critiquing from her because she is so professional and does it in such a positive way (Comments made during six individual interviews with teachers).

The Staff Developer's Schedule

Betty was primarily a member of the staff at the American school in the city in which she lived, but portions of her time were regularly paid for by three other international schools in the region. She also

made occasional consulting trips to some other schools. She was paid to come to the city in which most of the study took place six times during the 1978-79 school year. She usually arrived on Sunday night and left Friday afternoon. She divided her time equally among the three schools, usually spending from one and one-half to two days at each school. At least one week before her visit, the administrators decided her schedule and circulated notices to each teacher. The notice was on a standard form stating when she was coming and when she would be available at each school. It also said, "All teachers are encouraged to plan a time with her. Each IGE team should plan to meet with her." It also included a check sheet with the question "How can she help you?" stated and underlined. The items to be checked included observe and provide feedback to you on your classroom, assist you in lesson planning, help you solve a problem, suggest and share ideas with you, observe a meeting and provide feedback to your group, meet with your grade level or team, or meet with a small group of teachers who want assistance in _____. This was followed by a place to indicate "the best time" and a place for a signature (see Appendix E).

In actuality, most of Betty's time was not scheduled by these notices. Some of the reasons for this included teachers' being unsure of when or if they would have free time to schedule a visit and because they hadn't thought about what help they wanted yet. An informal technique Betty used was to be in the faculty room as teachers were arriving in the morning and during breaks to make herself available. She said that she used this "informal time" to develop rapport and "pass pleasantries, speak to them (teachers), listen to them--active listen

in a group and note agreement and look for positives" (Informal Interview, 10/23/79, 24:1). Many of these talks were informal or social, but they occasionally reminded a teacher of something he/she wanted help on, so he/she would schedule a time to meet with her. Another informal technique Betty would use would be to "stop in" to some teachers' classrooms, just "to touch base" or "make contact." She said that she tried "to get in all classes to show interest and to let them know of my availability" (Informal Interview, 10/23/79, 21:6). These were "casual" visits and usually only consisted of a few remarks to the teacher--a bit of information Betty thought would interest him/her, or a specific positive comment about the classroom or the teacher. The remainder of Betty's time was organized and scheduled by the principal.

Usually the principal had a list of concerns or issues he wanted to discuss with her. Sometimes they would take a walk through all the classrooms to "see how things were going," and other times the principal would schedule time for Betty in cases where he perceived a real or possible problem with a specific team or teacher. Usually Betty had her own agenda of items she wanted to discuss with each principal based on things she thought he/she needed or in which he/she might be interested. These often included suggestions for checksheets, memos, or forms of communication she saw in use at other schools. In actuality, most of Betty's time was taken up with individual teachers, principals, or with teams. Occasionally, she would meet with larger groups to observe a meeting or to give an inservice workshop on a specific issue such as preparing for open house. Late afternoons and evenings were spent socializing, usually in small groups.

Betty had worked with teachers in a variety of settings and had developed over time a pattern of working which was consistent with her conception of her job and what she was trying to accomplish. She thought of herself as a problem-solver and was keenly aware of "efficiency" in her own work as well as in the work she observed other doing. She often talked about "efficient" communication systems, "efficient" meetings, and "efficient" organizational systems and record keeping systems. She felt that she could observe a classroom and identify the strengths and weaknesses in what a teacher was doing in approximately 20 minutes (Interview, 9/24/78). She also thought that she could give feedback to a teacher in less than half an hour. Because of these beliefs as well as the time constraints of teachers, most of her interactions with teachers took place in less than an hour, with a half-hour being most common.

This meant that teachers could schedule meetings with her before school, after school, during lunch, or during a free period when students were either in their host-country language class or in music, art, or physical education. Almost all of the meetings with teachers were bounded by time and the imminent return of the students. This was not the case with administrators who had more unscheduled time. Then she had and took more time to spend talking about unrelated issues, of a social or newsworthy nature, and to stray from the topic.

The Case Studies

Even though Betty's style of working was often described similarly by a variety of teachers and administrators, and even though she worked under similar conditions and constraints with teachers, analysis of

three interactions has documented how they were carried out in functionally and structurally different ways. Teachers and administrators interacted with Betty in different ways based on how well they knew her, in what contexts they had worked with her, and over how many years. The differences will be examined through a series of examples of interactions between Betty and some of the people with whom she worked. These examples will be analyzed in a detailed manner to show how they were different and then in a broader manner to show why they were different.

There were also some similarities across each of the three studies in that in each interaction (a) the problem had to be identified, (b) the agenda of the conference or its purpose had to be set or clarified, (c) the problem discussion was then enacted, and then (d) the problem was either solved or some kind of consensus was reached. These four similarities will be used as separate headings within each case study to show where and how the cases parallel each other and also to show how they were different within each category.

Case Study I: Betty, Anita, and Jack

The first case study involves two separate interactions--one between Betty and Jack, the principal of the primary school, about a particular teacher named Anita, and the second between Betty and Anita. It took place on the first morning of Betty's second visit to the school during the seventh week of school.

Searching for the Problem with the Principal

Anita had filled in a form requesting to see Betty with the following concern written at the bottom: "A lack of motivation among my first grade students. The kids aren't taking the time to finish their work carefully--not 'producing' worthwhile results, but racing through a task" (Scheduling Form, 10/23/78). Jack expressed another concern that he had with Anita during an early morning scheduling and planning meeting with Betty.

Jack said that he was getting negative feedback from a parent who was coming to see him about moving her child out of Anita's class. The school had recently had open meetings between parents and teachers during which Anita told the parents that her first priority for the year was to evaluate the children's knowledge. Therefore, she was not planing to introduce any new content until January (as related by Jack, Fieldnotes, 10/23/78, 2:4). The parent's concern was that her daughter was bored in this class.

Betty had some previous knowledge of this teacher and reacted negatively to the mention of her name by Jack. In a later interview, Betty was asked about her previous knowledge of the teacher and how she knew that Anita wasn't open to change. Betty replied, "She screams on the playground. Her body language and eyes--she doesn't appear as an open person. She could teach without anyone in the room" (Informal Interview, 10/24/78, 24:2). She further stated in her conversation with Jack:

2:1 B: She puts down kids. She's mean. She does everything one
2 shouldn't do. She has a management problem.
3 J: I have a parent coming in about moving a kid out of her
4 class. She said she's not starting anything new (to parents)

5 until January. The kid is sharp, but doesn't have long
6 attention.
7 B: Watch her. Ninety-eight percent talk. Boring, boring,
8 boring. Let me sit and observe her (Fieldnotes, 10/23,2:3-4).

Betty's strong negative reaction to this particular teacher was quite uncharacteristic of her general style and was surprising to the researcher as well as to Jack. Although Betty often expressed strong judgments about teaching, she was rarely this negative.

After discussing a number of other issues that both the principal and Betty brought to this meeting, Jack began to finalize Betty's schedule for the rest of the day.

4:1 J: Well let's see what the schedule looks like.
2 B: (pointing to Anita's name on Jack's notepad) Does she know
3 I'm coming in?
4 J: I'll tell her before you come in.
5 B: You have to give me a half-hour to compose myself afterwards
6 so I can work out how to give her feedback (Fieldnotes, 10/23,
4:5).

Later on, Jack spoke to Anita and told her that Betty was coming into her classroom "to observe a new child" in the room and also "to provide feedback on the blond" (the girl whose mother was coming in). Afterwards, Betty and Jack planned the visit:

5:1 B: That's a good tact. What else?
2 J: Watch the class. How do things go generally--general
3 classroom function.
4 B: I would transfer the kid for several reasons. She has to
5 realize what the problem is. She doesn't want to change,
6 I think is what the problem is. It takes a lot of energy
7 to change (Fieldnotes, 10/23/5:3-4).

These three short segments between Betty and Jack gave some indication of where the two agreed and disagreed on the problem and how to handle it. In the first segment (2:1-2 and 2:7-8), Betty was stating that the problem was general--"the teacher had a management problem, talked too much, and was boring." Jack responded with a specific

problem (2:3-6), that a parent had expressed a concern. While it is probably true that most principals take parental concerns seriously, there was an added dimension in the fact that this was a private school in that the parents paid tuition and were represented on the controlling body. The fact that the parents had few options in this country for a good, English-language educational setting for their children meant that there was less threat of the parent's withdrawing his/her child. It was generally agreed that there was nothing to be gained by antagonizing the parent, and it was less risky to avoid it. This was a shared understanding among all of the faculty members as well as between Betty and Jack.

In the second segment Betty alluded to the necessity of making a strategic entry into the teacher's classroom (4:2-3 and 4:5-6), thereby suggesting that this was going to be a difficult interaction which was potentially face-threatening to the teacher. This foreshadowed the opposing tensions that they both felt: the desire to give Anita a face-saving way of looking at and attempting to solve the problem and the opposing desire to express that she had a serious problem.

Negotiating the Agenda

In the third segment, Betty told Jack that his strategies of using the shared assumption about the importance of parental concerns with Anita and concentrating on the specific issue were good ones (5:1), and Jack agreed that the problem was more general than one of an isolated parental concern by suggesting that Betty look at general classroom functioning (5:2-3). At this point there seemed to be an agreement between Jack and Betty that the problem was general, but that the

specific problem of a parental concern could be used to negotiate entry into the more general one.

In the last part of that segment (5:4-7), Betty suggested that the specific problem should be addressed by transferring the child. She used the words "I would" here as she often did to indicate that she was making a suggestion of what she would do rather than issuing a command. This is often called "softening the imperative" (Goody, 1978). By adding that "she (Anita) doesn't want to change" and "it takes a lot of energy to change," Betty was showing her realization of the difficulty of this problem and the possibility that she might not be able to be very helpful. Although this was difficult to infer from this particular context, Betty had stated at another time that she worked best with teachers who were open to change and had trouble with those who were defensive or "closed to learning" (Informal Interview, 12/4/78, 4:13). This had been corroborated by the superintendent who also added that Betty was "overpowering to the timid" teachers (Interview, 1/15/79, 1:3) but "works best with teachers who are more open and have confidence in themselves and are more intellectual, perhaps." At this point Betty left the principal's conference room where the former interactions occurred and went into Anita's classroom to observe.

During the 20 minute observation session, Betty recorded student actions and behaviors while the researcher, at Betty's request, kept a record of what the teacher said. At the end of the 20 minute period, Anita lined up her students at the door and walked with them to the library. As Betty and the researcher stood up and were leaving the classroom with the intention of returning to the office to analyze the

data and prepare a strategy for giving feedback to Anita, the teacher returned to the room unexpectedly.

Searching for the Problem with the Teacher

As the three people were standing in the doorway, Anita asked Betty a question about filling out report cards and what relevant data they should include. She also asked if an inservice session could be given for new teachers who wanted more help or information about filling out report cards. Betty responded by saying it was a good idea. Neither question was related to Anita's originally stated concern, students' lack of motivation, or to Jack's implication that Betty was in the room to observe a couple of students, but represented another concern of Anita's on which Betty might be able to help. It also served as an opening into a discussion of the observational notes Betty had taken. Anita pointed to Betty's notes and said "you don't have to go over this if..." to which Betty responded, "Well, I'll tell you" (Field-notes, 10/23, 5:9).

The following interaction, though brief and without the benefit of the half-hour Betty had requested to "compose herself" and collect her thought and prepare for it, represented one in which conflicting concerns were present among the relevant parties. The principal was concerned about negative feedback from a parent, the teacher had expressed concern about the lack of motivation among her students to produce worthwhile results and had now expressed another concern about filling out reports cards, and the staff developer was concerned about a generally weak teacher and her own notions of effective teaching practices. Betty and Jack had discussed and negotiated the various

perspectives, but Anita was only informed of what she had written and said and what Jack had told her and had not been informed about Betty's opinion and concern.

Carrying out the Problem
Discussion with the Teacher

The interaction between Betty and Anita reflected the multiple concerns and unshared knowledge:

6:1 A: I feel like I'm still trying to get them organized (due to
2 the recently completed swimming program).
3 B: You get more task orientation if you allow those who understand
4 to go ahead, and help those who need it.
5 A: But we had this thing about making sure all kinds make the
6 letters the right way (a reference to an inservice session
7 with the Reading Consultant).
8 B: She (the child whose mother was worried about her daughter
9 being bored) needs less teacher direction. The ones that
10 know it can go ahead. You work with those who need it. Then
11 take this other group in a (teacher-) directed lesson. I
12 would give some options. I would foster that. She's really
13 wasted 16 minutes. The other thing...if you take those
14 kids out (the restless ones), you have no models (of poor
15 behavior). She's a good little student. She just wants
16 something to do. It will weed out and let you spend more
17 time with those who need it. Anna (the child) is in keen
18 competition with David (Fieldnotes, 10/23, 6:1-6).

Betty's observational notes on student behavior documented that many students were not following the teacher's directed lesson on vowel sounds. The teacher had told the students to follow along in the workbook and fillin the blanks in unison, but several students, including Anna, were talking about unrelated topics, playing with pencils, erasers, etc., and going ahead in the workbook. Betty didn't discuss these data, but gave her implications of it and solutions to the problem. She combined her observations about the implied purpose of her presence in the classroom (to observe Anna and a new child) and the real purpose (to look at "general classroom functioning"). She

made several evaluative statements or judgments about Anna (lines 6:8, 13, 15-16, and 17-18) and several others about solving the unstated problem by separating kids according to the abilities to do the task independently (lines 6:3-4, 9-11, 12, 13-14, and 16-17).

Neither Betty nor Anita responded to each other's topics. Anita explained that any lack of organization Betty might have seen was due to the recently completed swimming program (when her students were bussed to the pool at the other campus, thereby losing close to two hours a day every day for two weeks). Betty didn't respond to that statement, but instead gave a solution to an unstated problem about how to get better task-orientation among the students (6:3-4). Anita responded by referring to the inservice she had attended in which she was told of the importance of monitoring how every child was writing his/her letters. Because she began the statement with "but," she may have been expressing that Betty's idea was in conflict to this earlier inservice; i.e., how can I monitor each child's writing if some are working independently? Betty went on to state the problem ("She needs less teacher direction") and gave instructions on how to accomplish it ("independent workers go on by themselves and the teacher works with the more dependent ones"). She made no response to Anita's remark about getting mixed messages from different people.

Reaching Consensus with the Teacher

Anita may have been trying to solicit Betty's support and understanding on these two things (lack of organization and mixed messages from different consultants) that have been problematic and represented conflict for her, but didn't appear to get it. Neither did Betty

appear to get any agreement that the problem was with a lack of task-orientation or that the solution was to separate the kinds into two groups--those who could work independently and those who needed direct teacher supervision. These two people failed to reach a consensus about "what they were doing" or the problem being discussed and "who they were" or their relative social positions to each other. Betty described the problem as a student problem (squirmy, bored kids) rather than a teacher problem and gave the solution in terms of what she would do (using "I would") which could be taken as a suggestion rather than command which gave Anita a face-saving alternative to following this suggestion.

Although Betty did not respond to Anita's stated topics, she did three somewhat more subtle things that might have been interpreted as building a working relationships. First, she responded favorably to the teacher's request for an inservice on filling out report cards, saying that it was a good idea. Second, Betty gave the feedback about her observations at the time the teacher mentioned it, even though she wanted and intended to give her a better prepared form of feedback. Third, Betty's statement ("You get more task orientation if you allow those who understand to go ahead and help those who need it") implied a shared understanding between the staff developer and the teacher that the teacher <u>wanted</u> to "spend more time with those who need it" and thought that task orientation was a worthwhile goal. Betty's later statement (6:16-17) that "it will weed out and let you spend more time with those who need it" also reflected a shared assumption that this was what the teacher wanted to do and that the two people agreed on the worthwhileness of this goal. The teacher had

given no indication that she actually did share these assumptions, but by implying that they were shared, Betty was acting as if she and the teacher had developed some sort of a working relationship.

Through these shared assumptions, Betty was also revealing her own model of effective teaching, but also was reflecting her own opposing tensions--to let Anita know that there was a problem and at the same time to give her a face-saving out. This can be seen by analyzing the way Betty chose to make these statements and then by considering the other ways they could have been said. By saying "it will weed out and let you spend more time...," Betty gave Anita the option not to act, at least on record, and appeared less coercive. The subject "you" was avoided as in the alternative form "you need to weed out..." In the earlier statement "you get more task orientation...," the agent was the school norms (that task orientation is good) rather than Betty herself, and the addressee could have been translated as the plural "you" meaning all teachers rather than "you" meaning Anita. Anita had been given the option of not accepting that Betty was singling her out, but was not referring to all teachers who needed to weed out independent workers.

In addition, Betty took a more passive approach by indicating that the student had the problem rather than by asserting that the teacher was causing the problem. She said "she needs less teacher direction" and "the kids are bored" rather than choosing to use the more direct form of "you need to direct her less" or "you are boring the kids."

The direct sentence forms would have certainly been the most efficient way of making these points. Brown and Levinson (1978) claimed that the motive for diverging from such "highly rational, maximally

efficient modes of communication" (p. 60) was politeness. Any sort of redressive action, such as what Betty used, attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the act. On the other hand, if Betty had avoided the whole issue of what was wrong with the teacher's performance, she may have lost face with herself and with Jack. The passive sentence forms and optional interpretations Betty used may have counteracted some of the potential face-threatening damage in the interaction that may have occurred if she had used more coercive or directive sentence structure. She managed to become more explicit in telling Anita what the problem was and how she could solve it by restating the solution in two ways (lines 6:3-4 and 9-10) and then referring back to the teacher payoff (less squirmy kids; will let you spend more time with those who need it).

Carrying out the Problem
Discussion with the Principal

Following this interaction with Anita, Betty went back to Jack's office to relate her observations and feelings about this difficult situation.

6:19 B: I have to get my negative feelings out of the way...by writing
20 it down. That's how I handle it. She's teaching three things
21 at once which don't relate--vowels, consonants, and how to
22 make the letter G.
23 These are suggestions. I don't know if they'll ever get to
24 her, but I'll tell you. She doesn't go on the "show me"
25 aspect of teaching which is necessary in the primary. Our
26 strategy is...I need some data on if she's ever taught
27 first grade. Every kid should be moved out of there if you
28 want my opinion.
29 J: Looking at the whole picture, what series of strategies would
30 you recommend?
7:1 B: She needs to know who needs what. You almost need to ask her
2 what groups she sees in the class. You have to figure out how
3 to help her. Say "it is expected that you individualize. How
4 can we help you learn these skills? Watch other first grade
5 teachers. Note, first, the amount of teacher talk and second,

how they individualize." She needs a good course in behavior management...how to diagnose and plan. The bullet has to be bitten and it's an administrative bullet. I can relate to the questions about the art project and I am willing to do anything to help new teachers on parent conferences and report cards. It's not a good situation.
J: We realize that.
B: Asking me what I'd do...I think the first encounter...She has a need about parent conferences. Fulfill that need. Move that kid. You want her to observe (Fieldnotes, 6:8-7:3).

There is a clear contrast shown in the way Betty spoke to Anita about her observations and the way she related them to Jack. While she was restrained, indirect, and very polite with Anita, she became unrestrained and direct with Jack because she no longer had to concern herself with providing a face-saving option for Anita. First, she spoke directly of "negative feelings" (6:19), then she told Jack what Anita was doing that was wrong ("She's teaching three things at once which don't relate"), then what she didn't do ("she doesn't go on the 'show me' method of teaching"), and, finally, her strongest and most directly stated opinion ("Every kid should be moved out of there if you want my opinion"). Betty used the direct sentence forms ("she's teaching..." and "she doesn't") and directly stated her feelings and opinion in the most highly rational, maximally efficient mode of communication. Although, by her own admission, Betty was very negative about Anita's teaching, few of her comments related to Anita's personality, ability or intelligence, or other personal characteristics. Most statements Betty made about Anita ("she screams on the playground," "she puts down kids," "ninety-eight percent talk," "boring, boring, boring" (Fieldnotes, 10/23 and 10/24) were related to behaviors which, through training and learning, could be improved.

Reaching Consensus with the Principal

There is another contrast between the way Betty spoke to Anita and the way she spoke to Jack that indicated which one of the conflicting staff-developer roles and concerns was primary. With Anita, Betty focused on her model of effective teaching and presented herself as an advocate of good teaching (by talking about grouping students according to learning style) and to some extent as an advocate of this teacher and her concern about filling out report cards. With Jack, she took the position that the more general problem must be dealt with by him ("an administrative bullet") while she would concentrate on being an advocate of the teacher and address herself only to those things for which the teacher asked for help. She seemed to have made this decision while she was talking. After Jack asked her to recommend strategies (6:29-30), Betty switched her use of pronouns from "I" (6:19, 20, 23, 24, 26) and sounding as if she intended to address the major problem ("I need some data on if she's ever taught first grade") to using the pronoun "you" (7:1, 2) and telling Jack what he had to do ("ask her," "figure out").

She appeared to become firmer in her idea of which of them should play which role. First, Betty used the passive, indirect sentence form ("She needs to know who needs what") in which she didn't indicate who was to tell Anita this message. Second, she used "you" to tell Jack that he needed to "ask her," but she softened it by adding "almost." This was followed by an unsoftened directive ("you have to...") and instructions on what to say to the teacher. Finally, Betty was most explicit in telling Jack who needed to solve the problem ("The bullet

has to be bitten and it's an administrative bullet"). She still, however, left Jack with one other option by saying "administrative" rather than "your" bullet, implying that the administrative team of three principals and a superintendent shared the responsibility. Jack responded by using the plural pronoun "we" to mean the administrative team ("We realize that," 7:12). Betty's decision was later reiterated to the researcher when she said, "I'm being supportive of the teacher. The principal has the responsibility." She added, "I would expect defenses. Accept what you can. Suggest what changes have to be made" (Informal Interview, 10/24, 24:4).

There were two other things of interest in this section of transcript. One was the very strong statement Betty made about the teacher and the classroom ("Every kid should be moved out of there if you want my opinion"). For one thing, her opinion had not been solicited, and, secondly, it was the only time in months of observation and years of having worked with Betty that the researcher heard her make such a negative, judgmental statement about a teacher. It may have been an expression of frustration and/or it may have been a way of telling Jack that the problem was very serious and could not be ignored. This statement was followed by her prescriptions of what Jack could and should do to help Anita.

Second, when Betty was telling Jack that he should address the major teaching problem and she would address herself to those things for which the teacher asked for help--art projects, parent conferences, and report cards (7:8-10), she altered the topics on which the teacher actually did ask for help. Anita's original written request for help was the students' lack of motivation to take their time to produce

worthwhile results. Betty was now referring to this as wanting help with art projects. Then Anita asked for help in filling out report cards, and Betty referred to this as wanting help with parent conferences. When Betty wrote a note to Anita the next day, she gave suggestions on art ideas and lessons (drawing to music, class mural, class bulletin board), techniques (cut and paste, designs, arts and crafts), and sources of further ideas (a specific book and other teachers) and did not refer to the problem of motivation.

Summary of Case Study I

During the course of these two sets of interactions (Betty and Jack, Betty and Anita), there was a contrast in the working consensus which was negotiated and achieved in each. With Jack, a common definition of the problem was negotiated. He originally referred to his concern with a potential parental problem, and Betty saw it as an example of a much larger problem--a generally weak teacher. Then Jack asked Betty to look at general classroom functioning, indicating that he, too, realized that the problem was not only one between a parent and a teacher. In giving the solution, Betty suggested that the student should be moved, showing recognition that the problems were connected and that one was part of the other.

There was also evidence of agreement between Betty and Jack on the purpose of the interaction and the relative roles they would play. The purpose was for Jack to get suggestions for dealing with the problem, and it was Betty's job to give this help. At one point when Betty appeared to be getting off task and giving strong opinions rather than solutions or help (6:27-28), Jack reminded her of this purpose by

asking a question about what strategies she would recommend (6:29-30). He was working to keep her in the role of "problem solver," and she complied by going back to that role and telling Jack what should be done and who should do it.

In contrast, there was less evidence of shared understandings or a working consensus between Betty and Anita. Betty was aware of a range of problems with the teacher, some of which the teacher had been told about or initiated, and some of which she hadn't been told (her generally weak or inappropriate performance). There were different understandings of the purpose of Betty's visit, also. Anita had asked for help of a specific nature on one thing and had been told that Betty was coming to observe two students in the context of parental concerns. Betty was, in fact, observing the two students, but in the context of a much larger problem.

There were also different understandings about Betty's status and role. Anita acted as if Betty were an advocate of teachers and asked for help on a specific issue and solicited understanding or support on her problems with organization and the mixed messages she was getting from different consultants. Betty was, in part, trying to act as an advocate of the teacher and did respond to Anita's request for help with report cards, but didn't respond to her comments on organization and mixed messages. Anita had been told by Jack that Betty was also playing the role of advocate of the school and looking into a parental concern. In addition, Betty was playing the role of an advocate of an ideal of effective teaching, something to which Anita did not appear to respond.

According to one of Anita's friends and colleagues, Anita as well as some other teachers questioned Betty's formal status in the school (J.R., Interview, 11/8/78). She reportedly felt obligated to use Betty's expertise, but was concerned about Betty's power to affect administrative decisions about hiring and firing as well as placement of teachers. The fact that Betty came into Anita's classroom, observed her teaching, took notes, and then gave suggestions which were not requested may have led Anita to question Betty's status role and relative power even more.

It was also possible that Anita didn't fully believe Jack when he told her that Betty was going to observe some students. Anita asked for help on specific, non-threatening, impersonal issues in an effort to exert control on the parameters of this interaction; but Betty, with the help of Jack, extended these boundaries well beyond that. Part of the ambituity in this interaction dealt with <u>real</u> agendas and <u>implied</u> agendas. Betty's <u>real</u> agenda was to gather data on a generally weak teacher, but the <u>implied</u> agenda was to observe students. Both Betty and Anita acted as if the implied agenda were the real one.

Anita's actions may be interpreted as defensive or deferential, both in the way she apologized for her curiosity about Betty's observational notes ("you don't have to go over this if...," 10/23, 5:9) and in the way the teacher implied that if Betty saw any signs of disorganization, it was because of the recently completed swimming program or the mixed messages she was receiving from different consultants. This defensiveness may have been a reaction to the status

and control Betty reflected and the fact that Anita had lost any control she thought she had.

There were differences in the nature of Betty's interactions with Jack and Anita that were related in important ways to social context. In the former there were common understandings about the problem, the purpose of the interaction, and the roles of the participants; and in the latter, there were not. Both Betty and Jack had achieved a working consensus and understanding with each other and were working together to handle a sensitive problem, evidenced linguistically in the ways Betty used direct sentence structure and active verb forms. In contrast, Betty appeared to be working on Anita without her consent or agreement as evidenced by their lack of reciprocality on topics and the real and implied agendas.

In the example of Betty and Anita, the kind of conflict that can occur in staff development was described. There was a lack of clarity over which role Betty should play and how to enact that role. There was no consensus between the participants on the structure or function of the interaction, and it is questionable what was achieved. In contrast, there was a consensus between Betty and Jack on the structure and function of their interaction, and they were able to reach a decision on the problem and a course of action to be followed.

Some of the complexities and ambiguities of staff development were seen in the differences in parallel processes of identifying the problem, setting the agenda, enacting the discussion, and reaching consensus or solving the problem. Many of the ambiguities were clarified within the two interactions by the linguistic negotiations of the

participants. All of the participants worked at being polite and trying to negotiate working agreements of the purpose of the interactions and the relative social positions of the three people within the larger context of the school. In one case they were more successful at synchronizing and meshing the working definitions of the situation than the other, and the result was a difference in the degree or amount of working consensus achieved.

Case Study II: Betty and Pete

The Context

In the previous study, the lack of common definitions and understandings of the problem and the situation between Betty and the teacher led to an interaction in which a difficult message was given to the teacher. In the current analysis, it was possible to see how two individuals went through the process of negotiating their relationship and defining the situation. This interaction was longer than the previous one and was also videotaped and recorded so that a more detailed linguistic and kinesic analysis was possible. Therefore, how things were said and what the informants said as they talked were included in the analysis.

The teacher, Pete, was a man in his mid-thirties and was new to the school the year of the study, although he had had considerable experience in overseas schools in Latin America. Both he and his wife were teaching at the school and were categorized as "overseas-hired," meaning that they were recruited from the United States by the superintendent, received a broad range of benefits in addition to their salaries, and were dependent on the school for transportation, housing, and many other resources.

Their transition into the school was facilitated by a sponsoring family, another overseas-hired couple, who, in the case of Pete and his wife, were the principal of one of the schools, Bob, and his wife. Pete continued to socialize with Bob throughout the year, going on weekend trips together, exploring parts of the city, and having dinner together. Pete and his wife also developed a social relationship with Jack, the principal at his wife's school, as well as with several other overseas-hired teachers.

Pete had recently completed a year of graduate school in which he had earned a certificate in school administration. He originally had sought an administrative position in an international school in Asia, but accepted a position as a third grade teacher because the school, geographic location, and working conditions and benefits for both him and his wife represented the best options available. It was his hope, however, that this job would lead to an administrative position in this school or another one in Southeast Asia.

Pete had met Betty in the city where she lived during the workshop. His wife was a participant, but he was not since he had been in a similar workshop a few years earlier in South America. He came to the site for the purpose of meeting Betty and finding out more about the program. He said that he had heard so much about Betty that he wanted to meet her, and he also had some educational and administrative questions about the workshop's structure, organization, and how it differed from the one he had attended. After Pete's first meeting with Betty, he commented that he found her "stimulating" but also "overwhelming," adding that she "has so many ideas at once:" (Interview, 8/17/78). He added, "I don't think she's aware of how she provides

more information than the average person can absorb. She goes so quickly from one idea to another." He characterized Betty, after this initial meeting, as "very perceptive" and "very goal-oriented."

Searching for the Problem

When the sheets to request an appointment with Betty were circulated at Pete's school before her second visit of the year, Pete signed up for an appointment and wrote down that he wanted to talk to her about planning. He reported to the researcher that he had two other reasons for wanting to talk to her: (a) because he liked her and wanted to get to know her better; and (b) since he was looking for an administrative position, he hoped that Betty, through her contacts and knowledge of the school system in Southeast Asia, could help him. He reported to the researcher that he wanted to ask her if she thought it would be useful or advisable for him to attend an administrator's conference which was going to be taking place the following month in another Asian capital. He was willing to spend the considerable amount of money necessary for transportation, etc., if Betty believed or suggested that it would be helpful for his career goals. If Betty knew about Pete's goals or this agenda ahead of time, she did not acknowledge it.

Betty and Pete began the interaction with different and multiple understandings of its purpose and what was to take place. Pete's "real" goals were different than his "implied" goals, but, in fact, he had more than one goal. Betty's goal for this interaction was not stated ahead of time.

Betty arrived in Pete's classroom at the agreed upon time, shortly after the students had left for the day. After she entered, they both sat down at a circular table upon which the videotape recorder was focusing and where the microphone had been placed. Betty sat with her back to the camera, and Pete was directly facing it. Pete initiated the opening of this part of the conversation, which was rather characteristic of him in most of his interactions; but it was, at the same time, unusual for Betty not to take this initiative:

1:1 P: Well, I have a couple of things. Some of them don't relate
2 to school. Shall I start with those?
3 B: Sure.
4 P: I have minimal problems with school. Really.
5 B: I'm glad to hear that.
6 P: Why? Everybody else not saying that?
7 B: Oh, no (inaudible).
8 P: Just in the last a:::two or three days I guess, I really
9 started to feel better about the kids. But I've just got
10 to be tough as nails with them. Y'know?
11 B: (inaudible)
12 P: What?
13 B: Consistent.
14 P: Just tough, period. Just there're certain kids I've got to
15 watch every minute. And as soon as they mo:::ve--it's NO!
16 Like that. But...it's taken care... This one kid...I've been
17 able to pat him on the back twice this week, y'know?
18 B: Good.
19 P: See, tomorrow's the last day. "Just do it one more day. I
20 can write ya' a great note home" and all this, y'know?
21 B: That's good.
22 P: So, it's real good. I think he's getting his first...uuh...
23 positive notes probably in his career (VTR, 10/27/79).

Another thing that was unusual about this interaction as compared to others that Betty was observed to have with teachers was her relative lack of activity. Her body and her voice were subdued. Her elbows were bent on the table, and her left hand was propping up her head. Her upper body was leaning forward, her weight resting on her elbow, and her eyes on Pete. Her comments were made in a very soft voice, with no emphasis or expression. Pete, in contrast, not only

initiated the conversation and did most of the talking, but he was also physically active. Although he maintained eye contact with Betty during most of this segment, there were seven times when he looked down at the table or toward his right which was rather pronounced compared to his relatively constant gaze in later segments. At one point ("And as soon as they mo:::ve--it's NO! Like that," 1:15-16), Pete's gestures and voice became quite exaggerated and continued in this way until the end of the sentence ("Y'know?" 1:17) when he leaned forward, stretched his arm across the table, and touched Betty on the shoulder.

Negotiating the Agenda

Pete's exaggerated movements and talk made him appear as a solicitous host whose purpose was to "entertain" Betty. This interpretation is congruent with one of Pete's stated reasons for scheduling this meeting--that he liked Betty and wanted to get to know her better (Informal Interview, 10/22/79). The solicitious quality was interpreted from the way Pete tried to engage Betty in the conversation by asking certain kinds of questions and leaving openings for her to gain entry. His first question, "Shall I start with these?" (1:2). functioned as a request for her support in how to set the agenda for this meeting. The second question, "Why? Everybody else not saying that?" (1:6), may have functioned as an expression of his interest or curiosity in the problems other teachers were having, but also as a way of getting Betty to talk. This type of question has been called "Other-directed allocators" in the literature (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) which are used to request a turn from the speech partner. This is the opposite of "self-directed allocators" which are used to attract the other's attention to indicate one's readiness to begin

a turn. Questions are only one type of turn-allocator, but have been found to be more effective than a more direct approach such as an imperative (Volk, 1981). Pete also asked the rhetorical question ("Y'know?") three times (1:10, 17, 20) which is not a question of information and does not require an answer, but is a way of seeking agreement (Goody, 1978). Betty complied and gave Pete agreement by saying "Good" (1:10, 21). In addition to being solicitious, Pete also tried to sound like a "good teacher," according to Betty's definition of "consistent"; i.e., "good teachers are consistent." He described how he was being consistent by watching kids "every minute" and responding "as soon as they mo:::ve" (1:15). He described a success rather than a pattern.

Betty's relative lack of activity or lack of responsiveness to Pete and her willingness to let him do so much of the talking at this point may have been due to her lack of clarity about the situation, its purpose, and her role vis-a-vis Pete; or, more simply, perhaps she was just tired. Her only clue about the purpose of this meeting (from his form) was that he wanted to discuss "planning," but she already knew (from the workshop) that his primary interest in this job was as a stepping stone toward an administrative position. If "planning" were the real agenda, he probably should have been asking questions or seeking advice or at least defining what he meant.

Carrying out the Problem Discussion

Because the real purpose wasn't clear, neither were their relative roles. If Pete had really wanted advice or information on planning, then Betty's role would be that of information-giver or authority on

planning. If he had another purpose or "hidden agenda," then her role would vary to either personal friend or advocate of the teacher or, perhaps, as a promoter of good teaching. But Pete's opening remark ("Well, I have a couple of things. Some of them don't relate to school") put into question both who was running the meeting and what he really wanted to discuss if it wasn't school. The topic would indicate which of her multiple roles she should play at the moment.

The following segment looked the same as the previous one conversationally, with Pete's doing most of the talking and Betty's being minimally responsive; but the kinesics of the interaction signalled some changes.

1:24 B: Well, if he only got this far and he's getting them...
25 P: Yah. And he's more or less staying in the place. We do a lot
26 of remedial things y'see...with families...Third grade's a
27 little bit...but...
2:1 B: That's good
2 P: We're doing it. Then...Maybe you can tell me about this. I
3 should ask you about this. Well. I put down on your sheet
4 that I wanted to discuss planning.
5 B: Right.

The first change that occurred was Betty's change from a constant gaze direction (looking at Pete), to making broad sweeps of her head. As Pete was continuing to talk about how his being consistent was helping a student (1:25), Betty turned her head to the left as far as possible. Then Pete abruptly changed topics and began talking about the bulletin board she appeared to be looking at--on "word families" (phonetically similar words) and the remedial nature of some of the work he had been doing with his third grade students. As Betty replied, saying "That's <u>good</u>" (2:1), this time with emphasis on "good," she turned her head as far as possible toward the right. Pete stopped what he was saying, paused, and began talking about planning (2:2-4). The new topic was

related to school and the preactive phase of teaching, something one might usually talk to a staff developer about; but to this point, no question had been asked and Pete had not yet stated what he meant or wanted to know about planning. He was still doing most of the talking, was still physically active, and had initiated the topical change. The purpose of the interaction, a definition of the situation in which they were involved, and the relative roles they should take were still unclarified and ambiguous.

During the following segment, Betty's physical and linguistic participation level gradually changed.

2:6 P: So I'll tell you something about planning. I can plan...for a substitute. I mean I just put plans in the book. "Here's what we're gonna do. This page, this page, this page." But I cannot plan, so far, for...how. In other words, my plans are what we're gonna do,
11 B: Well, right,
12 P: not how we're gonna do it.
13 B: Well, that's true.
14 P: Is that...is that unusual?
15 B: No. See'cause
16 P: See this lesson here was great. It was completely unplanned. Y'know? I wanted to discuss the topic of...ah... we were gonna...I was introducing the idea that we were gonna do a science unit that involves nature.
20 B: Well, all right (very low voice)
21 P: So I said, "What's nature?" OK. So we started to do thing. "Well, that's natural," and so forth. So I started drawing this island and these birds and all this stuff, see.
24 B: Well, that's motion, right?
25 P: We talked about natural. Yeah!
26 B: All right, now... } (both talking at the same time)
27 P: But ya oughta, but ya oughta be able to think of those things, shouldn't you?...ahead of time? What you're gonna, how you're gonna do it?
31 B: Well yes. You should. But not for a substitute, right?
32 P: No, yeh, but I don't even...See, I can't sit at my desk and say, "how am I gonna introduce..."
34 B: Ohhh (voice rising)
35 P: this. It.all comes out, just...
36 B: Well, now, let me share with you.
37 P: OK

First, Betty's sitting position changed. She put both hands and forearms down on the table and picked up her pen from the table with her right hand and held it in a writing position. At the same time, Pete pulled back from the table. Betty appeared to be looking directly at Pete, but he continued to look away periodically. Her responses were still primarily one or two words long and were literally supportive ("that's good," "well right," and "that's true"), but tended to interrupt Pete rather than to come during his pauses (2:11, 20, 24; 3:4, 6). This is what was earlier referred to as a "self-directed allocator" which is used to indicate one's readiness to begin a turn (Volk, 1981). Pete, on the other hand, stopped leaving pauses. Even after he asked his first "real" question (indicating that he wanted information, 2:14), and Betty began her answer ("No. See 'cause," 2:15), Pete interrupted her, pointed to a bulletin board on nature, and told Betty how his best lessons are unplanned. Even though his question indicated that he wanted to know if it were unusual not to be able to plan strategies of presentation ("<u>how</u> we're gonna do it"), he was not implying that he questioned the need to plan (2:16-17).

Betty's interruptions became more and more obvious. By the fifth time ("Well now, let me share with you," 3:6), she was speaking louder, her voice had greater expression, she began to emphasize certain words ("<u>You</u> should," 3:1; and "Ohhh," 3:4), and she continued to speak even though Pete hadn't relinquished his turn or completed his sentence (2:24). The phrase "Well, now, let me share with you," was stated as a request to which Pete agreed ("OK"), but acted as an imperative.

Betty was, in fact, using these word choices to communicate that she now wanted her turn to talk.

Betty's participation level increased with the use of what is sometimes called a tag-question (Lakoff, 1975) or the rhetorical mode (Goody, 1978) which, in this case, functioned to seek consensus or agreement, so that the "correct" response was agreement. Betty's use of this questioning mode occurred three times in relative quick succession ("Well, that's motivation, right?" 2:24; "but not for a substitute, right?" 3:1; "You have to get your plan down first of all, right?" 3:8-9). In each case, Pete did give the agreement that this form of quesitioning sought. The first time Betty used it, Pete's response was "yeah," even though he was speaking at the same time that she was saying "Well, that's motivation" (2:24). The second time ("But not for a substitute, right?"), Pete began to say "no," but quickly changed his response to "yeh," indicating his consensus, but then he went on to qualify his answer (but, I don't even," 3:2). The third time, Betty didn't pause for a response, nor did Pete interject one.

Betty continued to use this mode of rhetorical questioning four more times in the next few minutes (on the next section of transcript), and Pete responded affirmatively twice ("right," "uum") and gave no audible verbal response the other two times. According to Goody (1978), rhetorical questions are questions

> ...for whose answers the information channel is effectively empty, i.e., it carries "noise" in the sense of non-significant information. The command channel, on the other hand, is employed to achieve a blanaced relationship between questioner and respondent (p. 28).

The purpose of this form of questioning, therefore, was for Betty to achieve a more balanced relationship with Pete.

This, of course, was not the only technique she used (she also changed her body posture, looked around the room with broad sweeps of her head, began to interrupt his turns indicating that she wanted her own turns, began to speak louder and with greater expression and by putting emphasis on certain words), but the effect of this series of techniques was a more balanced relationship between these two participants. The last segment of transcript (2.6-3:9) indicated the transition from when Betty was only minimally responsive to Pete who was controlling most of the talk and the topical changes, to a point where Betty was participating more fully and actively.

Pete had originally said that he "wanted to discuss planning" (2:4) and "maybe you can tell me about this" (2:2), but went on to say "So I'll tell you something about planning" (2:6). He didn't ask a question, but implied by saying "you can tell me" that he wanted Betty to give him some kind of input. At that point he didn't give her a chance to respond, but went on to "tell her" about his perception of planning and what was difficult for him. Even though he was still doing most of the talking, he was indicating that he was going to change the topic from one in which he was telling of his successes (to which she had been only minimally responsive) to a topic of potentially greater mutual interest. Betty's resulting changes in participation communicated to him that the topic was of interest to her and one in which she wanted to be involved. Pete responded by asking "real" questions (Goody, 1978) ("Is this unusual?" 2:14; and "Ya oughta be

able to think of those things, shouldn't you?" 2:27-28), indicating that he did, in fact, want information from her.

In this way Betty and Pete cooperated and collaborated in negotiating the purpose of the interaction or the problem (where she would give him information) and what was to occur, the agenda. Pete had tried a variety of techniques in order to elicit reactions from Betty. Originally, he was talkative and active, and she barely responded; he asked questions to get her involved, but she declined by answering only minimally; then he told her stories of his successes and how he was being consistent, and she was still inactive. He had tried being solicitious and entertaining and then by playing the role of a consistent and effective classroom manager. Her minimal responsiveness may have indicated to Pete that none of these techniques or identities were "working" to get Betty more actively involved in the interaction. Her looking around the room acted as a less subtle hint that she needed or wanted to switch to some other topic to which she could/would better relate. It functioned in this way because Pete complied by switching to the topic of planning in mid-sentence, and she responded with her increased participation and gradual change in assertiveness.

Even though there was still a "hidden agenda" (his interest in getting an administrative position in the region), Betty and Pete had negotiated a purpose of this interaction--an agenda, even if it were only temporary. They were beginning to establish and jointly construct some clarity of what the situation was, but still had to clarify which set of role-relationships would be most appropriate. By reading a partial or temporary definition of what they were doing together, they

limited the possibilities of who they were in relationship to each other, but still had not worked out issues of status and role.

In the following section of transcript, there were further changes in the interaction and in the participants' relationship to each other.

3:8 B: Those are strategies, but you have to get your plan down...
9 first of all, right? You get down, y'know, maybe your
10 objective or whatever your purpose; what you hope to
11 accomplish. Strategy is the most important part...like in
12 the kinda role I work with. Say, for instance, if I
13 observe a classroom. I have the data...and I've done this
14 observation...and I may have an instrument. But the most
15 important thing I do...is deciding how...in what environment...
16 and how do I present that data.
17 P: I see
18 B: Y'know, so it...y'know
19 P: Except what seems to happen to me is that...I get surprised...
20 at what the kids don't know. Like they catch me off guard,
21 now maybe that's just because I'm new, this year, to third
22 grade, here. See, maybe I would throw that plan in and say,
23 "Oh yeh, they don't know anything about nature, natural."
24 B: Yeh...you're building vocabulary too
25 P: and plan that way. But I wasn't planning
26 on it and that's what I feel guilty about. I have some
27 real good lessons that are
28 B: OK
29 P: spontaneous.
4:1 B: At this level...or like anything,
2 I guess...is readiness... and what you're doing is preparing
3 them...
4 P: umhmm
5 B: motivating...but it's actually making them ready for
6 the...when it hit's them, right?
7 P: Right. But that wasn't the plan (hehehe)
8 B: I know, but you <u>should</u> plan that in.
9 P: I guess I should, but I didn't.
10 B: Well, you're coming along fine. I mean but ya know, ya should..
11 the readiness and <u>how</u> it's presented. I mean, y'know, if
12 not, y'know...here it is...and we're gonna do this, and so
13 forth. It becomes sorta dry.

In this segment, Betty talked about the importance of the two-stage process of planning, first planning <u>what</u> to teach and then planning <u>how</u> to present the lesson. Pete said that his problem was that he didn't know his students well enough to be able to predict their previous knowledge which sometimes made it necessary for him to

restructure the lesson as he was working. Her suggestion was that he needed to begin his planning by thinking of strategies for preparing and motivating students and getting them ready for the main thrust of the lesson. He admitted that he wasn't doing that and then agreed that he should.

The most obvious changes that occurred in this segment dealt with the length of the turns and the type of turns for each participant. In earlier segments, Betty never spoke more than ten words or one line of typed transcript at a time. In this segment she took turns of close to 90 words or nine lines of transcript. Pete cooperated by listening more and letting her take these longer turns. It became easier for her to signal when she wanted a turn and then to maintain it because he was actively listening by nodding his head in agreement and saying "I see" (3:17). His listening posture also communicated that he was ready to hear what she had to say. He leaned forward with both forearms on the table and his hands tightly clasped in front of him. His shoulders were up and his head was cocked slightly, his eyes directly on her. The only movement he made, in fact, as she took her longest turn (3:8-16) was his head nodding.

Betty's turns went from ones where she was passively agreeing, trying to get a turn, and asking rhetorical questions as she did in earlier segments to turns when she was givng advice, information, and examples. Both her posture and language communicated directness. She leaned forward and gesticulated with her hands and fingers as she talked, often using enumerating behaviors such as using one hand to count off fingers on the other hand or holding out her fingers one at a time to emphasize the serial nature of the points she was making.

For example, as Betty was saying "But the most important thing I do... is deciding how...in what environment...and how do I present that data" (3:14-16), her pauses coordinated with her counting off one more finger.

Her style of speaking was directive in that she used the imperative form such as in "you have to" (3:8) and "you should" (4:8), told him what he was doing as in "you're building vocabulary too" (3:24) and "what you're doing is preparing them..." (4:2-3), and consistently used the pronoun "you" to indicate his role and what he would do as a teacher (3:8, 9, 10, 24; 4:2, 8, and 10) and "I" to describe your own role. Her directness can also be seen in her choice of voice. She said, for example, that "strategy is the most important part..." rather than "strategy may be..." which would soften the effect of her knowledge, belief, and assurance about strategy.

Pete, on the other hand, went from turns where he was trying to get her engaged in conversation, describing his successes, and telling Betty what he thought about planning in earlier segments to turns where he explained why strategy planning presented difficulties for him and agreed that he should do it. When Pete was talking he also gestured broadly and emphasized certain points with his hands. For example, right after Betty used the enumerating technique described above, Pete used a similar one when he attributed his problem to being "new, this year, to third grade, here" (3:21-22). He emphasized the rhythm of the four phrases with his voice and hand, tapping the table once each as he said "new," "year," "grade," and "here."

When Pete agreed that he should plan strategy but didn't (4:9), Betty made the evaluative and supportive comment "Well, you're coming

along fine" (4:10) and then reiterated her point that he should think about how material was being presented (4:10-13). Instead of using the carefully controlled, directive language that she had earlier, the section that began with the evaluative comment is full of stumbles ("I mean, y'know, if not, y'know," 4:10-12); has false starts ("But, y'know, you should ...," 4:10); her sentences were disconnected; and her pronominal usage switched from you to I (4:10-12).

It was difficult to determine what Betty was trying to say from the transcript and how that related to her ideas about planning, but further analysis revealed that this piece of rather confused language functioned in two ways. First, it marked a transition from her giving the advice and his careful listening, to a section where they both talked of their successes and were mutually supportive (4:14-5:18). Second, a video analysis revealed that Pete had been ready to end that topic, and Betty was able to hold him a little longer by continuing to talk and through her posture. As Pete was saying "But that wasn't the plan" and laughing, he was pulling back from the table. Before that he was in his "careful listening" position with his hands clasped in front of him, his head drawn down between his shoulders, and his whole upper body over the table. As he was talking, he sat up straight, straightened his arms and slid them off the table, and smiled before he laughed. Instead of Betty's doing something similar which might have completed the transition and ended the topic, she continued in her previous position--learning forward and pointing while she was saying "I know, but you should plan that in" (4:8). At that point, Pete came partially back over the table, with his head and neck over the table and one hand and forearm back on the table. His other hand and arm

were down at his side and obscured by the table. Shortly afterward, Betty also leaned back and the coversation took a different turn (to be described in the following analysis).

In the earlier segment of transcript, it was shown how Betty and Pete had begun to establish and jointly construct some consequences about the situation in which they were mutually involved. The topic to be discussed was planning and the purpose of the interaction was for her to give him some information about planning. In that earlier segment, however, Pete was still doing most of the talking and was describing his difficulty with planning strategies. Toward the end, it appeared that Betty had understood the problem and was ready to give him some advice. First, she said "ohhh" with a rising voice, indicating her understanding of Pete's problems, followed by "Well now, let me share with you" (3:6) to which Pete responded "OK."

Both the linguistic and the kinesic data in the last segment (3:8-4:13) indicate that there has been clarification of status and role of the participants which had not been evident in the earlier negotiations. Although Betty had begun trying to gain some control of the situation earlier with her interruptions, use of rhetorical questions, and greater verbal and physical expression, it wasn't until she had said "Well now, let me share with you" and he had agreed ("OK") that the change of status and roles became evident. In the beginning of the interaction, Pete had control of topical changes and was doing most of the talking and was physically active.

Through the negotiations in the past two segments, the situation gradually changed until in this segment it was Betty who was doing most of the talking, was most physically active, and was giving information

and advice in a directive manner that portrayed both confidence in herself and certainly in her knowledge and beliefs about the necessity of thinking about strategies of presentation as well as about what is to be presented. Betty's status was that of an advice-giver or teacher while Pete, through his physical listening posture, active listening behaviors, and agreement was in the status of an advice-seeker or student. Through his expressions about feeling guilty (3:36) and admission of his errors ("I guess I should, but I didn't," 4:9), Pete lowered his own status to a point where further mediation of their relative status was necessary. This occurred, in part, when Betty said, "Well, you're coming along fine" (4:10). Further mediation occurred in the following segment.

4:14 P: OK...So this is what I was wondering. I guess...now do people
15 actually sit down and say..? Now I do it with math. I
16 say "how am I gonna do it?" with math.
17 B: Right!
18 P: I do that.
19 B: Sure. In fact you can alter an environment.
20 P: Um...yeh
21 B: You can turn out all the lights. Y'know
22 P: yeh
23 B: Ahh...one of the most interesting things I ever had, incidently,
24 on this kind of a walk...w-was in an ecology walk...put out by
25 the national parks. And to illustrate how man has affected
26 nature,
27 P: um
28 B: we walked from the camp site deep into the woods...
29 and every ten feet we had to write what we saw.
5:1 P: So every ten feet...Oh, no kidding (hehe).
2 B: And so, y'know, and describe y'know, how green it was or
3 what.what was there. What evidence of man was there. What
4 evidence of nature.
5 P: Um
6 B: Well, the deeper you get in,
7 P: interesting
8 B: there's no
9 evidence of man outside of your footprints.
10 P: Right
11 B: But the closer you
12 get to civilization,
13 P: the more

14 B: bottle caps, paper.
15 P: That's real interesting...Yeh, but see I was introducing (voice
16 slowing down) outside...uh, what d'ya call it, nature unit.
17 That's what it's gonna be. So that's because they have this
18 unit here on crayfish, but nobody can get any crayfish.

This segment, which immediately followed the former one in which their relative statuses were quite differentiated, showed the successful negotiation of the repair effort. It began with Pete's asking the incomplete question "now do people actually sit down and say...?" (4:15) and then turning the sentence into an example of his success "now I do it with math..." (4:16. What began as a request for information, showing that Pete was still playing the role of an advice and information-seeker, ended in an expression of understanding of how he plans strategy and an equalization of the gap that had occurred. Their relative physical positions also showed an equalization of status. As he was talking, he leaned forward and took his pen out of his breast pocket, and she leaned back at the same time into a slouching position, resting against the back of the chair. Her head was cocked slightly, and her arms were resting against her stomach.

Her response to Pete's example of successful planning was an enthusiastic "right!" (4:17, this time using the word to express agreement rather than as a rhetorical question as she had done earlier. They repeated the pattern of Pete's telling of a success and Betty's agreeing in the next two lines. When Betty went on and told of her own success, an ecology walk "to illustrate how man has affected nature" (4:25-26), Pete reinforced her several times with frequent active-listening comments such as "um-yeh" (4:20), "yeh" (4:22), "um" (4:27), and, more enthusiastically, "so every ten feet. Oh, no kidding (hehe)" (5:1). The pattern continued with Betty's further description of the

ecology walk and Pete's further active listening comments, "um" (5:5), "interesting" (5:7), and "right" (5:10). The final sentence of the example showed both participants jointly completing it (5:11-14).

The symmetry in the pattern of success story and supportive comments, plus the joint completion of the example, were evidence that some form of a working consensus or agreement had been reached between Betty and Pete. They had earlier agreed upon the purpose of the interaction and now upon their relative status and roles within it. Pete was the advice-seeker and Betty was the advice-giver. But because a relationship is not negotiated once and then continues to remain static, Betty and Pete continually worked on their relationship. Betty tried to equalize their relative statuses and maintain Pete's face as a person, a teacher, and an aspiring administrator by modifying her advice with notes of agreement and other supportive comments. Pete was also an active and supportive listener and contributor but still maintained his lower status and role of advice-seeker.

Similar examples of mutual supportiveness and agreement occurred throughout the next few minutes of interaction. Betty continued doing most of the talking and soliciting Pete's agreement and adding emphasis with the use of the rhetorical questions "right?" (5:25, 6:4, 11) and "isn't it?" (6:25). She also continued to use directive language and frequent use of the pronoun "you" and quotations to be explicit about what Pete should do and say to himself with the implied explanation that he would do these things. "And so as you build a unit say, 'all right, why was that other one good?' Right?" (6:10-11). At that point, Pete wrote down "what made it good" in his notes which was the first written entry that he had made. "You have to. That's why you're improving

each day and why you feel good about your teaching, isn't it? You're critiquing and saying, "ah hah'" (6:23-25). Pete also worked at maintaining his lower status with speech that included stumbles and false starts and by asking a question and qualifying his difficulties with planning ("Anyway, I was wondering...see if my...the hours of doing it are just because I'm new or I don't know my group or if I'm just not giving...it enough thought?" (5:26-30). The total effect of this question was to act deferential to Betty and solicit both her support and additional information. The segment ended with Pete's agreement to Betty's suggestion.

6:26 P: No, I'm saying in terms of planning
27 B: I know
28 P: units, I don't look back.
7:1 B: But you should
2 P: But I should...yeh
3 B: Sure. What made it good? What made it, y'know...
4 P: Right (pause). OK.
5 B: What would I want to scrap? And then you have to remember
6 sometimes things don't work with the same...a different group,
7 it may work.
8 P: Yeh. You're right. If I teach third grade next year...
9 obviously when I plan, I will plan that right in.

In the following segment, there was a topical transition, this time begun by Betty when she noticed that Pete had used colored chalk on one of his blackboards, a technique Betty had suggested on a previous visit.

7:10 B: Colored chalk
11 P: Y'know...colored chalk. Oh yeh, colored chalk! See I think
12 of you every time I use colored chalk (hehe).
13 B: Right!
14 P: I use it all the time now. And the kids were.were, y'know
15 captivated, by this, y'know, and I just went over and started
16 drawing this island and this volcano and all this stuff and
17 they loved it.

The fact that Betty started a new topic with no explanation or warning, and then said only the two words "colored chalk" to indicate

what she had noticed, is evidence that a working consensus and common understanding had been reached. It turned out to be a topic that gave Pete a chance to tell of a success because he had tried the technique successfully and also for Betty because she had suggested that he use it. During this time, their behavior was again symmetrical. They both smiled in the same manner as they looked at the board, and their respective body postures mirrored that of each other: he leaned forward while she leaned back; he had his right hand up near his ear with his right elbow next to his left arm which was resting on the table; she had her left arm in front of her body and her right arm up near her ear.

The symmetrical behavior and the pattern of telling of successes while being mutually supportive continued as Betty again emphasized the importance of thinking about strategy while planning lessons. The two participants had worked out and negotiated this set of reciprocal behaviors to allow Betty to give advice and suggestions in a variety of ways and to emphasize her main points. This allowed Betty to do her job of staff developer effectively and, at the same time, allowed Pete to maintain his own face as a successful teacher.

The interaction continued with Pete's telling of a successful lesson which had been spontaneous, Betty's telling of a similar successful spontaneous lesson she had seen in another classroom, then Pete's telling of how another suggestion she had made on a previous visit had helped him. Then he opened up another topic dealing with curriculum.

Reaching Consensus

The two participants had actively worked at and collaborated upon reaching a working consensus of both the problem and their relative

statuses and roles in this interaction. It was achieved over an extended period of time and was now well enough established that it could be utilized. At that point, Pete finally initiated a discussion about the originally intended, yet unstated, agenda:

11:3 P: OK. Let me ask you this. I want to get off of school for a
4 moment.
5 B: OK. Fine.
6 P: Uh...I have..an..interest and a <u>need</u> to do something in
7 administration in the near future...

Pete then went on to tell Betty about the pressure he was feeling about using his recently acquired administration certificate within the next year or so. He began this topical change in a way similar to the way he began the topic on planning--with a promise of something to be asked, but no question forthcoming. He said, "OK, let me ask you this." Pete chose to formulate this as a polite request rather than a direct question.

During the time Pete was telling of this concern, Betty wrote "40" on the top corner of his paper, indicating that age was a factor to consider, to which Pete responded somewhat laughingly "Oh no! That too!" They then went through a brief dialogue during which they each forcefully competed to get turns. They interrupted each other; and when Betty got a turn, she talked incredibly fast, leaving no time for Pete to cut in. When he was able to start talking, she became louder and continued her sentence. The topic was about the rules of thumb about how age relates to career changes. She wanted to tell Pete that the rule of thumb for a doctorate was age 45, and he was trying to tell her that that's not what he's worried about since he already had his Master's. It is not clear why Betty worked so hard to tell him this, but it appeared that it was important for Pete to keep her on

this topic about using his administrative training and, therefore, to exert himself sufficiently.

In the next segment, Betty exerted herself again to get a turn by changing her tone of voice and lessening her degree of loudness, saying "OK, let's talk a little bit...whether it be this environment or another environment. I notice that you're doing something with in-service, right?" (12:7-9). This was in reference to the day scheduled for inservice education which was to occur later that week. There were two such days scheduled for the academic year in which students were not present, and teachers and administrators planned the activities which were to occur. Several of the activities involved one or two teachers' presenting a session for other interested teachers in some area of their expertise.

For this inservice, Pete and Bob, the other elementary school principal and Pete's original sponsor, had volunteered to give a session on the use of chip-trading activities to teach the concept of place value to lower elementary students. There had been several times during the week, in Betty's conversations with administrators, in which she showed that she was unhappy with the lack of planning and organization that had occurred for this week's session.

In the next segment, Betty told Pete that he should get himself into a leadership role in this school by volunteering to plan the next scheduled day of inservice education. She also told him how she thought it should be done.

11:11 B: awright. I'd get myself into a leadership role for the
12 next inservice to where you're chairman of the committee.
13 P: OK. Right now it's a...it's just Bob and me.
14 B: OK, well...working with other teachers is what you want
15 your exposure in.

16 P: Um
17 B: I mean you're working with an administrator.
18 P: Um
19 B: But,..what you'd be working with would be other teachers.
20 So, I'd volunteer to be chairman of the next..thing. First
21 of all, I talked with him (Bob). There needs to be more
22 interaction among the staff...OK..on the development of
23 this.
24 P: Umhmm
25 B: I don't care how many purple sheets go out.
26 P: I see. You mean
27 development of..what we're gonna do
28 B: Right
29 P: in the workshop?
30 B: One of my suggestions
31 P: um
13:1 B: with it is that...(slowing down her
2 pace) first of all...teachers self-evaluate themselves and say
4 this area. I'd like to see something offered here...first,
5 second, third choice.
6 P: um
7 B: You know what I mean. So I say, has
8 any self-evaluation device ever been used?

Although this wasn't quite the "real agenda" that Pete had in mind, he listened carefully and actively. Because he was willing to listen, and didn't interrupt or try to, Betty was able to slow down her pace and speak slowly and deliberately and use pauses to emphasize her points. She switched her pronouns from "I" to "you" to tell and show Pete how he should organize the next inservice session (11:12, 14, 17, 19). She began her suggestion with what she would do if she were Pete ("I'd get myself into a leadership role.." 11:11), then used "you" to show Pete how it would help him ("working with other teachers is what you want your exposure in" 11:14, 15; "you're working with an administrator," 11:17; "what you'd be working with would be other teachers," 11:19).

After Betty became more specific on suggestions for written instruments to question teachers on their inservice session preferences, Pete asked his first "real" questions of the day.

13:20 P: Awright..Have you suggested this already?
21 B: I didn't suggest you, I suggested that
22 P: that one does it. That it
23 is done?
24 B: Right. And that it would be facilitated by someone...What
25 I'm trying to get you to do is to get yourself into a
26 leadership role here...and exposed to teachers. Awright?
27 P: OK. How does that help you get an administrative job
28 elsewhere, other than...?
14:1 B: well, it might help you get here because
2 you can always say designed, developed, and implemented an
3 inservice for teachers, right? Well, what do you think
4 educational leadership is? Basically that (slower pace).

Both of the questions Pete asked (13:20 and 27-28) were direct information questions, unlike the requests for support, information, or clarification he had asked for earlier (1:2, 6, 12; 2:14, 27-29; 4:14; 5:26-27), or his promised, but not real, questions (2:2 and 11:2). Both the tone and the wording of the questions were far more directive and compelling than any of the earlier ones which were deferential. They were preceded by the words "awright" or "OK," setting them off from other dialog and calling special attention to them.

At this point it appeared as if Pete wanted to make very sure that he understood how Betty's suggestions could help him in his search for an administrative position. This still isn't the agenda Pete had in mind, but it was a transition. By completing Betty's statement (13:21-23), Pete was testing his own understanding of how her suggestions would help him. During this segment of the interaction, Pete was directly facing Betty and was leaning forward. He was moving his pen around, though not actually writing, nodding his head, and had his left hand on his beard with his elbow on the table. He was gesturing more frequently than she was and using larger motions with his entire forearm. In contrast, Betty was leaning back from the table with her elbows close to her body and only moving her fingers.

Then Pete clarified his position to Betty by telling her that he wasn't really thinking of an administrative position in this school because he already knew that it was unlikely that one would be opened. Betty interrupted his explanation and said, "But one of the things... you see many places they're hiring ('sweet' voice)..uh..princi..I mean they expect the principals to do that" (14:7-8). The false start in Betty's sentence was probably because she was interrupting Pete in order to get her turn and keep it. Once the turn was secured, she was able to slow down and think more carefully about what she wanted to say.

In the next segment of transcript, Pete told Betty what he had already been doing at this school to get some leadership experience. No questions were asked, and Betty agreed that these were good ideas. Pete did most of the talking. Then Betty made some suggestions about his contacting and interviewing with the organization which did most of the recruiting and hiring for teachers and administrators in international schools. Pete asked some indirect questions, "OK, This is one of the things I was gonna ask you about" (16:5) and "I was gonna ask you about them" (16:9).

Now they were at the originally intended agenda which Pete had told the researcher beforehand was one of his purposes for scheduling this meeting. He wanted to ask Betty if she thought it would be useful or advisable for him to attend an administrator's conference which was going to be taking place the following month in another Asian capital. Pete said that he knew that representatives of this organization were going to be available for interviewing in that city, and Betty told him that they would also be coming through a much closer city, the one where Betty spent most of her time. Pete responded, "OK <u>That:t's</u> what

I want to know. Do you know when, 'cause I would fly up there and go interview?" (16:11-12). This information was new to Pete and apparently of great interest.

Summary of Case Study II

During the course of this total interaction between Betty and Pete, there was continual negotiation on the part of the participants about this event and how to carry it out. In some sections it appeared as if the negotiation effort was of equal importance to the content of the interaction and what was being said was subordinate to how it was being said. Issues of control, status, roles, and purpose were being negotiated through linguistic and kinesic messages at the same time the topics were being discussed and were discovered through the microanalysis of the interaction.

The situation between Betty and Pete went from one in which he was controlling much of the conversation to one in which she took over most of the controlling function. How and why these changes occurred were revealed in a careful analysis of the complete data. Initially, Pete was acting out his expectations of what should happen when the staff developer came to his room. He had an official agenda (planning) and a hidden one (upward mobility in the school system). He opened the conversation, did most of the talking, and was active physically, exaggerating both his voice and his body movements, while he actively tried to get Betty engaged in the conversation. He talked about school in general, but addressed neither his official nor his hidden agenda immediately. Betty was moving and saying very little at that point, and there was a sense that this was a social event or friendly chat.

Gradually, Betty began using a series of techniques which eventually led to a clarification of the purpose of the interaction and the relative role relationships of the participants. First, she looked around the room with broad sweeps of her head which then lead to a shift in topic. Second, Betty began interrupting and trying to get a turn. Then she began using the tag or rhetorical question "right?" for which she was soliciting agreement rather than information. Eventually, Betty began taking longer turns, giving advice, and using stronger and more directive language. Pete generally listened actively, agreed, and became deferential. Both of them moved into a pattern of telling of their successes in their relative roles of teacher or staff developer and being mutually supportive. Eventually, Pete agreed with her on the importance of planning strategies as well as content into lessons, but recognized why and when that might be difficult to accomplsh. What Betty called taking advantage of a teachable moment, Pete referred to as being spontaneous.

When the originally intended agenda and the issues which were of great importance to Pete were addressed, there were further negotiations of topic, status, and role. At first, Betty suggested that Pete try to gain some experience in educational leadership by organizing the next inservice session for teachers, something she had strong ideas about as well as a series of steps that should be used in its organization and planning. Pete asked directly how it would help him, clarified his position, and then told her what he had been doing already.

At the beginning of their interaction, the relationship between Betty and Pete might be described as that of host and guest. He tried to engage her in conversation and "entertain" her, but also controlled

the topical changes and did most of the talking. As Betty exerted more effort and used some controlling techniques, Pete stated his problem and began listening more. At this point the relationship looked more like that between a teacher and student or a problem solver and problem holder. Repair efforts were necessary so that Pete wasn't too deferential or self-defacing and that Betty wasn't too overbearing or controlling. While it appeared as if Betty had a need to be asked questions or be given problems to solve, it also appeared that Pete had a need to be seen as likable, sincere, witty, and a good teacher and potential administrator. In the final phase of the interaction, when the originally intended agenda was addressed, there was more of a relationship of equals. They forcefully competed for turns, Pete asked direct questions, and turn-sharing became more equitable.

The analysis of the questions asked by both participants further supports this interpretation. While Betty wasn't as explicit and directive in giving suggestions with Pete as she was with other teachers, she used some other techniques throughout the interaction when she wanted to get across her point and gain agreement. She spoke slowly and deliberately, paused for added emphasis, and used rhetorical or tag questions such as "right?" to seek agreement or make suggestions. She used this form in the last segment more for making suggestions than for seeking agreement. When she said "Well, what do you think educational leadership is? Basically that" (14:2), she was saying that educational leadership meant working with teachers. But the question implied that Pete already knew this, and, therefore, it was a less directive way of making her point.

Pete's questions were asked indirectly and functioned as markers of topical shifts ("maybe you can tell me about this. I should ask you about this," 2:2-3; "OK, let me ask you this," 11:3; or "OK, This is one of the things I was gonna ask you about," 16:5) or as deferential requests for support, information, or clarification until they reached the originally intended agenda. At that point, the information she had was important to him. He began acting much more like an administrator, asking direct, "real" information questions and questions of clarification. When he wanted a suggestion on a particular issue ("Now should I mail that stuff to them first--his resume, etc.--or can you just take it with you?"), he also asked a direct question.

Goody (1978) talked about the conditions under which it was possible to ask genuine, pure information questions. She said that there were really two different problems involved--the kinds of messages that questions carry and the constraints which exist on asking questions.

> (I have tried to show that) questioning not only involves asking for information, but also carries a command function. Questions are speech acts which place two people in direct, immediate interaction. In doing so, they carry messages about relationships--about relative status, assertions of status, and challenges to status (p. 39).

She also recognized that the different modes of questioning were not equally available to everyone and that status played an important role in determining what kind of questions could or should be asked. For example, if a person in a clearly defined authority role asked a pure information question, it could be perceived as being just about facts, but also about fixing responsibility or event threatening control. It would be equally difficult, she asserted, for a person in a junior or

subordinate status to ask a pure information question, because he/she must always attend to the fact that it could be taken as a challenge.

In the interaction between Betty and Pete, questions played a variety of functions. Betty used rhetorical questions to make suggestions and solicit agreement. Pete asked deferential questions at one point in the interaction, and real informational questions toward the end. It was first necessary for him to redefine his role or status in relationship to Betty before he could appropriately ask the questions that were of greatest importance to him from the inception of this interaction. Similarly, Betty had to have different ways of answering these questions. Some of her answers were to provide information and others were to help him save face.

Through time, active negotiations, and a great deal of effort on the part of both participants, they both accomplished what they wanted. Betty gave advice, and Pete gained some useful information about things that were of differing degrees of importance to him. At the same time, he was able to show Betty his positive face, that he was a witty, likable, sincere person, and a good teacher and potential administrator. This combination of efforts, topics, suggestions, etc., constituted one example of the instructional event of staff development. Neither participant was able to plan and carry out an agenda without the help and collaboration of the other, and the degree to which this collaboration played a part in the interaction gave greater insight into what staff development meant in this case specifically and why, in fact, it was such a difficult activity to accomplish.

Case Study III:
Betty, Lydia, and Joanne

This interaction provided a look at another way in which Betty worked with teachers. In the last two cases, there was a lack of consensus about the purpose of the interaction and the relative roles of the participants, and the analysis explicated how these various definitions were negotiated. In the present case, many of the definitions of the situation were already understood through previous interactions of the three people, leaving less to be negotiated in face-to-face interaction.

The Context

Two teachers, Lydia and Joanne, made up one teaching team and shared the responsibilities for approximately 45 second and third graders. Both had attended the most recently completed Individually Guided Education (IGE) workshop which had been administered and conducted by Betty. They were both new to the school and to teaching in international settings, but had previous teaching experience in the United States. They had both been recruited from the USA by the superintendent along with their respective spouses and were members of that class of teachers referred to as "overseas-hired," meaning that they received an extensive package of fringe benefits, etc.

The two teachers met each other and several other teachers from what was to become their school for the first time at the workshop. It had been suggested by the superinentdent that they both attend the workshop since there was a good possibility that they would be team teaching in the new assignments. They had not yet been to their new homes or country, but were currently en route. Lydia, Joanne, and one

other future teacher at the same school joined one another at the opening session of the workshop to become a teaching team. The teams were determined first by the age level of child preferred by each teacher. At that point the 33 workshop participants divided themselves into three different groups and did an introductory activity, telling others in the group "What's Unique about Me." Then they were told to break into subgroups for the next activity with the imposed rule that a group must be no bigger than three or four.

At the workshop, Lydia and Joanne had a series of interactions with Betty as members of both large and small groups and as individuals. They also had many opportunities to observe Betty at work as she addressed and conducted large groups, gave directions, identified problems, gave feedback to teaching teams and individuals, and addressed specific issues in planned sessions or worked with them personally. In interviews held toward the end of the two-week workshop, Lydia described Betty as very perceptive, adding that "she can look at something and see the parts quickly." Lydia also said that Betty was "very aware of what's going on" and was able to "give answers without making value judgments." She also felt that Betty was "helpful and open if I felt that I had a problem" and that during the workshop "she made us do things that seemed impossible" (Individual Interview, 8/17/78).

Joanne described Betty as "strongwilled, dynamic, and full of energy," adding that "she isn't domineering, but matter-of-fact and human, too." "She's like a walking computer because she's so organized and really gets things done." Joanne also described Betty's style with teachers: "she earns respect"; "she doesn't try to be a friend as much

as trying to help you, yet she's friendly"; and "it's easy to take critiquing from her because she is professional (and) does it in such a positive way" (Individual Interview, 8/17/78).

The interaction to be analyzed here was the third formal session Lydia and Joanne had with Betty at their home school. After the first session, held three months earlier, during which the topics of advisory groups, procedures, and management systems for keeping track of students' progress were discussed, Lydia reported that "we could have spent a lot more time talking to her." Joanne said that "she helped us validate decisions we had already made" (Group Interview, 9/26/78). During their second session with Betty, held six weeks earlier, they had asked for assistance in lesson planning and doing more individualization and also wanted to do some idea sharing and get further suggestions.

The present meeting was also requested by the teachers. They had taken advantage of every opportunity to meet with Betty that had been made available to them to date. This one was scheduled for the beginning of the school day when the students would be in one of their special classes (music, art, or physical education), and, as usual, would be held in their classroom.

Searching for the Problem

The videotape recorder was turned on shortly after Betty entered the room and had joined Lydia and Joanne at one of the circular tables. Betty began shuffling the scheduling forms she had just picked up from the office and read off some of the topics which had been listed. The recorded informal opening was very brief and consisted of a question by Lydia, asking if the topics Betty was reading were ones they had

written down. Betty responded, "No, these are ones I've just collected" (1:2), and Lydia replied, "Oh, I see" (1:3). From there, they went straight into the request for the issue, preliminary description of the problem and Betty's interpretation of it.

1:4 B: What can I do for you?
5 L: OK. I...and I think we have a big concern with two students
6 that are causing a lot of problem.
7 B: Arright.
8 L: And the number one problem is that their parents, I mean their
9 parents are teachers.
10 B: Right. OK.
11 L: I mean it's things like..one of them is...mean. I mean mean
12 to other kids.
13 J: Rude to the other kids (low voice).
14 L: Yeh. Just rude. Like today
15 J: and teachers
16 L: he brought, he brought a nest...
17 a bird's nest to share. And so he spent the whole morning going
18 around putting it in girls' faces..y'know, anyone that couldn't
19 fight backs' faces. Y'know. I mean, y'know, and he's, he's
20 done things like with his lunch pail, coming into the line and
21 just..knock..knock everybody down.

22 B: Have you..OK, since..Now..is the child's..parents on the staff?
23 J: Yes
24 B: Awright. So,ya know if you..get the parents too much involved,
25 then you y'know, they feel uneasy. It's very hard..having (ha)
26 worked on a staff and having a child on it. It puts undue
27 pressure on the child. It really does, and I don't think
28 people realize that. Uh...let me just share with you a
29 little bit (ha). I had my daughter on a pilot team, and, uh,
2:1 and because in Fairfax County you weren't allowed to have
2 your child on a..but because it was a school environment
3 in Reston, which was a new planned community, and many of the
4 things being done were off the traditional path, we did. Uh,
5 and later I went back and asked Jennifer. And ya gotta bear
6 in mind first of all that Jennifer's one of those kids that
7 was, y'know, an outstanding student. Awright, so she didn't
8 have any of those.uh.personal, y'know, she...the first child
9 she wanted to do all of these things. She told me later that..
10 that it was really hard on her because she felt like...she
11 could never be herself. And that..people expected her to be
12 different because she was mine. And that she could never have
13 tolerated..and this was like...there were 5th, 6th, and 7th
14 graders...that unless, if I had not been a good teacher, she
15 said she never would have been able to survive. But she said
16 the kids liked me and respected me so therefore there was no
17 problem in that age group. But she wouldn't recommend it. And

18 a...it's interesting...later on she said come over and help
19 clean up the hgh school, y'know, like that. But I think it does
20 put a lot of pressure on them.

Both the immediacy and the manner in which Betty asked the opening question, "What can I do for you?" were in sharp contrast to the way the topic of discussion was negotiated in the previous interaction. Yet, in both cases, the respective teachers had indicated ahead of time (on their appointment sheets) that they had previously determined topics they wished to discuss with Betty. In the previous interaction, Pete had tried to get Betty involved in discussing some other things first, and she resisted through her inactivity. In this interaction neither Lydia or Joanne indicated that they wanted to do or talk about anything else. Lydia's first audible comment, "Is that what we wrote down?" indicated that she was responding to something Betty had said earlier. After Betty responded to Lydia's direct question and explained what she had been doing, Lydia replied, "Oh. I see," and waited for Betty to do or say something else. Lydia gave Betty the floor and indicated that she had the next move in this interaction.

Negotiating the Agenda

As Betty asked the opening question, she looked briefly at Lydia, then down again as she continued to look at and shuffle her appointment sheets and get ready to write. Lydia and Joanne were both leaning forward with their arms on the table and looking directly at Betty. Lydia began her explanation of the problem rather tentatively, pausing, starting over, and using the word "think" (1:5) rather than some very which might have expressed greater conviction before she stated their concern. Betty then looked at Lydia, raised her eyebrows, tilted her

head, and said "Arright," emphasizing the "r," then looked down again. As Lydia continued her explanation of the problem, Betty looked intently at her. Betty began nodding her head, and Lydia completed her sentence. Betty continued nodding as she said "Right. OK" (1:10), then looked at Lydia who then continued her description of the child who was causing the problem. As Joanne inserted a further description of the child's behavior, Betty glanced briefly at her.

As Lydia continued her description of what this child had been doing (1:16-21), Betty was again watching intently. Lydia accompanied her description of the child's deviant behavior with several gestures which, in part, were representative of what the child had been doing (putting bird's nest in children's faces and knocking others down with his lunch pail), which helped her give a clearer description. Lydia's description contained false starts (1:16, 17), repetitions (1:17, 19, 21), words such as "y'know" (1:18, 19), and "I mean" (1"19), and qualification of the word "girls" to "anyone that couldn't fight back" (1:18-19).

Carrying out the Problem Discussion

A transition from a statement of the problem to its interpretation was signalled when Betty asked "Have you...OK, since...now...is the child's..parents on the staff?" (1:22). During the first part of that question which was full of false starts and pauses, Betty was looking at Lydia. Then she looked at Joanne and asked the question, "Is the child's..parents on the staff?" (1:22). It was a question of clarification, but Lydia had already stated that the child's parents were teachers which, in that setting, would mean that they necessarily were

on the staff. Joanne answered affirmatively, Betty nodded, and then began interpreting and providing insight into the problem.

Betty linked her knowledge and familiarity with the problem of children and parents' being in the same school by telling of her own experience of being a teacher in a school which her oldest child had attended. She used a great deal of facial expression and movement, and the two teachers watched and nodded agreement at particular points. Joanne nodded more frequently and whenever Betty looked at her. Lydia nodded three times to Joanne's eight times during this part of the explanation. If she were showing agreement through eye movement, it could not be seen in the videotape.

As Betty said "It's very hard" (1"25), she glanced from Joanne to Lydia, raised her eyebrows, nodded, and grinned. Both teachers nodded in agreement, and replied "um" very quietly. As she continued to say that she had "worked on a staff and having a child on it" (1:26), she again nodded and raised her eyebrows. She emphasized the fact that "it really does put undue pressure on the child" (1"27) and again nodded, but less obviously. In several of the places where Betty talked about her daughter and herself, she put her chin down but looked up at Lydia, then nodded. This occurred when she said that her daughter was "an outstanding student" (2:7), felt that "she could never be herself" (2:11), and that she was "expected to be different" (2"12). Lydia and Joanne both nodded when Betty described her daughter as "an outstanding student." Betty nodded more and looked at Lydia with her chin down and her eyes up when she talked about herself as "a good teacher" (2:14) and that the other students had "liked" and "respected" her (2:16). Lydia and Joanne nodded as Betty said, "But I

think it does put a lot of pressure on them" (2:19-20), which was her summary of the problem.

Betty then said that the same problem existed at another school in which she worked and that the reason children in this situation "act out" is because they're "under this pressure" (2:24-25). She also suggested that "I think you need to do more counseling with that child ..in terms of not what his parents expect, but how he's being perceived by the rest of the group" (2:28-30). She added that for these children, school is an "extension of the home" (2:35) and that "they don't have the feeling that we did as coming to school" (3:1-2). Both teachers nodded in agreement and said "umhmm" as Betty emphasized the word "we" and pointed to herself and opened her eyes very wide, glancing at both of them. At that point there was a 30 second interruption as a messenger brought in a notice which the teachers read and initialed. It was followed by Betty's summarizing the message, "So you may want..to be careful on the home base" (3:6).

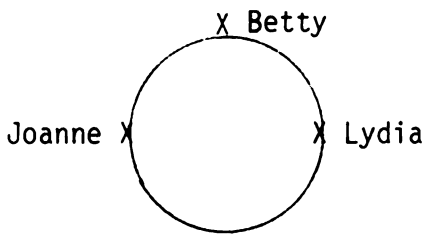
Reaching Consensus

A microanalysis of this segment provided information about the content of the interaction (what was being said), its context (how it was said), and about how both related to the dynamics of the relationship between Betty and the two teachers. The content of Betty's message and interpretation of the problem was essentially that being the child of teachers who work at the same school puts a lot of pressure on the child (1:27; 2:10-12, 19-20), and his mean/rude behavior the teachers described was a reaction to this pressure (2:24-25). Betty also said that Lydia and Joanne would have to solve the problem

without the help of the parents because parental involvement might put a strain on the multiple relationships these two teachers had with them as parents and teachers, colleagues and friends (1:24-25; 3:6).

The context of this segment of face-to-face interaction analysis involved the length of Betty's turns and the way the three participants collaborated on turn-allocation. Betty did virtually all of the talking for two minutes and 15 seconds, which was an unusually long turn, certainly the longest in any of the cases described so far. The way turns were allocated provided some insight into why Betty's turn was so long and the nature of the relationship between the staff developer and the two teachers.

The seating arrangement was a contributing factor. The two teachers were across the circular table from each other, and Betty was between the two of them so that it was not possible for any of them to look at the other two simultaneously.



Betty was both given and took the responsibility for turn allocation by looking at either Lydia or Joanne. Before Betty asked, "What can I do for you?" both teachers were looking at her and waiting for her to do or say something. She glanced briefly at Lydia as she asked that question, and Lydia responded by explaining the problem. She looked at Lydia again after she said "Arright" (1:7) and "Right. OK" (1:10), and both times Lydia continued talking. When Betty later asked "(are) the children's parents on the staff?" she looked at Joanne

and Joanne anaswered. As Betty took her long turn when she interpreted the problem, Joanne nodded in agreement whenever Betty looked at her, and Lydia nodded when Betty said the problem was "hard" (1:25), when she said that her daughter was an "outstanding student" (2:7), when she said "it puts a lot of pressure on them" (2:20), and again when she said "we did" (3:1) which told of the common feeling the three of them had shared as students. In each case where Lydia nodded or said "umhmm," Betty was also nodding, raising her eyebrows, and looking at her. It appeared as if Betty were controlling allocation of turns as well as soliciting the responses she desired from the teachers.

Another kind of information dealing with the dynamics of the relationship between staff developer and teachers was available in the way Betty talked and interpreted the problem. First, Betty told them that she was very familiar with the problem because she had been on a staff at a school where her daughter was a student (1:25-26). She also said that they ran into the same problem at her own school (2:23-25). She thereby gave them the message that this was not an unusual problem in international schools, and it was one that she had addressed in the past. In addition, Betty gave the two teachers information about herself--a previous job (1:26, 29), a place she worked (2:1,3), and her daughter (her name, 2:5; she was an outstanding student, 2:7; was her first child, 2:8; she communicated to her mother how it felt when her mother was on the staff where she attended school, 2:9-17; and she suggested that her mother work at another school she attended later on, 2:18-19). By providing this kind of background information about herself, Betty was potentially broadening her working relationship with

Lydia and Joanne and developing or performing comembership beyond the one in which they were currently engaged.

The opening segments of this interaction varied greatly from the opening of the previous interaction in which Pete was doing most of the talking, was physically more active, and initiated topical changes. In that case it was said that the implied purpose of the interaction was ambiguous and the relative status and roles of the two participants were unclear and had not yet been negotiated. There was no evidence of a common understanding of the situation at that point, and a working consensus and definition of what was to occur still needed to be worked out. Even though Pete had an acceptable topic in mind to talk about, he had not defined it, asked a question, or stated a problem for Betty to answer or solve. As a result, the opening segments of the interaction involved the process of negotiating a working consensus of the situation in which they were engaged and their relationship to each other.

In contrast, the interaction between Betty and these two teachers had a smooth beginning. Lydia and Joanne reflected a clear understanding of what was to occur, what kinds of help Betty could give them, and they, in turn, had a clearly defined problem in mind and participated in a very different way than Pete had. They seemed to know how and when to ask questions, define or describe the problem, and when, how, and how much to listen or to talk. There was clarity of purpose on the part of everyone. They all appeared to know that the situation of Betty's coming into this room meant that she was there to help them on any issue or problem they defined. They had also learned through their own past experiences and through hearing others talk about Betty

on what kinds of things she was most helpful and her areas of expertise.

In addition to a clarity of purpose, there was also a clarity of their respective status and roles, and the rights and obligations that went along with them. Betty was in control of turn-allocation and some of the teacher responses. The teachers were deferential to her in the way they talked to her and when they talked, and Betty seemed to know what kinds of strategies she could use with them without threatening them or making them feel defensive. This clarity of understanding was based on former knowledge gained from previous interactions both at the workshop and on Betty's visits earlier in the school year. The former knowledge and experience these three people had of and with each other probably also enabled Betty to ask for the problem to be stated so readily. In this case where a working consensus had been achieved and the two teachers had learned "how to learn" and Betty had learned "how to teach them," there was a more stable relationship under which a different set of interactions could occur.

The interaction continued with a further description of the problem by both Joanne and Lydia. During this time, Betty was primarily looking down, nodding at intervals, and writing or doodling. She glanced up at the speaker occasionally, and Lydia and Joanne negotiated their turns with each other for a little over half a minute. This was followed by Betty's restating a solution that she had first mentioned earlier ("I think you need to do more counseling <u>with</u> that child..in terms of not what his parents expect, but how he's being perceived by the rest of the group," 2:28-30). This time it was stated as follows: "Let me, let me give you a little.. I would, first of all

..uh, n-now in here...counsel, and change his behavior...with what he's doing in here. First of all, that's positive" (3:17-19).

The difference between this suggestion for a solution and the earlier one related to when and how they were stated. The first time, it was embedded in Betty's long statement of interpretation and agreement. There were no changes in her movements or gaze direction during that sentence, but there had been shifts that accompanied both the statement previous to this solution and the following one. Also, there were content shifts in the three sentences. Prior to the solution, she had shifted topics from the pressure on the child to the need for counseling and someone else's help. It was not specified how this other person might be able to help, but then she quickly added, while pointing to each of them, "I think you two can handle it" (2:22-23). Immediately following the solution sentence, she described how the kids felt about school while moving back in her chair and dropping one of her arms off the table.

The second time the solution was given, about one minute later, it was distinguished from what came before primarily by change of speaker. Joanne had been describing the child's behavior, Betty signalled that she wanted a turn by saying "OK," and Joanne completed her turn. When Betty began her suggestion, she used the words, "let me... give you a little..," which clarified what was to occur, who was doing the "giving," and to whom it was being given. The term "let me" softened the intent somewhat by indicating that Betty was asking for permission, but it still acted as an imperative and expressed "the will to influence the behavior of another" (Webster, 1980, p. 570).

Betty had used a similar linguistic feature and class of verbs when she began the solution-giving phase with Pete ("Well now, let me share with you," 3:6). Another linguistic feature she used was "I would..." to precede the suggestion, something which also appeared in the solution she offered to Anita (6:12). The third feature she used, also seen with Pete, was enumerating: "first of all..."

When Betty went through these three features and was finally ready to state her suggestion for solving the problem (which was "counsel, and change his behavior...with what he's doing in here"), she employed some kinesic strategies to emphasize her message. She looked at Lydia, pointed to her, and then tapped the table three times with four fingers of her right hand as she concluded the sentence. All of these features and strategies occurred one right after the other.

Lydia nodded in agreement and said "umhmm" as Betty tapped her fingers, but then disagreed.

```
3:20 L: We've tried, now
  21 B:                  OK
  22 L:                    we've talked to him. We have spent a lot
  23    of time with this kid.
  24 B: Awright.  You may have talked too much.
  25 L: We have, yeh, that's what I'm saying
  26 B:                                        OK, in other words
  27 L: We're not getting any results.
4:1  B: You need to get into the behavior..aspect of it,
  2  L:                                                  Umhmm
```

Shortly after Lydia said, "we've tried," her head went back and she dropped her left forearm to the table from the upright position it had been in. As Betty said "OK," she glanced at Joanne and began scratching her wrist. When Lydia said "We've talked to him," she picked up and dropped her forearm again, using her arm to add power to the voice emphasis. As she continued with "we have spent a lot of time with this kid," she was shaking her head up and down in a rather pronounced

way. When Betty said "Awright" (3:24), she was still scratching her wrist, but was shaking her head "no" as if she realized the problem. As Lydia agreed that they may have talked too much (3:24), she leaned back from the table, lifting her elbows, pushed back her long hair, and came forward again, this time with two elbows on the table and both hands holding up her head, and leaning further over the table than she had been before.

Lydia reacted to the word Betty had used in the solution, "counsel," and interpreted it as the kind of talking that hadn't been working. Betty agreed that "talking" was not the answer, but went on to elucidate how to talk and what to say. She didn't say they had been doing it wrong, but did go on to say how to do it correctly--the issue of error or mistake was avoided as was any disagreement. Lydia appeared ready to agree ("umhmm"), as Betty got "into the behavior aspect of it" (4:1), and ready to listen to Betty's further explanation. There appeared to be a strong enough working consensus to allow Lydia to give an honest reaction and disagree with Betty and still be ready to listen further. The consensus may have worked toward giving her the freedom to disagree without threatening the relationship.

In the next segment, Betty told Lydia and Joanne how to change this child's behavior:

4:3 B: Say, "awright, now..John...I'm concerned about how other
4 people are gonna think, y'know, think about you. And I'd
5 like you to watch...first of all...or just tell me..how many
6 people act like you do?" And you've got a good number in here,
7 and say, "well now..I've talked with you. We've reached the
8 end of it and you..." He probably is not a child that can
9 learn by inference. So you tried informally, because he maybe
10 has never had a model. Y'know if I say to you.."Now why don't
11 you act like a lady,Lydia"..you immediately have some sort
12 of a model of appropriate behavior. That may not be this
13 child's forte. He may never had had seen...what the norm is.

14 L: That might really be true.
15 B: Uh..the home environment may be entirely permissive and there's
16 maybe not much time spent on learning those socializing skills.

This was followed by an example of another child who had not had an appropriate model, and then some more explicit directions of how to solve this problem.

5:4 B: But first of all ya have to sit down and create this environment.
5 It's gonna take a little time. Ya have to say, "now look...
6 today I want you..to..behave this way and not do" and you have
7 to start with one behavior that you can't tolerate.
8 L: Yeh
9 B: OK, so select one. Eradicate that one first. Now, the plan is
10 ...he will need reminding. So, I've used several ones, and I'm
11 not a big behavior mod nut so don't think that
12 L: I think
13 B: (inaudible)
14 L: I think that's
15 what we're gonna have to resort to.
16 B: Awright. You're gonna have to be consistent.
17 L: Umhmm
18 B: Both of you. And say, "awright now." For instance, if it's
19 speaking out, and you wanna stop that, say "now every time you
20 speak out, I'm gonna put a line on the chalkboard. When it
21 gets to five..."
22 L: then
23 B: he's isolated (pause)
24 L: Like into the center mod?
25 B: Into the center mod. Now if you wanna get, y'know, if you
26 wanna talk it over with your administrator first and get it
27 to where he can come up to the office...but you have to find
28 something and, I..he may value the group, whatever it is, but
29 you have to say "because you are taking away a freedom...from
30 other people. They don't need th..to put up with that." And
6:1 gradually, like the next day he may, he may curb his behavior
2 almost immediately, cause you're only working with one. And
3 then the next day..if you had four marks today before you get
4 out, tomorrow you have three. And you gradually decrease.
5 L: OK, b..but you wanna..you wanna work on one behavior, and go
6 down to five, four, th
7 B: That's right
8 L: and whatever, like that, and when that
9 seems
10 J: Like is there any kind. of like a length of time you wanna go
11 on that? Or does everybody have a different one?
12 L: You just have to
13 kinda feel how th..how they're doin' on it?

In that segment there were at least three salient features that emerged from the data and reflected the effective working consensus

these participants had negotiated: (a) the explicitness of Betty's language and choice of words, (b) the number and clearness of her gestures, and (c) the evidence the teachers gave that the suggestions Betty was giving were relevant and workable.

Betty used very directive language to tell and show Lydia and Joanne what to do. Both her word choice and sentence structure communicated a clear set of directions. She told them, then modeled a plan for working with the deviant child. She used the phrase "you have to" or something quite similar six times (5:4, 5, 6-7, 16, 27, 29), of which the first three were in close succession. She didn't choose a softer alternative such as "you could," which would make it seem like a suggestion, but chose instead to use the most forceful form which made the ideas that followed the phrase appear as directives or commands.

The ideas communicated were equally forceful. Such statements as "you have to start with one behavior that you can't tolerate" (5:7) and "Eradicate that one first" (5:9) communicated that the teachers should and could change behavior and didn't have to tolerate things that they didn't like may have been surprising to these two teachers who evidently had been tolerating this child's behavior for several months. It is possible that their earlier attempts at curbing this behavior ("talking") communicated that the teachers didn't like it, but now Betty was telling them that they "had to" communicate that it was unacceptable and would not be tolerated; in fact, it would be "eradicated."

Betty was very clear in the way she communicated who would be doing these things. She formulated "the plan," but both of them were

to expedite it. She used the pronoun "you" consistently, and added the phrase "both of you" at one point (5:18). The plan was to analyze the problem and break it down into its component behaviors and then to select one of the component behaviors and then to select one of the components at a time and direct their attention to that first. They needed to tell the child what not to do, call his attention to it every time he did it, and then punish him in some way so that he would have to take the consequences of his own behavior.

Betty's gestures paralleled the interpretation of how Betty became more and more directive, explicit, and authoritative in telling Lydia and Joanne what to do and how to do it in order to solve this problem. At the beginning of the interaction when Lydia was first describing the problem, Betty looked down a great deal (at the papers she was shuffling) and rarely moved or changed positions. In fact, Lydia was the most active participant in the way she used her gestures to help with her description of the problem. When Betty began her long turn in which she was interpreting the problem and agreeing that it was a common problem in international schools, she looked alternately at both teachers and began to move her fingers as she talked. Her wrists and arms remained immobile on the table. As Betty's language became more and more explicit in the most recent segment and as she was giving the set of directions for solving the problem, her gestures became clear and pronounced. At that time she spent most of her time looking at Lydia with only token glances at Joanne. First she began moving her right arm while the left remained on the table. Then she began using two arms more frequently in her gestures when she got to the segment containing "you have to" three times in succession.

She did not gesture broadly during this past segment, but the rhythm of her gestures followed the pattern of her speech. When she modeled what the teachers should say to the child, she also demonstrated with both arms. For example, when she said "now look...today I want you..to..behave this way and not do" (5:5-6), her left arm was outstretched, and her right hand was softly hitting the table in rhythm with the pauses. When said said "eradicate that one first" (5:9), she made a large, sweeping motion with her left arm and then hit the table. When she said "Awright. You're gonna have to be consistent" (5:16), her head was nodding, and both arms were outstretched in front of her. As she added "both of you," her hands went up and her fingers were outspread.

All through this segment the teachers, particularly Lydia, gave Betty feedback about her suggestions as she said "start with one behavior that you can't tolerate" (5:7). Here Lydia began writing first; Betty looked at her hand and paper, then glanced over at Joanne who then also began writing. They also were writing as Betty said "talk it over with your adminstrator first" (5:26). They both continued the active listening behaviors they had used earlier, particularly head nodding and saying "umhmm." This was going on regularly all through this suggestion/direction giving phase. There were also times when they were more outspoken in their agreement. Lydia said, "That might really be true" (4:14) in reference to Betty's explanation that the child may not have any norms or models of appropriate behavior. She also said "I think that's what we're gonna have to resort to," referring to the behavior modification plan that Betty was suggesting (5:14-15), and Joanne nodded as she and Lydia made eye-contact. Lydia

also asked a question to clarify if she understood "the plan." She asked, "OK, b..but you wanna..you wanna work on one behavior, and go down to five, four, th..., and whatever, like that..." (6:5-9). She went on to ask, "Like is there any kind, or like a length of time you wanna go on that? Or does everybody have a different one?" (6:10-11).

There was also symmetry of movement which suggested that Lydia, particularly, was in agreement with Betty's plan. At one point (5:10-11), Lydia and Betty leaned toward each other and made what appeared to be a rather extended eye-contact. When Betty said, "He's isolated" and paused (5:23), she swept her right arm across the table and behind her, pointing in the direction of the central area of the module (that portion shared by the six teachers who had classrooms in that module). Lydia then asked, "Like..into the center mod?" (5:24) and swept her arm across the table in a way similar to what Betty had just done, but on a smaller, more restricted scale. At other points, Lydia used a synonym for "modeling" ("examples") to show understanding (5:2) and helped Betty in the completion of her sentence (5:22).

The total effect of Betty's strong and directive lingusitic and kinesic features was mediated by Lydia and Joanne's signs of agreements. These indications that the two teachers were finding Betty's plan relevant and workable allowed Betty to continue and to become more direct and explicit to the point that she appeared to be giving commands rather than making suggestions. A linguistic analysis alone raised the question of how Betty could be so authoritative and use such strong, directive language. Her voice was emphatic, and she expressed confidence and knowledge that her plan was workable. Through a combination of linguistic and kinesic strategies, Betty showed the

teachers how they, too, could act authoritatively and decisively. She modeled the language and behavior that they should use with the child. So, while it appeared that Betty had made the decision on how to solve the problem unilaterally and was now telling them what they "had to do," the working consensus that had been achieved early in the interaction plus the continual signs of agreement the teachers gave to Betty about the solution showed how they, too, had a part of that decision-making.

Betty was far more direct in her approach with Lydia and Joanne than she had been with either Pete or Anita. With Pete, she had to solicit agreement through the use of rhetorical questions and had to make her suggestions in the form of questions. She had to be indirect in order to preserve his face and need to be seen as a nice person and a good teacher. With Anita, Betty was quite directive, but she never had the signs of agreement that Anita thought she had a problem that Betty could solve. There had been no working consensus about why they were together or what their relationship was to each other.

Throughout the remainder of the present interaction, Betty continued to elucidate on "the plan," and the teachers gave continual signs of agreement and occasionally elaborated on other aspects of the problem. Shortly after the teachers clarified their understanding of the plan, Betty returned to the original source of disagreement--their various definitions of "talking":

> B: Ya see most children live up to the expectaton..of the environment. Awright, now, remember it'll take a little while because he's been tolerated, and, he.he knows that he can out-last the talk. He does something wrong..he gets a lecture, right? And he goes right back and does the same thing...So you're goin' to be changing his behavior. Whenever you change a behavior, ther'll be some dynamics, y'know, he may try to get back at other things (6:14-19).

Now that Betty had explained how to change behavior, she went back to show them how it was different than "talking." She switched pronouns from "you" to "he" as in "he's been tolerated" or "he gets a lecture" rather than a more threatening direct form such as "you've been tolerating/lecturing him." Her strategy was to be direct when it would make her solution more explicit, but less direct in placing blame. This was a face-saving strategy since Betty may have felt that there was nothing to be gained by having them accept blame for the problem directly.

In Betty's plan, after the student "curbs his behavior" by having been made aware of what he was doing and taking the consequences, the next step was to give positive feedback and show him how his behavior had been changed. She said, "So at the end of the day, you have to say, 'Listen, aren't you pleased? You can do it'" (6:20-21). She also suggested using "peer recognition" to reinforce the positive change by saying, "if there's a small group, say, 'Aren't you pleased with how he's changed his behavior?'" (7:1-2).

Then Betty reflected back to her interpretation of the cause of the problem: "I think, to a certain extent, people have made it an expectation of the school to take care of their children" (7:21-23). Betty, Lydia, and Joanne reflected on some other aspects of that problem as with teachers who nurse their babies during after-school meetings or bring their children into the teachers' lounge. Lydia said, "I can't understand how that's allowed" (9:2), and Betty said, "I think it needs to come to the administrators. They need to discuss it" (9:4-5).

Other phases of "the plan" involved telling the child where to play and what to do after school. Both teachers and Betty agreed that what the child does after school is out of the domain. A short while later, the teachers explained the kind of behavior that had been tolerated from two children last year. Joanne said that they were constantly telling those two not to sit together because the children felt that they could just play around if they had finished their work. Betty's solution was similar: tell them where they can sit and with whom rather than telling them what not to do.

Part of Betty's model of effective teaching involved teaching behavior in much the same way that one teaches basic skills. She had talked about this theme at inservice sessions, and it had emerged in several of her interactions with teachers as it had with Lydia and Joanne. She talked about the importance of making classroom expectations clear to the children. If these two problem children needed limitations, then that is what they should be given. From there Betty moved into another theme, one which she had tried to approach with Anita. She suggested that easily distracted students need to be placed within physical proximity to the teacher because they needed more supervision. She showed them how this related to one of her goals for all classrooms which was to help the children move toward the goal of self-discipline by recognizing and reinforcing positive changes and improvement.

Throughout the remainder of the interaction, Betty revealed some of her other goals for classrooms and her model of effective classroom management. One of these was to teach and encourage group values by getting kids to feel responsible for others. Another was to establish

and create a listening environment and avoid repeating directions by making sure that children were quiet before stating the directions for the first time, writing them on the board if necessary, and then finding out "if the message got through" through questioning. Betty told Lydia and Joanne that this was part of teaching the process of good study habits. She also emphasized the need to teach oral and listening activities. At the end of the interaction, Betty stated "two rules" for classroom activities: one was to make sure that children understood why they were doing something and why it was valuable, and the second was to make sure that they understood directions.

Summary of Case Study III

Throughout the interaction, there had been an apparent consensus of the purpose of the interaction and the relative status and roles of the participants. The purpose of the interaction was for the teachers to get help on a specific school-related problem. They played the role of problem holders while Betty played that of problem solver which put them in a status relationship similar to that of students and teacher. Betty was always in control of the pace of the conversation, the topical changes, and turn allocations; and she also did most of the talking. The teachers listened actively, agreed with her interpretations and solutions or asked questions of clarifications, and took notes. Betty's language was strong and directive, and her gestures were clear, succinct, and obvious. Lydia's language reflected signs of powerlessness in her hedges, false starts, and indirective language, and her gestures were smooth and graceful.

There was also a smoothness on the part of all the participants in structuring the interaction. The three people collaborated on how

these relative social roles should be played out and the extent to which Betty could be authoritative and explicit on how to solve the problem. The teachers were able to ask questions for clarification and express doubts about the workability of a suggestion. Their agreement on the problem, its cause, and the appropriate solutions broadened their relationship to the point where polite disagreement was acceptable. They negotiated with Betty on interactional dynamics. Betty didn't begin by giving solutions and using a wide variety of techniques; they occurred gradually. The teachers' feedback and agreement was necessary before Betty could become more and more explicit and authoritative in getting them the solution to their problem.

Because the degree of authoritativeness was gradually negotiated, and the teachers actively participated in that negotiation, they reported having a sense of discovery or of being helped. One of these teachers had once told the researcher that Betty "was able to force us into the process without telling us what to do, and we did it" (Workshop, 8/17/78). They continued to refer to her helpfulness "in giving immediate feedback to questions and problems" and to "dealing with trouble spots in a fair way" (Questionnaire, 2/20/79). In fact, Betty did tell the teachers what to do and modeled exactly how to do it; but because of their part in the collaboration, the solution became their own. They were told how to be authoritative with a child, how to focus in on a problem, how to arrive at a solution, and then how to implement the solution consistently and in a step-by-step procedure. They were told how to change behavior and how "to eradicate" behaviors that they couldn't tolerate.

In this interaction there didn't appear to be conflicting concerns that were demonstrated in the first interaction or the multiple agendas and identities as in the second one. Together with Lydia and Joanne, Betty was able to meet the needs of the teachers by providing solutions on how to solve their problem, she was able to meet her own needs by presenting her concepts and goals for effective teaching or classroom management, and she was able to meet the needs of the school by providing help where it was needed/wanted. All three of these concerns and needs were served simultaneously.

CHAPTER IV

STEPPING BACK: THE CASE STUDIES IN PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This study began with an understanding that staff development was a difficult and complex task. Intuitively, it seemed that any role which attempted to create change in teachers, or any other class of individuals, must be a rather sensitive one. Yet this researcher knew Betty, a staff developer, who had been called "effective"; i.e., people reported that she helped them change in positive ways.

When these people who had worked closely with Betty were asked about her, the first responses were generally quite broad and evaluative, such as "terrific" or "amazing." When these people were asked to describe Betty or her working style or what was "terrific" or "amazing" about her, they often spoke of her energy level or physical dynamics--how fast and efficiently she moved, talked, reacted, etc. When asked why they thought Betty was "good" or "effective," they often described the kinds of help she gave: "direct," "straight-forward," "concrete," etc. (See questionnaire and interview data in Appendices A and B.)

The basic questions of this study came from the researcher's curiosity about how Betty managed to enact this difficult and complex role and the grounds for her effectiveness as reported by those who knew and and worked with her. The intent was systematically to study and

describe what she did and how she did it or, more basically, to study the institutions of those who worked with her regularly. It was hoped that such a study would uncover some of the skills and knowledge this individual possessed which would provide new understanding and insight into the process of staff development.

This chapter will summarize the three case studies and then show their differences and similarities in order to refocus on the broader questions of this study and to develop a larger perspective of staff development as enacted by Betty. Those broad questions asked (a) how can positive change in teachers be facilitated? (b) how is the role of the staff developer enacted? and (c) what enables people to behave sensibly with others in social encounters.

The differences across the three case studies provided insight into the range of knowledge and skills the individual possessed and the various forms and purposes that an interaction between a staff developer and teachers/administrators can take. The similarities across the studies also pointed out potentially new and generalizable information about staff development that provided greater understanding about the difficulties and complexities of the total role and some commonalities in structure that occurred across all three cases which were used as subheadings for each case study in the previous chapter.

Summary of Each Case

Although there are many similarities in reports from teachers and administrators about how Betty worked and how she had helped various individuals, and even though she worked under similar conditions and constraints of timing, place, and the necessity to preserve and build

helpful working relationships, there were significant and characteristic differences in the way she carried out her role of staff developer with different teachers. These differences were not always obvious, but revealed themselves in a close and systematic analysis. This led to new insights about Betty's role and also to staff development in general. The three case studies presented in this chapter document the differences in how interactions were negotiated and how the negotiations led to different forms and purposes of staff development.

Case Study I

In the first case study, a set of problems had been identified by Jack, the principal. He had spoken of a problem between a parent and Anita, a teacher. The parent had requested that her child be moved into another class because she was bored. Anita had asked for help with increasing motivation among her students to produce worthwhile results. Betty was concerned with a generally weak teacher. Anita and Jack talked over the differing conceptions of the problem, then Anita was told by Jack that Betty was coming into her room "to observe a new child" and "provide feedback on the blond."

In that case Betty had intended to gather data on what the teacher said and how children acted and reacted in the classroom and then to work out a strategy for giving feedback to the teacher. She had gone into the observation session with conflicting concerns about the real and implied purposes of the interaction and which of her many roles or statuses she should assume. The principal's concern about negative feedback from a parent, the teacher's concern about lack of motivation among her students, and Betty's concern about a generally weak teacher

conflicted and did not lend themselves to a single way of acting or responding in the interaction.

Betty was forced to make a decision about which of the concerns was primary and whether she would play the role of advocate of the teacher, advocate of the school, or advocate of her own model of effective teaching. If she were to be an advocate of the teacher, she may have been sympathetic and responsive to the teacher's expressions of conflict between messages she was getting from various sources within the school, difficulty getting organized, or difficulty getting students motivated. Although Betty expressed the desire to help the teacher with one expressed concern (report cards), she referred to her own model of effective teaching and the need to promote task-orientation among students.

Betty expressed that there was a serious problem but, at the same time, provided the teacher with a face-saving way of accepting the problem and attempting to solve it. Betty did this by implying that she and Anita shared some assumptions about (a) good teaching, (b) that Anita wanted task orientation in her classroom, (c) she wanted to spend more time with those students who needed it, and (d) that the parent's concern had to be dealt with judiciously. Betty also referred to the student as the one with the problem and avoided mention of the teacher as the cause of the problem, and then referred to a payoff for the teacher if she followed the suggestions.

During the next interaction with Jack, the principal, Betty appeared to resolve her advocacy position and told Jack that the teacher's more general problem had to be dealt with by him and that she would play the advocate of the teacher and address herself only to

those things for which the teacher asked for help. She did, however, tell Jack how he should handle the general problem and help the teacher.

The interaction with Anita was full of ambiguity about why Betty was in the teacher's room, taking notes and giving feedback, who she was helping, and what the problem was. There was no consensus reached on the roles each should play relative to the other and what they were doing together. Betty gave advice and suggestions on a problem the the teacher hadn't acknowledged. Even though she repeated her suggestion and stated it in different ways, there was no indication that the teacher accepted or understood it. Betty expressed this ambituity and the frustrations it created in her follow-up discussion with Jack. During the course of that discussion, Betty appeared to decide what roles both she and Jack should play in helping the teacher.

In contrast, the understandings, agreements, and working consensus Betty and Jack had negotiated led to a greater understanding of how negotiations of this nature occurred, how they were collaborated upon, and how the reaching of a working consensus had allowed Betty to give information and advice to Jack and also provided both participants with information about how to act in this situation in relationship to each other, what would be the parameters of acceptable behavior, so that Betty could give Jack this kind of directive advice she she felt was needed to improve the teaching skills of Anita.

To sum, when Betty was engaged in the face-to-face interaction with Anita, she first played the role of "consultant" when asked questions by Anita, her "client." Then she became more of an "expert" with Anita's being the "detective teacher." When Betty left that interaction and began talking to Jack, she determined that the "consultant/

client" relationship was more appropriate between Anita and her and attempted to re-establish it in a note. With Jack, their relative roles shifted between that of "friends and colleagues" when they discussed the problem and worked out a strategy for Betty to observe Anita to positions closer to that of an "expert" speaking to a "problem holder."

Case Study II

The second case study also began with no common understanding or definition of the purpose of the interaction or the relative status and roles of the two participants. The only clue Betty had was that Pete, the teacher, had written down that he wanted to discuss "planning" on his appointment-scheduling sheet. She appeared to have no other agenda item or concern of her own. On the other hand, Pete had revealed to the researcher that he had two other purposes or "hidden agendas" in mind: (a) he wanted to get to know Betty better because he liked her; and (b) he had heard that Betty, through her contacts with various administrators in Southeast Asia, might be able to help him in his search for an administrative position somewhere in the region.

Through a microanalysis of speech and kinesics of videotapes of a single interaction between Pete and Betty, it has been possible to reconstruct how these two people negotiated both the topics to be discussed and their relative status to each other over time. Figure 1 illustrates the role and postural shifts across time that occurred during the interaction and how they co-occurred with the four structural phases that were common across all of the interactions. During the the course of the interaction, there were five shifts in relative status or definitions of "who we are" and the four common instructional

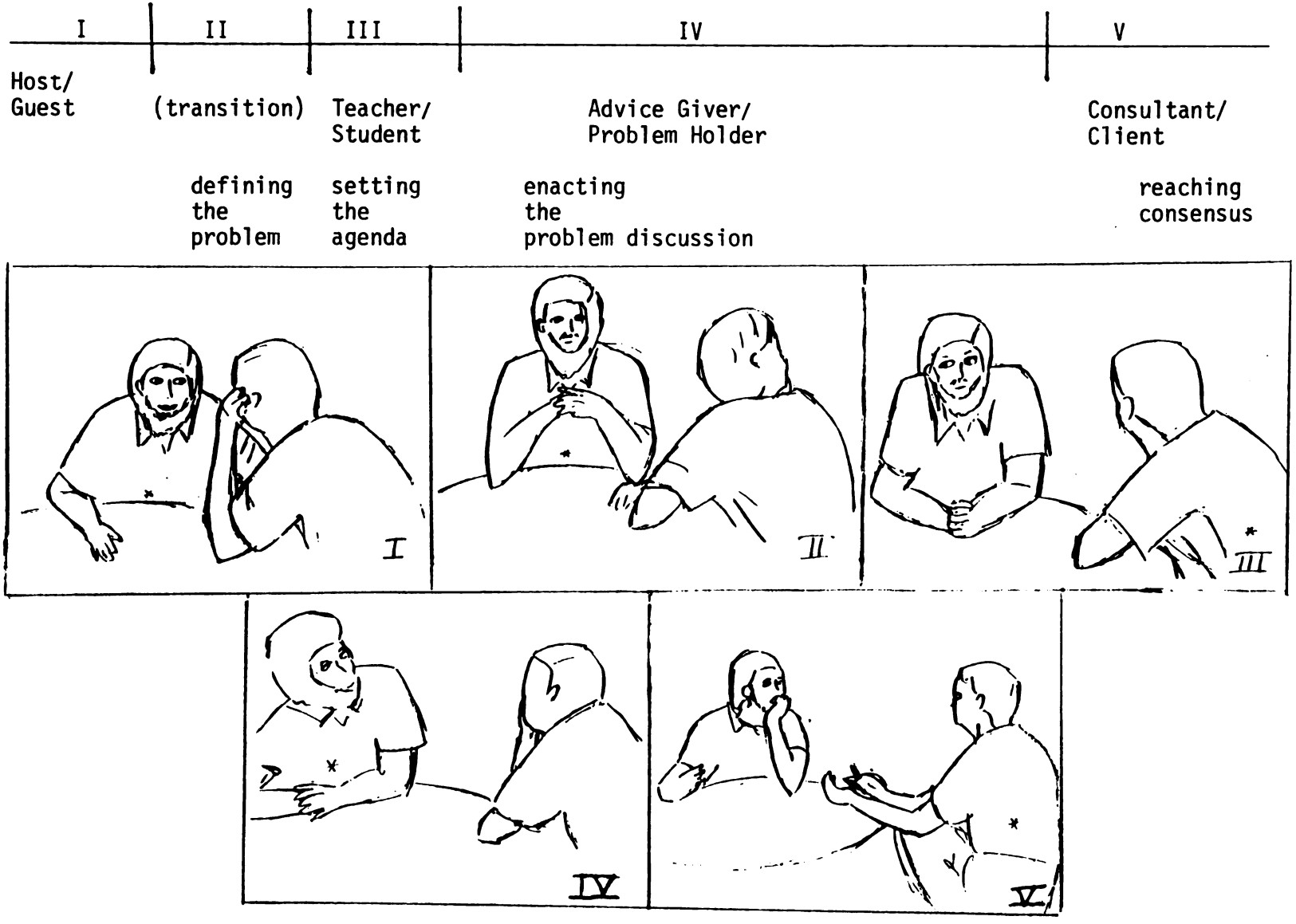


Figure 1. Time sequence of role and postural shifts--Case Study II.

and topical shifts. During the first brief segment (I), Pete initiated the conversation, did most of the talking, was physically active and actively tried to engage Betty in the conversation while she remained relatively inactive and commented minimally. He was playing the role of a solicitious host and was describing some of his teaching successes.

During the next phase (II) which can best be described as a transition, there was evidence of changing roles and relationships' being negotiated. Betty began participating more fully, and she and Pete were in the position of competing for turns. Pete defined the topic as "planning" which gave a temporary purpose or definition to what they were doing; and Betty, through her changes in posture, particularly the broad sweeps of her head, interruptions, use of the rhetorical to achieve agreement, plus using louder, more expressive speech, indicated that she was ready to give him some information.

The third phase (III) was also quite short, but one in which Betty became quite direct in what she said, her posture, and her increased use of gestures, and Pete acted as a careful and quiet listener and agreed that he should plan strategies of presentation, even though he still found it difficult to do. During this segment, Pete set the agenda on planning and Betty played the role of teacher and Pete played the role of student. Although this relationship may be the norm for staff developers and teachers and certainly one in which Betty was frequently seen in, there appeared to be too great a status-differential or gap between their relative statuses for Pete to feel comfortable and preserve his face as a sincere teacher and potential administrator. Pete admitted his error, and Betty made a supportive comment.

That signalled the transition into the fourth phase (IV) of the interaction and the enactment of the problem discussion during which both participants were mutually supportive and both talked of their successes. This phase was by far the longest and spanned discussion on two topics, both planning (as in the last two segments) and reading, which Pete identified as another curriculum item. Betty still gave advice and Pete was still deferential, but there was a repair of the status differential or gap from the previous phase, and greater equalization was evident through greater symmetry of movement and overlapping speech. They were in the relative statuses or roles of problem holder and advice giver, but through the continual work and negotiation of their relationship, particularly as they took turns telling of successes and being supportive to each other, there was a greater equalization of their relative statuses. These relative positions allowed Pete to maintain his face as a successful teacher and witty and sincere person and for Betty to do her job as a staff developer.

The final phase (V) was marked by a change of topic when Pete told Betty that he didn't want to discuss "school" anymore but had an "interest and need to do something in administration." As they switched topics to Pete's originally intended or "hidden" agenda, there was another change in their relative statuses. Instead of Betty's giving advice and Pete's being deferential, they forcefully competed for turns until turn-sharing became more equitable; and Pete began asking direct, information-seeking questions. At this point it was said that the two people had reached a consensus on both "who they were" and "what they were doing together."

Through these phases both participants worked very hard to achieving a working consensus about topics and relative status and roles. Both topic and roles changed throughout the interaction, but only as a result of a great deal of work and active negotiation on the part of both participants. Betty had to understand Pete's goals within the interaction and in the long run, and Pete had to redefine his role and status relationship to Betty before he could ask the questions that were of greatest importance to him. Betty couldn't use her skills and knowledge as a staff-developer without the participation, collaboration, and agreement of Pete; and Pete couldn't ask the questions he wanted to until they had reached a consensus on the purpose of the interaction and their relative statuses within it.

Case Study III

In the third case study, by contrast, questions of status and role as well as defining the purpose of the interaction did not require a great deal of collaborated effort, but appeared to be mutually understood. As a result, the problem was defined and the agenda set almost immediately so that the participants were able to channel their efforts into solution of a specific teaching problem. In this case, the two teachers, Lydia and Joanne, had worked with and under Betty at a two-week workshop, had interacted with her on earlier visits to their school, and had expressed many positive comments about her working style, knowledge, and ability to the researcher as well as their colleagues.

The smooth beginning of this interaction reflected clear understandings of what was to occur and how to behave. Figure 2 illustrates

I	II	III
Teacher/ Student	Advice Giver/ Problem Holder	Expert/ Interested Audience
defining the problem setting the agenda	enacting the problem discussion	reaching consensus

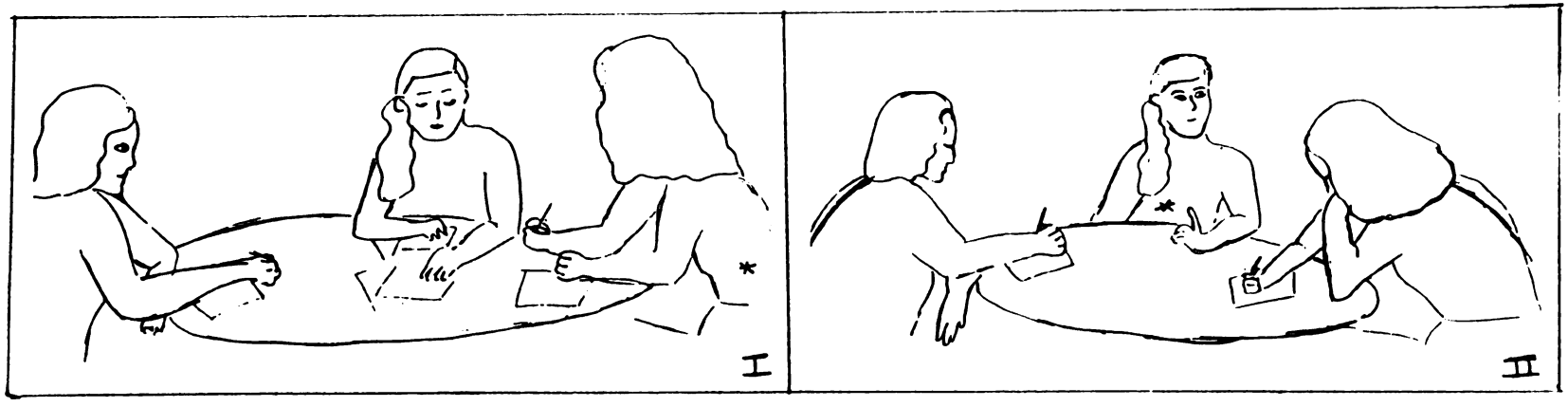


Figure 2. Time sequence of role and postural shifts--Case Study III

the role and postural shifts acorss time that occurred in this interaction and their relationship to the four structural phases. There was a clarity of respect status and roles reflected in the way Betty controlled the talking and length of turns, as well as allocating turns to the two teachers and soliciting their agreement (I). The teachers were deferential in the way they talked and when they talked, and Betty was able to be directive and authoritative in giving them a solution to the problem without the danger of making them feel defensive or threatened (II). There was evidence of an effective working consensus (III) among these three participants in the way they were able to disagree and resolve the disagreement as well as in the explicitness of Betty's suggestions and the constant and continual ways the two teachers reflected their agreement through writing down suggestions, frequent head-nodding, and a symmetry of movement.

The three participants collaborated on their relative social roles and how they should be played out, and the working consensus achieved allowed Betty to interpret the problem and provide a series of steps in solving it in very clear, decisive, and authoritative and explicit ways. The two teachers' constant agreement and feedback, in turn, allowed Betty to become more and more explicit, directive, and authoritative in developing "the plan" and showing and telling them how to solve the problem at hand.

There were no shifts of relative status as there were in the second case study since status and roles remained almost constant throughout the interaction. The only changes were in the content of the conversation which fell into essentially three phases: (a) the problem statement by the teachers, followed by agreement of the

difficulty of the situation by Betty (I); (b) the problem solution by Betty, accompanied by the teachers' constant agreement and feedback (II); and (c) an extended discussion of Betty's model of effective teaching and classroom management, also accompanied by the teachers' agreement and feedback (III). The conflicting concerns of staff development which were so evident in the first case study (concern for the needs of the school, the need of the teacher, and the needs of the staff developer) and could be met and served simultaneously because Betty was able tomeet the needs of the school by giving the teachers help on a specific educational problem, meet the needs of the teachers by being supportive and directive, and meet her own needs by fitting their problem into her model of effective teaching/management.

The Effect of Consensus

The three case studies showed different ways of working for the staff developer and how the working consensus she and the teachers negotiated together affected the degree to which she could be directive and how she did her job. In the first case, there was no evidence of a consensus with the teacher at the time of their interaction, but a great deal of frustration was expressed by Betty later which eventually led to a plan on her part of how she hoped to correct the situation (by being an advocate of the teacher). In the second case, how a working consensus was negotiated was explicated, and the amount of effort and collaboration that took was presented. In the third case, it was seen how a working consensus was maintained and how it allowed Betty to do her job effieiciently and in the most direct manner while, at the same time, serving the needs of the teachers and the school. So even though Betty may have been described similarly by this group of teachers as

well as others who knew and worked with her as being "directive, open, observant, analytical, confident," etc. (Questionnaire Data, Appendix B), it has become possible to see how she earned those comments in different ways with different individuals.

Similarities and Differences

The summary of the three case studies reflected some of the complexities and ambiguities inherent in the role of the staff developer, making it a difficult role to enact. It also showed how some of these complexities and ambiguities were negotiated during the course of the face-to-face interaction among the staff developer and the teachers and the administrator with whom she worked. The degree to which a consensus was achieved was dependent on the success of these negotiations which, of course, was dependent on how much had to be negotiated and how difficult that was to do.

The similarities across cases lie in the fact that (a) these ambiguities and complexities existed and were inherent in the multiple realities, goals, and identities of the participants; (b) the ambiguities and complexities had to be negotiated in face-to-face interaction; and (c) the success of these negotiations influenced the degree to which a working consensus about both the purpose of the encounter and the roles of the participants could be achieved.

There was also a structural similarity in each case. No matter how short or long the interaction, or how difficult it was to negotiate, the teacher(s) and staff developer still went through a similar sequence of steps. The sequence included four steps: (a) searching for the problem or deciding "what we're doing together," (b) negotiating the agenda, (c) carrying out the problem discussion, and (d) reaching

some kind of consensus. In each case study, a different step appeared to be the most complex. In the first case, searching for the problem was most complex because it was identified differently by each of the three people--the teacher, the staff developer, and the principal. In the second case, carrying out the problem discussion was the most complex because it included a number of topics and, more importantly, it included four different shifts in roles during the discussion. In the third case, the solution to the problem was the most complex, partly because the most time was spent on it, and partly because the solution was spelled out so explicitly.

The first and last steps (searching for the problem and reaching consensus or solving the problem) were the first to appear across the data during the early analysis. It intuitively seemed reasonable that any kind of problem-solving situation would include these two steps. The second and third steps (negotiating the agenda and carrying out the problem discussion) didn't appear until after a more systematic analysis of the data was completed. It was in these two steps, however, in which the ambiguity, complexity, and multidimensionality of the process of staff development became so evident. This, in turn, highlighted the importance of the social phenomenon and the ways that the social relationships established before and during face-to-face interactions affected the learning environment and the opportunity for teachers to learn new skills, attitudes, knowledge, etc., during the process of staff development.

The differences across case studies were reflected in what prior understandings the participants had at the onset of the interaction about its purpose and their relative status in relationship to each

other. When neither purpose nor status was clear, based on little previous knowledge of each other, the participants had to go through long and difficult negotiations. The differences were basically in what had to be negotiated and how it was done. The similarities were both in form and in structure. In each case there were some complexities and ambiguities, negotiations had to occur, and some sort of consensus or problem resolution took place. As stated earlier, each case study included the same sequence of activities (searching for the problem, negotiating the agenda, carrying out the problem discussion, and reaching some kind of consensus).

In addition to the similarities in the process and structure of these conferences, there were also regularities in their content. The most common theme that appeared was that of classroom organization and management. This theme was present in case studies I and III and in most of the statements teachers made in the questionnaire (Appendix B) about how Betty helped them most. Even in the conference with Pete about planning and how to look for an administrative position in the region, Betty spoke of the importance of developing a plan based on conscious and deliberate preactive decisions.

Efficient decision-making was also a major theme of the summer clinical workshop (Appendix D) and in Betty's conversations and written materials (Appendices D and F) collected throughout the data set. She makes references to "plans" which are systematically "developed and implemented" and urges the teachers and administrators with whom she works to not react to situations intuitively or emotionally, but to be systematic in defining the problems, considering alternate solutions, and in developing and carrying out a careful plan.

The common theme of preactive decision-making works reflexively within the context of Betty's interactions. The amount of advice she can give and the directness in which she can state her ideas and beliefs are all negotiated and mediated by the co-participants' reactions. Case study III was such a situation where the context of the conference, based on the common understandings and definitions of the situation, allowed Betty to be very explicit and direct in providing a solution. The two teachers' continued interest and supportiveness allowed Betty to go beyond the immediate problem and present her more general theory and philosophy of classroom organization and management.

The Complexities and Ambiguities

Staff development is such a difficult task for essentially two reasons: (a) because people in the world come to an interaction with different perspectives of reality based on their own beliefs, experiences, thoughts, attitudes, and expectations which may or may not intersect with those of their co-participants; and (b) staff development itself involves multiple roles and realities which may or may not be enacted simultaneously. The initial problem in any interaction is in predicting the general goals and the various participants may have for a particular situation. From this prediction, it is possible to make a decision about some general limits on ways of behaving.

Multiple Realities

There are a great number of ways culture-sharing adults may interact, and they make a selection about which of the ways is most appropriate based on their own perspectives. Their beliefs, attitudes, and expectations about an event are a product of their own experiences

and are, therefore, somewhat unique and personal. Since any social interaction involves two or more people, each with unique and personal perspectives, then their perspectives must somehow be coordinated. The initial stage of this coordination process is based on how one person makes predictions about the goal of the other(s) for the interaction. The prediction is based on any available information, particularly context and subtle processes of inference. If a person is standing in line in a bank, for example, it can be predicted that he or she wishes to take care of some sort of routine banking matter, and then the teller will have some notions about what sorts of conversation or actions are relevant in this instance. If it turns out that the person waiting has some other goal such as robbing the bank or having a social or information interaction with the teller, then the teller may be caught off guard and will have to select some other way of interacting. Once general notions or predictions about goals are made and confirmed, then the participants are in a position to work out the specifics of their interaction. This is true in any interaction; but, fortunately, one of the things people learn in a culture is how to use and interpret a variety of cues about context and people so that every interaction does not mean a new or different patterns of making sense of the event, but largely relies on familiar routines and ones' previously learned social knowledge.

Multiple Roles

Staff development itself involves multiple roles adding greatly to the complexities described above. The role of staff developer as was illustrated in the review of literature is not institutionalized as are so many other roles in the society (i.e., bank

teller). There is a vagueness and diversity which adds ambiguity to the role, its goals and objectives. This suggests that the way the role of staff developer is carried out is open to a wide variety of interpretatons. Even if a teacher has had several interactions with a particular staff develooer and has been taught and learned how to work with that individual, it would be difficult to generalize about the nature of all staff developers from these experiences. The reasons for such ambiguity probably go beyond the complexities of the role and will be speculated upon in the next chapter. The ambiguity is further increased because even one staff developer may act in a variety of ways, depending on which of his/her functions or concerns is primary. The staff developer may act as an advocate of the teacher and provide support in any number of ways; on the other hand, he/she could act as a defender of the system and support both the formal and informal goals of the institution. One study (Bussis, Chittenden, & Amarel, 1976) posits 12 categories of support which represent a type of continuum between the extreme opposites of advocate of the system or advocate of the teacher.*

In the present study, it was shown that a single staff developer doesn't play <u>one</u> role, but, in fact, plays a variety of roles, sometimes simultaneously! And the role(s) that is/are played are not determined strictly by the staff developer's personality or preferred style, but negotiated within each interaction. The teacher being

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*The 12 categories of support are service and administrative agent, extension of the teacher, emotional stabilizer and stimulator, respector of individuality, stage director and demonstrator, diagnostician and problem-solver, provider of alternatives, explainer and theorist, modeling agent, appreciative critic and discussant, provacative and reflective agent, leader and challenger.

worked with, the situation, the range of problems, and the primary concern at the moment all have an effect on the role.

Multiple Dimensions of the Role

Betty's salary was being paid by the school and, therefore, she had to serve its interests. She did this by working with administrators and giving them her insight and perspective of what was going on. This also involved making recommendations on teacher placement and evaluating performance. Although both Betty and the administrators often said that she had no formal authority or decision-making power within the school, she did appear to have considerable informal authority. The principal of the school and the superintendent listened to her and very often followed her recommendations, and she always wrote out summaries of her visits which included her evaluations and recommendations (see Appendix F). One of the questions the researcher frequently asked to administrators and teachers in informal interviews was how they perceived the staff developer's position in the formal hierarchy of the school. Teachers reported her to be at the same level as principals, and so did the principals some of the time. But it was also stated that the principals didn't feel that they had the freedom not to have her in their schools, which implied that the superintendent gave her some extra authority.

In spite of this informal authority, the job description of this staff developer stated that giving help to teachers was her most important function. Most often teachers requested her help, but it was uncertain how much, if any, real or perceived pressure they were under to do this. She also appeared to have a relatively clear model of effective teaching toward which she tried to move both teachers and

administrators. Althought these multiple aims made for ambiguity about Betty's role, it was also possible that this ill-definedness was an asset. It gave her the freedom to work in many ways and gave her a marginal position in the formal structure, meaning that she didn't have to abide by the interactional rules of the existing hierarchy. This marginality also related to the fact that she wasn't a permanent fixture in the school, but flew in and out at regular intervals. These aspects of both physical and hierarchical marginality put her in the position of a consultant in some respects except that the teachers who occupied most of her working time were not paying her salary.

Another dimension of the staff developer's role deals with the multiple tasks with which she has to deal. It was shown in the data analysis how Betty's task differed in each encounter and the multi-faceted quality of her role. In the first case study, there were at least five different tasks involved: (a) helping the principal decide what to do about a particular student; (b) helping the teacher in ways she requested; (c) helping the teacher in ways Betty thought were important, including recognizing the scope of the problem; (d) establishing a relationship with the teacher so that she could provide further help and also protect her own job; and (d) helping the principal to solve his problem about the teacher.

In the next two case studies, this aspect of Betty's job was much easier. In the second case study, Betty's task was to give information and opinions about the importance of planning, what educational leadership was, and how to schedule an interview with an international school's hiring agency. In the third case study, Betty's only task

was to solve the problem about one deviant child. In these two cases, there was no conflict about whether Betty had to be an advocate of the school, the teacher, or herself. It was clear that within these interactions, she only had to be an advocate of the teachers and help them in ways they requested.

This multifaceted quality of the role, the marginality of the staff developer's position in the formal hierarchy, the fact that the individual couldn't ignore either the needs of the teacher or the needs of the institution, as well as the fact that the teachers brought their own expectations of Betty's role to the encounter often presented conflicts which had to be resolved. In each case these conflicts were resolved during the course of the interaction.

The Negotiations

Both real and potential conflicts were resolved through a process of negotiation. This was revealed in the study in the choices of vocabulary, facial expressions, body posture, and voice quality which Betty and the teachers exhibited in the course of the interaction and how and when these things changed. The changes may have reflected her decisions or those of her interactional partners about how to proceed and how to interpret the function and quality of the encounter. Certain communicational choices were made at various junctures which were related to subtle changes in the mood and quality of the interaction which, in turn, affected further choices that were made.

Determining the function of the interaction, whether it was supportive, giving advice, observing for problems, evaluating, etc., had considerable impact on its structure and the behavioral organization

of the participants. Specifically, it impinged on the roles and status the participants took in relationship to each other. For example, there were some ways of "being supportive" which implied that the staff developer was of equal status to the teacher such as agreeing and commiserating that the teacher's problems were caused by poor program organization or by mixed messages given by various consultants. There may be other ways of being supportive which imply a great deal of difference in relative statuses and roles such as when a parent compliments a child on a task well done.

Advice can also be given in a number of ways; e.g., as a colleague who might say, "I tried this in a similar situation and it worked," connoting similar "teacher" status. It might also be given as an "expert" which implies a greater status differential. Evaluation almost always implies an even higher degree of status differential because only one person has the power and is in a position to determine how to use it.

Status and Role

The status and roles of the various participants may be known or understood because of historical precedent, or they may be open to negotiation. For example, historical precedent or normative behavior dictates that teachers have a higher status and more power than students; adults have higher status than children; wealthy people have higher status than the poor, etc. Although the democratic ideal and liberal tradition of the United States has woked to negate the manifestations of a class society, its relative success is widely argued.

What varies is how the statuses are carried out; i.e., the roles. Although a teacher is given status formally and informally, each teacher is in a position to decide how, when, if, or to what degree to use it. In staff development there is little or no historical precedent or normative behavior on the relative status of the participants. This means that each staff developer can and must interpret for him/herself the amount of power or the kind of status he/she wants to use, depending on whether the role is seen as supportive, educative, or evaluative. However, because the role is designed as a teaching role, it follows that a certain amount of power and authoritativeness exists inherently, no matter how an individual staff developer chooses to use it. He/She can "play down" this power in order to try to get close to the teacher as an equal or can utilize it to fuller extents to express authority. The differences between a person as an individual and his/her commonly accepted or assumed role is what Goffman (1961) refers to as "role distancing" or the difference "between doing and being" (p. 108). Goffman states that the display of role distance is directly affected by the immediate audience, so that the way the staff developer's role is played may vary if there is no audience or if the audience is the principal, superintendent, the teacher's students, or even the researcher.

By working out the relationship of the participants to each other and thereby determining "who they are," issues of respective rights, needs, and obligations are determined as are issues of intimacy or dominance within the constraints of a loosely defined teacher-student relationship. The negotiation of status and roles determines, in part, the situation or setting. It dictates how to behave, how to make

requests or ask questions, how or if to challenge or praise, and, in general, how, when, and how much to talk and how or when to listen. The relative statuses of the participants in the three case studies determined how questions were asked and how advice and solutions could be given. So, although behavior determined status and roles, status and roles also reflexively determined behavior.

Issues of "Face"

One of the ways participants have of negotiating issues of status in face-to-face interaction and of affecting each other's status has to do with the emotional investments each person has in showing his/her own competence and wanting approval and, at the same time, not wanting to be imposed upon or distracted. This combination of needs and wants has been called positive and negative face by Brown and Levinson (1978) in their work on face-threatening acts. This is particularly true of teachers who, like any other professionals, want to do their jobs competently, with a minimum of distractions. The staff developer is one of the people who is in a position to cast either doubt or praise upon a teacher's performance or to enhance the teacher's reputation and provide greater access to the school's rewards as well as to impose upon the teacher's time and patterns of performance.

In this way, staff development is potentially face-threatening. The staff developer can negate, maintain, or enhance the teacher's "face" by challenging his/her competence. On the other hand, teachers can defend their senses of professionalism or confidence by blocking, prohibiting, or limiting the affect the staff developer has on them. If the staff developer is prohibited from or limited in doing the

assigned job, then his/her confidence as a competent and effective staff developer can also be threatened, as can the job itself. Therefore, it is in everyone's best interest to cooperate and try to maintain each other's face so that the teacher can learn and improve in knowledge, attitude, and skill, and so that the staff developer can continue to do his/her job.

There are a number of ways in which face-threatening acts such as staff development can be carried out, some of which are riskier than others for both parties. For example, in the first case study where there was the issue of an ineffective and inefficient teacher, the staff developer had a number of options in ways of communicating this. She could have chosen not to bring up the subject at all and to speak only of less personally sensitive issues such as increasing children's motivation on art projects or how to fill out report card forms. This would decrease the possibility of the teacher's loss of face, but increase Betty's own loss of face by failing to communicate the most important issue. On the other hand, if Betty had been trying to be as efficient as possible, she might have been very direct and stated unambiguously something like "you're boring those children" or "you shouldn't teach three things at once" or "you're wasting the time of the task-oriented children by making them work at the same pace as the children who need more direction." Instead of either of these options, Betty selected to counteract the potential damage or threat to the teacher by givng her message in such a way as to indicate that no such face-threat was intended. She said "you get more task orientation if you allow those who understand to go ahead, and help those who need it," which alluded to an assumption that Betty implied she

shared with the teacher about the value of task orientation and that it would ultimately be a payoff for the teacher.

In each of the three case studies, the teachers talked about the issues or problems differently. These differences may have indicated the degree to which they perceived the act of staff development to be more or less threatening and also gave the staff developer some clues about ways of responding. In the first case, during the opening stages of communication with the staff developer, the teacher brought up two points which, in theory at least, she had little or no control over--the swimming program and the fact that she was new. She depersonalized the problems and attributed them to impersonal causes. In the second case, the teacher talked about planning in such a way that expressed that he didn't think it was necessary since his best lessons were not planned but were spontaneous. It may have been a sensitive issue to him because he implied that he should feel responsible for planning. He brought up the topic because it seemed an appropriate one to talk about with the staff developer and because he was responding to Betty's cues that he should start talking about "the problem." He expressed that he was somewhat threatened by Betty and was also ambiguous about his relative status with her by "talking" about planning rather than asking a question or stating a problem. In the third case, the teachers stated the problem directly, probably because they had been trying to solve it themselves and had reached a frustration level and were, therefore, quite anxious for an "expert" opinion.

The staff developer reacted to these three different ways of expressing feelings of being threatened by, in the first case, removing the cause of the real problem from the teacher; in the second case,

reinforcing the teacher when he talked about his successes; and, in the third case, placing the cause of the problem outside of the teachers and on the parents or the situation in which they found themselves. The fact that Betty chose to use less efficient and more ambiguous ways of responding to the teachers indicated that she was attempting to minimize the face-threatening quality of each interaction. Therefore, the outcome of the staff development conference wasrelated to how successfully Betty neutralized the face-threatening quality of each interaction and the degree to which she and the teachers successfully negotiated their relative status and the purpose of their meeting--"who they were" and "what they were doing together."

Reaching Consensus

The relative difficulty and the ultimate success of the negotiations of the purpose of the interaction, the relative status and roles of the participants, and the way that issues of face are handled determine the degree to which a working consensus is reached. As such, the consensus is the result of the negotiations. In the three cases, the relative outcomes were quite different in the degree to which the participants reached a working consensus and produced a situation in which the teacher(s) could acquire new skills, techniques, or perspectives, and the staff developer could impart these things.

The staff developer was "direct" in each case, but in very different ways. In the first case, she stated a problem, but one about which the teacher was uninformed. They only reached a consensus on providing some help for the less sensitive issues on which the teacher requested help. In the second case, there was evidence of a working consensus <u>on occasion</u>, particularly when the two participants

negotiated a pattern of working in which they could talk about their own successes. It was only after such a consensus was achieved that Pete brought up his originally intended questions about administration. Betty was direct in stating that planning strategy was necessary, but was not explicit in how to do it. It seemed, therefore, that the discussion about planning served the primary purpose of being a forum for negotiating and working out the issues of status, role, and purpose. In the third case, Betty was able to be very explicit in how to solve the problem. She told the teachers exactly what to say and how to say it because the three participants had already worked out those issues of status, etc., during former interactions and only had to clarify specific problems on this occasion. The session later evolved into one in which Betty could communicate more of her store of knowledge. She was able to talk about her model of effective teaching in a much broader perspective, beginning with the topic of classroom management and later talking about organization in general.

In the third case study where the staff developer and the teachers had negotiated and collaborated upon common understandings and definitions of each other's behavior and knew them to be in the best interests of what they were trying to do together, they were able to evolve their discussion from one about a specific behavior problem with one student into one which elaborated upon patterns of behavior management that had applicability well beyond this specific circumstance. Their working consensus was formulated during previous working sessions as well as this one, acted upon, and then used to further the teachers' general and specific knoweldge about teaching. The fact that there was very little evidence of any kind of consensus' being

resolved in the first case and only a tenuous and temporary one's being reached in the second case provided the contrast in the third case that emphasized how the differences in the process and eventual successes of the negotiations affected the outcome of staff development interactions and the opportunity for learning.

The Questions and Conclusions

The original broad questions of the study were (a) how can positive change in teachers be facilitated, (b) how is the role of the staff developer enacted, and (c) what enables people to behave sensibly with others in social encounters. An answer to the first question wasn't promised (see Chapter II), but this study has some definite implications for facilitating positive change in teachers which will be expressed in the next chapter.

The most important knowledge gained from this study was about how the role of staff development is enacted and how people manage to behave sensibly with each other in social interactions. Staff development is enacted through the negotiations and collaboration of all the participants who manage to do this through the kinds of communicative choices they make.

Through the analysis of face-to-face interactions of the participants engaged in the process of staff development, the importance of negotiations was demonstrated. Negotiations occur through minute-by-minute choices about vocabulary, facial expressions, body posture, tone of voice, interactional rhythm, and gestures. We could see in the analysis how and when social relationships between the teacher and staff developer affected the development of the learning

environment by the way they provided an opportunity to frame questions, present information, disagree, be directive, or receive information.

Primarily, it was learned that each interaction between a staff developer and teacher must be negotiated independently and that the differences in structure, function, and potential outcome of each interaction was dependent upon how the various individuals worked together and collaborated in these negotiations. All of these negotiations were nested in and influenced by the larger context. The context included every participant's past experiences with teaching and other staff developers, with one another, and with the school. It also included all of the multiple realities, goals, and perspectives of each participant.

The interactional work the participants did involved communicative choices made both consciously and unconsciously, how the choices of one participant influenced the choices of the others, and how the choices created and affected the working consensus that was reached and the opportunity to ask for and receive information.

The understanding that staff development is a collaborated, negotiated, and interactionally accomplished event provided a new way of interpreting and comprehending other aspects of the process. The study showed that staff development is not only multidimensional, ambiguous, and complex, but also attempted to account for <u>why</u> and <u>how</u> it is so. For this reason, this study goes beyond the intuitive notion that staff development <u>must be</u> rather difficult or tricky because it implies one person "changing" another and focuses on how the participants of a staff development conference make sense of what is going on and how they negotiate it. By looking at the actual face-to-face

communications, it became possible to see how the ambiguities and complexities of staff development came about and how they were resolved.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Implications for Practice

The first and broadest question asked of this study was how can positive change in teachers be facilitated. Although the question was not directly answerable within the scope of this study, it was maintained as one that guided the study and kept it focused on the improvement of staff development. There are, however, some implications about how positive change in teachers can and cannot be facilitated in staff development which resulted from this study.

Change in people cannot be facilitated simply. There are no laws, rules, or directions for helping people teach better. Nor is there a single set of skills, techniques, attitudes, methods, or orientations that are more appropriate than others. The skills, methods, and approaches to be used in a staff development conference are instead determined by purpose, situation, or even individual needs. Furthermore, only some of the information to be given in a conference can be determined ahead of time. On the other hand, successful staff development conferences are not independent of skills, techniques, or attitudes of the staff developer. The research cited in the beginning of this study has not been disproved.

The study found that there are many hidden dimensions in the staff development process, all of which impinge on the relative success of the outcome. Staff developers deal with these hidden dimensions

regularly just as all people involved in social interactions do. Most often people deal with these dimensions automatically and unselfconsciously. Since successful staff development is strongly affected by these hidden dimensions, however, it is in the interest of the profession to learn to both recognize and deal with them.

The study demonstrated that staff development is something other than one individual's working on, or otherwise training, educating, counseling, or even "developing" others. It is also something other than one skillful, knowledgeable, sensitive staff developer somehow bestowing a set of skills, knowledge, or attitudes on another. Staff development is, instead, a social transaction. It is a two-directional process in which the teachers as well as the staff developer must be actively involved. The teachers, too, must be talking, acting, listening, describing problems, and providing feedback.

In addition to staff development's being mutually dependent on the teachers as well as the staff developer, it is also dependent upon the context--the people, the school, the problems, and all of the multiple realities, goals, and identities of the people, as well as their past experiences and perspectives. All of these aspects of the context impinge upon the process of staff development even though they are largely invisible.

Most generally, staff development is dependent upon how the participants make visible or explicit their relative goals and expectations, how they negotiate common definitions of the situations, how they synchronize and coordinate their behavior with each other, and otherwise collaborate in the encounter. The individuals, their specific backgrounds, the context and the social structure of the school are all

involved in the collaborative effort. Individuals bring with them a host of personal characteristics including a variety of values and attitudes which contribute in many ways to the successes as well as the problems of communication. Many levels of organization and complexity, hidden or visible, impinge upon the conference and need to be uncovered and looked at in order to improve the process of staff development.

The studies of Joyce et al. (1976), Berman and McLaughlin (1978), and others have shown that teachers prefer to be involved in the planning, organization, and evaluation of their own staff development programs. This study implies that the teachers must be involved. Staff development cannot work effectively unless the teachers are equally involved participants. This means that it is not only necessary for teachers to agree to be involved in a conference or other kind of staff development intervention, but it is also necessary for them to participate actively throughout the intervention. Since people are not always aware of how they determine or communicate social meaning, it may be occurring unconsciously or subconsciously through utterances and movements.

Another implication of this study deals with the ambiguity of staff development. The previous chapter pointed out how the multidimensional aspects of the role of staff developer contributed to the ambiguity as well as the complexity of the process. Another dimension of the ambiguity comes from the element of power in a helping relationship. Research and the reports of teachers suggest that, as professionals, teachers prefer to maintain authority over their professional lives, including the help they receive from others. Yet, in this study, we saw that it was necessary to give up some of that authority in order to be

helped most effectively. The lack of clarity about "help" in the professional sphere and the flight from authoritativeness and authority in recent trends of staff development also reflect a discomfort with asking teachers to talk about their problems. This leads to a "double bind" on the part of the staff developer for asking and the teacher for agreeing to give up authority and is, perhaps, the primary or underlying topic that has to be negotiated.

There are other hidden dimensions embedded in the negotiations that contribute to the complexities and ambiguities of staff development. These involve the relative statuses of the individuals, both real and perceived, the roles the participants choose to play and the social distance between these roles, and the inherently face-threatening aspects involved in any process of change. While this knowledge of hidden dimensions is not entirely new, the descriptions of how they are played out in face-to-face negotiations and the importance of these negotiations are new information and show the extent to which the negotiations affect the working consensus achieved and, thereby, the relative effectiveness of the process.

Implications for Staff Developers

The question still remains--how can knowledge of these hidden dimensions of staff development help the practitioner? This study suggests a twofold answer: (a) the knowledge of the ambiguity and complexity of the staff development process and its dynamic nature tells practitioners why it is so hard, and (b) explicating these hidden dimensions may help practitioners to analyze and evaluate them in their

own interactions in order to improve conferences and to develop a fuller understanding of what it takes for teachers to get help.

This study has shown that a great deal more than help is going on during the course of a staff development conference. The case studies explicated how much more than question-asking and suggestion-giving was occurring in the course of the help-giving and how the participants of a conference attended to more than the content of the discussion. Intuitively, staff developers may have felt that their job of trying to facilitate positive change in teachers was very difficult, but may have been unable to explain either to themselves or others the source of the difficulties. This study has given credibility to those intuitions by showing the number of places in which complexity and ambiguity could occur and the number of ways a person may deal with or resolve them.

This study also offers an explanation of the difficulties a staff developer may have in trying to use some of the "check-list" approaches to staff development which currently exist. These check-lists tell staff developers to create an appropriate social-emotional climate by using such things as praise, teachers' ideas, and asking them for information. These suggestions belie the dynamic nature of the interaction and make it appear static and controlled. The implication is that praise, for example, could be inserted anytime and that all praise works in the same way and, therefore, can and should be controlled by the staff developer. This study has shown that praise is situation-specific and cannot be "given" unless the co-participant is ready or willing to "receive" it. The same is, of course, true to using teachers' ideas and asking them for information.

These understandings can at least give comfort to staff developers that their job is, indeed, hard and takes an extraordinary amount of interactional skill and sensitivity in addition to the knowledge, attitudes, and opinions about curriculum matters, schools, children, and the teaching profession. This may provide emotional support for those days or instances when staff developers may be feeling less adequate or ill-prepared to do their job.

Secondly, this study may be useful to staff developers by helping them to analyze their own interactions with teachers and administrators. The case studies have shown the effect of context and relationships within the school on the negotiations that take place within a staff-development conference. They showed how Betty's awareness of relationships between specific individuals and with school administrators made them more or less "open" for her help. This study also showed that Betty is a specific case of a staff developer who preferred being in a teacher-student relationship with the teachers in the school and how she both taught and learned from her co-participants what was necessary for her to get into this specific kind of relationship.

This study also showed that there is more than one style of dyadic staff development. Of the three different case studies, there was only one (the last) for which it could be inferred that the teachers received the help they sought. Yet this doesn't mean that the first two cases were not instances of staff development. In the first case the teacher received unsolicited help as requested by the school administrator. The second case showed the formation of a viable working relationship by two people with professional agendas not initially shared by negotiated in the interaction. These two studies, though not clearcut examples of

help-giving and help-receiving, were also instances of staff development because they showed the formation of understandings and common definitions of how to work together and what kind of help teachers could expect to receive from this particular staff developer.

The implication for all staff developers is that they can benefit by learning how to recognize and deal with the hidden dimensions of their profession. They can learn to make the implicit explicit to see how they and their interactional partners are determining social meanings from each others' behavior and how they are communicating social meanings in their word choices, body movements, and other paralinguistic options. By learning to unravel these interactional gyrations, staff developers may be able to see more clearly when and why things are or are not going well. The implication is that the methods used to gain an understanding of the process of staff development can also be used to inform practitioners.

Implications for Further Study

One direction for study that this research suggests would be to teach staff developers the research methods used in this study so that they can study and analyze their own performance. In much the same way, medical anthropologists are helping interns and other medical professionals to improve their interviewing techniques with patients. Staff developers can learn to become more sensitive to how and when they are making decisions and whether these were made more or less consciously. They need to learn how to go beyond the tendency of inferring intent from teachers' verbal and nonverbal behavior and to look more carefully for alternative interpretations. Likewise, they need to

look more closely at how their own behavior could be interpreted in unintended ways.

A type of intervention could be devised in which staff developers were first videotaped in a series of conferences with teachers and/or administrators. Evaluations of the conferences could be obtained independently from both the teacher or administrator and the staff developer. This would be followed by intensive practice in microethnography or interactional analysis during which the staff developers would improve their observational skills by learning how to analyze their own language and behavior and how they use contextualization cues to make interpretations. The staff developers could learn to analyze in much the same way as the researcher did in gathering these data for the purpose of improving their performance.

The result of such intensive practice might be for the staff developer to learn how to focus on both his/her own interpretative and communicative preferences as well as those of the people with whom he/she works. The goal of such practice would be to learn how to pick out examples of miscommunication that might otherwise lead to negative evaluations and then to analyze them for both cause and effect. They would learn to look at the dynamics of interpersonal communication in order to become more knowledgeable and more objective about interpreting communicative cues.

Researchers in other helping professions have used methods similar to those used in this study and have also proposed teaching similar methods to practitioners in these professions for the purpose of improving interactional skills. The findings of this study which show how staff development is interactionally accomplished are similar to those

found by Erickson and Shultz (1981) in their study of counseling interactions at a junior college, McDermott (1976) in his study of the organization of reading groups, Labov and Fanshel (1977) and Scheflen (1974) in their studies of psychotherapeutic interactions, Lopes (1981) in his study of family counseling sessions, Orban (1981) in her study of instructional development sessions with university instructors, and Cooper (1979) in a similar study. All of these studies were accomplished through the microanalysis of interactional events which focused on the dynamics of the event--what is communicated, how it is communicated, how it is interpreted, etc. The similarity in findings may be due to the similarity of the events. All of these events involve unequal status between the participants, multiple role options, and various purposes or agendas to be negotiated between the participants. Most importantly, perhaps, is the fact that all of these situations--counseling, therapy, staff development, teaching, and instructional development--are potentially face-threatening, and one person has more to lose in terms of self-confidence than the other whose general purpose is to create positive change.

Another direction for further study would be to develop other measures for determining when a working consensus has been achieved in staff development or similar kinds of interactions. In this study only functional definitions were used, meaning that the presence of a working consensus was determined because it functioned to produce parallel, otherwise similar ways of talking and moving and resulted from coordinated definitions of the situation. Another way of determining the presence or absence of a working consensus would be to analyze behavioral symmetry which is the relationship between the kinesic rhythm of

speakers and listeners, as was done by Shultz (1975) or to analyze speech rhythm as was done by Scollon (1981). Erickson and Shultz (1982) found that there was an underlying rhythmic pattern in interactions which may function to coordinate communicative choices which are made from moment to moment. They also found that the lack of a rhythmic pattern may indicate a cultural mismatch or some other serious interactional trouble.

Scollon determined a method for analyzing speech rhythm that involved the measuring of tempo, silence, and density of speech. It would be interesting and potentially useful to see if or how changes in rhythm co-occurred with other types of negotiated changes in status and role, purpose, and structure that affected the arrival at a working consensus. Scollon also presented arguments relating an increase in information processing to an increase in rhythmicity in behavior. Further research may show if there is a definite link between what people do together, and its rhythmic manifestations, to learning.

What is proposed is a study of how rhythm relates to differences in staff development interactions rerported in this study. The purpose would be to see if variations in a working consensus can be more precisely defined and described, thus giving staff developers another tool for analyzing their own use of language. This could help to further sensitize them to when and how changes were taking place and what contextual differences were causing these changes.

A third possibility for further study would be to do similar studies for staff developers in other contexts as was proposed by Fox (1981) for the purpose of showing future inquirers into staff development how

different contexts "do and do not influence the instructional decisions and performance of the staff developer" (p. 19).

Theory Building in Staff Development

The discovery of the hidden dimensions of staff development and how they operate during face-to-face interaction has broadened the concept of staff development which was originally defined as the deliberate efforts to promote or facilitate positive change in teachers. It has been learned that staff development, or promoting positive change, is not a simple or direct act of one skillful, knowledgeable individual's passing the skills or knowledge onto a less skillful individual. It is, instead, a convoluted, complex, and ambiguous process which involves a great deal more than the passage of information.

Tbe concept of staff development has been broadened by first recognizing the importance of the communicative act in actual face-to-face interactions. By focusing on the process of staff development rather than the input or output, the complexities and the sources of ambiguity have become visible and open to systematic observation of how they function. The focus on the process demonstrates the dynamics of the interactions and precludes those concepts or theories which demonstrate staff development as one-directional, static, and controlled. It has been learned that staff development is, instead, mutually dependent on all participants and is, in fact, a social transaction.

The concept and theory of staff development have also been broadened by showing the multiple dimensions of the staff developer's role and the shifts of advocacy with which he/she must deal. The staff developer's role has, in most cases, been created by the administration of

a school or district with or without the advice of teachers or teachers' representatives. Therefore, the staff developer must show some loyalty to those who created the role, hired him/her, and pays the salary. This includes loyalty to the implicit or explicit notions of what kind of help the administration thinks is needed and any philosophy of education that might be expounded within decision-making policies or accountability structures.

The complexity may begin when the staff developer considers that he/she must also protect his/her own interests. Other than the personal factors of how the conditions of any job suit any individual, there are the more theoretical factors of the staff developer's own beliefs and theories of good teaching--what it looks like and how it should be accomplished. This may or may not be in conflict with the first source of advocacy--the hiring institution and its administrators.

Further complexity and ambiguity arise when an advocacy for the teacher is also incorporated. In many cases the staff developer is hired specificially to help teachers. The conflict occurs if the teacher's definition of his/her problem is different from that of the institution and/or the staff developer. It is also possible that some staff developers, such as those in special services, must also be advocates of the children they serve. This, of course, is one more place where complexity and ambiguity might occur.

The theory of staff development has also been furthered by the recognition and understanding of the face-threatening quality of any interactions where help is sought. The person who seeks help, such as the teacher, becomes vulnerable to the one who gives help. It is a very one-sided encounter since the helpee/teacher has much more to lose than

the helper in terms of face, self-esteem, and confidence or professional efficacy. The helper, or staff developer, can only lose his/her ability to do the job with a specific teacher, and his/her more general or personal "face" is left intact.

The fourth way in which the theory of staff development has benefitted by this study is in the recognition of the power of the staff developer's role. Power resides in the helping relationship and also in the social structure of the school, educational institutions, and society which create the status of staff developer. When an individual steps into this status, he/she must play many roles which are negotiated in specific situations. In each role played, there is an implicit decision being made about the amount of power to be exerted.

The case studies, taken as a whole, tell us that there are many options for roles and ways of being a staff developer dependent upon the amount of power that is negotiated to each member of the interaction. The staff developer described in this study negotiated her role differently in each case study, but showed a preference for teacher-student roles and worked to negotiated herself into that position. The amount of power she exerted shifted within each interaction. Along with the shifts in power came shifts in the teacher's power to set the agenda and enact the conference. The staff developer's role can also be carried out in ways not attempted in these case studies if certain personal and institutional changes could be made. Other options would include differing amounts of absolute power exerted and differing amounts of relative power between the participants. It would be possible to establish a great deal of difference in relative power between two people

such as that exerted by a supervisor or expert or to attempt to minimize power differences by operating as colleagues and friends.

No matter how the role of staff developer is played, it is still a necessary role because it allows an outsider to witness the workings of a classroom from a perspective different from that of the teacher, or insider. The staff developer can, therefore, see workings and dynamics which the teacher is too close to see and ideally present these dynamics to the teacher for improvement. This study has not altered that goal, but only shown why it is so difficult to reach.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF DATA

1. Interview Data
    a. A Principal
    b. A teacher
2. Field Note Excerpt
3. Documents: Personal Note, Paper
4. Informal Interviews Given by Three Teachers

Interview with Jack Randal
Saturday, February 24
6:30pm, my house (with a glass of wine in his hand, just finishing dinner)

I: In what ways has she been most effective for you?

J: She sharpens up my observation techniques. Through talking and sending in stuff, such as one that says "for a good observation, do __, __, and __, etc.

It has forced all three of us (he and the two other principals) to look critically at all the things we look at in classrooms. Last year the three of us worked on it together.

There are lots of other things, too. Last year she helped us critique our PIC meetings, but this year she hasn't been at school on the days PIC meets.

She also acts as a courier between here and other schools. Checks things with publishers.

I: How do you think she's been most effective for the school?

J: From my point of view, she helps by going into classes where there is a problem that I've seen. She gives me feedback on my observations as well as her own.

We sometimes use her as a hatchet woman and she knows it. She can say things differently or more bluntly because she's leaving.

I: Have you seen yourself change?

J: Oh, yeah--I had never been in a school with IGE, open classrooms, or multi-aged grouping. So essentially, everything I've picked up on dealing with and evaluating IGE is from her and the workshop.

I: Has she changed the way you work with teachers?

J: Yes, probably so. Not a lot, but some.

She's encouraged me to lean on them some more in some ways other than what my normal nature would have me do.

I: Have you seen ways she facilitates change?

J: Yes, for example in Team I, last year with the new staff members; they were floundering. She came in on several visits and change

has been affected. Now when they have meetings, they keep agendas and have time schedules. Now they have a form to follow. I wasn't able to help them enough.

I: Can you give another example?

J: With several teachers who were unfamiliar with the technique of teaching we like to use--for example, with Nancy--to pull them along withwhat we have in mind and how to get it across to kids. She frequently gives me input as to what's going on at the other campus. It's good to see things from a different point of view. It's different from the other elementary principal's, too. I think she feels comfortable talking to me--she knows it won't go far. She tells me what's in the rumor mill. It's useful to me. I find out new information.

I: What are her weaknesses?

J: Sometimes with teachers, she is more direct than a teacher can handle. She reads them wrong, or misreads how they'll take criticism and puts them in a blue funk for two weeks. This doesn't happen very often.

I: Do you have to encourage teachers to see her?

J: Yes, some teachers feel that they have everything under control. Others don't want her for the same reasons they don't want principals in the room--as an intruder or challenges the status quo. I'm going to ask her to sit in with Bob Jeffrey on Monday--so that she can give input to Don Baker in Betty's home school (Jeffrey wants to transfer there). She acts as a go-between in jobs.

Some people feel she's only looking for problems and for something she can work on. I know she doesn't want to be perceived that way.

I: It takes looking at yourself in a different way to want her in your room (being critical of yourself and wanting to make improvements instead of being satisfied).

Jack would like his alias for this study to be Festus Scruggs.

Interview with Kirk Clausen, a teacher and part-time administrator
Wednesday, February 7, 1979
2-2:40 pm, his office

I: How have you changed over time, and what did Betty do to influence that?

K: My way of operating over the past five or six years has changed partly due to the IGE workshop and partly due to her and my friendship with her.

The kinds of things IGE has to say about decision-making and change made sense to me.

I don't feel that she has sold me anything. It made sense to me. There are some things I don't agree with.

My feeling is that initially Betty got me going in that direction. I continue to ask for advice and she continues to use me as a sounding board. It's a reciprocal arrangement. It's not the situation of guru and student.

I no longer sign up for times to meet her. I see her informally and when we touch base. Part of my function is to brief her on what's happened here since her last visit. I'm one of her information sources.

I: Have you seen any changes in the way she operates over the years?

K: I don't have any hard data on that. My hunch is that she has developed a feeling over the years of what she can do and can't do--what not to get involved in. Some battles are worth fighting and some aren't.

I think one of the roles she serves (and she serves different roles to different levels of people)--to administrators she says here's what I'm hearing and I think you ought to know about it or a potential problem she picks up. That's an unofficial role.

She provides valuable information to administrators and that's why they feel comfortable with her around.

In the past, with problems of concern to me, she's suggested strategies, alternatives, things to do and not to do.

My primary benefit in the last couple of years has been process rather than content. Not curriculum and classroom management.

Our discussions are on how you go about affecting change and influencing the decision-making process.

I think Betty and I operate on similar wave lengths. We're analytical about things. We both have an ongoing analysis of data, the significance of it, where does it fit. I think that's one reason we've developed a friendship. Also our educational values. It has developed out of the realization that we agree on a lot.

I: What do you think is the effect of her information relationships with teaching and administrators on her formal work?

K: It makes her a known quantity and thus understood. Can compare the formal and informal and get an image of the total person. I'm more trusting and I have a better idea of where she's coming from as a result of our informal relationship.

It's one of trust-building. She knows I won't blab around school. The other value is that it gives her a much larger data base. She's picking up things a mile a minute. Her friends decide that here are some things Betty needs to know. And she asks her friends to fill her in.

Informally, she makes judgments. The question is--there may be a group with whom she'll make judgments and another group with whom she won't. She makes judgments with me because she trusts me or because there's a process she wants to share with me. I think she has different kinds of informal relationships. With some she goes out batik shopping and having dinner, and with some she makes judgments. She might say something like "there's really no classroom management going on in there."

Betty has a very fast mind and that's one of the reasons we get along so well. I do, too. We can sometimes just click along. We establish a rhythm.

It would be interesting for you to find the converts--the people who are receptive to her now but weren't initially.

Example of Field Notes

October 23, 1978
Primary Campus

(A first/second grade team with two teachers and 44 students.)

In Wilma's room--9:35
The three of us were sitting at the round table.

B: OK, What can I do for you?
W: I have tried having centers
3 groups--one with rods, one with chips, and one with me and the books
I'm not really happy
I'm thinking in terms of ability groups
B: What about working styles
Basically, what do you want them to do today?
W: Pages 9 and 10
B: Do they know how?
W: Most of them, but they'll have sticks. They'll also have a practice sheet on the number line.

Wilma asked Betty to do a part
B: We can plan it together--build how we will go about it.
W: OK, let's plan it.

B: (gets up) Where do we meet them?
Wilma explains the procedure of how they come in and where they sit.
B: Where do you meet them. That's what I want to know.
W: At their desks. (We all go over there--other board.) But I'm not prepared.
B: OK, Well, I'll show you how I do it anyway.
W: Good, I'd like to know that.

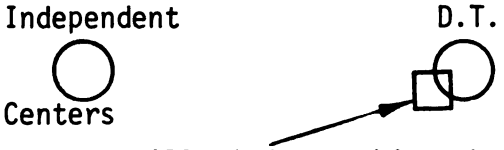
The intention here and in the note that W. sent to B. was that B. do a lesson or a part of a lesson.

B writes assignments on the board using symbols of a book, a ditto, and chips.

1st graders can't read yet.

W: It seems as if the kids are not independent enough to do these things on their own.
B: OK, maybe we have some unreal expectations.
W: Maybe

B: This group (as she's writing on the board)



Eventually you'll find something they can do independently.

D.T.: directed teaching

So you're really using your centers to teach them how to work independently.
They need to know what to do when they're with you and what to do when they're finished.
I would not allow them to interrupt you at all.
They should ask questions before hand. You have to be mean--it's teaching time (how to behave).
The first thing I do is teach behavior, then you have to retrain periodically. You have to get them to see where they are.
You're teaching them organization skills--modeling teacher and student comments.

I'll stay and watch if you want me to. — She's obviously no longer planning to do a demo. lesson.

W: I don't think I'll do anything differently.
B: OK (erases board) In general, how are things going? Good?
W: Well, better now, but I was really disappointed how things were going.

B: Work on behavior. Teach it. Unless you get rid of these behaviors...
You're right on target.

W: I've never had such a difficult class.

She talked about some specific students, including a ten year old in the second grade.

B: While Donald is here, grab him.

B: I'd like to stay and...not to watch you, but to watch some of these kids.
W: I'll be working with the younger ones.

The kids come in (from recess) and settled on the floor for story time. Jane (team teacher) was sitting in a chair reading.

B wrote a note to Wilma:

1. re confusion--is it caused by new environment? Is it caused by double standard?
   (in green ink--pointing to me) You? (presence) — She had a pen with changeable points.
2. Student behavior--is it a problem?
   (identify specific problem)

(turned over sheet)
wrote:

--passing out M. workbook (student responsibility?) — Wilma was
--again paper too!!

--passing out pencils

(anxiety

Three different trips

four

Wilma got the kids placed in seats by calling off each name and showing the kid where to sit.
W: OK, boys and girls, look at page nine.

B (to me) I have to show her what she's doing and what they're doing.
Behaviors aren't specified; a non-directive approach and a more relaxed atmosphere (than Anita's).
No goal setting--not saying that there has to be. There was no transfer.
She can't get to everyone because she hasn't previously diagnosed needs. She may have a plan, but it hasn't been articulated to you, me, or them.
She feels she's being beaten to death.
We're assuming that her definition of behavior is the same as mine and yours.

An example of diagnosis

--then we talked about the '60s--how much is W's non-directiveness a product of the philosophy of the '60s.

What happened to B. during the '60s? She has blamed the same thing on me.

W. came over and asked B and me to move tables; she needed the one we were at for a group of kids to do some chip-trading.

Specify and get it down.

B (to me): I stayed because I needed more data. I needed her definition of behavior and what behaviors she's working on at the time.

She's getting her grading done in class which I heartily approve of.

For W, because she's working so hard, or for everyone?

I (as we were walking back to the office): How do you give her this when she didn't ask for it?

Jack came in
B: Wilma has taken over the anxiety that Jane had.
B goes over with Jack what she went over with Wilma:
It's very warm (atmosphere)--the opposite of what we saw earlier.

Jack asked about what B. thinks of Pete and Wilma working together next year (spouses).
B: You wouldn't do that to them!

B: Several topics to use Donald for:
(Jack takes these down)
--how to group effectively
--what to do with a ten year old non-reader in the second grade
--independent centers focusing on reading skills and samples

If Wilma comes to me and asks what you think, tell her:
--a warm classroom
--it's good that you have chip-trading
--my definition of behavior management and hers
--"I get the feeling that you feel confused."

(This is a letter written to Betty by a workshop participant towards the end of the two-week period.)

Dear Betty,

This is a little note of appreciation for the work you're doing, the talents you've shared with us and the ideas, suggestions you've given freely.

I validate you on your dynamic energy--it flows out of you and electrifies and energizes those working with you. I've felt it and I've seen it in people who've said after being with you, "It's always good with Betty."

It has been a delight to encounter a strong, positive woman on this side of the world and inspires in me the courage to seek more treasures like you in Asia. If you're here, there must be others? Right!

Thank you for your insights and encouragement. I'll look forward to your visits to my school.

Love,

L.

(This is a paper presented by Betty to a Reading Conference in San Francisco in April, 1977.)

INNOVATIVE CLASSROOM PRACTICES

AN OPEN CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION PLAN FOR TEACHING K-8

Many teachers each year are encountering, either by professional interest or by designation, an open classroom experience frequently in an open space school. Educational journals are full of articles both for and against the issue of "open classroom," and there are almost as many definitions for "openness" as there are schools, a myriad of acronyms for programs and packaged materials for these classrooms exist with additional jargon to complicate the issue for the professional and the publics served by the schools.

The term "open-education" in this paper refers to these concepts:

1. The learning environment is of major importance in structuring learning and aesthetically pleasing environments help learning.

2. Children have different learning styles and different rates of learning.

3. The child's self-concept is important and the feelings the child has toward learning have a great effect on his learning.

4. The teacher's role is that of a designer, diagnostician and a guide for the children in this learning environment.

This plan is designed for implementation by a team of three or four teachers; a team approach, where the teachers can share ideas, expertise and grow professionally together as they design and provide an effective instructional program for their students. The "basics" are included as well as other proven teaching strategies. It does require that a variety of learning activities and experiences involving the student be planned providing a positive and human approach to education. There is structure, but it is not a teacher-centered environment. While the organization of the school can be single grade level teams, it will be more beneficial to have two or three year or grade ranges with several options for any age group (for example, 2, 3, 4 and 3, 4, 5 offers a third grade child several options). Teachers and students can be together for two or three years, thus enabling the teachers to better understand and know the children in the team. It is wise to involve your community of parents when you make these decisions as you need informed and supportive parents when you make any changes in the school structure.

The organizational plan presented should not be considered as a model, since each group of students and teachers that work together must be dealt with as unique situations, however, this plan can serve as a practical guide for teachers as they develop their own open classroom model.

While the plan prepares you to implement the program in an open space school, an individual teacher in a single-graded class in an older school will find it useful.

The key to a successful open-space classroom, like other classrooms, is the foundation that has been constructed by careful planning by those who will initiate the plan.

Step One: Develop a Team

Get together with the teachers that will be sharing this open space and establish a team. Even if you intend to do no team planning or team teaching, it is imperative that all who share the environment develop guidelines together. Since you will probably not complete all the tasks that you need to complete in one meeting, it is therefore important to establish a business meeting atmosphere, so no time is wasted.

During this initial meeting take the time to get to know one another. One way is to take a few minutes by sharing your background, interests, favorite area of teaching, and reasons for being involved with this group. It is not surprising to find that although teachers have been on the same faculty for years and have taught in adjacent rooms, they may know little about one another or their views on teaching.

If your team views the sharing of this environment and new experience as a problem solving adventure, the rewards will be bountiful.

These questions will guide you in this initial discussion session:

What are some of the advantages of this new environment?

What are some of the benefits of open education?

Since all of us will be teaching in this area, what guidelines do we need to develop so that we can all live here successfully?

How can we be honest, and not hurt one another's feelings?

Are there any areas or materials that we will want to share?

What are some of the problems others have enountered in teaching in an open-space?

What are some of the possible problems or concerns we each have?

What are some of the pitfalls of open-education that we can avoid?

At this point, you will begin to know each other, and perhaps consider more team work than you expected. At first you may decide to share centers, materials, ideas and team plans, and not do team teaching.

One cannot minimize the effects the individuals that compose the team and the leadership of the team have on team development. By teaming and utilizing the strengths of all, you can provide more flexible grouping arrangements for instruction. It has been aptly stated that team-teaching is like a marriage, however, the marriage is frequently arranged. If possible teachers should choose their teammates, however, all the strengths in the school should not be on one team.

While teams can be large and effective, most teachers that have teamed prefer teams of 3 teachers involved with 75 students, because the groups of students are easier to manage and a family feeling is still maintained.

Leadership of the team is essential and the person in this capacity should possess the characteristics of an effective leader and also have the ability to work with others.

Now that you are a team and have decided how you will team and how much you will cooperate, you are ready to proceed. If you plan to team-teach, select a leader before you go to the next step.

Step Two: Plan the Learning Environment

Examine the environment that will be your home of learning for both you and your students. Remember in this new open space room, you have the opportunity to build the learning atmosphere. There are no walls or at least few walls to hinder your plan. This classroom can be a work shop. If you are really fortunate, there is a team room or a teachers' work area, so your desk does not need to accompany you into this new environment. Just think how much space you have without it! Do not throw it out, it might make an ideal center, but wait and see.

With the team and the new leader, hold a planning session.

Brainstorm the possibilities for this new environment. These questions will serve to get you started:

What centers will we need?

Where shall we have the library?

Where shall we have the quiet areas?

Where can we hold a group meeting for all the students?

How can we use the bookcases?

Where can we put plants?

Where shall we store the games?

What can we hang from the ceiling?

Where can we have a display area?

How shall we arrange the desks? (How many different ways?)

How many instructional areas do we need for teacher directed activities?

Where will students keep their personal belongings?

How can we mark the areas?

What colors shall we use?

Now that you have all your ideas, you are ready to draw your plan on paper, but do not lift the furniture yet.

Using a large sheet of paper or the chalk board, begin to design your environment. These hints will help you:

a. Decide what to do with the desks and chairs first. Remember that the emphasis is on small group and individual learning. Take into consideration the learning needs of all your students and develop areas for these needs.

b. Label everything in this environment and begin to live by "everything has a place and everything in its place." This is a laboratory for learning.

c. Remember that your environment will change and become more functional as you live in it.

d. Leave some of the decision making about the environment up to the students. You want them to have the feeling that this is their environment.

Remember that the spatial arrangements you design will communicate a great deal to your students.

After the plan is on paper, you are ready to move furniture. Let's all share the load, ready, team?

Step Three: Decide on the Curriculum

One of the most important decisions you will make as a team is deciding how to deal with the curriculum. To some educators involved in "open education," it means doing away with all formalized curriculum, but I

believe that you can take the curriculum guides existing in your school and wisely use them in your planning. Examine the curriculum both in content and in concepts normally presented to students of the age you will be teaching.

List the skills that are considered important for students to acquire in both the area of communication skills and mathematics. These can be considered as the "basics," so you are not throwing them out!

The rest of the curriculum decisions have to do with content and the approach you decide to use as a team. Your goal is to have a variety of learning experiences that will turn children on to school, not off. Most teams prefer to integrate the curriculum as much as possible, however, the skills are best directly taught and not left to incidental learning. One way to handle this is having the early part of the day for structured skill time, while the rest of the day is open for more integrated study and less teacher-directed activity.

The team will need to make decisions regarding time, space use, and the grouping processes that will meet the ever-changing needs of the students. You can further individualize your program through the use of centers, various media, learning contracts, learning packets, and varied activities.

In the beginning, it would be advantageous to start with your own group of students in the basic skills. As you group them for instruction within the group, you can discuss with the other teachers on the team and move students among yourselves for instruction, so that you have the best learning and teaching situation. In that way you develop flexible groupings, and each teacher will have identified the need for utilizing another teammate.

Start with team planning the first two integrated units of study and the development of the centers. The times you use centers and an interdisciplinary or theme approach will provide the opportunity for true teaming, but let it evolve. If you develop a daily schedule together that allows flexibility adn the opportunity to work together or group among yourselves that will be a step in the right direction.

The more flexible the schedule, the more options you have as an individual teacher and as a team.

Bring those activities and plans that have been successful. Remember that you are teaming and implementing a curriculum plan that best meets the needs of all involved.

Step Four: Develop the Routines and Procedures

This building block perhaps will be the "keystone" to your success, because the tone and atmosphere that you desire for your learning environment is affected by the physical setting planned as well as the methods used in communicating the expectations to students. While you cannot anticipate every situation, you can set the tone and rhythm for

the total year, if you spent enough time at the beginning. Teach the children to live in this new environment carefully, then you never have to eliminate a negative behavior and re-teach the proper one.

The best advice is that you ASSUME not one of the students has ever been in an open-space school or an open classroom. Therefore, you begin at ZERO.

Develop the expectations and standards as a team. Generally, the shorter the list, the better. A common sense approach toward living together is best. Decide what to do if a student does not meet the standards. List the responsibilities of students. (The students later may enjoy listing the responsibilities of teachers, or you can collectively work on the list.)

Open-ness can be implemented by degrees and go from structure to less-structure. Procedures take time to learn and sometimes practice is necessary as well as a model to see. In this open space work from a structure that allows as much freedom as these individuals demonstrate they can handle. Those who cannot handle the freedom do not have the freedom.

This environment is new, and the older the child, generally the more time you need to teach the expectations. Just imagine if you had just finished four years of schooling in a traditional classroom environment, and you walked into this new one. What would you think?

Spend time teaching the expectations and standards. Do it creatively and always reinforce the students that meet the standards.

As a team, develop procedures.

Describe the behavior that is expected so that every student has a clear picture. These guiding questions are samples:

How do we dismiss for _____? What do you do if a

teacher is late or absent? How do we use the _____?

When do we _____? When do you sharpen a pencil?

In the very beginning teach how to use a center or an area, discuss with the students what is expected and then evaluate with them at the end of the activity. Remember that clean up is part of the activity. (Any teacher that picks up after a class is not teaching students responsibility!)

Plan the first day as a team carefully. Get to know your students and begin to teach them about this new environment. Share your enthusiasm with them for this coming year.

After a few weeks the routines will become habits. Your learning environment will have a quiet atmosphere at times that is necessary and

a "busy hum of learning" at other times, but all students can learn because they know what to do, when to be there, and what is expected of them.

Step Five: Evaluate Your Teaching Practices

The last four steps have been a team effort, but this step is an individual task.

Set reasonable goals for yourself this year and plan your self-improvement. You may find that you have been an "open-classroom" teacher for years. However, you may need to concentrate on acquiring some "open space" teaching behavior.

Put your track shoes on and take these questions with you to the new environment:

Can you manage several activities at one time?

Can you plan enough to allow students an opportunity to choose?

Have you ever used a "contract"?

Are directions clearly stated on your centers?

Do students always have to wait on you?

Do you use the chalkboard in communicating with the class?

Do you interrupt students who are working in one area because your voice is too loud?

Do you ever move around and observe students at work?

Do you instruct three or four students or have small instructional groups?

Do you plan lessons individually as well as for a group?

Do you allow students to evaluate their work?

Is your record keeping up to date?

Do you know your individual students in terms of what they have learned and how they learn?

Relax; you do not need to change overnight. Teach the way you feel most effective and comfortable. Plan to learn new strategies to teach or to try. Observe another teacher teaching for new ideas. Within this "open-space," each of you will begin to examine what he or she has been doing professionally and by critiqueing his actions and others will grow professionally.

All right team--you have followed the plan and you are ready for the doors to open.

Take with you all that has been successful in your old environments and move into this new open space. The changes in the architecture and in teaching strategies have come about because of the quest to meet the individual needs of children more effectively.

Do not throw out the old because it is old, but because you as a professional have evaluated the situation and fee there is a better way for your students to learn.

The effective management and organization of your open classroom depends on your ability as a team to evaluate and monitor the program and its progress, making changes when necessary and appropriate.

Informal Interviews from Summer Workshop

Teachers/workshop participants were asked to describe Betty and her working style:

M.R. She has a way of listening and analyzing. She makes you think you've done it before. She gives you the direction and helps you reach it. She came to my classroom last year. I didn't know how to manage time and she gave be direct advice that made a big difference. She said, "Time yourself." After a while I knew that a lesson would last _____ minutes. Other staff developers give the answer but not the "why." I can do it, but I don't get it. Betty doesn't say, "Go do it." She lets you discover it by yourself and then she gives you the opportunity to go and see her again.

Sometimes I think she doesn't listen because her answers come so fast. She's like a computer. When she tells you something, it's like she has experimented with it before.

D.B. One of the biggest ways Betty helped me was in organization. She knows so many processes for organizing. I have also learned by observing her and the way she interacts with teachers. She gives very concrete advice. She is also systematic. She always helps people see the system, the whole picture.

She makes you look at what you're doing and see where changes can take place. She is also extremely energetic.

J.P. Betty is strong-willed, dynamic, and full of energy. You can't get away with any b.s. with her. She forces you to be open, and she certainly sets an example. She isn't domineering, but she's matter-of-fact in the way she does things. But she's human, too. Sometimes I think she's like a walking computer. She's so organized and efficient. She really gets things done.

I don't feel that my time was wasted here. She earns respect. She doesn't try to be a friend as much as she tries to help you, yet she's friendly. And she's very professional. It's easy to take critiquing from her because she is so professional. She does it in such a positive way.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

February 20, 1979

Dear Mary,

As you know, I have been working on a research project with Betty Leslie since August. I am very grateful to all of you for allowing me (or the videotape projector) into your classrooms and for your openness and candidness in answering my questions. I believe that with all of your help, I will have enough data in seven months instead of in the ten plus months as I had originally planned.

I need to ask your help one more time. I'm enclosing this questionnaire which I'd like you to fill out for me. It covers four of the areas I've been trying to learn about. I've tried to think of everything, but if you see where I've left something out or haven't left sufficient room for your explanation, please feel free to add it on. It would be most helpful to me if you could complete and return it to me by the end of February.

Sincerely,

Arlene Anang

QUESTIONNAIRE

Your Relationship with Betty

How long have you worked with her professionally? _____

How often during her six yearly visits do your work with her?

4-6 times a year	42%
2-3 times a year	38%
once a year	17%
once every other year less	3%

Please explain your reasons for this frequency _____

_____

_____

Have you attended an IGE workshop with her? _____

What ideas from there have you been able to use? _____

_____

_____

Her Classroom Visits	usually	occasionally	never
Do you ask her for help on specific things?	63%	29%	8%
Does she come in to observe (without a specific request from you)?	13%	52%	35%
Does she stop by your room to say hello?	30%	40%	30%
Do you talk to her casually in the faculty lounge, etc.	51%	43%	0%
Do you see her informally outside of the school environment?	17%	46%	37%

Areas of Helpfulness

Please rate her helpfulness to you on the following scale (1=least helpful; 5=most helpful)

	1	2	3	4	5
Behavior management	5.5%	5.5%	22%	11%	50%
Time management	5%	5%	20%	35%	35%
Record-keeping	17%	5%	22%	39%	17%
Curriculum ideas	0%	11%	39%	39%	11%
Advice about specific student(s)	12.5%	12.5%	19%	25%	31%
Environment	6%	12.5%	12.5%	50%	19%
Other (please describe):					
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please describe some of the specific ideas she has given you that you have been able to use:

(See attached sheets for data.)

Do you think she has helped you change in any fundamental ways--of a long-range nature? If so, please describe.

(See attached sheets for data.)

Personality and Style

What do you like about her and the way she works?

What do you dislike about her and the way she works?

Signature (optional)

_____

IDEAS LEARNED

	SPECIFIC IDEAS	FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES
2D	How to take care of listening center problems while teaching a group. How to approach high school aides about conduct, etc.	
2W	Asked us to rethink the purpose of our "Center Day" and the result was we dropped it.	
2F	Creative writing	Good model for teachers; moral support; fine example of professionalism.
2E	Ideas on grouping; how to use pretests effectively; ideas on how to conference with parents; ideas on making "team" decisions as opposed to everyone going their own way on a team; changing behavior with contracts	She has completely changed by teaching style. I now feel at ease with discipline. I can individualize in many areas, and I feel like a much more competent teacher than I did four years ago.
2O	How to arrange the room for a better traffic flow; teaching standards for behavior.	I've become a problem-solver like her; able to identify problem, diagnose, and work out a positive solution.
2B	Ideas for teaching art in the homeroom.	Get all pupils actively involved in lesson as soon as possible.
2P	Management for math; correcting workbooks and worksheets.	I'm always looking for better ways to manage and have more of a tendency to look at my organization.
2N	Letting kids handle nominal but time-consuming tasks; noting ideas and plans for the future on clip-board; noting constraints and then seeking to eliminate them; room arrangement that conforms to my style of teaching	Looking for ways to short-cut menial tasks; freeing me to spend more time on teaching. Also, she helps me focus more thoroughly on what we really are after and escape spending too much time on trivia (in class, meetings, etc.)

2M	Keeping ESL students on individual schedules and buddy system. Enlivening social studies discussion with student discussion leaders; time-out area and nonverbal signals for destructive students.	The fostering of independence in students and the encouragement of personal decision-making. The classroom is theirs and it should reflect that. She has taught me to try to think like a student before I lay something on them. Also that my patience may be my greatest strength and to use it extensively.
2K	She gave me some advice with regard to management of 6th grade when it was new to me.	
2J	B taught a creative writing lesson in which she focused on motivation, assessment of skills. She has made me be more objective oriented and skill check-list oriented; grand advice was given in handling parents and community. We (as a team) are much more efficient as a result of B's guidance and techniques.	I am more objective and make better use of my planning and teaching. In other words, as a result of her management expertise, I know in which direction I am going.
2I	Skill-oriented lesson plans; unit-writing design for team-use; much information and forms for student evaluation by team members for individual teacher-parent conferences; creative-writing starter model.	I'm more efficient; I accomplish more in shorter time periods. I examine what I teach (the content) and tend to discard that which does not have a specific, important objective.
2H	Setting specific goals and objectives for a music group rehearsal; dealing with Alex --how to work with a child who only wants attention.	Positive reinforcement as an alternative to negative discipline is a concept that has become part of my teaching now; she showed me how to use it specifically.
2V	Using committees; improved record keeping.	
2U	The reassurance that I was on the right track by insisting on teaching ESL orally/ aurally only.	

2T	Buddy system for talkers (put them with a responsible person); activities for higher students; preparing for open house and conferences--materials to have ready, etc.	I'm much more concerned that the children know the objectives they are working on and their tests are directly related to these objectives.
2Q	I have learned the value of contracts. It has been a pleasure to see the enthusiasm and self-competition it has generated among my students.	We are firm believers in planning--plans that can be flexible but still reach a desired goal.
2A	Management system for math; goal-setting with students who have behavior problems; taking time to teach students expected behavior so they can concentrate on their studies; to be positive with kids and others; to teach independence and responsibility to the kids.	Yes! She has helped me to individualize instruction; to teach by objectives; to run more efficient and effective meetings; and to be more positive.
2S	Working with ESL students; challenging top students; dealing with theft in classroom.	More comfortable with individualized planning; better able to deal with age range.
2R	Time-management; scheduling students' time; room management; helping specific troubled students.	Better class management; to look realistically at myself as a teacher--good or bad.

PERSONALITY AND STYLE OF WORKING

	WHAT DO YOU LIKE	WHAT DO YOU DISLIKE ABOUT IT?
2W	If you have a very specific request that is inside her expertise, she can be of help	She is too efficient and expects everyone else to have this same kind of personality. She is often too efficiently dispensing advice to listen. Listening is quieter activity and not her forte.
2D	She's open, direct, and very observant. She's very confident about herself which gave me confidence in her.	
2F	Good positive attitude regarding new and difficult situations.	I have the feeling she feels she has never met with a situation she is unable to cope with or handle. I find this unbelievable. I miss a sense of empathy.
2E	She does not "charge" in unless asked. She always has an idea to help you out. She sees problems you are too close to see.	She's not here enough!! I'd like her on this campus.
2O	She gives all feedback straight--no beating around the bush.	I know she makes judgments. I think she talks about me negatively to others.
2C	She is well informed in her field. She can zero in on the problem right away. Her suggestions usually work.	Other than her hair style, she works fine.
2P	She is always on time and she gets down to business right away.	
2U	She's a self-contained brain storming group, full of ideas, alternatives, etc. Unimposing, leaving the individual to pick for himself. Quick to get to the essence of a situation.	

2M	Her ability to put her mind/finger on more than one solution to a situation simultaneously. Diplomacy be damned; direct approach to improving communication.	Sometimes she talks too much and gives me more data than he needs or can handle.
2L	Always willing to listen to problems or observations by fellow workers.	Nothing really. She's just a professional doing her job.
2J	She remembers and does something about a particular problem you might have. She always comes with new suggestions to handle a specific problem or gives fresh ideas on team techniques.	As a team, I felt we were disappointed that she did not comment on our team model this year. She hammered away at the point--"will you have data at parent conferences?" I felt that she was surprised that it was working so well! One sees and learns that it is not B's nature to praise; however, we would like to hear something along those lines from her. We feel that she could share with us ideas from other open classrooms in other areas.
2I	She is efficient; has a great memory (she remembers your previous problems and questions). She sees you as an individual. She listens carefully and has the ability to "zero in" on the solving of the problem. She's fun to be around--and you as a teacher never feel that she is "putting you down."	I don't think she praises enough--she tends to be a little <u>too objective</u>. I think she should <u>share</u> more of her observations of our school and others she visits.
2G	Intelligent, efficient, straight-forward.	
2H	Nothing phases her; she always has some type of helpful input. I like her directness, yet she somehow manages to be positive while still laying things on the line.	

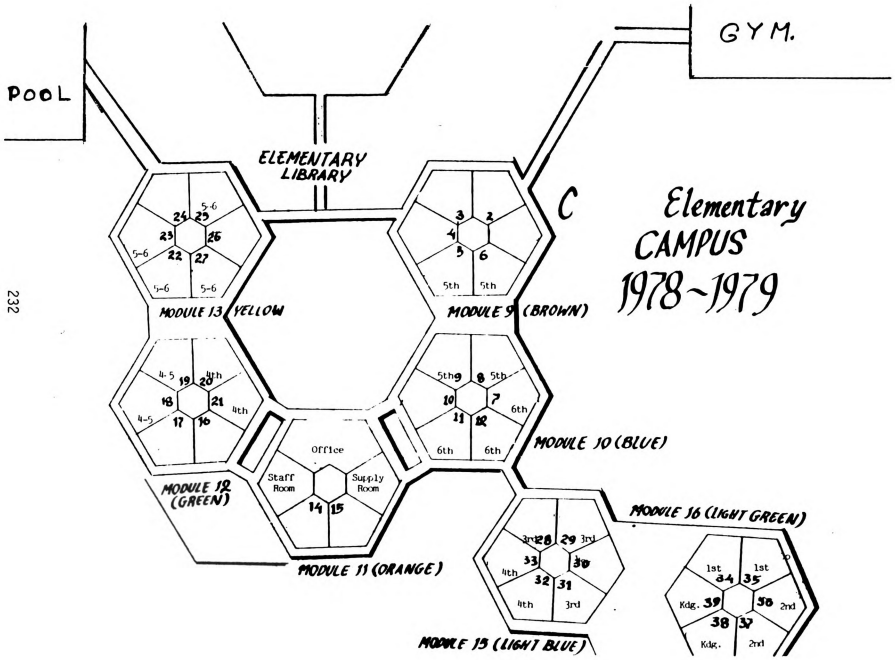
2V	Good ideas on management and on increasing efficiency.	
2U	She seems a pleasant person, warm and friendly. And she knows a lot about what other schools in the region are doing. I think that is the key to her value in our school. To keep us informed of what's happening elsewhere in the international schools so we don't teach in isolation. Good teaching needs to be fed new ideas and international schools suffer from the serious flaw of working in a vacuum.	I would like someone in my (specific) professional area to help me out.
2T	She gives immediate feedback and seems to be able to solve (or provide a solution) to problems instantly.	I feel my time with her is rushed--but that's probably why she's able to keep to her schedule that's so full.
2S	Open and terrific at dealing with trouble spots in a fair way.	She's too forceful--comes on too strong and often frightens people away.
2R	She is very sensitive to all situations and can spot a trouble spot quickly with help for you.	
2A	She is analytical and deals with problems, not personalities. She is ALWAYS POSITIVE first and then gives her suggestions in a non-threatening way.	Sometimes she assumes that I have the context for what she is talking about when I don't.
2Q	She has a "love" for students. She has a storehouse of ideas for all levels. She is a "caring, sharing" person.	

APPENDIX C

MAPS OF SCHOOLS

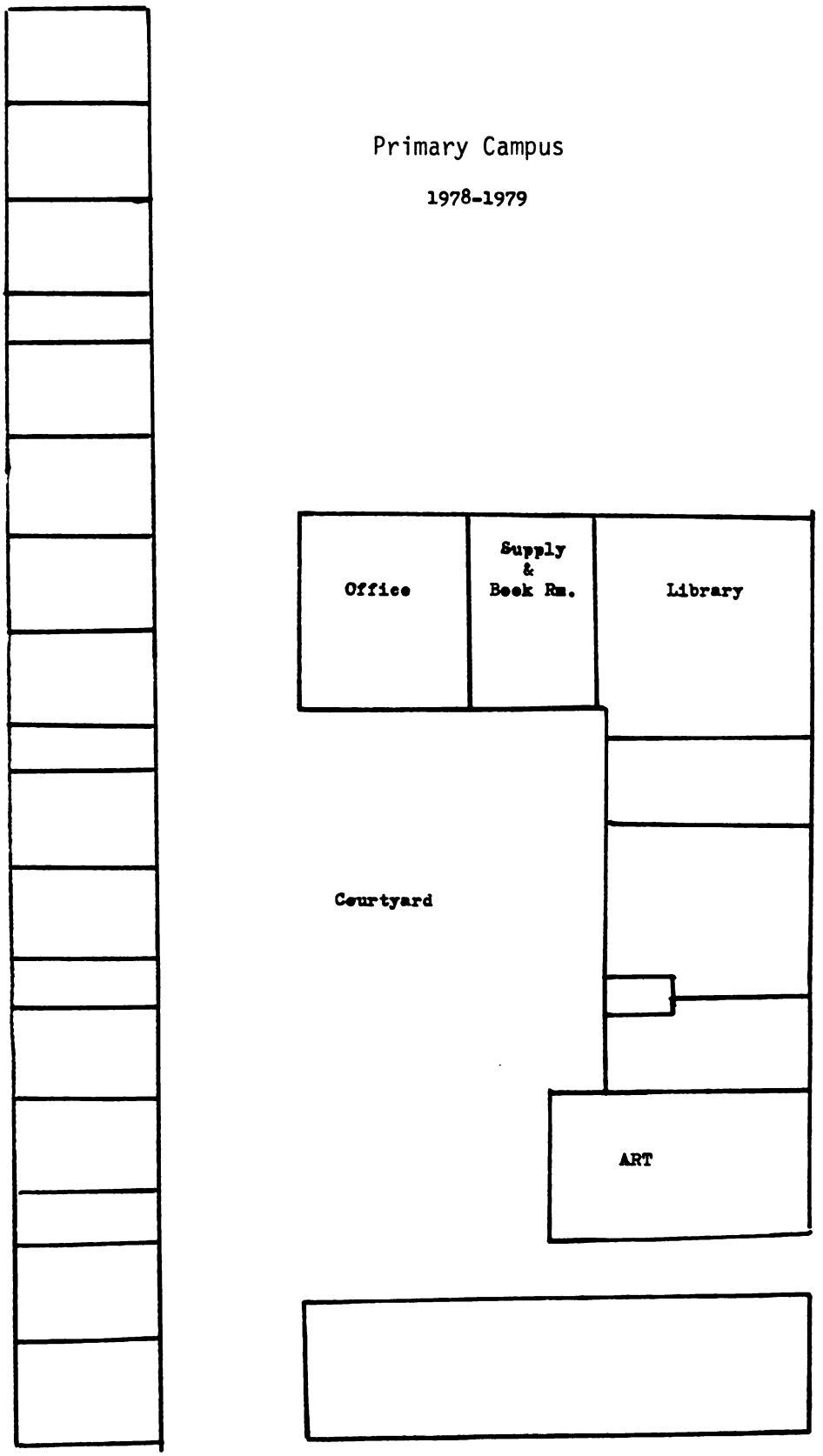
A. ELEMENTARY CAMPUS
(attached to high school)

B. PRIMARY CAMPUS
(older one)


GYM.
POOL
ELEMENTARY LIBRARY
C Elementary CAMPUS 1978-1979
MODULE 13 YELLOW
MODULE 9 (BROWN)
MODULE 10 (BLUE)
MODULE 12 (GREEN)
MODULE 11 (ORANGE)
MODULE 16 (LIGHT GREEN)
MODULE 15 (LIGHT BLUE)
Office
Staff Room
Supply Room
5-6
4-5
4th
5th
6th
3rd
2nd
1st
Kdg.

Primary Campus

1978-1979



APPENDIX D

THE INDIVIDUALLY GUIDED EDUCATION CLINICAL WORKSHOP

IGE CLINICAL WORKSHOP

August 7-18, 1978

Your Workshop Goal:

To be able to discuss and to apply in practice the outcomes from the workshop implementation guide.

Objectives:

1. The participant will experience and participate in a variety of Human Development activities designed to help individuals function as part of a group or team.

2. The participant will experience the role of the teacher in designing, implementing, and evaluating an instructional program to individualize learning for a group of children.

3. The participant will have experiences which will assist him to help others as they experience change in the learning environment.

4. Each learning community will develop and implement an effective advisor program involving home-school communication.

5. Each participant will develop a plan for implementing the outcomes and strategies that will lead to improvement in his or her classroom this fall.

Portions of a clipping from the expatriate community newspaper describing the IGE summer workshop; dated September 25, 1978.

Teachers Go to School...
Clinical Workshop

From a slide show about cities in Asia to a circus parade, from a play of Greek myths to an exhibit of underwater sea life, parents visiting the open house of the Summer Workshop...saw the varied and interesting results of their children's seven mornings of classes. For the 116 students themselves, those mornings proved that going to school, even during the summer vacation, can be fun!

The students had been part of the 10th annual clinical workshop held for teachers and administrators of expatriate schools in Southeast Asia. Designed to improve skills in all areas of teaching, the workshop was jointly sponsored by the United States Office of I.D.E.A. (Institute for Development of Educational Activities) and the S___ American School, the seventh such clinic held in S___.

For the participating teachers who earned three hours graduate credit through their efforts, the workshop was ten full days of intense involvement in a learning atmosphere. First, becoming accustomed to working with other members of the team to which each was assigned and developing study plans around the interdisciplinary theme of each group, actual teaching and observing took place during the mornings with the students. Afternoons were filled with analyzing the day's progress, revising and modifying the program as necessary to make the plan more effective for each student. Thus the important goals of the workshop were stressed:

*Functioning effectively as a member of a team
*Designing a program of individualized study for a varied group of children
*Implementing the study, re-evaluating and revising goals as the program progressed
*Recording the progress of each child
*Increasing communication between teacher and child and between teacher and parent

Seminars covering a wide range of topics also were held in the afternoons with topics such as Time Management, Behavioral Contracting, Effective Meetings and Team Teaching. No wonder past participants have labelled it "a workshop not a talkshop."

The workshop was planned and administered by Mrs. Betina Leslie of the S___ American School.

The 32 teachers participating in the workshop represented five area schools.

APPENDIX E

SHEETS USED TO SCHEDULE APPOINTMENTS WITH BETTY

(This is the standard form distributed each month approximately one week before Betina Leslie's visit.)

J___ International School
C___ Elementary

October 11, 1978

Betina Leslie week, October 23-27

All teachers are encouraged to plan a time with her.

Each IGE team should plan to meet with her.

All who wish a contact with Betina, please complete this form and return to Yati by Thursday afternoon, October 19, so Betina can have her schedule prepared.

Betina will be at our elementary school on Tuesday, from 11:00-2:30
Wednesday, full day
Thursday, from 7:30-10:30

How can she help you?

☐ Observe and provide feedback to you on your classroom.

☐ Assist you in lesson planning.

☐ Help you solve a problem.

☐ Suggest and share ideas with you.

☐ Observe a meeting and provide feedback to your group.

☐ Meet with your grade level or team.

☐ Meet with a small group of teachers who want assistance in

_____

I want Mrs. Leslie to _____

The best time to meet is _____

Teacher_____

APPENDIX F

BETTY'S EVALUATION REPORT/

SUMMARY OF VISIT

TO: Mr. B___, high school vice principal
Mr. B___, elementary school principal
Mr. R___, primary school principal
Dr. W___, high school principal
Dr. V___, superintendent

FROM: Betina Lester

DATE: January 31, 1979

TOPIC: Summary of League Fourth Visit
(January 22-26, 1979)

The report format for this visit has been revised in both its content and length in order to provide all of you with more complete information.

Elementary Activities

Team A In a lengthy conference with this teaching team, we developed a plan for a Research Unit to be used in the near future, as well as discussed various methods and materials to use in the evaluation of their students' progress. In a subsequent observation and post observation conference, the Math program implemented by the team was analyzed.
This two teacher team is both organized, well planned, and provides excellent instruction and guidance to their students. These teachers could provide a model for others in their use of class time beginning with their opening activities with their students, as well as their activities at the end of the day. No time is wasted and the activities are designed to extend their students' thinking.

Team B In two conferences with this three teacher team, following a pre-observation meeting and an observation, the topic of student leadership and developing responsibility with students was discussed.
Since these teachers moved from their former experience of teaching 3rd and 4th grades to the 5th and 6th grade, it is understandable that the teaching methods and strategies are as they were; however, I shared with the team the need for them to plan learning activities that provided opportunities for more student leadership as well as incorporated more guided independent activities. I explained these activities are necessary, especially for the sixth grade students as they prepare for the seventh grade program, which expects them to be independent. The teachers accepted these suggestions readily and planned to implement some ideas immediately. I plan to follow up with ideas later.

Team C	Together with one teacher from this team, we observed specific students (ESL) as well as the other team teacher during a social studies lesson. During the post-observation conference, it was agreed that this observation process was very valuable in identifying and analyzing student performance, and together we developed strategies to be used with several of the students observed. This team analyzes their program on a regular basis, and it is evident as one observes or meets with them that they are very professional and benefit from this teaming experience. (Naturally the school and students benefit as well!)
Mrs. W	After observing in the classroom as well as modeling for the teacher while working with her, we met and I outlined specific actions she could adopt that would help her in the management of her students and the activities in the classroom. She was open to these suggestions and is interested in her students and her classroom. At this time the students exhibited that they indeed are acquiring the basic skills. This teacher is effective in her role, and there is evidence that her participation in the MSU overseas graduate program has helped her in her professional development.
Mrs. P	In a conference we discussed methods that this teacher could use to improve her communication between the classroom teachers and herself. I suggested she have the topic put on the PIC agenda. I had written to other schools on her behalf to ascertain information on materials as well as strategies other schools are using in their ESL programs.
Mr. K	During a conference with this teacher a new arrangement for classroom instruction was designed, as well as suggestions for independent work for students, to facilitate the teacher's use of the small group instructional mode (Dr. Donald's course). The teacher indicated later that this new design was very effective.
(Principal)	Numerous discussions were held about the classroom observations and the results of conferences with teachers. Together we observed one classroom teacher and shared our data and discussed strategies that could be used to assist this teacher in his professional improvement.
Program Improvement Council	During an observation of this meeting and later as a participant, it was evident that the group has improved their meeting skills and are concerned about the role of this council as well as the role of the PIC representative. The Principal led the meeting assisting everyone to accomplish the tasks at hand. During this meeting I suggested that the use of a "proposal system" developed by one or two people of a small committee could facilitate the discussion and progress of the council. (In other words a proposal in draft form is distributed

during the meeting for the council's perusal, discussion, and decision.) As promised a sample is attached.

Mrs. A — In a conference with her, I suggested she list all the activities that a new team member would need to have provided by her team to become well acquainted with her team's program, so that a smooth transition could occur when Mrs. A leaves.
At the present time there appears to be little evidence of a teaming situation or analysis of the program by this team. I also suggested that she follow-up with a questionnaire or interview with all the teachers with whom I met during the week to further evaluate my effectiveness with them.

High School Activities

CPI — After an observation of this meeting, I met with the principal to review the observation data and suggested several strategies that could help this group improve.
In practice this group appears to follow more of a "forum," rather than a group that analyzes and makes recommendations. Since the high school departments and the department chairmen function in such an outstanding manner, the department chairmen have and need to have information that effects the department and the school initially, I suggested this committee could be more fully utilized.
In the meeting specifics can be delegated and decided that will clear up some communication gaps, as well as avoid others. Another committee can make a report to this group and modifications (a "proposal format").

Mrs. W — During an observation of the Foreign Language Department's inservice activities, at the request of a staff member, it revealed a well planned and balanced sharing of inservice activities. The substitutes received a valuable inservice experience and will no doubt perform their services in the future more effectively due to the activities provided by Mrs. W.

Math Department — While the conference had been originally scheduled for Mr. P, he asked that he include the total department in our discussion of the math lab classes. Therefore, as a group we discussed ways of improving the instructional program offered by the math department.

Mrs. T — In a conference we reviewed the results of the student responses in evaluating the various music groups under the teacher's direction. We developed a plan for sharing this information with each group so that the student would be aware of the diverse concerns among themselves and be able to develop plans to improve within each group (a shared decision making strategy). I encouraged the teacher to

continue to provide students with these opportunities to evaluate the class or choir situation, but suggested to her that we develop a format more suitable for analysis and assessment in the future.

Mrs. F In a conference several methods and strategies were illustrated to help the teacher meet the student performance levels and needs within her class.

Mr. P The teacher shared his progress with his class, and we developed specific strategies to further improve his program. He is most enthusiastic about his profession.

Mr. D In a conference we reviewed plans for his class, as well as planned his proposed inservice visit to K___. As an observer at a later science department meeting, I was asked by him to critique the meeting and did so. For future reference, it would be helpful for all future department chairmen and CPI representatives to see a video tape or observe Mr. D conduct a meeting. He does an excellent job.

Other Certainly this week, once it was underway, became well booked and I indeed felt the time was well used. Four days were spent between the two sections of the school, as I scheduled high school people at unscheduled times as well. One day was spent at a new expatriate school, 60 km away, helping the teachers and Board in analyzing their program. Teachers were generally enthusiastic about their inservice plans and at no time were there any negative comments. The high school teachers were especially enthusiastic. Hopefully the evaluations of this inservice will support this attitude. As future inservice activities are planned, as an administrative group you might like to schedule some time for your own inservice and share ideas and strategies. The high school program particularly lends itself to that and could have included the guidance department plans for inservice as well. All in all the inservice program at the elementary and high school certainly should reap a difference for your students this week!

Requests from the Staff

*Cap and gown--ready for sending via H or myself next trip

*Elem Science Book--D. D.

*Learning Packet Format--D. H.

*Homework Article--Team C

*Ideals for Developing Student Leadership and Responsibility--Team B

*Capsule Report--Team A

*Proposal Format--Elementary School Principal

*Dr. Z's Address--M. W.

*Student Evaluation Forms--L. T.

*Sample Books--J. R. (Primary School Principal) (The publisher contacted me!)

Next trip: February 25 - March 2, 1979
Arrive Sunday SQ 208 at 1800 hours

Betina Leslie
Staff Development Specialist

BL/ay/sp
February 8, 1979

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