

**TEACHER TRAINING: A REFLECTIVE
PERSPECTIVE**

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PREFACE

Clair Doyle

The more time we spend with education the more we are compelled to acknowledge the complexity of this process. This statement is true of education in general, the process of teacher education, and the teaching internship. A realization and acceptance of this fact helps us cope with the task we take on when we work with pre-service teachers. Even if we were to content ourselves with an apprenticeship model of teacher education the task would be daunting. How much more delicate the process is if we hope to contribute to a teaching profession that is reflective and critical. Our attempt to make such a contribution makes us humble and keeps our efforts tentative.

The classrooms that teaching interns inherit are most complex. Asked to dance between transmission and transformation, interns are expected to deliver the educational goods demanded by society as well as to develop citizens for democracy. The interns themselves are often obsessed with the mastery of technical skills for instruction and class management. Their main plea is: "Tell me how to do it." We believe we have a responsibility to do more. We, as teacher educators, need to life interns beyond the necessary technical skills of instructional and management toward a process where they can feel safe to put their own work into a wider social, cultural, and political context. In a real sense this is what we, as teacher educators interested in a reflective practice, are all about.

Our collaboration with interns is delicate because often they are caught between strong words, direct suggestions and sacred transitions. Caught between what is considered the ideal and the reality, they face individually the challenge of figuring out what is ideal and what is real. Through the reflective internship we are trying to provide practical opportunities for interns. First, we help them to develop critical categories through which they can analyze their school sites. Next, we enough them to examine their own educational goals and refine their own promise as teachers. They need to ask themselves what is needed for them to become their own best teachers. Our institution cannot give interns a personal philosophy, attitudes or values; these must be self-generated. One way of empowering interns is through our use of critical questions. These questions come out of our diverse backgrounds, goals, and ideological pools. The questions we ask interns are often aimed at helping them appreciate their own histories and cultural experiences. The reality is that they cannot but live out of their own history and culture if they are to find their own authentic voice. Furthermore, if teaching interns can appreciate their own backgrounds, they can better appreciate the heritage and culture of their own students.

Some of the burdens of a teaching internship are understanding the place of that borrowed classroom, the inherited curriculum, and the assumed methodology. These burdens can be lethal for pre-service teachers who direct too much attention and energy toward "doing the acceptable thing." In fact it is often difficult to get time to reflect. Yet, we are convinced that unless we can help interns make real time for critical reflection, there is little hope for them to be professional or transformative. We see little value in training educational technicians.

Interns themselves need to see the power built into their own knowledge and position. They have to be aware of how they use this real power in relation to their students. They, like all other teachers, have to deal with the question of being an

authority while being in authority. This question, like many others posed in this book, forms part of the process of building up a reflective pre-service teacher program. We demand much from our interns. Therefore, we need to help them integrate theory and practice, critically analyze situations, and implement change. Simply putting the category of reflection into a handbook or evaluation form is not enough. In part, we want to help interns get into the habit of the critical reflection needed if they are to become educational professionals and transformative intellectuals.

In this reflective process we have constantly to ask what we, as teacher educators, bring to the internship table. The diversity of our reflective group, along with the variety of interns we work with helps keep us all honest. We do not have the luxury of limited ideologies. In our analyzing and discussing, the complexity of schooling is made more apparent. In this reflective process we have to work on our silence as well as our probing questions. We aid in giving interns voice through our listening. Like all teachers it is hard for us not to tell; we too are expected to know. In this reflective process with interns we have the opportunity to go beyond the general educational musings to probe specific sites and to examine sources of intern knowledge and pedagogical practice. Beyond this we have to help interns give themselves the power to teach what is needed. There is a culture of constraint that points to a hegemony of ritualized teacher expectations and practices. Interns can best learn how to understand and manage if they reflect and build on the concrete experiences of everyday life. The teaching internship is a safe place to confront that everyday life of schooling.

One of our plans is to help fill the gaps in teacher knowledge and teacher research by using the voices of interns. The critical analysis of the interviews done in the internship program does contribute to how teachers view and transform their own knowledge, practices, values, and work sites. In this way, interns may better realize the need to build their own knowledge and participate in the process of knowledge production.

Our group wants to offer far more than a craft of teacher training. We try to see the teaching interns as intelligent practitioners capable of reflection and being able to take responsibility for their own professional development. For a long time we have known that our institution cannot simply be a dispenser of teacher education; it must be conduit for professional development. An active reflective process, we believe, produces such a conduit. None of the work of teacher education, in its varied forms, is easy. We are certainly aware of the difficulties faced by interns who must confront the reality of opposing curricula, demanding administrators, special students, and the struggle for time and identity. Interns have to "go gently into that good night" armed with confidence in their own abilities to learn from themselves as well as from their school circumstances. It is our hope that we are helping in that process. We also realize that the interns we work with are often caught in the middle of conflicting demands. Sometimes interns feel powerless to do anything about the complex social and institutional issues they inherit. Yet they must become aware of such issues and be able to critically inform themselves in order to work within such reality. In fact there is little authentic choice. The alternative is to blindly apply techniques, skills, and cookbook remedies. In fact very few experienced teachers operate this way. Why would we expect any less from our interns? Throughout this book you will hear the voices of interns as they struggle to break the bonds of the taken-for-granted. The least we can do is help them in their struggle to form a reflective practice that is both critical and transformative.

This ongoing study would not be possible without the active support and participation of a large number of interns over several years. They have come to this process hesitant and questioning but full of pedagogical hope. These interns were willing to listen to our plans for work with them and for our research. In a short time they were adding to our structured procedures and adding critical questions of their own. As we expected, the interns were eager to probe their own mindsets and articulate their own belief systems. In time they did this with excitement and hope. In fact the interviews and focus groups became opportunities of learning and promise for us as well. It did not take us long to realize that our collaboration was much bigger and more complex than the sum total of our combined experience, reading, and expertise. Therefore, the work goes on. This publication is but one attempt to put some of this work in focus and on view.

We have to thank the Research Committee and the Publications Committee of the Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for essential support with this project. This type of research is rewarding but costly and time consuming. We wish to thank the talented and patient people who transcribed and packaged the volumes of interviews. We also wish to thank Ann Beresford for her expert editing of the manuscript. We are grateful for the quiet but direct help we have received from our colleagues in the Faculty as well as from the growing network of reflective researchers in various countries.

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE SITE

Amarjit Singh

In this chapter we outline the background of our attempt to develop a Reflective and Critical Internship Program (The RCIP Model), our purpose, intentions, rationale, data collection procedures, the nature of our work, the many questions we are concerned with, the nature of doing reflective collaborative work, and the organization of this book.

The Background: The Purpose, Intentions and Rationale

As we understand it, the Faculty of Education has an interest in refining the professional nature of its teacher internship program. In this unfolding context we, as a group of education professors, decided to work collaboratively in this area. Thus, the focus of this book is on a process of building up a reflective pre-service teacher program.

Our intentions as a team are: (1) to design a collaborative journal, (2) to help interns use each other's shared teaching experiences as a medium for reflection, (3) to explore how interns interpret, give meaning to, and make decisions about their experiences at school, (4) to decide what the university team members offer to the interns, (5) to give a framework for assessing reflective thinking, (6) to empower interns by helping them create their own pedagogical principles, (7) to help interns examine their own beliefs about schools and teaching, and (8) to aid interns in describing and analyzing their own efforts to become reflective. This process represents the first phase of a longer study. It is our plan to engage a wider range of interns, cooperating teachers, and university supervisors in the structured process of reflective education.

Before we proceed, a few words about research in teacher education may be in order. We now know that many programs in teacher education have incorporated field experiences into different stages of teacher education (Guyton and McIntyre, 1990; Zeichner, 1980). Educators, teacher trainees, and school practitioners may have been disenchanted with the current state of teacher education, but only a "few would single out the practicum component as a primary source of their disaffection" (Borys, Taylor and Larocque, 1991, p. 7). Furthermore, several studies point out that undergraduate teacher candidates view student teaching not only "as the part of their program that has the greatest potential for contributing to their future success as teachers" but also as the "most interesting part and the part that pays the most attention to their individual needs" (Sue, 1990, p. 720). This claim is reinforced by recent graduates from the Faculty of Education, Memorial University (1994). Borys et al. (1991) provide a detailed and critical review of several existing models of practicum in teacher education. In recent years, the literature on reflective educators and reflective teaching practices has grown by leaps and bounds. Gore and Zeichner (1991) attempt to distinguish varieties of reflective teaching practices in the United States. In her review of literature on reflective teaching, Kim (1991) identifies four versions of reflective teaching:

1. The academic version: Reflective practices in teaching are perceived as being important for generating teachers' subject matter knowledge or content pedagogical knowledge.

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2. The social efficacy version: Reflective teaching emphasizes the thoughtful applications and analysis of particular strategies or interventions in teaching.
3. The social reconstruction version: Reflective teaching stresses reflection about the social and political context of schooling and the assessment of classroom actions which contribute to social change.
4. The development version: This version gives priority to teaching that is sensitive to students' interests, thinking and patterns of developmental growth.

In view of general changes in the education field, similar changes in teacher education have taken place in Newfoundland. Even though a practicum or internship has been in place for more than twenty years at the Faculty of Education at Memorial University, the Provincial Government recently mandated a universal internship for all prospective teachers. This means that a four-and-five-credit, extended practicum or internship is now offered to all student teachers through the Faculty of Education at Memorial University of Newfoundland. People involved in delivering the internship programs are cooperating teachers in Newfoundland schools, university professors as supervisors, and seconded teachers recruited from different school boards to be supervisors.

Data Collection

We also offer a few comments on how we collected data and how we intend to analyze it. Data were collected involving thirty-six interns. They were interviewed in depth at three time periods - the entry level, the middle level, and the exit level - during the internship program that lasted one full term of three and a half months. The interview data were transcribed for the purpose of analysis.

Data collection also consists of classroom observations, pre and post interviews with thirty-six teacher interns during their internship program in St. John's, Newfoundland. Data include teacher interns' responses to their experiences of the internship program in group seminar settings or sites. Teacher interns' notes in their journals, as data, were also examined. Three of us conducted interviews before and after the classroom block. The other two members of the group participated in several interactive group seminars with the interns. Teacher interns' responses to these questions were recorded with the purpose of generating data for analysis. Outside the seminar situation interns were interviewed separately, at different times, in their school settings. During the semester each intern was interviewed at the entry level, the middle level, and again at the exit level. The interview generally lasted for at least an hour. As a team we decided to ask the interns these questions: (1) How do you feel during your internship in your school? (2) How do you think this internship is going up to this point? (3) Did you have any particular concern or worry about the whole experience during this internship? (4) What contributions do you expect to make to this internship? (5) Could you identify a couple of ideas that you want to try out during your internship? (6) How do you plan to maintain your own individuality amidst the whole education system? (7) What do you intend to accomplish at the end of this internship?

These questions were designed to encourage students to voice their own experiences in the schools and to reflect on these experiences. Answers to these questions were taped and transcribed. Teacher interns were told that their responses would be transcribed to serve as data for analyses purpose. In addition to this, we

asked forty-six specific, practical questions to the teacher interns. Many of these discrete questions will surface in the following chapters.

We conducted in-depth interviews that yielded approximately a total of ninety-two hours of taping. Four full days of large group reflective seminars were taped and transcribed. In addition to this, we contacted twelve seconded teachers and explained to them our intention to build a Reflective and Critical Internship Program and asked for their cooperation. They cooperated with us by consenting to let us interview them in depth about their reflections and perceptions about the internship program based on their own extensive experience in the Newfoundland school system. Each interview lasted for at least two hours. The total interview data amounted to one hundred and forty hours of taping.

Working collaboratively in a healthy way is a complex learning process in itself. We will say more about this in a moment. Factors such as the educational background of the researchers and their work experience play an important role in the outcome of research collaboration. In our case, we have been educated in different disciplines and have a range and time of teaching and working experiences in a wide variety of contexts. One member of the team has been teaching sociology of education and comparative education for twenty-four years; another was a music teacher in schools for ten years and is now teaching at the university; a third one has been teaching, writing, and staging drama for twenty years; another member is a psychologist with a wide range of experience in the school system and in the provincial government. Three of us received our doctoral degrees in the United States but at different universities and at different times, while one of us received a doctoral degree at a Canadian University. It is obvious that we make a multidisciplinary team of educators and researchers. Together, we bring to the internship program our different intentions, agendas, and purposes, but it is more accurate to say that we are united in our commitment to building a Reflective and Critical Internship Program. The unity and diversity are two sides of the same coin. This does not mean, however, that we have a unified perspective. We are continuously struggling with ourselves in the sense that we articulate our ideas, raise questions, describe our scenarios, and at the same time consciously question them.

Before we describe further our effort to build the program, a caveat is necessary. In this book the word "we" is used to convey the sense that building this Reflective and Critical Internship Program is a collaborative effort. We use both ideas and data from one another. Most of us spend a good deal of time talking and listening to each other and critically reviewing each other's work. Each of us has been interested in a certain line of inquiry and this is reflected in the way each of us has decided to use the data. But while each of us took this responsibility, we still see our research as an integrated effort. So the use of the word "we" represents our collective interest, experience and commitment. Although this book could be seen as jointly authored in this sense, each chapter is written by one individual and thus it presents analysis of the data from the particular view of that member of the group. In describing the material in this book, we attempt to draw upon the wider perceptions and experiences of others who are involved in building the Reflective and Critical Internship Program. In essence, this book is a sharing of such reflections.

Critical Questions

There are many questions that call for the fuller development of a reflective critical pedagogy. We raised the following five sets.

I. Striving for Authenticity: How do we as supervisors and interns stand back from our own teaching and move beyond the mere execution of classroom skills and the delivery of discipline content? If individual experience is negated, is it possible that the individual is silenced? Can interns be empowered to speak around these silences? Can interns be given authorship of their own work and life stories? Can they develop a language of possibility that works against inherited dominant discourses? How can we help teacher interns gain power so that they are able to function as teachers who challenge, arouse interests, instill confidence, coordinate achievement and encourage reflection? How can we encourage interns to build new narratives rather than retell old stories? How can teachers who keep their own stories hidden expect students to value each other's stories? How does the intern relate to the wider experiences of the school? Does the intern appreciate the values, beliefs, and attitudes at work in the given community? How does the school reflect the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the society? How can teaching interns get beyond the limitations and grind of everyday school life? How must interns see schooling in a way that allows for the pursuit of a reflective critical pedagogy? How can teacher interns better appreciate that the culture of schooling is not simply a single, unified set of patterns? How can interns realize their potential as agents for transformation? What are some of the concerns that underpin the need for a reflective, critical pedagogy? How can interns see schooling as part of a wider process of education? How can subjectivity and experience be given a stronger stance in schooling? What histories are in place before any learning is attempted? What are the politics of cultural production and reproduction as far as the teacher intern is concerned? What are the discrepancies between dominant versions of reality and the lived experience of subordinate groups? How can interns help break down some of the real barriers to transformative teaching and learning by opening fresh ways of going about the process of schooling? How can interns learn to see and examine the ideology behind knowledge and culture? How do interns produce a critical dialogue that will aid in their own empowerment? How can interns become involved in both the conception and execution of school work? How can interns appreciate the best dimensions of their own histories, experiences, and culture in a fashion that will help them to become transformative intellectuals?

II. Voices for Hope: What does it mean to be a reflective and transformative intellectual? Can we voice our hope in the midst of the many political, economic and cultural difficulties we face today in the field of education? Can we insist on the possibility of collectively constructing a viable reflective internship program in this province? What are the necessary conditions for educating teacher interns to be intellectual or cultural workers? How do other people participate in particular ways of life in schools in this province? How are these ways of life produced and challenged? What forms of local theorizing are being done in this province? What forms of knowledge do school cultures in this province legitimize and what forms do they disdain? What is the place of studying privileged discourses in education in the process of building a Reflective and Critical Internship Program? In what ways is it possible for teacher interns to function as intellectuals and cultural workers?

III. Reflection and Counselling: How can reflection, counselling and the voices of teacher interns be combined at the internship site to empower them? What are the implications of the concept of reflective teaching in counsellor education? How can the voices of teacher interns in counselling sites be combined with their voices at internship sites in an empowering manner? How can teacher interns be empowered through disclosures made during reflective sessions?

IV. Classroom Practices: What meaning and purposes do social studies interns give to social studies? What are classroom practices of social studies teacher interns? What actions are social studies interns taking to make social studies a reflective enterprise in the real classroom situation?

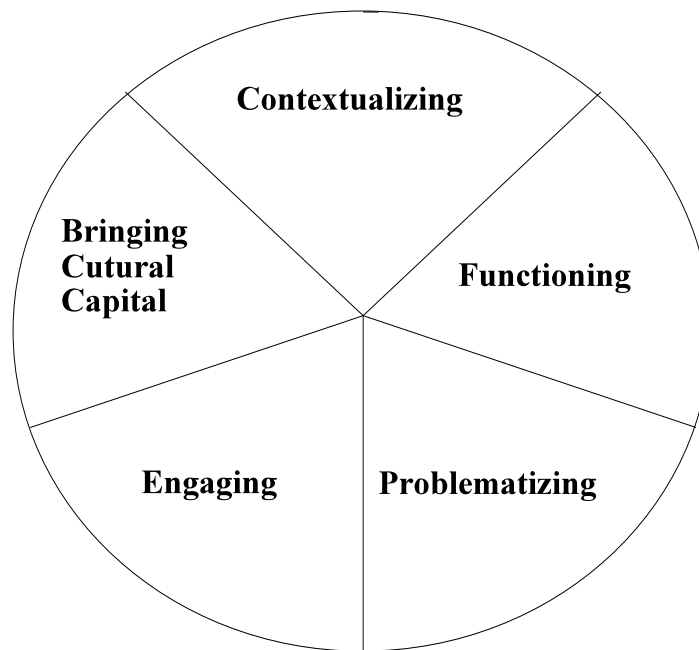
V. Cultural Capital and Traditions: Is there a cultural capital belonging to teacher education? In order to be successful in the internship program, is it necessary to acquire a new cultural capital? Do we prepare interns to perpetuate an isolation from cultural traditions or do we encourage and prepare them to take into account the lived cultures of students? Are there possibilities within the internship program for negotiation in the production of knowledge, values, beliefs, and meanings? Is there room to contest and resist or do interns perceive their situations to be unalterable? Are interns empowered and equipped to be agents of production and transformation? Is individual growth given adequate attention amidst the pressures and constraints of group settings associated with music education?

The Reflective and Critical Internship Program Model (The RCIP Model)

It is not easy for those of us involved in the internship program to examine our living in a critical sense because we take so much for granted. It is hard to uncover the nature of the forces that inhibit and constrain our actions. But if we want to commit ourselves to changing those conditions, then there are, we believe, five forms of actions we need to pursue with respect to our building up a reflective teacher internship program. In Figure 1 we propose the RCIP (Reflective and Critical Internship Program) Model for teacher education and outline these forms of action and some of their elements. They correspond to a series of questions we are using while building up the internship program.

**THE RCIP (REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM)
A MODEL FOR TEACHER EDUCATION**

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- Describing/Contextualizing
- Bringing Cultural Capital
- Engaging
- Problematizing Dominant Practices and Discourses
- Functioning as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers

Figure 1 - RCIP Model

Describing/Contextualizing

What is my context/case/situation/practice?

- Sites
- Institutions
- People and their actions (including one's own)
- Orientations (personal and of others)
- Non-significant issues (macro/micro)

Including the elements of:

- Who?
- What?
- When?

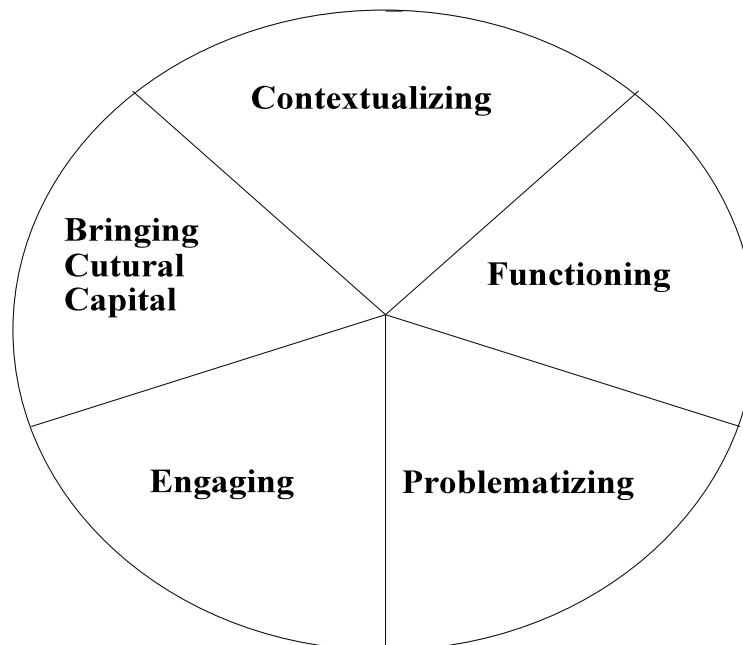


Figure 1a - RCIP Model (Describing/Contextualizing)

Bringing Cultural Capital

What do different partners bring to the internship (theories, ideologies, practices, stereotypes prejudices, taken for granted realities)?

- What do supervisors bring to the internships?
- What do cooperative teachers bring to the internship?
- What do students bring to the internship?
- What does the internship program bring to the internship?

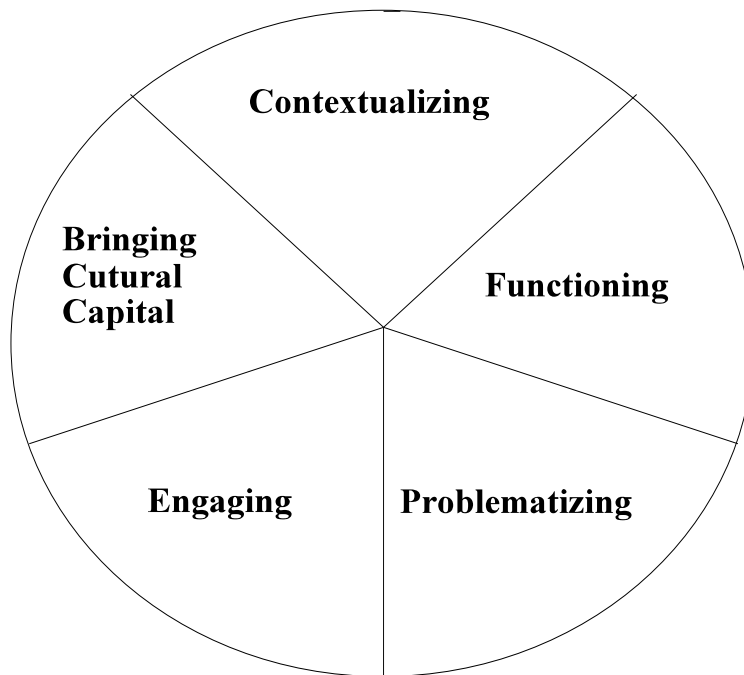


Figure 1b
- RCIP Model (Bringing Cultural Capital)

Engaging

How would I inform myself about the complexity of Engagement

- Recognizing different voices
- Reflecting on the political and social nature of schooling
- Assessing of classroom actions which contribute to social change
- Empowering engagement with others
- Looking for windows or openings
- Reflecting in-action
- Preparing for sites
- Creating new sites through reflection and action - i.e., through praxis
- Infusing ideas and actions at appropriate times and sites during conversations with others
- Making one's own intentions public in reflection
- Clarifying one's own authority (avoiding silencing others, creating safe spaces for other's voices, enabling others to disclose their feelings, emotions and sentiments)
- Practising the art of connecting social (macro) and personal (micro) levels of issues - i.e., indulging in the sociological imagination

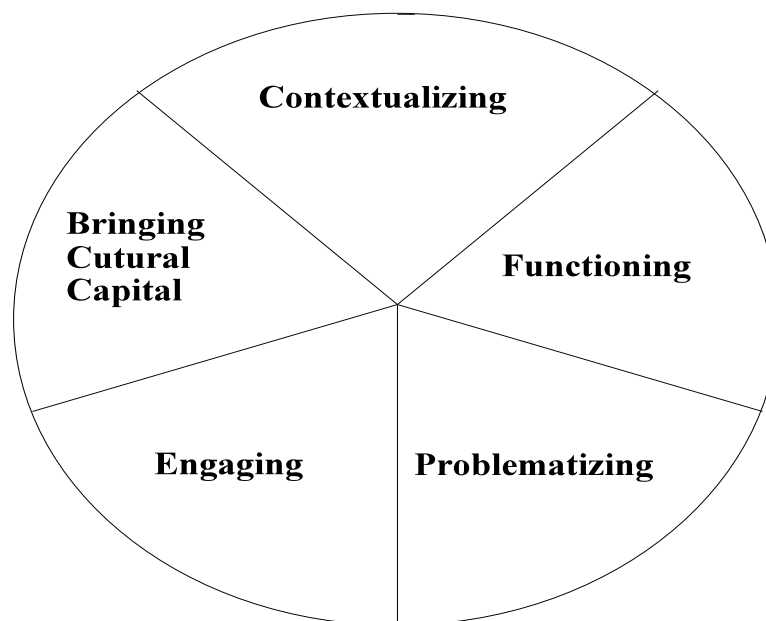


Figure 1c
- RCIP Model (Engaging)

Problematizing Dominant Practices and Discourses

What practices are taken for granted in schools? What are habitual ways of talking about ideas and practices during personal, professional and official conversations?

- Listening for what is not being said
- Casting doubts on what is being said by questioning
- Feeling uncertain about given regularities
- Being aware that social reality (e.g., various practices in school, theories, concepts, policies) is created through using language in selected ways
- Understanding social history of various theories, concepts and practices in vogue

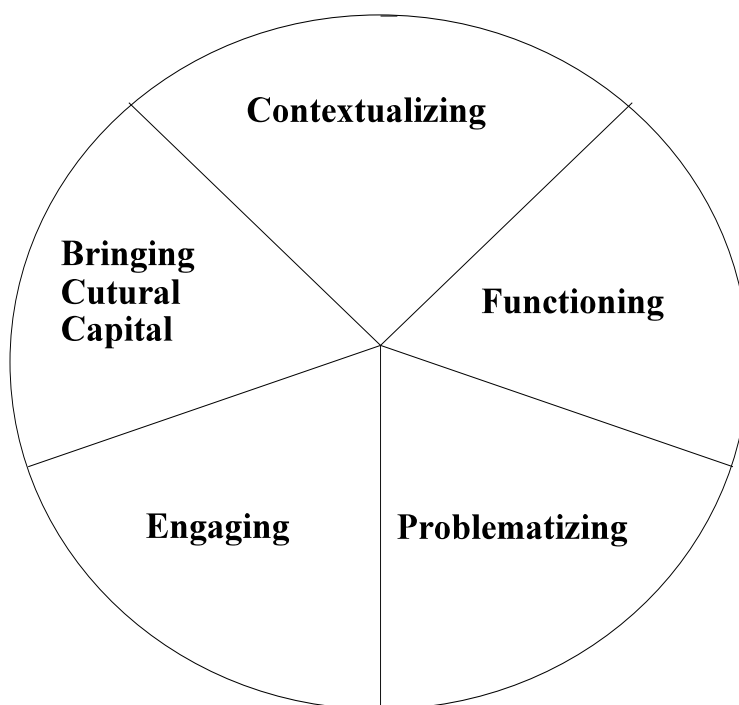


Figure 1d - RCIP Model (Problematizing Dominant Practices and Discourses)

Functioning as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers

How might I transform? How might I do things differently?

- Seeing the differences in being an educator and a trainer
- Seeing pedagogy as a form of cultural and political production rather than simply involving the practices of knowledge and transmission of skills
- Understanding how pedagogy helps people to create and organize knowledge, desires, values and social practices
- Understanding how the relationship between schooling, education, pedagogy and cultural practices are related to the dynamics of social power
- Having courage and hope to find ways to effect democratic changes
- Theorizing locally and producing knowledge and language of possibility

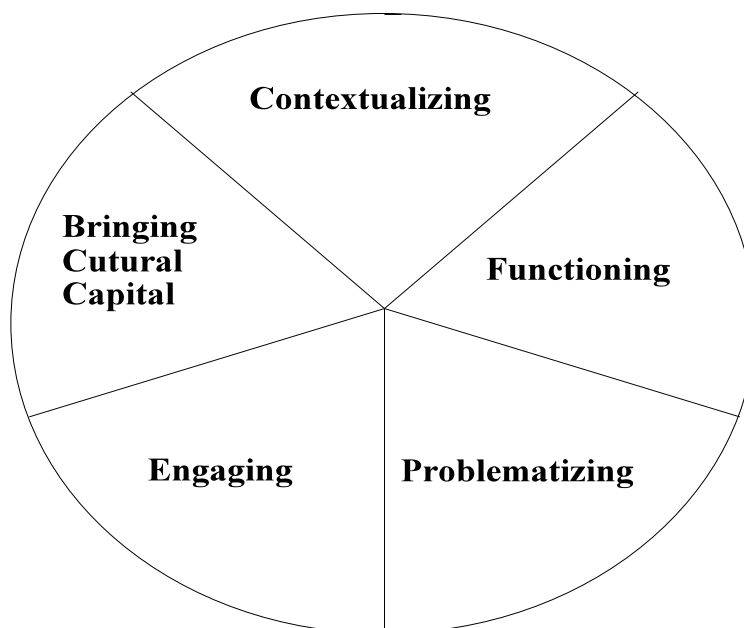


Figure 1e
- RCIP Model (Functioning as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers)

In many ways we are involved with what Wellington (1991) calls the experience of reflective practice. We have to remember that the reflective practice we refer to is

embedded in the praxis of the internship with all its promises and constraints. The form of actions we have outlined in Figure 1 help us to organize some of our material for the purpose of presenting it in this book. Each chapter presents a particular view as seen through the eyes of one writer and, therefore, is only a partial account of our total collaborative effort. Figure 1 illustrates the integration in the form of a flow chart. Our hope is that the procedure indicated in the flow chart, if followed, will lead those involved in internship programs - cooperating teachers, teacher interns, supervisors and administrators - to actions aimed at transformation of the internship programs and the context of schooling. In this way all articles in this book interconnect to a degree.

In the RCIP Model we have used five forms of action: 1) describing/contextualizing, 2) bringing/recognizing cultural capital, 3) engaging in communication, 4) examining/problematising dominant practices and discourses, and 5) functioning as intellectuals and cultural workers.

1. Describing/Contextualizing

What is the context/case/situation/practice? What are the sites, institutions? Who are the people involved and what are their actions? What knowledge of reality shapes our interaction? What significant issues are involved? These questions include the elements of who, what, and when.

2. Bringing/Recognizing Cultural Capital

What theories, ideologies, practices, stereotypes, prejudices, and taken-for-granted realities do different partners bring to the internship? What do supervisors bring to the internship? What do cooperating teachers bring to the internship? What do students bring to the internship? What does the internship program offer to the internship?

3. Engaging in Communication

How would we inform ourselves about the complexity of engagement? How do we recognize different voices? How do we reflect about the political and social nature of schooling? How do we see classroom actions which contribute to personal and social change? How do we encourage and empower all the members involved in the internship so that they can engage each other in purposeful communication? Where do we look for windows or openings for reflection-in-action? How do we prepare sites or create new sites for reflection in action? When and where do we infuse ideas and actions during conversations with others? What are the risks of making one's own intentions public in the reflection process? What can be gained from such sharing? What is the best way to clarify one's own authority, avoid silencing others, and create safe spaces for others' voices? How can we enable others to disclose their feelings, attitudes, fears, and hopes? How can we practice the art of connecting social (macro) and personal (micro) levels of issues? In other words, how can we as university supervisors indulge ourselves and others in the sociological imagination?

4. Problematizing Dominant Practices and Discourses

What practices are taken for granted in schools? What are habitual ways of talking about ideas and practices during personal, professional, and official conversations? Do we need to be listening for what is not being said? Should

we cast doubts on what is being said through questioning? Do we share our feeling of uncertainty about institutional regulations? Are we being aware that the social reality of school practice, theories, concepts, and policies is often created through using language in selected ways? Should we share our understanding of how the social history of various theories, concepts and practices came into vogue?

5. **Functioning as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers**

How might I transform my own work? How might I do things differently? How do I remind myself of the difference between educator and trainer? Do I see pedagogy as a form of cultural and political production rather than simply involving the practices of knowledge and the transmission of skills? Do I understand how pedagogy helps people to recognize their own relationships with others and the environment that surrounds them? Do I understand that pedagogy helps people to create and organize knowledge, desires, values and social practices? How do I best share an understanding of the relationship of schooling, pedagogy, and cultural practices to the dynamics of social power? Do I have the courage and hope to find ways to effect democratic changes? How can the work we do in a reflective internship help local theorizing? How can we aid the production of knowledge and expand the language of possibility?

On the Nature of Doing Reflective Collaborative Work

In closing this introductory chapter we wish to reflect briefly on the nature of the collaborative research in which we have been engaged. One assumption in our work has been that reflection is a social process and not purely an individual process. The reality is that prospective teachers, supervisors, cooperating teachers and administrators located in the Faculty of Education and the schools are all active learners. In developing the RCIP model for teacher education (Reflective and Critical Internship Program), we self-consciously asked what supervisors bring to the internship? We wanted to stress that, although one can and often does reflect-in-action, it is seldom that one reflects on one's own reflection-in-action and makes this reflection public. The sociological tradition of methodological appendix (Whyte, 1956) allows us to achieve this goal. This tradition encourages researchers to tell the behind-the-scenes story by reporting the glitches and bumps they face in the course of doing research. Crow, Levine, and Nager (1992) use this method to discuss collaborative interdisciplinary research, and we organized the material for this chapter by using categories developed by them.

Accordingly, drawing upon part of our experience and insights gained during the process of building the RCIP, we self-consciously reflect on our actions by describing and analyzing two dimensions of our qualitative mode of inquiry: (1) initiation of the internal interdisciplinary collaboration, (2) external and internal collaboration with (a) school principals and cooperating teachers, (b) seconded teachers, (c) teacher interns, (d) colleagues in the Dean's Office and office of the Student Services and (e) others involved in the construction of the research proposal and narrative. Also, part of our agenda in this chapter is to share some observations and recommendations about what might facilitate or constrain the successful conduct of collaborative, interdisciplinary research toward the development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program as an integral component of teacher education.

Initiation of the Internal Interdisciplinary Collaboration

How did we come together as a research team? How did we establish internal collaboration? How did four of us, representing different disciplines, come to work together? Reflecting on and coming to grips with such issues as who will collect the data, write the narrative, judge the work, present the findings, as well as what sort of data will be collected and how it will be analyzed, are necessary in establishing internal collaboration. Since all of these issues involve taking action, they can be seen as important events in establishing collaboration. Events take place at a particular time, in a given space and under certain conditions; therefore, before reflecting on these events, we further describe ourselves and our setting to present the context in which internal collaboration was initiated and negotiated.

In 1988 the Hardy report, *Focusing our Future*, was published. This report on teacher education became the working document to bring about fundamental changes in the reorganization of the Faculty of Education at Memorial University. One of the radical changes that occurred was the removal of departments from the faculty. Previously, each faculty member associated with the specific department to which he or she was initially hired and housed. The dominant pattern was that each individual identified with that certain department.

After the demise of departments, faculty members were left free-floating and not publicly identified with their specialty. The Dean's office published a list of members of faculty without mentioning their specialty. A new category was created which named every faculty member as professor of education. The effect of this nomenclature and the push toward de-departmentalizing proved positive to some extent for it got rid of the isolation which existed among colleagues in the context of the departmental structure. In the old structure, the tendency was for a member to socialize with other members of one's own department. Perhaps the main motivation of such grouping was to improve the reputation of that department. Now the emphasis seemed to have shifted to enhance the reputation of the faculty as a whole. The new expectation was that faculty members would freely interact with each other, and, at least to some degree, cross the boundaries of their disciplines and previously entrenched departmental orientations. These institutional adjustments brought changes in the organization of the internship program and its delivery. In this context several faculty members explored the possibility of regrouping themselves with other colleagues.

This new setting facilitated bringing our group together to work collaboratively on the internship program in the Faculty of Education. However, this attraction to work together was not totally circumstantial. Based on our previous works in the area of critical studies and collaboration (Doyle 1993, 1989; Rose 1992, 1991; Kennedy 1990, 1988; Singh et al. 1984; Singh 1980, 1979, 1977), we discovered that we were, in certain aspects, sympathetically predisposed to each other's orientation to education, schooling, and society. All these factors encouraged us to work together.

As the four of us began to construct the model of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program, we realized that our own research journey was no less intriguing and worthy of exploration than the topic we chose to work on. What we came to acknowledge was that understanding each other across disciplinary boundaries was not easy. How could a sociologist, a psychologist, and a social studies professional understand disciplinary boundaries of professionals trained in the areas of drama and music education. Crossing disciplinary borders was full of frustrating yet exhilarating

moments. Nevertheless, the more we shared our views, the more it became clear that each of us brought rich cultural capital to the group.

External and Internal Collaboration

We realized from the beginning that it would be unrealistic to think that our work could be carried out in any meaningful way without others, i.e., we needed external collaboration. We expected cooperating teachers, seconded teachers, principals and vice-principals, secretaries and other staff members in schools, and our colleagues in the faculty whose responsibility it was to run the internship program to play key roles in the organization and successful completion of our project. We never underestimated the fact that each category of people bring its own cultural capital to the internship program. These people were the individuals who had regular contact with the routines and rhythms of schools, students, and teachers. They had first hand experience of observing students' behaviors in real situations in the classrooms. These others, especially the cooperating teachers and the seconded teachers, knew the contexts, sites, situations, and practices of many schools in the province. Persuaded by the fact that these groups of people had much to offer to us about the culture of schools, including the personal and group orientations of people who worked in different schools, we began by contacting these others. Our own orientation was to listen sympathetically to others, talk with them, understand what they had to say, and learn from their experiences. We realized that respecting others' local theorizing and genuinely trusting their insights about the complex nature of schooling were the key factors in establishing good communication and working relationships.

How did we go about doing this? We went to orientation seminars organized by our colleagues responsible for the delivery of the internship program in the faculty. There we met the cooperating teachers, seconded teachers, teacher interns, and representatives of some school boards and of the Department of Education. We listened to voices of different individuals, recognizing the importance of those voices, and moreover accepting the fact that they did exist both at the macro and micro levels of the school environment. These seminars we considered as sites for reflection-in-action. We observed those who could speak with authority and those who had to listen. In addition, we saw how the participants went about empowering each other and how they were able to clarify their own authority without silencing others. In these orientation seminars we observed how an attempt was made to create an enabling internship culture based on an authentic attempt to create safe spaces for participants to express their feelings, emotions, and sentiments. It became obvious to us that working objectively with others did not mean ignoring human feelings. We learned that engaging with others, in order to do collaborative work meant, first of all, learning to trust and respect others. In education, social working relationships are built more on trust and respect and less on authority. We learned also that creating sites for others where they could take ownership of their own affairs not only reduces dependence and enhances creativity but also empowers others by encouraging them to desire more and attain their wishes. We learned that engaging with others meant accepting differences. Our goal was to aid people to work in their own ways and within their own contexts.

We contacted twelve seconded teachers and explained to them our intention to build a Reflective and Critical Internship Program. They cooperated with us by consenting to let us interview them in depth regarding their reflections and perceptions about the internship program based on their own extensive experience in the Newfoundland school system. Each interview lasted for at least two hours. In the

informal setting of our offices or theirs, we asked them several questions, many of which were based on the extensive notes taken during the orientation seminars, others of which were added as they emerged during our reflection-in-action. We recorded the responses of the seconded teachers and during the interviews, we also made notes. The taped material, when transcribed, resulted in voluminous material that had to be organized and given several readings in order to get the sense of others' voices and of their cultural capital. Our purpose was to sensitize ourselves about how others analyzed dominant practices and discourses in the area of internship program as a part of a larger issue relating to teacher education in North America and elsewhere, especially in the context of increasing globalization of economy and culture. We learned how others tried to be reflective through the process of questioning and compared their ways of probing and seeing things with our own. This was one way we attempted to add a critical aspect to the internship building process.

Another way we attempted to make the internship critical was to function as cultural workers. In seeing things differently in many areas, at these interview sessions, we were also functioning as critical educators. We tried to insert in the ongoing conversations our own concerns about the difference between teacher education and teacher training. We saw the internship program as a site not only for learning classroom management techniques, although we fully realized the fact that these techniques formed the overriding concern of many teacher interns and seconded teachers. We asserted that pedagogy was a form of cultural and political production rather than simply a transmission of knowledge and skills. Part of our intention was to share with others our understanding of pedagogy. We wanted to share how pedagogy helped all of us to recognize our own relationships with each other and our environment. How else could we establish working, collaborative relationships with all those involved in teacher education in this province? How else could we understand relationship between schooling, education, and the dynamics of social power? How else could we understand what we say and do? How else could we understand what we agree to exclude or include? How else could we accept the authority of some experts and deny that others? How else could we accept privileging of one form of vision about the future of this province over the other?

Yet the other way we attempted to insert a critical aspect towards building the internship program was to encourage others at the interview sites to produce local knowledge and a language of possibility through the process of local theorizing. Our interviews with the seconded teachers, the cooperating teachers, and the teacher interns are filled with local theorizing on various aspects of the complex nature of schooling and classrooms. Learning to conceptualize one's own everyday life experiences in one's own voice is a step toward becoming a reflective and critical person. Recognize that one has the ability, the linguistic resources, and above all, the courage and confidence to theorize is another step in opening windows of possibility.

Our transcribed material revealed to us that to an extent we were successful in creating safe spaces for the participants who were then able to create a language of possibility. This form of practice enabled participants to create sites where they could imagine the possibility of achieving their desires and fulfilling their wishes. The seconded teachers, for example, saw the Reflective and Critical Internship Program as a site where they could genuinely contribute to the advancement of teacher education in this province. These experienced teachers could see their roles and visualize structural changes that could be brought about in the existing educational system so as to build bridges between teachers in schools and professors at the Faculty of Education. This bridging could lead to the stronger linking of theory and practice.

We added the reflective and critical aspect in the ongoing conversations with the teacher interns in the classrooms. There, as part of our routine work, we engaged ourselves as supervisors and attempted to create what we term the mini-reflective sites within the school settings. As is the general practice, we made extensive notes in the classroom while observing the teacher interns to whom immediately after their teaching, we gave feedback about how we saw them in action. The purpose was to encourage teacher interns to analyze their teaching and reflect on their ways of knowing. This did not mean that we were timid in using our own authority as supervisors and exposing interns to normal, expert, and professional knowledge created by using scientific method (Kuhn, 1970). Obviously, part of our intention was to share knowledge, but we were continuously reflecting-in-action and simultaneously examining our own authority and expert knowledge vis-a-vis teacher interns' practical knowledge in the real classroom situation. After all, the interns are the ones, as future educators, who have to become full-fledged teachers. How else could we encourage them to take ownership of their internship? We created these mini-reflective sites in the school settings to help them achieve this goal.

We also involved the cooperating teachers in these mini-reflective sites. Inviting the cooperating to share extensive notes on teacher interns, we opened ourselves to the critique of the practising cooperating teachers. How else could we find out what the practising classroom teachers bring to the internship? In our orientation seminars and in reading the literature in the area of teacher education, we heard repeatedly that university-based supervisors often have little knowledge of real classroom situations and that what they have to offer as advice is often too theoretical. Thus, opening ourselves to the critique of cooperating teachers was a learning experience. We compared and contrasted our notes, recognizing and respecting each others situational authority as experts at different levels of the schooling process. The teacher interns and their cooperating teachers also compared and contrasted their notes separately. Then at the mini-reflective sites, we entered into the reflection process. Our intention was to accord recognition to the different voices, privileging each of them in their own authentic ways. We always reminded ourselves that reflection was a social process and that all parties involved in it learn from each other.

Besides creating the mini-reflective sites in the school settings, we created another site for reflection in the Faculty of Education. We saw these reflective sessions as sites away from school routines. After talking to each other, we decided to pool our interns. The main purpose for using the group was to create a site and opportunity where the teacher interns could voice their experiences of the internship, reflect together on those experiences, and also share their experiences with others at different levels of reflectiveness. We conceptualized the reflective session as being a site where the interns would be enabled to practise reflection-in-action. These reflective sessions have become a regular feature of the internship program in the faculty.

We could not have developed these reflective sessions as sites for transformation without the input of many of our colleagues who are in charge of delivering and administering the internship program in the faculty and who themselves have extensive experience in this area. Similarly, we discussed with several cooperating teachers, principals, and vice-principals the idea of building the Reflective and Critical Internship Program. In scheduling the reflective sessions, we consulted with the cooperating teachers and the teacher interns. The intention was to avoid disrupting the schedule of the school and rhythms (Clandinin, Connelly & Connelly, 1996; Zerubavell, 1981) of the cooperating teachers and the interns. We kept each party informed of the process and elicited their feedback on the idea of conducting a reflective session as a part of the internship program. From the beginning it became clear to us

that, in order for us to organize these sessions, the collaboration of all parties was essential.

The Organization of the Book

There are nine chapters in this book, including the introduction which constitutes Chapter One.

In Chapter Two, Clar Doyle focuses on voice, reflection, and critical pedagogy. He believes that if we can integrate the categories of critical pedagogy, voice and reflection, we can help in the overall process of teacher education. In particular Doyle focuses on voice and wants to examine the sources of interns' knowledge and pedagogical practice. Wishing to focus on interns' human agency and explore their local knowledge in the context of their school settings, he raises a number of theoretically informed questions and discusses them by using qualitative data on students' voices obtained through in-depth interviews and by listening to the interns during the reflective group sessions.

In Chapter Three, Amarjit Singh develops a number of ideas pertaining to the RCIP Model. He elaborates, for example, on the idea of cultural capital and then attempts to demonstrate that one way for the supervisors to capitalize on the cultural capital of the interns is to encourage them to air their interests and intentions in the public sphere. The supervisors also need to disclose their own cultural capital for the benefit of the interns; this disclosure is the interaction among different parties involved at various sites in the course of the internship. Singh then goes on to discuss how cultural capital can be related to the concept of difference, especially the way it has been articulated in post-modern and feminist literature on society and education. He then ties cultural capital with the specific classroom site where many teacher interns find that students respond differently to their lessons. Singh's purpose is to point out how important it is for the teacher interns to problematize the dominant discourses on the subject of difference. What does it mean to be different? This is a question with which the interns often struggle. Singh also elaborates on the idea of transformative intellectuals. Singh feels it is important that the supervisors examine their own work during the reflective sessions with the interns. He analyzes his own work in an attempt to show how the supervisors can self-consciously and publicly evaluate their own work in a constructive way. Finally, Singh discusses what it means to theorize locally and demonstrates how this can be attempted in a meaningful way in the specific site of Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

In Chapter Four, William Kennedy articulates interconnections between the concept of reflective teaching and counsellor education. Then he illustrates how reflection, counselling, and teacher intern voices can be combined at specific sites - at the reflective group sessions - in an empowering manner. Kennedy suggests that the teacher interns and their supervisors can empower each other through participation in reflection-in-action sessions through the practice of disclosure. Both the interns and their supervisors can be encouraged to disclose their authentic stories if they perceive the site to be safe. A safe site is created when all parties have equal opportunities to voice their concerns in a setting or atmosphere which encourages collaboration, interaction, and dialogic communication - all of which are qualified by respect, recognition, and the sincere expression of emotions, feelings, and sentiments.

In Chapter Five, Andrea Rose examines teacher education as a political site for the nurturing of individuals. She focuses on the internship experience as a specific site for interns to begin the process of critical practice. Her interest is to create a reflective internship program in music education as a site for developing a critical pedagogy as well as for ongoing cultural production. Rose addresses a number of issues as they pertain to the development of a social and cultural consciousness as well as to the formation of teacher identity within music teacher preparation. She works within the framework of qualitative methodology and supports her claims by using a number of quotes drawn from data collected during interviews, group reflective sessions, and journal writings.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are intended to begin the process of detailing the local theory, structure, and practice of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

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CHAPTER TWO

VOICE, REFLECTION, AND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Clar Doyle

One of the gaps in teacher knowledge and teacher research is being filled by the emerging voices of teachers. As indicated in the introduction, part of our purpose in reflective education is to give voice to teacher interns. In our Reflective and Critical Internship Program we wish the interns to put a lens on their own interpretations of the context in which they work. In this way it is hoped that the interns can be more aware of their own thinking. In practice the narratives quoted in this paper are constructed through individual and group interviews. The interviews focus on the context of the interns' work sites and the teacher decisions made within that context. Further explanations deal with the cultural capital interns bring to teaching. Throughout this piece the teacher interns will articulate their own understandings of their teaching. It is an opportunity, through a naturalistic study, to explore the meanings and interpretations of interns' everyday lives (Spanger-Langer, Colton, 1991). Once we realize that interns work and teach out of their own culture, we can also see that cultural production can be theirs. Here interns can find their voice. It is very easy for interns to be treated as objects. After all they are in a uniquely weak professional role. As teacher educators we hope to help interns "open up and create spaces in schools through which it would become possible to ask worthwhile questions" (Smyth, 1989, p. 485). Once interns come to the realization that their narrative building is liberating, they can grow from that freedom. This freedom building calls for them to go beyond delivery of service to an active critique that examines how they connect with the larger school culture and society. Interns can use this narrative authorship to "reconstitute their relationship within the wider society" (Giroux, 1989, p. 153). The language used in reflection, for example, can serve as a means to empower interns to transform their teaching and their lives. This transformation is accomplished over time by building layers of confidence and self critique.

Much of the literature on critical pedagogy claims that the goals of teacher education programs are often at variance with the goals of schools. Teachers are expected to integrate theory and practice, analyze critically, and implement change (Hopkins, 1980). Therefore, teachers need to have a critical insight into their roles in schools and to examine critically the value of the knowledge they teach and the function of schooling generally in society. They need also to stand aside from their own knowledge and reflect on the ideologies and cultures that inform such knowledge. Much is expected from teachers who must be all things to all students. In many school sites teachers are lucky to get through the day. One of my own memories of teaching high-school is wondering if I could make it between classrooms in time. Such pressure does not allow for much reflection time because the focus is on activity, not reflection. Teachers are constantly in need of self-renewal; that is, teachers need to re-create themselves over and over again. Working with students demands this renewal. "The development of teacher thinking requires more than mastery of certain teacher behaviours associated with student achievement. It requires involvement of student teachers in critical, reflective thinking about their work" (Bolin, 1988, p. 48). It is this latter point that I will deal with in this paper. Specifically I want to present and examine a process of reflection in the Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

In recent years major studies have presented the need for encouraging, if not demanding, excellence in teaching and therefore in teacher education. The most noteworthy of these studies are Tomorrow's Teachers (1986) from the Holmes Group;

A Nation Prepared (1986) by the Carnegie Task Force, and Teacher Education In Ontario: Current Practice And Options For The Future (1987). These documents, and many others, have been examined in great detail in other publications (Singh, 1991; McLaren, 1989). In concert with many educational publications, these studies speak to the need for teachers who are reflective, critical, and inquiring. Teachers must be able to stand back from their own teaching and move beyond the mere execution of classroom skills and the delivery of discipline content. How do we help each other do this? In this paper I want to respond to the research invitation indicated by Labaree (1992) when he refers to the rise of various forms of interpretative research

that involve the qualitative analysis of classroom interaction based on observation and interview. Another [form of research] is the emergence of the case study, which represents a shift in emphasis from a positivist concern about generalizability to a focus on texture and context. A third trend is the effort to examine the ways in which teachers understand and guide their own practice, as an example of reflexive and contextualized knowledge that is practical rather than theoretical (p.142).

In our group work we have examined the discourse of interns in a fashion that allows us, interns and teacher educators, to be self-understanding, and self-determining. Because there are so many divergent approaches to teaching we are less interested in changing the intern's perspective than we are in helping the intern be more thoughtful about teaching (Bolin, 1988). In short we wish to help interns to become what Schon (1983) calls reflective practitioners. We hope to use the praxis of self-reflection with interns to help teacher educators develop a critical ethnography of education. Finally we wish to help interns integrate their reflection into everyday praxis and transformation. It is our hope that such critical ethnography can in some way help rescue teacher education from the limitations of teacher training. We work out of a model that suggests that "a person aspiring to a professional practice would have accumulated a body of substantive knowledge, have some specific skills, and have developed a degree of technique and would engage in what is generally termed reflective teaching" (Faculty of Education Report, 1987, p. 12). In many ways we are involved with what Wellington (1991) calls "the experience of reflective practice." We have to remember that the reflective practice we refer to is embedded in the praxis of the teaching internship with all its promise and constraints.

Part of our agenda in this research is to give voice to interns as they work at constructing meaning out of their knowledge and experience. Our intention is to help empower interns by using their narratives (Anderson, 1989) in a critical fashion that will lead to transformation of their pedagogical thought and action. For this reason it is helpful for us to use the concept of voice as a pedagogical category to examine what possibilities we can share with teaching interns. It is our plan to use a reactive style that consists of eliciting, analyzing, and supporting interns' thoughts and actions. This exercise will allow us to see what interns bring to the school setting as well as realize the knowledge and culture that students, interns, and teachers can produce among them. Knowledge and the production of knowledge can be made less external and more germane to the world of the teaching interns who need to be able to share their understanding of the world with their students. Interns and teachers must realize that they can collaborate with their students to transform, where necessary, aspects of lived experiences. Transformation, which should be allowed to seep through our institutions and relationships usually comes in small doses and usually happens over time. As Weiler (1988) claims teachers are agents who work in complex social sites and who have the power to help transform. As teacher educators we need to establish a context

that rewards reflection on and critical analysis of teaching and that makes transformation possible. What we hope to do is help interns and ourselves get beyond the simple accumulation and application of pedagogical principles and methodologies. The process of critical reflection is not easy. It is much easier for us to work in the areas of technical and practical reflection. In this paper I wish to put emphasis on the experiences, beliefs, sociopolitical values, and goals that underpin intern teachers' thinking. In particular the piece will be informed by recent writings in critical pedagogy (Doyle, 1993, McLaren, 1994, Weiler, 1988).

Teacher educators, who help teachers examine the issues of ethics, morals, and justice in education, are opening up discourse about the role of schools in a democratic society. Teachers then begin to question common practices such as tracking, ability grouping, competitive grading, and behavioral control. They begin to clarify their own beliefs about the purposes of education and to examine critically the teaching methods and materials looking for the hidden lessons about equity and power that might lie therein. We see in critical pedagogy, as in Schon's work, a reaction against an antiseptic, value-free, purely rational view of teaching and learning (Spanger-Langer and Colton, 1991).

I want to emphasize that this book represents only one aspect of a larger work in progress with teaching interns and my colleagues. For my particular purposes here, I believe if we can integrate the categories of critical pedagogy, voice, and reflection, we can help in the overall process of teacher education. In particular I want to examine the sources of each intern's knowledge and pedagogical practice. I wish to see interns as human actors and place them at the centre of a critical ethnography. I wish to focus on their human agency and explore their local knowledge (Anderson, 1989) in the context of their school settings. This will be done in the face of a teacher education logic that puts emphasis on training, skills, and methodologies. We should not treat these categories as non problematic. We would want, in a dialectical fashion, to place these categories in their social, cultural, and political context. In this paper I wish to explore interns' own learning processes, values, beliefs, and attitudes. Furthermore, I plan to indicate, by means of direct quotations, how some interns see themselves as teachers. I hope to examine interns' discourse for the ideological assumptions that might undergird it.

A critical pedagogy is needed if interns are to manage the complex social system of the classroom and diagnose the need of individual students. As the position paper *Teachers Education in Ontario* (1987) proposes, society needs teachers who see the transmission of knowledge and culture as a foundation on which they build, not the end to which they strive. In many ways this passing on of knowledge remains the basic quest of schooling. In a society that demands that students know things, it is difficult for teachers to struggle beyond transmission to transformation. In fact, much of the curriculum that allows transformation is not highly valued in schools. As Giroux (1991) proposes, it is necessary to create new forms of knowledge if we are to leave openings for transformation. How can interns be helped to move beyond technical mastery in the classroom and towards an awareness of the deeper dimensions of education? How can interns be encouraged to examine critically the entrenched assumptions of schooling? It would seem that teacher educators have to set up sites within teacher education programs to nurture intern reflection and critical examination. There are growing models for such work (Gore & Zeichner, 1991, Gore, 1987, Osterman, 1990, Roth, 1989). Part of our task is to help develop such a model.

Emancipation which, as Kirk (1986) states, lies at the heart of critical pedagogy begins with the teacher and extends to the intern. If teachers are able to view their practice critically and see how it merges with the culture and expectations of the institutions in which they work, then we can hope to contribute to a critical pedagogy. While learning to be critical, we encounter the singular difficulty of realizing the complexities of the educational process. These complexities must be viewed through various lenses that invite us to look at the traditions passed on in schools, the curricula used to reproduce these selected traditions, and the administrative and classroom management techniques used to secure such traditions (Popkewitz, 1985). We have to remember that these traditions are often seen as sacred and treated as immutable. The traditions that underpin our schooling are rarely examined because for the most part interns are not encouraged to be analytical and time is rarely given for such a reflective process. We need to work on changing this stained reality.

How must interns see schooling in a way that allows for the pursuit of a reflective, critical pedagogy? How can teacher interns better appreciate that the culture of schooling is not simply a "single, unified set of patterns" (Quantz & O'Connor, 1988)? The day is gone when we can approach the school as if it is simply a place for learning. Schools, the result of complex social, historical and cultural interactions, can no longer operate as if they were gaping monoliths churning out objective information. Schools are living places for the tangled web of humanity. At a very early stage in their professionalism interns are tossed into this tangled web very often with all the voices of dominant educational discourses ringing in their heads. Rick's [fictitious names are used] comments are indicative here.

Culture, well culture to me is...I guess, culture encompasses a lot of things. You know, you have your roads and your human interactions, your events, and these make up a culture. And I found that I didn't necessarily agree with all the rules of the school. However, I find that other aspects that I can see with the school is that you're dealing with children whose parents probably work in (the city). Some of them are civil servants and professionals while the others are just basically welfare and unemployment cases. So you have a blend. And sometimes it was tough to distinguish the children who had the tough parents and the ones who had the professional parents. And I think if I came to work in (the city) I would be dealing with children who are probably a little more keenly interested in education than some of the children that I've dealt with. The family culture, yes, you know, their family culture affected our education and I could see that (Rick 2,13).

Peter McLaren (1994) claims we should work at providing critical categories that will allow interns to analyze schools according to type and orientation of the transmitted knowledge, attitudes, and skills. Because interns participate in the schooling process, they can come to know the school as it really operates. We need to help interns see schooling for both the impediments and the possibilities. How can interns realize their potential as agents for transformation?

What are some of the concerns that underpin the need for a reflective critical pedagogy? It seems that many of these concerns can be placed in the form of questions. Giroux (1989) claims that it is essential for us to question the social and cultural control that is operational in schools and that all educators, including teaching interns, must be aware of the wider social forces at work in schools. Interns have to realize that the language, resources, and practices of schools are politically burdened.

The challenge is to capitalize on the political nature of schooling so that interns empower themselves to take control of their own growth and transformation. Interns cannot do this until they understand how "human experiences are produced, contested, and legitimated within the dynamics of everyday classroom life" (p.133). Interns need to be helped to stand back from their school work and critically examine it through a reflective process. How can interns see schooling as part of a wider process of education? It is important for interns to realize that schooling does not happen within a cultural fortress. As Freire (1985) says, it is crucial we remember that schools represent only one site where education takes place. Forces from the social sphere walk through the school doors with the students.

How can subjectivity and experience be given a stronger stance within the discourse of schooling? As Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) point out there is a tendency to remove both teachers and students from their histories and cultural experiences. This is certainly true for teaching interns. For one thing they are operating on someone else's work site. They are often expected to follow the mindset and norms evident in that borrowed classroom. Often they inherit a curriculum and methodology designed from a distance for someone else. Product then comes before process, and transmission before transformation. However, it is vital for interns to realize that who is learning precedes what is learned. It is equally essential that interns appreciate "what histories are in place" before any learning is attempted (Livingstone, 1987, p. xv) Here is an opening for interns to treat their students as critical agents and build on their collective histories and cultures. In other words, interns can help students develop keys to their own transformation. In a real sense we are talking about a reflective model that encourages teacher educators to help empower interns who in turn help empower their students. All participants must appreciate the power of their knowledge and experience. This might best be realized through structured reflection.

Interns need to understand the power built into their own knowledge and to see how that power translates in their interactions with students and administrators. Often interns act as if they are powerless. Susan speaks to this point.

This morning, for example, we were talking about morals and gifts and talents that people have, and how sometimes we have to have our gifts like probed out of us. It's there but it is not really brought out because you're either too shy or you have low self esteem or whatever. So I think you have to be affirmed in the things you do, you know, you have to be told sometimes, yes, you're doing a good job. And I would like to hear it as a teacher, myself, and I'm sure the students would like to as students as well. (Susan, 7).

At other times power is used by interns in ways that can be unknown to them because they have the power of language and culture at their fingertips. We all often toss this power around with great abandon. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) claim that strategies need to be developed to identify, invigilate and overcome the patterns of domination built into schooling.

What are the politics of cultural production and reproduction as far as the teacher intern is concerned? Interns, because of the nature of their university course work, often act as if schooling is socially and politically neutral (Beyer, 1980). Clearly there is a fundamental connection between forms selected for transmission within a culture and various forms of domination (Williams, 1982). Interns need to be able to realize what is hidden in the knowledge they produce and reproduce. Education has the power to

mystify itself and conceal its power relationships (Willis, 1981). It is easy to simply follow the curriculum and miss the more subtle messages going out to students.

What are the discrepancies between dominant versions of reality and the lived experience of subordinate groups? Interns need to examine their own teacher view of reality against the real lives of their students. Interns and students need to accept each other's reality and explore how knowledge can be produced from that acceptance. Schools must be seen as places where both teacher and student grow. This is no less true for interns for they need to understand their situation and appreciate the underlying social structures and power relationships at work within the classroom. Susan is helpful here.

Well, I want to be the type of teacher that doesn't only teach but can learn, to be able to communicate with your students in and out of class, because I don't think that what goes on in class is the only important thing. I think outside of class is just as important. I want to be able to engage in conversation with the students, not so much on a personal level but on the factual level. I want them to be able to come to me if they have problems, you know. I want them to know that I'm there, and I also want them to be there for me for support, maybe, if I need encouragement about a certain topic or something. I mean students can often do that and they can act as support for you as well and not just [you] for them (Susan, 6).

How can interns appreciate the best dimensions of their own histories, experiences, and culture in a fashion that will help them to become transformative intellectuals? Interns, like students, generally are often put in a position where their own histories are treated as incidental and their own experiences as unimportant. This is especially true in a school culture that puts so much emphasis on professional experience. When schooling becomes more instrumental, interns are often removed from their grounding and treated as receivers of dominant discourses on educational attitudes, practices, and methodologies. There is a struggle for interns to hold on to their authentic selves. Still there is hope. This hope is indicated through Rick's voice:

Nobody told me to change and that's what I appreciated about the school. I mean, sometimes, you know, they can give me a helpful hint if I asked for help, they were always there, and if I felt I had a problem, I'd ask. But other than that, I did it my way, as the song goes (Rick 2, 15).

Bert amplifies this:

I think I would do that by telling about my own life experiences and by doing that I'm exposing a piece of myself with them ... just giving a piece of my own personality to the class, even though, we are in a system, where individually you relate to students one on one, too. After class you talk to them, get to know them. And, you let them know how you are, how you are as a person and they relate to that, too (Bert 1, 8).

This may be one way for interns to cope with the gap between school culture and their class and popular culture? It is important to remember that interns, like teachers, are formed out of complex interactions (Giroux, 1988) and they cannot be treated in any monolithic pattern. Martin (1985) sees school culture as a "multiplicity of overlapping, convergent, but also separate and divergent, values, social norms, rituals and ceremonies"(p. 3). It is within this complexity that a reflective pedagogy can be

developed and interns can be helped to become transformative teachers. If any critical pedagogy is to be effective it must start with the intern's culture and use a reflective process. Where else would we start? The intern's culture has to be seen as having value in and of itself. Interns, like all teachers, have opportunities in their classrooms, even within a restrictive curriculum, to build on the matches between their culture and the various cultures of students. If teachers, interns, and students are enabled to look deeply at everyday life, there is hope for a critical pedagogy. As teacher educators we must be urged to value the cultural capital of all school members, to learn from as well as build on that diversity. This appreciation of diversity can be a starting place for a reflective critical process that can only enhance the professional work of interns.

I have treated only some of the questions that call for the fuller development of a reflective, critical pedagogy. This process can be linked to the particular site of the internship. Given interns and teacher educators, working within the constraints of their own institutional cultures and learning endeavors, can develop an oasis of reflective critical pedagogy.

Giroux (1989) reminds us that language and lived experience are inseparable. For many reasons we speak out of our lived experience. In fact there might not be any other way to speak. Therefore, if we are not free to speak out of our experiences, we might not have any voice. If individual experience is negated, is it possible that the individual is negated or even silenced? Can interns be empowered to speak around these silences? Can interns be given authorship over their own work and their life stories? Can they develop a language of possibility that works against inherited dominant discourses? That possibility comes in many forms. Bert drew on other life experiences to empower his teaching.

I also work part-time as a waiter on the weekends and full-time in the summer, and that's constantly working with people. I found that a big influence also in getting into teaching because waitering and teaching is much the same. You're dealing with people from the public, you got to be very patient with them, because you can't say what you might feel like (Bert 1, 9).

Interns, I believe, must speak their minds and share their circumstances in a relatively safe environment. They can likewise examine their own voices as they "actively produce, sustain, and legitimate meaning and experience in classrooms" (Giroux, 1989, p. 159). As interns work through reflection they maneuver between transmission and transformation. They can lay out the reality of content and skills as the raw material of transformation. The knowledge and skills can be used as transformative tools for interns to probe their teaching and their own reality. Sam reflects on this uneasy line between transmission and transformation.

Well, to me, school works towards serving the student and the student is the main focus. I think that's a very good goal because although the teachers have their problems, they are still there for the students. And that's the basic thing I got out of it really, that they are not only [there] as a job. You're there to help the student through life. I mean, teaching is one of the most important professions, I feel, because you're influencing the students so much by what you do and what you say; how you influence them now is going to have a big impact on their future. So, if you dedicate your time towards a student in helping him grow, having a positive attitude, being lively, having a sense of humour, being yourself

and being able to be comfortable being yourself with the students (Sam 2, p. 5).

One of the hardest things for teachers to do is to share the process of learning. All our professional training and thinking is grounded in the assumption that we, as teachers, are supposed to have knowledge; consequently, we are supposed to tell what we know. Unless we work against this instinct to tell, our teaching will remain limited. Yet, the teacher remains essential; and transmitting knowledge remains basic to learning. However, mere telling is not enough. As Cecily O'Neill wrote some time ago, "the function of the teacher is to challenge, arouse, interest, make anxious, give confidence, coordinate achievement, encourage reflection" (1976, p. 12). How can we help teaching interns gain that kind of power? How can we encourage interns to build new narratives rather than retell the old stories. If we can put emphasis on building rather than retelling, on producing rather than reproducing, then a critical pedagogy may be open to us and the interns we work with. We must encourage interns to ask their own questions, questions which extend invitations to reflection. It is important that the teacher educator and the intern reflect together. As indicated earlier, there has been an encouraging growth in reflective practice in teacher education and in professional development. Karen Osterman (1990) describes reflective practice as "a challenging, focused, and critical assessment of one's own behaviour as a means towards developing one's own craftsmanship" (p. 134).

One of the difficulties we have to guard against when using reflection with interns is that it tends to be what the teacher educator makes it. In other words the teacher educator's background, interests, and attitudes often become the unintentional focus for a given reflective process. Still as teacher educators we have to remind ourselves that it is more important to be aware of the cultural capital of the interns than it is to simply pass on our own world view. If the reflective process is to serve the best interests of the interns, it should examine and build on their cultural capital. It seems necessary to help interns realize the authentic value of their different lifestyles, cultural origins, or belief systems. All these differences can help make up the reflective mosaic of a critical pedagogy.

Henry Giroux (1989), in a discussion on Bakhtin and Freire, tells us that a critical pedagogy must begin with the concrete experiences of everyday life. It seems that critical reflection in the teaching internship can be seen as a "cultural field where knowledge, language, and power intersect..." (p. 133). This intersection can be a place where moral, cultural, and social practices are produced. This is especially true if our intention is simply to give interns voice. Sometimes the giving of voice is much more important than the presentation and the comprehension of new teaching skills or methodologies. As teacher educators we can simply give interns a place to speak their part, a place to use their voices. Interns are able to use their experience, their culture, and their story. This in itself is a real form of power for interns. Out of this power new confidences grow, new social relationships are put in place, and new meanings can be produced. Rick, one of the interns we worked with, had this hope also:

I'd like to sum up by saying that by the end of this term, I want to be able to walk into a class with confidence and be known as an interesting, firm but fair teacher, and I hope that I can accomplish those things (Rick 1, 11).

A significant factor in transformative education is the teacher's voice which I believe, is the single greatest tool in developing a critical pedagogy. The teacher is a gatekeeper between the dominant culture of the school and the individual student. This

is true also of teacher interns. The language and skills of the intern can serve as gate openers. Teachers and interns can use their own stories, their own roles, to foster a critical pedagogy. Interns should, I believe, share their own stories with students; but they must be true stories. Teacher stories must not simply be devices to instruct, or to draw out student stories. We must present our authentic stories in a critical fashion. If teachers and teaching interns approach their own knowledge and experience in a critical fashion, the message will not be lost on students. In any reflective practice it is necessary for teachers to treat their own work as problematic. In so doing they question their own teaching practices in an attempt to get beyond the taken-for-granted (Roth, 1989). Teachers must be able to stand back from their own stories. Affirmation and critique go hand in hand. How can teachers expect students to value each other's stories if teachers' own stories are hidden? A critical pedagogy calls for collaboration. We learn from student stories and teacher stories. Teachers cannot simply ask the students to collaborate on their own but have to be a part of that collaboration and see themselves as learners also. The more students put into the process of schooling, the greater is the engagement in the process. Ownership of ideas is an important empowerment in a critical pedagogy. Interns need to buy into this process. It is important for us to help interns get beyond a craft model for here is much more to teaching than can be learned from simple apprenticeship. How does the intern relate to the wider experiences of the school? Does the intern appreciate the values, beliefs, and attitudes at work in the given community? How does the school reflect the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the society? In other words, how can teaching interns get beyond the limitations and grind of everyday school life? As Roth claims, there might be little value in an internship without a built-in reflective practice. Roth goes on to urge that interns "be brought together to reflect on their experiences and to share them with each other" (1989, p. 35). In part this paper is a sharing of such reflection.

One of the helpful distinctions Stuart Bennett (1984) makes in relationship to teaching is to suggest that teachers can control the quality of the learning rather than controlling the content. The objective is to enable students and teachers to construct real meanings for themselves. In order to catch this meaning, students need to get behind the significance of the events that constitute the material of their school work. Teachers do not have to present themselves as having the answers in finding a solution; rather, they are involved with the students in finding a solution. If teaching interns can realize this cooperation, they will be a long way in the process of reflective critical pedagogy. In his writings on reflective thinking Schon (1983, 1987) has given a new impetus to similar work in education. Once again we are reminded that "teaching is a complex, situation-specific, and dilemma-ridden endeavour" (Spanger-Langer and Colton 1991, p. 37).

Part of what teacher educators need to give interns is the understanding that people make their own culture. If teachers and interns begin with trying to tap into the culture of the students rather than confront them with some received culture, then critical pedagogy is already in place. It is important for us to remember that culture is a lived experience, one that is ever changing (Rose, 1991). If teachers are dealing with student culture, then the reflection and school work is an extension of that culture. Through such work, interns can work towards self-empowerment and social transformation. Here, particular forms of social knowledge and power relationships can be divested of their oppressive trappings. Interns can build on the cultural material of their own lives, to question, resist, and possibly transform the larger society. Institutional and social transformation is, I believe, achieved in small steps with the assistance of reflective, critical attitudes. Calderhead (1989) claims that the Frankfurt School of Social

Research, in particular the work of Jurgen Habermas, has been a source of influence on concepts of reflective teaching. "Reflection is viewed as a process of becoming aware of one's context, of the influence of societal and ideological constraints on previously taken-for-granted practices, and gaining control over the direction of these influences" (p. 44).

One of the many challenges of a internship is to situate teaching in the wider cultural, social, and political context (Smyth, 1989). This process can be helped by a critical reflection that delves into the practices of schooling from the point of attitude, content, resources, and methodology. Reflection, one of the attributes of critical pedagogy, has several implications for teachers. First, it is essential for students and teachers to leave time for reflection about their school experience. The need for such reflection was echoed by interns in the group discussions.

This is like a process of brainstorming. Like doing something in class and going home and writing about it; reflecting on it yourself, well that's great, that's one thing. But it's not the same as hearing everyone else reflect on it. And I really can't see -having survived a lot of things- like you said, things that have worked and I've tried. You said things that haven't worked and then I've known maybe a suggestion of how to get through them. So I think this is excellent and I really feel bad for students that didn't take part (Group 4).

Members from Group 7 claimed:

I think this kind of reflective process is good for any [one] even for teachers that are teaching for ten years. But this makes it, when you have a meeting with your peers you feel more free to stress your opinion because you know people can relate to it. Because, I mean when we had meetings about the discipline and teaching management in our workshops down in our school there were teachers there, some of them were really interested in knowing what others did, so we had that as a main thing (Group 7).

The interns in Group 8 stressed that:

Overall I found the seminars facilitated the internship 100%. You get to see other people's opinions ... And I've tried then and they worked. I don't know how other people feel about this, reflecting in your journal. Now I'm terrible at this. I find it really difficult and I find this [reflective] process here is much better for me personally, maybe this is kind of personal... you have something else and you still discuss and reflect. So for me personally I find this really helpful. If I only had the journal, it wouldn't have been half as effective (Group 8).

I would suggest that reflection be built into the school activity. This is where teacher-student dialogue comes in. If any school content or experience is treated in a dialectical fashion, questions will naturally follow. Through reflection, teacher educators and interns can learn to examine the relationships between power and knowledge (Schon, 1983, 1987). In this way they make use of the concept of teaching and learning as a process of inquiry into the problematic. This often represents a large pedagogical leap for both teacher educators and teaching interns; however, it is a leap which we must help each other to take.

Beyond doing and feeling there must be reflective thinking. This reflection must be connected to biography, history, culture, and politics. David Hornbrook (1989) reminds us that educators have built their conceptual home in a general philosophy that denies politics and culture. Critical pedagogy, built around reflection, can move to change this general philosophy.

David Kirk (1986) claims that teachers, and therefore teacher interns, are not always prepared to face the critical issues before them and need help from all quarters; from teacher educators, from curriculum developers and from educational administrators. How can educators help each other identify and embrace these basic concerns? Henry Giroux (1981) states that the normative interests behind educational practice must be illuminated. A critical theoretical perspective better equips all educators to consider the source, meaning, and rationality behind pedagogical practice and represents some of the realities that teacher educators need to put before their interns. Such a critical perspective takes us far beyond instructional planning and classroom management which, through quite important, need to be couched in a wider more reflective and critical pedagogy.

For my purposes in this book, a reflective critical pedagogy is seen as one in which interns act as intelligent practitioners who, capable of reflective thought, take responsibility for their own professional development (Freire, 1981). A reflective, critical pedagogy realizes that education is not a neutral process and that teaching methods cannot be denuded of the social, human and historical elements making up this process. This philosophy is difficult to put into practice. Society expects schools to correct social inequalities and reproduce the given society. Such expectations often leave the beginning teacher intern in the middle of conflicting demands. Often interns feel they have little chance of remedying a situation that is related to complex issues of social class, cultural background, and the institutional biases of social class, cultural background and the institutional biases of schooling (Popkewitz, 1985). Nonetheless, interns must be critically aware of these complex issues and realize how teaching fits into the total process. Interns often find themselves faced with conflicting settings. Bert tells of one such situation:

I suggested one time that we could get the students into the smaller groups to work on things, and the teacher said, yes, we could do that, but we'll put it off for a little while yet and we'll get you used to them in one way. I kind of want to get into as many methods as I can of teaching (Bert 1, p. 9).

Once again Rick is articulate on this point:

I want the experience and I want to be able to screw up and have somebody tell me where I went wrong. That's what I want now, I want to be able to build, and also, I want to become an interesting teacher, one that can overcome their [students] boredom, because I find and I know from my theory that boredom is the cause of a lot of discipline problems in the class. So at this point in time, I hope that I can become an interesting teacher and interesting enough that they don't cause problems in classes. Even though I do know now that if you're not going to reach all of them, and some of the theory that I learned for instance, group cooperation, cooperative learning, that is putting them in groups. I know now that it's not going to work. I mean, the theory sounds great on paper but to actually work with this one class I have you're going to have to wait

at least until October before you try something like that out on them. And I know that's an unfortunate fact, but as much as you don't want students to drop out, they are going to drop out (Rick 1, p. 2).

Stuart Bennett (1984) claims that a taken-for-granted nature of things permeates our consciousness. The language, attitudes, mores, and hopes of home and street are not always consistent with those found in school. Students make their own culture which they express through dress, music, and lifestyle. The important point for interns is to realize that they and their students are the agents of their own cultural production.

One of the initial tasks for interns will be to examine the social distance between themselves and their students. This is not an easy exercise for interns who realize that classroom management is so bound up with social distance. Few teachers or teacher interns would deny that they often use social distance as a means to control classes. Bert seems to be aware of this:

Well, in the beginning, I wasn't sure whether I could relate to the students and actually see what they are all about and have communication with them. And I feel that I can relate to them and can get through to them to a certain extent, enough to get them to learn basic things about life and that in general ... in knowing that you only get out of life what you put into it. Right now, I feel that I'd like to become a teacher, which is very good. I didn't know if I'd like the younger grades or the older grades, but I seem to get along great with the high school students, and I feel that may be it. I'd like to have experience with the younger grades too, see what that's like, but I'm satisfied (Bert 2, 11).

To develop reflection within a critical pedagogy, teacher educators must remember the scope of interns' work. The reality of opposing curricula, demanding administrators, special students as well as the constraints of time and space must be considered. A reflective, critical pedagogy must find ways of empowering interns rather than simply blaming them. In short, the language of possibility must precede the language of critique. Teaching is a complex process. As Rex Gibson (1986) points out, interns at least in some ways are both "in authority" and "an authority" (p. 17). How can interns help break down some of the real barriers to transformative teaching and learning by opening fresh ways of going about the process of schooling. One of these ways has to do with helping students find their voices by encouraging interns to trade in voices of domination for voices of encouragement. Frequently this means listening to ourselves and examining what is behind our words rather than shifting language. This listening to ourselves and examining our practices requires confidence and safe sites.

How can interns learn to see and examine the ideology behind knowledge and culture? Michel Foucault (1980) would encourage interns to ask what codes of culture are operational in a society at any given time. Interns can only be critical learners if they are able to examine coherently the belief systems that predate and predetermine their knowledge. Interns need to come to the belief that work with their students must be transformative rather than merely reproductive (Quantz & O'Connor, 1988).

How do interns produce a critical dialogue that will aid in their own professional empowerment? It is crucial that interns help each other become empowered individuals. In many ways we expect interns to give a student what they do not have themselves - a distinctive voice. Interns need to be able to speak from their own needs to achieve

intellectual control of their work. Given the climate of teacher education and school expectations, this achievement of intellectual control is a difficult task.

How can interns become involved in both the conception and execution of school work? Interns, like tenured teachers, must ask to do more than simply implement programs designed by others. The notion of separation of concept and execution represents an industrial ideology (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985) that does a great disservice to teachers, interns, and students. Separation of concept and execution makes critical learning improbable. It is not easy for harried interns to resist ready-made learning objectives along with suggested projects and packaged students questions; however, resistance is essential. It would seem that prior critical reflection would be essential for such resistance.

Interns must be given responsibility for their own learning. This assuming of responsibility calls for empowered interns who can control what they do in class and who enable students to reflect and produce their own knowledge. Students should be allowed to explore the contradictions between their schools and the larger society with a view to changing what needs to be changed as well as affirming what needs to be affirmed. Once again this represents a major leap for interns.

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CHAPTER THREE

BECOMING A REFLECTIVE EDUCATOR BY PROBLEMATIZING PRIVILEGED DISCOURSES: A CASE STUDY

Amarjit Singh

The main focus in this chapter is to reflect on how novice teacher interns interpret and give meanings to their experiences in classrooms. A second purpose is to reflect on intentions and agendas the university professors, as supervisors, bring to the interns and to the internship program. The premise of this chapter is that reflection is a social process and not purely an individual process. In this context, not only prospective teachers, as novice practitioners, are active learners but their supervisors are as well. Further, although one can and often does reflect-in-action, it is seldom that one contemplates one's own reflection-in-action and makes this reflection public. In this book, it is our intention to make our reflection-in-action public through problematizing certain discourses in education. It is only in this way, we believe, that we can hope to build internship programs in education that are truly reflective and transformative.

The chapter is organized in three parts. Part I offers a discussion on what it means for us to problematize dominant discourses mainly in education and to become educators who function as intellectuals and cultural workers. In our discussion of intellectuals we develop and describe two roles -- strong and moderate -- which educators could play while taking into account contradictory positions in which they usually find themselves in educational institutions.

One of the outcomes of social interaction is that several thoughts enter into participants' minds during the interaction process. In the flow of the interaction, individuals tend to recall many ideas and observations they have made in the past and often try to combine them with their present ideas, observations, and future imaginations. In this way they construct a map in their minds and hope that it will guide them in making sense of not only what they observe in the present but also what they might observe in the future. During the internship, novice teacher interns in their classrooms observe differences in the response/performance level of their students to the lessons presented. They then talk about this experience with their supervisors, cooperating teachers, and other teacher interns. The observed difference in students' responses to lessons presented in classrooms generally puzzles all parties involved in the schooling process.

Our intention is to reflect on how the observed differences in students' responses were analyzed during the process of building up the Reflective and Critical Internship Program. Therefore, Part II includes a discussion of the context in which it was possible for us to think, reflect, and deal with the observed differences in students' responses to lessons presented to them by the interns. Looking back, we realize that the observed differences in students' responses became associated with the idea of individual ability. This, in turn, activated in our minds dominant discourses concerning learning potential about the level of individual ability in particular and level of collective human ability in general. It is generally believed that one can learn only to the level or within the range of his or her potential ability. We now realize that we attempted to problematize individual learning potential by using on-going discourses in the social psychology of learning and also by focusing on the concept of difference, especially as articulated in selected postmodern and feminist discourses on society and education. Thus, Part II also includes the conversation between a teacher intern and myself as his supervisor

which led us to analyze the issue of ability; this part includes as well the analysis of this same conversation.

In Part III, we discuss some historical trends in Newfoundland society which create conditions in which it has been possible to find a specific site for the development of a reflective pre-service teacher inservice program. In this section, we also state our conclusion that the conditions in which the interns and their supervisors work, limit the possibilities of their becoming transformative intellectuals in the strong sense for many specific reasons.

I. PROBLEMATIZING PRIVILEGED DISCOURSES IN EDUCATION

Literature on teachers and their experiences in schools suggests that they engage in a continuous analysis of their everyday experiences. Phelan and McLaughlin, (1992, p. 1) call this analysis problematizing and point out that:

The essence of problematizing is the willingness to ask questions, to entertain doubts, to be disturbed in Deweyan terms about our teaching and learning worlds and the discourses that pervade them. Problematizing is a process of meaning-making in which teachers infuse dominant discourses with their purposes and intentions. Rather than being simply engulfed and subject to discourses and discourse-practices, teachers respond to, control and even recreate discourses anew.

Bakhtin (1981) suggests two forms of discourse: (1) a dominant, institutionally sanctioned discourse, that is, authoritative discourses, and (2) an internally persuasive discourse, that is, personal meanings that individuals make of their experience. These two discourses are dialogically related. Inside and outside the classroom, teachers continuously face contradictions of multiple dominant discourses on education and society and the relationship between the two. In this situation, they are actively involved in meaning making. This they must do by grappling with and working out compromises with existing contradictory discourses. Teachers often organize their thinking about teaching practice by using the normative categories. Authoritative discourses not only set the conditions for teaching practice but also determine the normative categories. An individual may choose to accept authoritative discourses unproblematically. This has been characterized as reciting by heart. On the other hand a retelling in one's own words constitutes an internally persuasive discourse which represents an attempt to problematize the dominant discourse. Phelan and McLaughlin (1992) explain "that propensity to problematize the taken-for-granted in practice and the ability to respond in-action to problematics are essential to a teacher's self-conscious professional development" (p. 2). Successful teachers question taken-for-granted realities from multiple viewpoints by means of self reflection and dialogue with others. In this way they are able to enhance their ability to articulate and transform their teaching practice and its contexts. Teachers must have a sense of agency and autonomy if they are to prevent political correctness and blind acceptance of educational doctrines. However, problematizing may make one feel uncomfortable, since it entails learning to live with tension at least for a limited time and valuing uncertainty.

It seems to us that student interns, like teachers, are also involved in problematizing their everyday experiences. We observed that they struggle, individually and collectively, with dominant discourses in many areas such as classroom management, instruction, resources, discipline, the ability level of students, the purpose

of the internship program, the culture of school life.. However, in this paper we will focus only on the pervading authoritative discourse about the ability level of students and how this ability is problematized by a teacher intern and his supervisor. The way this discourse is framed and analyzed is discussed in the next sections of the chapter, but first we discuss educators as intellectuals and cultural workers.

EDUCATORS AS INTELLECTUALS AND CULTURAL WORKERS

Antonio Gramsci (1971) wrote that intellectuals play a central role in the production and reproduction of social life. In the field of education, following Gramsci and others, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) and Giroux (1988a, 1988b) have developed the concept of teachers as intellectuals and cultural workers in general. Our purpose in this section is to highlight aspects of this discourse that are relevant to our interests in this book. Our interest lies in reflecting on the possibility and in exploring conditions under which educators could function as intellectuals and cultural workers in this province. Our main focus is on describing the meaning of teachers as intellectuals and cultural workers in its strong form and in its moderate form. We do this by way of discussing (1) the notion of education as a panacea in the historical context of the development of liberal theory of education and society in the United States and other Western countries, and (2) recent educational reform proposals in education of the 1980s. In this way we attempt to study the concept of teachers as intellectuals and cultural workers as articulated by Aronowitz and Giroux and clarify implications of the educational reform proposals for this province.

Education As Panacea

The idea of education as panacea for all the ills of the society has a long history in many societies. In liberal education theory this notion is carefully nurtured. The education system must fulfill many functions in society. In the United States, between 1890-1920, the capitalist system "moved away from its earlier individualistic competitive structure to its contemporary corporate form" (Bowles and Gintis 1977, p. 18). In this context schooling as the solution to social ills became the major instrument for many social reformers. This tradition is very much alive today. With the emphasis on education as panacea, the education of teachers and teacher education programs also became public issues. In the early part of the nineteenth century, teachers' work was seen as a mechanical routine. As routine worker, the teachers found their work was controlled, supervised, organized, classified, and graded by experts such as principals, supervisors, and superintendents. In the school culture there was no room for individuality, independence, originality, study, and investigation. On the contrary, the school culture emphasized uniformity and a teacher's role was defined in a limited and narrow fashion. Teachers were subjected to a form of training which undermined their development as critical educators. Historically, many critics of educators in the United States argued that teachers should be educated as intellectuals. Giroux (1988a) points out: "The idea that teacher education programs should center their academic and moral objectives on the education of teachers as critical intellectuals, while advancing democratic interests, has invariably influenced the debates on the various crises in education over the last fifty years" (p. 174).

The dream of education as the panacea is central to the modern liberal education theory. According to Bowles and Gintis (1977), there are

"...two intellectually coherent strands, one represented by John Dewey and his followers - the 'democratic school' - and the other represented by functional sociology and neoclassical economics - the 'technocratic-meritocratic school'. These approaches are best understood by analyzing the way they deal with two major questions concerning the limits of educational policy. The first concerns the compatibility of various functions schools are supposed to perform. The second concerns the power of schooling to perform these functions" (pp. 20-21).

The technocratic-meritocratic school gives primacy to education as an economic investment and to pedagogical practice as an instrument which enhances a school-business partnership. The democratic school sees schooling as a political and social instrument. As political instrumentalities schools can implement reforms so as to redistribute power and authority or for the cultivation and celebration of pluralism and diversity in society. In short, the technocratic-meritocratic school is used to enhance political democracy rather than narrow business interests. In the democratic school, on the other hand, teacher education and public schooling should "play a major role in advancing democratic practices, critical citizenship and the role of teachers as intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988a, p. 175).

Teachers as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers

As pointed out earlier, the concept of educators as intellectual, has been developed by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) and Giroux (1988b). Recently, Giroux (1992) has extended his notion of teachers as intellectuals. In doing so, he talks about educators as cultural workers. Giroux in his writings asserts that critical and reflective educators should function as public intellectuals at sites which provide them openings and safe spaces for trying out new pedagogical practices. Analyzing recent reform movements in education, he makes conclusions similar in many ways to conclusions of other critical and radical scholars who believe that the educational reform proposals of the 1980s pose real threats to democracy, society and schools (Shea, Kahane & Sola, 1990). Therefore, educators like other cultural workers such as lawyers, social workers, architects, medical professionals, theologians, and writers, should rethink and discuss the purpose and meaning of schooling. Traditionally, the artists, writers, and media producers have been seen as cultural workers. Giroux (1992) extends the concept and practice of cultural work by including educators and other professionals and by emphasizing the primacy of the political and the pedagogical. In his words

The pedagogical dimension of cultural work refers to the process of creating symbolic representations and the practices within which they are engaged. This includes a particular concern with the analysis of textual, aural, and visual representation and how such representations are organized and regulated within particular institutional arrangements. It also addresses how various people engage such representations in the practice of analysis and comprehension (p. 5).

Further Giroux says

The political dimension of cultural work informs this process through a project whose intent is to mobilize knowledge and desires that may lead to minimizing the degree of oppression in people's lives. What is at stake is a political imagery that extends the possibilities for creating new public

spheres in which the principles of equality, liberty, and justice become the primary organizing principles for structuring relationships between self and others (p. 5).

Giroux explains that problems pertaining to the relationship between social theory and educational practice have been discussed by several scholars within and outside of the educational field. Many new pedagogical spaces and new paradigms are being opened by the wider movements in feminist theory, post-structuralism, post-modernism, cultural studies, literacy theory, and the arts all have promising possibilities for bringing about changes in the school and the wider social order. These wider movements address the issues of pedagogy within the politics of cultural differences and are part of the wider discourse on rethinking in education (Cherryholmes 1988). The major focus is on redefining both the meaning of critical pedagogy and cultural politics. Politics of cultural differences implies that pedagogy does not only involve the practice of knowledge and transmission of skills. It means more than this. Pedagogy is a form of cultural and political production; deeply concerned with the construction and organization of knowledge, subjectivities and social relations. Seeing pedagogy as cultural politics means to emphasize its historical and theoretical aspects and to get away from seeing it as a-historical and a-theoretical practice. Cultural politics is concerned with the production and representation of meanings and with the analyses of practices that are involved in their production. The relationships between schooling, education, pedagogy and cultural practices are related to the dynamics of social power. Because power is unequally distributed in different spheres of society, power relations are often contested. People contest asymmetrical power relations through engaging in various textual, verbal, and visual practices which result in a form of cultural production. Pedagogy understood this way is deeply involved in the construction and organization of knowledge, desires, values, and social practices.

As a form of cultural practice, pedagogy helps people to understand themselves, their relationship with others, and their environment. This is because, to paraphrase Giroux (1992), pedagogy is a cultural practice and the use of pedagogy enables cultural workers, educators, teacher interns, students to produce meaning (pp. 3-4). This meaning in turn informs them regarding their individual and collective futures. The important point is to make distinctions between pedagogy and particular practices of individual teacher in his or her classroom. What an individual teacher does in the classroom is based on practical, day-to-day considerations and concrete knowledge. That activity is not pedagogy. Those actions are practical management and instructional strategies, tactics, and orientations which help the teachers to conduct their daily routine work in the classroom and school contexts. To Giroux (1992) pedagogy means rewriting the relationship between theory and practice as a form of cultural practices. Giroux explains in other words:

Pedagogical theory is not a substitute for the particular practices taken up by historically specific subjects who work in concrete, social, political, and cultural contexts. On the contrary, it is a discursive practice, an unfinished language, replete with possibilities, that grows out of particular engagements and dialogues. It offers up new categories, examples, and insights for teachers and others to engage and rethink everything from the purpose and meaning of schooling to the role that educators might play as cultural workers (p. 4).

Types of Intellectuals and Their Social Functions

We have seen that Gramsci in his discussion of intellectuals points out that all men and women are intellectuals, but not all of them function in society as intellectuals. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) analyze the social function of educators as intellectuals by using four categories: (1) transformative intellectuals, (2) critical intellectuals, (3) accommodating intellectuals, and (4) hegemonic intellectuals. These, they claim, are ideal-typical categories. According to them, transformative intellectuals take seriously the relationship between power and knowledge. They believe that society consists of the dominant group and the dominated groups. The dominant group uses knowledge as power for dominating purposes. This domination creates an atmosphere of despair for citizens who lack the knowledge and civic courage to challenge the values and beliefs of the dominating group. The function of transformative intellectuals is to create conditions in society where new values and beliefs can be produced. This in turn will provide opportunities for students in schools and citizens in the larger society to become agents of civic courage who will not give up hope of changing the school and society. By making despair unconvincing, they will engage in activities which will make society more open, equal and just, and produce a democratic society which celebrates human dignity.

The second group, critical intellectuals, differ from the transformative intellectuals in the sense that they prefer not to get involved or are unable to get involved in any collective solidarity and struggle. These intellectuals do not like inequality and injustice but politically do not want to be actively involved in any organized activities which are directed to reducing inequalities and injustices in society. The next group is the accommodating intellectuals who firmly hold values and beliefs of the dominant society and openly act to support it and its ruling groups. In other words, they uncritically mediate ideas and practices that serve to reproduce the status quo. Some of these intellectuals disdain politics by proclaiming professionalism as a value system. In other words, they like to uphold the concept of scientific objectivity, which they believe is politically neutral. While the critical and accommodating intellectuals self-consciously function as free-floating in their relationship to the rest of society, the last categories of intellectuals, the hegemonic intellectuals, are tied up in the preservation of the institutional structures in which they are located. They go beyond upholding the concept of scientific objectivity and prefer to function as moral crusaders. Their desire is to provide moral and intellectual leadership to various factions of dominant groups and classes, making these factions aware of their common economic, political and ethical functions.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) explain that "Gramsci attempts to locate the political and social function of intellectuals through his analysis of the role of conservative and radical organic intellectuals" (p. 35). Whereas the conservative organic intellectuals prefer to be agents of the status quo, the radical organic intellectuals choose to provide the moral and intellectual leadership to a specific class, in their case the working class. But they could also perform similar functions for any other dominated group. These categories of intellectuals are not supposed to be too rigid. Wright (1978) points out that many intellectuals, including educators, occupy contradictory class locations. The experience of various types of intellectuals must be analyzed in terms of the objective antagonisms they face on site. We find this line of thinking useful for our work toward building a Reflective and Critical Internship Program; it also encourages us to develop this line of thinking in term of strong and moderate forms of teachers as intellectuals.

Teachers As Intellectuals: Strong and Moderate Forms

Giroux (1988b, 1992), speaks of two uses of the term teachers as transformative intellectuals. We label these uses as the strong form and the moderate form. In the strong form, teachers as intellectuals are expected to link the political struggle within school to larger social issues, redefine the terrain of politics and citizenship, use their skills to form alliances with various social movements, play a role of social activist, and struggle collectively to transform schools into democratic public spheres. This means that they should be less concerned with embracing professionalism in its narrow sense, securing tenure and promotions, and thinking of schools as institutions whose major function is to serve the corporation and local church. Instead teachers as intellectuals, in the strong sense, should defend school as a public service that educates students to become critical citizens. Teachers should be engaged in political projects whose goals are to develop a discourse of ethics, based on a language of critique and hope, that connects schools to other institutions and counter hegemonic struggles in the schools and outside them. In their strong role as intellectuals, teachers and students should engage in social theory that makes the self-evident problematic. Teachers should be able to formulate social and education theory which is emancipatory in the sense that it is capable of pointing to the language of possibility and hope. They must appropriate discourses of democracy, memory, solidarity, and hope. As intellectuals, teachers should be engaged in the politics of difference because democracy celebrates differences while dominant philosophies often fear differences. Finally, teachers should have courage to denounce social practices that subjugate, violate, and oppress. In Giroux's (1988) words:

if intellectual practice is to be tied to creating an alternative and emancipatory politics of truth, it needs to be grounded in forms of moral and ethical discourse and action that address the suffering and struggles of the oppressed ... for educators, it is important to link the purpose of schooling, teaching, and pedagogy to analysis and struggles that attempt to rectify those conditions that deprive children of food, clothing, housing, medical care, and education (p. 212).

In the moderate form, categories of intellectuals are not supposed to be too rigid. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) explain:

teachers as intellectuals like other workers ... have to sell their labor power and have no control over the educational apparatus as a whole. On the other hand, unlike most workers they do have some control over the nature of their labor process, i.e., what to teach, how to teach, what kind of research to do, etc...[but] there is always the possibility for real tensions and antagonisms between their lack of control over the goals and purposes of schooling and the relative autonomy they enjoy. For example, in time of economic crisis, teachers have been laid off, given increased course loads, denied tenure, and forced to implement administratively dictated pedagogies. It is within these tensions and objectives contradictions that the possibilities exist for shifting alliances and movements among teachers from one category to the next (p. 40).

This means that we must recognize the fact that educators work under both ideological and structural constraints. We cannot expect every educator to be politically active and engaged in a wider collective struggle in alliance with various social movements. In other words it would seem to be unrealistic and unethical to expect every teacher to function in every life situation as a transformative intellectual in the

strong sense. Therefore, concrete conditions under which teachers work must be taken into account by those discussing the teachers' roles as intellectuals.

However, all things considered, teachers in their moderate role as intellectuals should at least find ways to open windows of opportunity in order to develop critical and democratic pedagogical theories for specific sites. To be sure, pedagogical theories should not be confused with the particular practices of individual teachers who work in concrete, social, political and cultural contexts of the school and the community. On the contrary, it should always be borne in mind that a pedagogical theory "is a discursive practice, an unfinished language, replete with possibilities, that grows out of particular engagements and dialogue" (Giroux, 1992, p. 4).

Teachers in their role as moderate intellectuals should treat students as persons who have ability to change their environments, question how knowledge is produced and engage in dialogue with their students to make knowledge not only meaningful but also critical and emancipatory. An educator could empower students in the sense that they should learn to appreciate and love themselves (Aronowitz, 1986). This the teacher can achieve by encouraging students to learn their own history, language, and cultural traditions. Knowledge and social relations gained by students in this way should help them to dignify their own heritage. Besides engaging in self-confirmation, students are able to question aspects of dominant culture through the process of empowerment. By their questioning they enable themselves to acquire certain aspects of dominant culture which help them to define relationships between the micro and macro level issues. This ability to define relationships in turn prevents merely serving the dominant institutions and effects changes in relationships which meet their interests, desires, and aspirations (Giroux 1988a, p. 189).

II. A MOVE TOWARD BUILDING A REFLECTIVE INTERNSHIP

The Context

The interpretive analysis presented in this chapter uses data collected through interviews with thirty-six interns as well as other sources of data such as journals completed by the interns as background material and for overall sensitizing purposes. Looking at the transcribed data and their journal recordings, we perceived that all interns were deeply involved in a broad range of educational issues such as classroom interaction and pedagogy, school administration, research methods, issues related to theory and practice, and other concerns voiced through the current educational crisis. In their own unique ways, the interns were involved in understanding the complexity of the classroom situation. They were concerned with such things as presenting good lessons to students, gaining respect of students, maintaining discipline in the classroom, watching teaching strategies of the cooperating teachers, paying individual attention to students in the classroom, and teaching different groups of students in different classroom situations.

However, analysis in this chapter focuses on the last point, that is, on the experience of a particular intern, whom we will identify as Joe. Joe was involved in teaching lessons to different groups of students in three separate classes in the same school. In my interview with him I asked him how he experienced this situation. Very soon, the conversation treated the topics of difference, standards, and grades. Joe also spoke about the ability level of students, and the challenge of teaching students to meet their full potentials. Therefore, much of the discussion presented in this paper is built around examining of human ability in general and individual ability in particular as it appears in pervading authoritative discourses in North American schools and elsewhere.

We will soon present a segment of conversation between Joe and me, a conversation which is relevant to our analysis here. Before recording this particular segment of our lengthy conversation, it is worth commenting on our predispositions by saying that we both had been engulfed in multiple, often competing, authoritative discourses on the nature of classroom situation. For us this is confirmed by the insights of Cherryholmes (1988) who points out that in the field of education there are multiple discourses and that students and their teachers continuously face multiple dominant discourses which are contradictory. In this situation both student and teachers must grapple with these discourses and work out compromises. Britzman (1990) suggests that "the negotiation between contradictory discourses is part of the hidden work of learning to teach" and that in the ongoing process of their ideological becoming, both teachers and students struggle with dominant discourses in an effort to construct and assert their own voices (p. 3). We found that teacher interns and their supervisors also are involved in such struggles in the context of the internship program.

Specifically, in our struggle with dominant discourses, Joe and I were aware, albeit to different degrees, that much information existed on the complex nature of the classroom and that classrooms have been analyzed both at the objective and subjective levels. For example, we were aware of the objective, research-based debates on the complexity of classroom as reported by Good and Brophy (1991). On the other hand, we were also aware of discourses on the real classroom situations which existed as a result of local theorizing (Tripp, 1987; Geertz, 1983; Schibeci and Grundy, 1987). These local theories are embedded in particular incidents (Smyth, 1989). The objective discourse is generally perceived as a scientific discourse. In contrast, the discourse of the real maintains that the intuitions of experienced teachers and other practitioners are the major force of understanding of classroom situation. According to this opinion, there is no dire necessity to understand questions related to classroom situation through scientific methods involving analytical analysis. Also in this discourse, emphasis is on teaching as action rather teaching as praxis, the latter being a dialectic of reflection and action (Phalen and McLaughlin, 1992, p. 18).

Both Joe and I were, consciously or unconsciously, aware of some of the meanings associated with reflection as a process. Kim (1991) points out that reflection is "an action-oriented and dialectical process ... It is not a purely individual process but a social process. The ideas and understandings which give form and content to our reflection arise from a socially constructed world of meanings and significance" (p. 7). In this context not only prospective teachers as novice practitioners but also their supervisors should be seen as active learners. As active learners, the supervisors constantly perceive and interpret "on-going events; reflect on their own actions; make informed judgments; and decide on further actions. In short, they have the capacity to relate their thoughts and actions and to reflect on their actions and judgments in the light of the consequences of their own learning" (pp. 7-8). Both the prospective teachers and their educators should be seen as performing "a kind of job-embedded way of learning which acknowledges the fundamental importance of questioning; defining and redefining problems and at the same time reformulating taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of the work" (p. 8). Kim also writes: "Reflective teaching is not a method nor a technique but a way of life, reflection enables the teachers to appreciate changes in contexts, meaning and their roles as educators" (p. 5). John Dewey (1933) described the concept of reflecting, thinking, and teaching. These ideas were rediscovered by educators in the 1980s and utilized in the context of professional preparation by Schon (1983), who linked the concept of reflection with professional practices and education and also presented a new insight into the concept of reflective teaching and professional

education. Both novice practitioners and their educators would do well to keep Schon's insights in mind. Schon (1983) pointed out:

The situations of practice are not problems to be solved but problematic situations characterized by uncertainty, disorder, and indeterminacy (pp. 15-16).

Reflection-In-Action

It is in the context of reflection that I combined my own intentions and purposes with Joe's descriptions of his experience in classrooms. This infusion, unplanned in advance, occurred at a particular time in the conversation. Schon calls such infusion reflections-in-action. Kim (1991) points out "that although one can and often does reflect in action, it is seldom that one reflects on one's own reflection-in-action and makes this reflection public" (p. 7). However, in this paper, it is our intention to make our reflection-in-action public. It is only in this way we can hope to transform internship programs in teacher education.

Initially, infusion of my interests and purposes occurred at a point where Joe decided to describe to me his struggle with one aspect of classroom complexity which he had lately experienced. This particular experience had to do with a situation in which he had to teach lessons of a social studies course to different groups of students in three different classes. Like most others, both Joe and I felt quite comfortable in holding a view that it was a professionally and personally good experience to teach as many different groups of students as possible during the internship program. I didn't want him to have a limited and isolated experience of teaching. It often happens that in their daily school routines teachers becoming separated from colleagues are forced to work in isolated conditions. On his part Joe was actively negotiating with school authorities to let him teach different classes. With the help of his cooperating teacher, Joe was able to accomplish this goal. He was eager to make comparisons of students' responses to his lessons in three different classes. I was sympathetically listening to his experiences and appreciating what he had observed and accomplished. However, then I decided to inject my own intentions and purposes. I became curious and wanted to understand what perspective Joe had on classroom observation. Was he making these observations in isolation? Or was he thinking of the generalizability of his observation? I was thinking in terms of authoritative discourse on theory and practice. I was interested in bringing to our conversation issues surrounding the role of the generalizability of practical knowledge based on classroom observations in the acquisition of professional knowledge.

I will elaborate on this point soon, but for now it is simply interesting to note Joe's struggle with this authoritative discourse that I introduced without any warning into the interview (reflection-in-action). Joe obviously grappled with the crossfire in an effort to construct and assert his own voice. As Joe found his voice, I infused my second set of purposes and intentions. This time I was concerned with how he conceptualized differences among students whom he had observed in his three classes. What kind of evaluative judgments was he making about students? Did he categorize them in terms of smart or slow classes? I will soon explain the basis of my concerns. But Joe again grappled with this unexpected infusion of my intentions and purposes. This indicated to me how, I, as his supervisor, was able to direct the flow of the conversation with much ease. In fact, Joe almost expected me to direct the flow of conversation even though I informed him of my role as a listener and facilitator. In any case, once again he was able to construct and assert his own voice vis-a-vis mine. But this he accomplished by

using another authoritative discourse which pervades the field of education as well as the wider society. This debate is about the ability level of individuals, its meaning and relation to organization of learning and teaching in schools and to social formation in terms of class. Thus, as pointed out earlier, much of the discussion presented in this paper is built around the process of studying human ability as it appears in modern educational writings. So, a portion of the one-and-a-half-hour interview at the entry level between Joe and me mainly focuses on the topic of teaching students to bring them up to their full potential.

During the conversations I became interested in introducing an opposing view that presented an uncertainty for Joe since it dealt with Joe's effectiveness in encouraging students to attain their full potential. I was curious to see if questioning the idea of ability and thereby creating uncertainty would open windows of opportunity for Joe to reinterpret his view of ability and differences. I was wondering if he would raise such questions as: What does it mean to talk about ability and differences in a society divided on race, gender and class lines? Was it possible for Joe and me to bring into our conversation macro-level concerns about diversity and similarity as these manifest themselves in writings on modern and post-modern society? I was thinking in these terms because most teacher internship programs continue to encourage students to engage in micro level concerns about teaching and learning. In this context students cannot but find themselves struggling with micro level concerns at the expense of macro level problems. In McLaren's words: "Mainstream pedagogies generally avoid or attempt to obscure the question that should be central to education: What is the relationship between what we do in the classroom and our effort to build a better society?" (McLaren, 1989, x). Teacher educators and teacher interns as citizens are faced with a moral choice. This choice, as suggested by John Dewey, is the distinction between education as a function of society and society as a function of education. McLaren (1989) states: "We need to examine that choice: do we want our schools to create a passive, risk-free citizenry, or a politicized citizenry capable of fighting for various forms of public life and informed by a concern for equality and social justice?"(p. 185)

Problematizing Ability

During a conversation with an intern named Joe, I became interested in the subject of ability for several reasons. First, ability is an attribute which is frequently used to justify various forms of organization of learning and teaching at the micro level of schooling. Second, ability is also used to justify within the framework of Darwinism historical events at the macro level, for example, colonialism, imperialism, and racism. Third, the question of ability is related to questions of gender, race, and social class. In the 1970s, in North America and elsewhere, the ability question was intricately tied to I.Q. and race controversy (Jencks, et. al., 1972). Fourth, the testing of ability, now a big industry (Karwin, 1974), can have serious consequences for those tested in part because test constructors incorrectly claim to have devised objective criteria for measuring ability. Thus, the debate on ability is associated with issues such as examination, grouping, tracking, testing and mainstreaming of lower class ability students. Lynch (1989) points out that "ability is an attribute used independently of social class, gender and race to distribute pupils in groups in schools. At this present time in history, grouping pupils on the basis of ability has scientific legitimacy." Lynch adds that neither functionalists nor neo-Marxists have given much attention to the question of ability in their analysis of the hidden curriculum." The debate on hidden curriculum in turn is associated with research on multiculturalism, and teachers'

expectations as well as the classroom behavior and achievement of students and their self-concept regarding ability (McCarthy, 1990; Cooper and Good, 1983; Singh, 1986; Good and Brophy, 1980; Verma and Bagely, 1982; Brookover and Erickson, 1969).

Cooper and Good (1983) point out that "teacher expectations and their possible effects upon student behavior and achievement have been salient research ideas for the past two decades" (p. 4). Samuda (1984) points out that in Canada "the most serious problems exist in the assessment, testing, placement and counselling of ethnic minorities". Earlier, writing with Crawford, Samuda had written that although "as the result of our research in Ontario schools have shown, the use of I.Q. tests have been abandoned in some schools... the teacher remains the arbiter in placement decisions" (Samuda and Crawford, 1980). Research on teaching and learning shows new findings, concepts, theories, and technologies that could have been cited rather than the ones chosen earlier to show how the concept of ability has scientific legitimacy for categorizing people as stupid, slow, or non-verbal. Contemporary school policies still seem to reflect this kind of social Darwinism that was prevalent at the end of the last century. One cannot help but think in this way after reading the literature that constitutes the education reform movement of the 1980s.

In this reform literature the concept of ability is related to a complex debate on excellence and equity in subtle and not so subtle ways (Shea, Kahane & Sola, 1990). Many policy recommendations in these reports "are based on the assumption that students fall along some continuum running from dumb to smart, reflecting, in some way, their genetic endowment" (Berliner, 1990, p. 280). The overriding emphasis is on testing students and raising standards (Shor, 1987).

Finally, the question of "ability" is related to notions of difference and others or otherness (Giroux, 1992). This relationship tends to have special significance in multicultural societies because it encompasses power relationship between us and them. Also, in these societies "differences include multiple race, class, and gender configurations and their individual and group subjectivities and voices" (Kampol, 1992, p. 219); and in such societies these differences, according to McLaren (1989), include "multifaceted and interlocking sets of meanings through which students and teachers actively engage in dialogue with one another." Lately, discourses on multiculturalism and education are couched within the discussions of modernism and postmodernism. It is valuable to read at length from Giroux (1991) to fully savour some points made:

Within the discourse of modernism, dominant educational approaches to race and ethnicity imitate many of the worst dimensions of liberal ideology and radical essentialism. Questions of otherness are generally fashioned in the discourse of multicultural education, which in its varied forms and approaches generally fails to conceptualize issues of race and ethnicity as part of the wider discourse of power and powerless. Questions of representation and inclusion suppress any attempts to call into question the norm of whiteness as an ethnic category that secures its dominance by appearing to be invisible. Modernism's emancipatory potential within multicultural education finds expression in the call to reverse negative images of blacks and other ethnic groups as they appear in various forms of texts and images. Missing here is any attempt either to critique forms of European and American culture that situate difference in structures of domination or to reconstruct a discourse of race and ethnicity in a theory of difference that highlights questions of equality, justice, and liberty as part of an ongoing democratic struggle. Multiculturalism is generally about

otherness, but is written in ways in which the dominating aspects of white culture are not called into question and the oppositional potential of difference as a site of struggle is muted.... In effect, critical educators need to move their analyses and pedagogical practices away from an exotic or allegedly objective encounter with marginal groups, and raise more questions with respect to how the dominant self is always present in the construction of the margins (pp. 224-225).

Postmodernism denies most of the positivistic elements of modernism. However, many scholars have already made the distinctions between modernism and postmodernism. Postmodern theorists do not believe that a world is held together by absolute, universal truth and reason (Lyotard, 1984). In the current debate on postmodernism, the concept of difference holds a central place. Postmodern theorists use this concept to attack universal truth and reason. But there are many postmodern ideas about difference, and these multiple uses of the concept create much confusion. Kampol (1992) scrutinizes these multiple uses and treats difference in its extreme and its less extreme form. According to him, within its most extreme postmodern form, difference means that:

every form of dialogue, narrative, media, education, or social relation is imbued with a presupposition that precludes a common dialogue, common consciousness, collective understanding or, as Dallmayr describes, a 'we-ness' of community. Difference also means that there cannot be one reality. Any claims to what is real or true can only be ruptured or deconstructed until such time that another perceived reality receives similar intellectual scrutiny (p. 219).

He adds:

in a less extreme form, difference within a post'-modern tradition, while also preoccupied with rupture and deconstruction, also implies a broadening of positive modernist tenets (such as dialogue, co-operation, pluralism, democracy, community, or intersubjectivity) that incorporate a myriad of differences, realities and truth as ingredients of a democratic society. The distinction between these two forms of difference has provided educational theorists with several dilemmas. Where is difference located? How many differences can there really be? How does one attend to any one single difference? Is difference individually, communally, or democratically sustainable? (p. 219).

The point is that there is no denying that people are different; what causes problems is the significance made of the differences. What is the effect of identifying cross-cultural differences? What is the purpose of describing the differences between rich or poor? Are we to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor? Or are we to maintain, perpetuate, and even increase the gap between the two? Similarly, what is the purpose of identifying the differences between ability level, potential, I.Q. scores of two groups of people and people within a group? Are we to use these differences to justify the unequal distribution of social rewards such as level of schooling, occupation, power, incomes, status, prestige among various cultural and social groups? Or are we to rearrange the opportunities and rewards to make them more equitable? The habit of describing the smallest differences in the behavior of others during the normal social interaction experienced in schools, universities and classroom and seeing these differences as exotic will destroy the co-operative spirit so badly needed for survival of

community and democracy. Karpol (1992) explains that "in general, postmodernists have situated difference within narrative accounts, rewarding maps of history by hearing and interpreting the stories of individual and group subjects mired in subordinate, oppressive, and alienating relations..."(p. 219). He further explains that

simply put, in the realm of public schools, the struggle to overcome oppressive teacher conditions, such as dehumanizing rating scales, alienating accountability schemes, uncreative teacher proof standardized curricula, and authoritarian on-site management, situate teachers within a post modern era of difference and possibility. Difference, within the context of each subject's race, class, and gender location, may affect how teachers' oppressed conditions are viewed; and understanding these despotic conditions creates the possibility of finding ways out of them (pp. 219-20).

What Do The Supervisors Contribute To The Interns?

To sum up, with all the above ideas in my mind, I was eager to bring to the student internship process my own understanding of the relationship between school and society; that is, we can no longer automatically count on transforming society through schools by using authoritative writings that simply embrace the dominant status quo and its values and norms. I was concerned with the idea that what we study in education must be situated within the larger nexus of complex, stratified, and unequal society, and that the central positions of many teacher education programs and critical theory basically complement each other. Specifically, during my conversation with Joe, I became interested in knowing how Joe would deal with the differences he observed among his students. Would he situate them in the larger context of social stratification and culture? Would he use authoritative discourses that embrace the dominant status quo and its values and norms as he grapples with observed differences among his students? Would he see virtue in maximizing individual differences and the differentiation of educational programs for children in schools without recognizing the negative consequences of these practices on students?

In addition to my concern with the matters of ability, difference and potential, I was concerned with the relationship between theory and practice in the internship programs in teacher education. During their internship and degree programs at the university, novice teacher interns often voiced their concern about what they learn in university courses. They usually express uncertainty about the usefulness of theory in solving real problems they envision facing in classroom situation. This doubt is understandable because, as novice teachers, they do face many micro level problems (Veeman, 1984). Interns are naturally concerned with the efficacy of the different kinds of professional knowledge, different kinds of knowledge use, and the influence of different bodies of knowledge on professional learning. Researchers in the eighties presented more radical views of the theory and practice problems (Canter, 1990; Calderhead, 1988; Eraut, 1985; Kemmis, 1985). Within this discourse, I was interested in bringing to the intern issues surrounding the role of the generalizability of practical knowledge in the acquisition of professional knowledge. Eraut (1985) asserts:

It might be argued that one way to develop the knowledge base of a professional would be to study this generalization process, to make it more explicit so that it can be criticized and refined, and to give close attention to specifying the conditions' under which any practical principles or generalization was held to apply (p.120-125).

Besides the ideas already discussed, I was grappling with my own role as supervisor in the internship program. I asked myself: What could I contribute to this site to transform the teacher internship process? Should I use my authority to drown out Joe's voice? Should I be direct or subtle in infusing into the conversation my own understanding of relationship between school and society, power and knowledge? Should I raise rhetorical questions and create tension in our conversation so as to help Joe to come to terms with ability, theory and practice? I opted for the last choice although I was conscious of my authority as university supervisor in relation to Joe's voice as novice teacher intern. Giroux's writings on border pedagogy, language of critique, and teacher authority were useful in making this choice. In his discussion of postmodernism as border pedagogy and in other writings, Giroux (1991) points out the significance of "giving students the opportunity to speak, to locate themselves in history, and to become subjects in the construction of their identities and the wider society" (p. 249). Students should be encouraged to air their feelings about various concerns, but as Giroux (1991) emphasizes:

This does not mean that teachers reduce their role to that of an intellectual voyeur or collapse his or her authority into a shabby form of relativism. Nor does it suggest that students merely express or assess their own experiences. Rather, it points to a particular form of teacher authority grounded in a respect for a radically decentered notion of democratic public life. This is a view of authority that rejects the notion that all forms of authority are expressions of unwarranted power and oppression. Instead, it argues for forms of authority that are rooted in democratic interests and emancipatory social relations, forms of authority that, in this case, begins from a standpoint from which to develop an educational project that rejects politics as aesthetic, that retains instead the significance of the knowledge/power relationship as a discourse of criticism and politics necessary for the achievement of equality, freedom, and struggle (p. 250).

Further, Giroux points out that "power is multifaceted and we need a better understanding of how it works not simply as a force for oppression but also as a basis for resistance and self and social empowerment" (p. 252). I wanted to use my authority to influence the flow and direction of the conversation between Joe and me, without discouraging Joe from voicing his concern about his experience as a novice teacher. Also, in building a Reflective, and Critical internship program in education, we cannot ignore issues involved in critical pedagogy as outlined by Simon (1988)

Such a form of educational work is at root contextual and conditional. A critical pedagogy can only be concretely discussed from within a particular point of practice; from within a specific time and place and within a particular theme. This means doing critical pedagogy is a strategic, practical task not a scientific one. It arises not against a background of psychological, sociological, or anthropological universals - as does much educational theory related to pedagogy - but from such questions as: How is human possibility being diminished here? (p. 2)

The Conversation and Analysis

We now present a segment of a conversation between Joe and me. At that time, Joe had experienced a complex situation of teaching social studies to different groups of students in three different classes. The following part of the interview with him indicates his struggle with the complexity of the classroom situation and his attempt to make personal meaning while experiencing this complexity. Furthermore, conversation throws light on problematizing as a process of meaning-making in which Joe(J) and his supervisor(S) infuse dominant discourses with their intentions and purposes as the conversation between the two unfolds.

S: So, you are getting that experience, working with different groups... so, that's good.

J: Yes, I move from one to the other (group)...

S: Because if you get used to one group of people, then, maybe, things working there are fine, right. But the real situation is that you will end up with different groups of people, you know. So, the skills you are developing must be transferable, you know, you must be able to use those things, right. So, while you are looking at particular things, you're also trying to generalize how this particular experience will help you in doing many other things. So, this focus is always there, right.

J: Oh yes, that's what I find. I even find that right now when there's Like my three classrooms, they react differently to my teaching methods. One class reacts just out of this world, always thinking, while the other class just sits there and doesn't answer me at all. And so, I'm getting two extremes and it makes it hard on me because I don't know how they're going to react. I sit there and, you know, I am waiting for the answer and they don't give it. But upstairs, I just say something, just what I am saying, and hands are up everywhere. And I was thinking, well, that wasn't a question, that was a comment, but I'll hear what you have to say anyway. And, so, you get two extremes. And the other class is about in the middle, and they have different discipline problems. And, you know, I can see how having different classes during the day can be a very ... you know, trying to find out the names, you know have many kids so I have a lot of names to figure out.

S: But when that happens, **do you make any judgments** for the kids that this is the smart class, that is not a smart class?

J: Well, I make judgments in how I'm going to have to teach, different classes. I judge them, okay, this class is not a talkative class. I've got to do something to help them-to enthuse them to do it-and maybe changes can be made in the seating arrangement. Maybe that's what it is. I realize that there are some things that they can do best. I've got to react to how they do it. And this class might not answer, but I've got to come up with some way to help them answer. Now, maybe all the teachers are having the same problem. I don't know. But I have to react the way...

S: But you **have certain standards**, you know, which you want everybody to attain or achieve, right. You don't change your standards for different people, do you?

- J: No, I have the same standard for everybody I meet but I want them to meet it at their ... I mean if a kid is a C student, I don't expect him to be an A student and criticize him all the time saying, you know, you should be an A student. He just doesn't have that ability. I'm not going to force kids that way, but I have the same standards in every room. I expect them, I have my own standards of what I want but I also realize that every kid is an individual and handles things in their own individual way, and that I have to react to what they're doing as well as keeping in mind my own standards of what I expect from these students. And I find, you know, like I said, I don't know if it's right or wrong but it's the way I'm doing it right now. If it doesn't work out, I change. So I'm just trying to feel out how the students are and hopefully if they are ... I can hopefully help them to come up, maybe they're a C student, but we can help them on the way to a B. You know, I try to react to what I like them to know and have the knowledge of, and what... and what level they're at. So I think it's, you know...
- S: Maybe we can talk about this some other time, you know. The point I was going to make was, for example, say if a teacher's job is to teach students that two plus two is four, right. So that is what our job is. So are we going to say that some students have ability to learn that two plus two is four and others don't and leave them right there. Or should we try out all the ways you can think of to make sure everybody in class learns two plus two is four. So there are two orientations, right. So I was trying to figure out which orientation you have. Any opinion on these things?
- J: **I want to bring them up to the full potential that they have.** I mean, I don't want to believe them if [they say] their full potential is that they can't add two plus two. I mean I've got to help them work up higher than this because my standards are, okay, they're going out in society, and I mean there's certain levels in society that you have to get to. I mean if you're going to survive in society, certain things have to be learned. Okay, you know, I've got to help them learn, but if, in my field [Social Studies], math is a different case, I mean, in my case right now which is Social Studies, I mean, we also teach science and math. Right now, I'm in social studies. Okay, so, they have different interpretations of why the Roman Empire fell. One is pretty weak but that's what they can handle, the Roman Empire and the other one can handle, oh, just write out books and books. How important is the Roman Empire's fall. I mean he knows that the Roman Empire fell and why it fell. Does he have to know, do I have to force down his throat why all these intricate details of what happened when he's never going to use that again and he just can't comprehend that? Do I force that down his throat or do I help him to understand that this is what happened and so that, when he looks back at history he can say, okay, I understand why that is. He can't go into big detail but he can understand how history went and what happened back there. And like that idea, I think there is a very balance that teachers have to take a look at. I mean, do we do that? It's a question that you have to look at every time you go into a classroom and every kid that you go to. I mean, is this a point where he has to get it? He has to know that AIDS is going to kill him if he gets it. Or, you know, he doesn't understand that. Well, you have to drill that through his head. He has to know that, I mean, that's just a fact of life. It's what's going on inside you. Or does he have to know that, you know, the year that the Roman Empire fell? the date? Does he? He can't, you know, he just can't get that. He can't figure out; he guesses around the right time area but you want him to get 422 or whenever the Empire fell. I think you, have to take every situation the way it comes and you have to handle it. You can't sit down and say, he has to know

this 100 percent, and, but there are some things that if you don't have them, you can't survive in society. You're just not going to make it, you're going to, you know ... you're going to have problems. So, maybe you should know it, and the teachers, I think we are the ones that are going to have to....

S: Make the **judgment**....

J: **Make the judgment.** I mean the school board might make some of the judgment here. I mean, here in the Catholic school system, they make judgments on what they should be doing. But it might, the teacher might say ... well ... he has to take out the individual or she has to take out the individual and see what you're teaching and how it should be taught.

As one reads the text of the above conversation, several points become clear. Some of them have been alluded to earlier. But here we want to isolate and focus on the part of the conversation which leads to the authoritative discourse about teaching students up to their full potential. That part of the conversation is:

S:do you make any **judgment** about the kids ... that this is the smart class, that is not a smart class?

J: Well, I make **judgments** in how I'm going to have to teach different classes...

S: But you do have certain **standards**, you know, which you want everybody to attain or achieve, You don't change your standards for different people, do you?

J: No, I have the same standard for everybody I meet but I want them to meet it at their **level**. I mean if a kid is a C student, I don't expect him to be an A student and criticize him all the time saying, you know, you should be an A student. **He just doesn't have that ability.** I am not going to force kids that way, but I have the same standards in every room... I also realize that every kid is an individual and handles things in their own individual way...

Joe does not seem to accept this discourse on its face value but he seems to doubt his judgment and feel uncertain about his action. Yet, he does this in a positive manner:

...And I find, you know, like I said, I don't know if it's right or wrong but it's the way I am doing it right now. If it doesn't work out, I change. So I am just trying to feel out how the students are and, hopefully, if they are... I can hopefully help them to come up, maybe they're a "C" student, but we can help them on the way to a "B".

Joe seems to be involved, consciously or unconsciously, in dealing with material he has read about teaching students to their full potential or to their level of ability. However, it is not clear if he is understanding he underlying ideas. He is aware, for example, that this discourse is greatly influenced by assumptions in psychometrics (Simon, 1971). Is he aware that this belief affects the educational achievements and in fact the very life of a student? No where in his conversation does he attempt to situate the idea of ability in an historical or social context. That is, he does not raise questions such as: What is the socio-historical history of the concept of ability? How has knowledge about ability been used to deny various kinds of opportunity to students

from a different race, class and gender? What place does ability play in determining the hold on power? How has ability been integrated in the philosophy of neo-social Darwinism and functionalism?

During the conversation, Joe does not link ability with the psychometrics movement in its historical context. For example, it is well known that in North America and Europe the organization of learning has been greatly influenced by psychometry. That is to say that I.Q. testing gave rise to such practices as grouping, streaming, and individualizing curriculum in schools and universities. In most faculties of education where the training of new teachers takes place, psychologists and departments of psychology have been the dominant force in the socialization of new teachers (Labaree, 1992). Further, ability or mental intelligence has been widely used to explain variations in learning in school. In the 1950s, ability took a central place in the educational literature on achievement in schools. During this time the structural-functional perspective on the relationship between school and society was at its height as well. This perspective emphasizes allocation of societal rewards on the basis of merit, a practice closely tied to what was considered individual ability. But starting in the 1960s, this authoritative discourse on ability and the structural-functionalist perspective on society and schooling came under critical scrutiny. Brookover and Erickson (1969), two prominent sociologists active in the study of schools in the United States, explained this authoritative discourse in the following way:

The prevailing conceptions of intelligence in our society are (1) that ability to learn is relatively fixed, and (2) that it is predetermined by heredity. These beliefs assume that each individual has a limited ability to learn and that this ability is unaffected by external social forces. Another common assumption is that the fixed ability of individuals can be measured with reasonable accuracy by intelligence tests (p. 3).

Based on these beliefs, some psychometricians argue "that the differences in academic achievement are best explained by differences in capacity to learn, which are relatively fixed "and their belief, write Brookover and Erickson (1969) "is still carefully nurtured in many schools and universities"(p. 3). The learning models built on the assumptions that the individual's ability is fixed and that it can be accurately measured by the various tests developed by psychologists since 1905, have been grouped together by some educators and social scientists as the "bucket theory of intelligence," Brookover and Erickson (1969) explain:

The metaphor (i.e., bucket) makes it possible to perceive of individuals as having varying capacities, potentials, or quantities which might be measured in terms of some scale. Associated with quantity and dimension is the conception of limit: the individual who has a small quantity or small dimension for learning cannot expand the size of his bucket. In most discussions of goals of education, educational leaders tend to emphasize the importance of educating the individual to the limits of his capacity (p. 8).

Dealing with the effect of differentiation, Brookover et al. (1974) assert that:

the maximizing of individual differences and the differentiation of educational programs for different children is commonly advocated without regard to the effect of such education on the social structure or the opportunities for social mobility. These programs and policies do not

recognize that equality of opportunity is not facilitated by highly differentiated educational programs based upon the preserved differences between lower-class and middle-class children. One does not achieve equality by enhancing the differences in children and thus allocating them to different social strata (p.162).

Since 1970 the debate on teaching students to their level of ability has taken several turns. In the 1980s, many groups attacked education in the United States and other industrial societies. In response to criticism of existing schools, several reform proposals emphasizing equity and excellence in education were brought forward. In reality the reform movement of the 1980s came to be dominated by the neo-conservative policies of the Reagan era (Shor, 1987; Shea, Kahane & Sola, 1990). This reform movement emphasizes excellence at the expense of equity in education. The notion of excellence is linked with testing of students as early as possible to determine their potential to learn skills required by today's technological society.

Joe, like many others, seems to be overpowered by the authorities writing on teaching students to their potential. He seems to be unable or unwilling to articulate his concerns about differential responses of his students in the framework of a critical perspective on human ability. For example, he does not use a change-oriented vocabulary that conceptualizes human educability in terms of an open-ended process rather than the limited and the fixed entity conceptualized by psychometricians. Joe does not seem to realize that both society and individuals through interaction between them, can learn and grow to close the human gap or cultural lag. This change-oriented language has been used by Botkin and many others. For Botkin et al. (1979), "the human gap is the distance between the growing complexity of society (and culture) and our capacity (individual's) to cope with it" (p. 6). There are no limits to society's and an individual's abilities to learn. Peccei (see Botkin et al., 1979) points out that "the average person, even when living in deprivation and obscurity, is endowed with an innate brain capacity, and has on hand a learning ability, which can be stimulated and enhanced far beyond the current relatively modest levels." Botkin et al. (1979) draw our attention to the fact that "human potential is being artificially constrained and vastly under-utilized, so much so that for all practical purposes there appear to be virtually no limits to learning"(p. 9). At the micro level, there is growing recognition of the fact that teachers' expectations shape a child's self-concept and can encourage or discourage successful classroom performance. This general idea has been supported by a long tradition of research in the sociology and social psychology of education; this research has come to acquire at least two labels: (1) the self-concept of ability approach to classroom learning, teaching and school achievement, and (2) the expectation communication process research (Singh, 1984, 1986; Cooper and Good, 1983; Brookover and Erickson, 1969). These two traditions of research in education have been further elaborated in recent research literature (Byrne, 1991). Many basic assumptions underlying these two perspectives are opposite to those assumptions made by psychologists who trust too much in measuring intelligence and judging learning ability.

However, looking at Joe's dilemma sympathetically, I know he is aware of how a teacher's expectation can affect the outcome for a student. He says: "I expect them (students), I have my own standards of what I want ...". Yet he is willing to expect differential outcomes from his students. This becomes particularly clear when Joe talks about teaching social studies, specifically the fall of the Roman Empire. In his narration it seems that he is implying that certain students have ability to understand the intricate

reasons why the Roman Empire fell while others don't have that ability. He grapples with this situation in the following way.

Okay, so, they (students) have different interpretations of why the Roman Empire fell. One is pretty weak but that's what they can handle, the Roman Empire and the other can handle, oh, just write out books and books. How important is the Roman Empire's fall. I mean he knows that the Roman Empire fell and why it fell. Does he have to know, do I have to force down his throat why all these intricate details of what happened when he's never going to use that again and he just can't comprehend that. Do I force that down his throat or do I help him to understand that this is what happened and so that, when he looks back at history he can say, okay, I understand why that is. He cannot go into big detail but he can understand how history went and what happened back there. And like that idea, I think there is a balance that teachers have to take a look at. I mean, do we do that?

Joe is obviously overwhelmed by the authoritative discourse of differential ability level. In articulating his voice he seems unable or reluctant to draw upon alternative discourses in education built around cultural capital, restricted and elaborated linguistic codes. Joe's focus remains so much on the individual that he is unable or unwilling to accept the historical evolution of class in society and also will not accept that socio-economic position affects the way one acquires a certain kind of language. McLaren (1989) points out that "teachers can do no better than to create agendas of possibility in their classrooms. Not every student will want to take part, but many will. Teachers may have personal problems - and so may students - that will limit their range of classroom discourses"(p. 90). Joe could possibly have come up with different strategies to teach his students had he been able to appropriate the alternative discourse as formulated by Bernstein (1977) and Bourdieu and Passerson (1977). McLaren (1989) explains:

the concept of cultural capital ... refers to the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed on from one generation to another. Cultural capital represents ways of talking, acting, modes of style, moving, socializing, forms of knowledge, language practices, and values (p. 190).

Academic performance, in this way of thinking, "represents ... not individual competence or lack of ability on the part of disadvantaged students but the school's depreciation of their cultural capital" (McLaren, 1991, p. 191). Could understanding of cultural capital have allowed Joe to talk in terms of a language of possibility? Could talking about school's depreciation of students' culture help Joe get his attention away from the individual student? Could he then focus his attention on the structure of the school and its relationship to the achievement of students?

Implicitly, Joe is aware of differences among his students in terms of cultural capital and is grappling and with his situation. It is clear when he says:

Do I force that down his throat or do I help him to understand that this is what happened and so that, when he looks back in history he can say, okay, I understand why that is. He cannot go into big detail but he can understand how history went and what happened back there.

Joe seems reluctant to impose elaborated linguistic codes on his students whom he perceives as being comfortable with restricted linguistic codes. On the whole he is hopeful; he sees some possibilities. He shows that he is excited about trying different strategies to help his students achieve at a higher level and is willing to change his strategies if his plans do not work: when he says:

I've got to do something to help them, to enthuse them to do it (i.e., talk), and maybe changes can be made in the seating arrangement. Maybe that's what it is.

But Joe's focus remains on the individual and his/her assumed ability and potential. In his specific school context it seems he is trying to be a transformative intellectual in his own way and in the moderate sense of the term. However, in his meaning making he is not using critical discourse about educating the individual to the limits of his/her potential. As a supervisor I understand Joe because critical discourses in education have yet to be taken seriously in teacher internship programs. Under certain conditions, there is some hope of this happening since critical discourses as a part of critical pedagogy are increasingly being made available to teacher interns through internship programs that are built around the intention of having reflective teachers. These conditions have their own specificities and sites where particular forms of praxis are possible. With this in mind, in the next section we discuss some historical trends in Newfoundland society. These trends illuminate conditions in which it has been possible for us to find specific sites for the development of a reflective pre-service teacher inservice program. Working on these sites in collaboration with others makes it possible both for the supervisors and their interns to function as transformative intellectuals at least in the moderate sense.

III. LOCAL THEORIZING

It seems difficult for an intern such as Joe to become a transformative intellectual in the strong sense under the prevailing political, economic, and social conditions in Newfoundland society. Joe wants to succeed in a technological society dominated by the full force of neo-conservative social policies. It is not unusual for Joe to think this way because even recent radical analyses of schooling and society emphasize the fact that an individual's concern for getting jobs should be a major focus in the relationship between society, schooling, and the state. Traditionally and particularly since the 1950s, both students and their parents have put in the school their hope (Karabel and Halsey, 1979) of achieving entry to the job market. Many people still see the schools as a potent source of social mobility within a society divided into classes based on such factors as race and gender. However, teacher interns and their families also view the schools as democratic public spheres (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). In fact, many parents, teachers and students in Newfoundland do contest policies of the state and the school with varying degrees of success. In Newfoundland, for example, parents and students, as citizens, are involved in multiple, on-going debates which affect their lives in the classrooms (The NLTA Conference, 1993). Moreover, recently there has been a surge of reports on reforming and regulating educational and other institutions in this province. Popkewitz (1991) shows how educational reforms, through regulating institutional practices, could create opportunities for people to fulfill their desires. Singh (1991) has already analyzed the contents of these reports elsewhere. We can see change happening in the province because the last decade in Newfoundland has created conditions in which many voices have been raised and heard. Thus, this period can be seen as conducive to personal and social transformations at various specific sites.

However, a close look at the recent reform voices in education and at the official reports on education reveals that their content is heavily influenced by the recent educational reform reports published in the 1980s in the United States. What interests us is the number of educational reports that have been recently published in Newfoundland. One observer dubbed it as Newfoundland's newest cottage industry. But to us this indicates that the number of different types of intellectuals, including intellectuals in the educational field, have increased in Newfoundland society. There are now more than nine thousand teachers in this province who have at least one university degree. The total number of people involved with the education system in this province is of course much higher since the time of confederation in 1949, and almost all of these people have some form of higher education. This fact attests to a great social transformation that has taken place in Newfoundland's history, because traditionally, as Noel (1971) points out, only a few fortunate people in the province went to formal schools.

The analysis given by Noel (1971) is somewhat deterministic. The interaction between the state, the schools and society in Newfoundland has been complex in the sense that people involved in education often played contradictory roles. In the early history of the province, for example, the churches provided education to large number of people in the rural Newfoundland (McCann, 1989). But Noel (1971) asserts that denominations were associated with the class-biased education in Newfoundland, supported by the State and the business community.

However, starting in 1949, a great expansion of schools occurred in Newfoundland. More people attended schools at all levels. The occupational structure in Newfoundland became relatively more differentiated and a large number of people experienced social mobility through educational and occupational attainments. This meant people had, for the first time, more money to spend. Accelerated modernization that started in 1949, combined with the policy of the Canadian welfare state, allowed a greater number of Newfoundlanders to join the North American consumer society. In these changing conditions it was natural for people in the province to expect all sorts of benefits from the Canadian state simply because they voted to join Canada as its newest province. The role of Memorial University College (MacLeod, 1990) and the Faculty of Education, cannot be underestimated in this change process. The faculty has educated thousands of people who have experienced individual social mobility and personal transformation.

What interests us most is that out of this changing Newfoundland society and culture there emerged different types of intellectuals who began to produce different forms of knowledge and decided to play varied roles in the transformation of Newfoundland society and education. This transformation has been taking place under the impact of forces of industrialization and modernization (House Report, 1986; Williams Report, 1992).

What form of knowledge did the intellectuals produce during the period of 1949-1980? How was it utilized for making policy decision in education and other social and economic areas? What type of intellectuals produced this knowledge? Who paid for this? What opportunities were created in the social structure? For whom? For what purpose? Who benefited? Who lost? These are some of the questions which, we believe, need to be asked in a rapidly changing society if we ever are to understand the role various types of intellectuals play in production of knowledge and in social transformation. It is beyond the scope of this paper to answer all these questions in any

satisfactory detail. However, we will comment on some general tendencies that we detect are affecting educational and social policies in Newfoundland.

It seems to us that those local intellectuals who worked in the period of 1949-1980 believed that there should be a balance between the goals of educational equality and excellence in education. This value dominated the forms of knowledge these people produced. For them equality in educational opportunity also led to excellence in education. Later this discussion shifted toward equity and excellence, but still the democratic ideal remained the major focus of many debates. Intellectuals did not shy away from such matters as equality of opportunity in education, disparities between rural and urban schools, and the role of the state and the education system at all levels to raise the collective ability level of all its citizens. The general belief that the ability of human beings to achieve at any level is limited only by the social constraints and that all members of society have the ability to achieve at any level expected by society was the cherished value underlying any deliberation on educational policy in the province. The thrust was toward removing the barriers in the path of individual and group mobility in order to make society more democratic and less elitist. This was in line with concerns shown by educators and states in both the Western and non-Western countries especially during the 1950s. During this time the main focus was on increasing educational opportunities for all individuals and groups. Radical and liberal intellectuals articulated this concern in various ways (Karabel and Halsey, 1979). But, starting in the 1970s, many conservative intellectuals began to challenge theories produced by radical and liberal intellectuals and by the 1980s were able to influence educational policies. At national, state, and local levels, particularly in the United States, these intellectuals used their own versions of conservative and neo-conservative social thoughts about the state, society, and role of education in social transformation (Giroux and McLaren, 1989).

Two of the many reports published in the United States seem to have had considerable impact on the thinking of many intellectuals in education and other areas of social policies. These are the now well-known Carnegie report and the Holmes Group report. The contents of these reports have been widely and critically discussed by many (Shea, Kahane & Sola 1990; Shor 1987). It is difficult to say to what extent these reports have influenced educational policy making in Newfoundland or indeed the recently produced papers on educational reform in this province. However, clearly the reports made by the Carnegie and Holmes Groups have some influence on the thinking of many local intellectuals who seem to have been impressed by certain aspects of neo-conservative thinking about the functions of schooling in society. Their ideas have been articulated in various reports that have been published in this province in the last ten years.

One general trend can be detected and we have chosen to comment on it because it is related to the development of future teacher development programs, such as Reflective, Critical Internship Program which we are discussing in this paper. This trend is generally toward the professionalization of education and specifically toward the professionalization of training of future teachers. To be sure, there have been no great, on-going debates on the issues of professionalization of teacher education within the framework of the Carnegie and Holmes reports in this province. As we understand it, these reports contain a number of meanings associated with educational reforms. In the absence of open and on-going public debates on the issue of educational reforms, there is a danger of getting involved in overemphasizing one narrow interest and losing sight of the fact that education of citizens in a multicultural society where differences abound is a serious enterprise. Giroux (1988) suggests that the current educational

crisis should be actually seen as a crisis of participatory democracy in which differences among citizens in their aspirations, expectations, ideals, and commitment to their own life styles need to be not only protected but also enhanced under increasing demands for just, fair, and equal treatment. Certainly there have been debates on how to reform education in Newfoundland. Consciously or unconsciously those planning the debates did not increase democratic spheres as articulated by some critical educational theorists like Aronowitz and Giroux (1985). On the contrary, these debates in Newfoundland seem to encourage interactions among seemingly like-minded experts, who for various reasons seem to be influenced by neo-conservative theorizing about society, the state, and the purposes of education. There seems to be, for example, only a few spaces available in the Newfoundland social and political context in which a critical stance can be taken vis-a-vis various reports that advocate the transformation of schools and teacher education programs. We believe that this condition exists to some extent because there are few educational and political institutions in Newfoundland at this time which can afford resources to produce countervailing and critical forms of knowledge to challenge the existing reform reports in this province. We think the situation is more likely to change eventually due to expert and public voices which would like to see the establishment of new sets of competing educational institutions and organizations in the province. Some of these new institutional arrangements which will enhance democratic spheres in public life have been envisioned by Williams (1992). To be sure, we are not so much interested in just questioning the trends toward professionalization for the sake of raising oppositional voices alone. Our intention is to recognize the structural changes that are taking place in the global economy and the necessary structural changes that are required in improving education systems. We also want to recognize the effects of global structural changes. In general, we realize that these changes at a global level tend to increase regulation or control of everyday life at workplaces, including the schools and other educational organizations such as the universities, as sites of work for many educators (Popkewitz, 1991). In fact, we want to draw attention to some studies done to evaluate teacher professionalization movements in the larger context of the so-called educational reform movement of the 1980s (Shea, Kahane & Sola, 1990). In regards to this reform movement, Labaree (1992, p. 127) asks: "If the teacher professionalization movement does have an impact, how will the public benefit?" The response to this question by the Carnegie Task Force is worth quoting to some length. Labaree quotes the task force:

Our argument, then, is simple. If our standard of living is to be maintained, if the growth of a permanent under class is to be averted, if democracy is to function effectively into the next century, our schools must graduate the vast majority of their students with achievement levels long thought possible for only the privileged few. The American mass education system, designed in the early part of the century for a mass-production economy, will not succeed unless it not only raises but redefines the essential standards of excellence and strives to make quality and equality of opportunity compatible with each other (p.).

Similar kinds of sweeping, positive claims echo many recent educational reform proposals made in Newfoundland and Canada. As Labaree (1992) notes, according to the Carnegie (1986) report:

the creation of a professional teaching force will enable us to pursue more effectively all the social goals that Americans have traditionally assigned to public education: (raising the standard of living via enhanced skill training), social mobility (increasing social opportunity for the underclass),

and political equality (enhancing students' ability to function in a democracy (p. 127).

As we pointed out earlier, there has been a great increase in the number of intellectuals in Newfoundland. We see them as new class of intellectuals. They are new because as a group they are the beneficiaries of educational reforms and expansion that took place under Premier J. R. Smallwood's liberal political era which started in 1949 when Newfoundland joined Canada. These intellectuals now occupy key positions in the educational system of the province and also occupy other important public positions. But by emphasizing the role of education in its narrow professional terms as advocated by the professionalization movement in the United States, they seem to be deviating from the reform tradition of Smallwood's era and falling back to the tradition in Newfoundland as described by Noel (1971) and (McCann, 1988, 1989). In this old Newfoundland tradition, education was restricted to the fortunate few. We say that, as Labaree (1992, 1990) and many others (Karabel & Halsey, 1979) point out, the underlying assumption of the professionalization movement fits functionalist sociology that dominated social and educational analyses until the 1950s. New intellectuals are virtually silent about other approaches in social science which contest this rosy picture of the consequences of professionalization supported by many sociologists with the functionalists orientation. Also Marxists, Foucaultians and Weberians list a variety of negative consequences emanating from the professionalization movement (Popkewitz 1984; Labree, 1992).

Labaree (1992) provides his own assessment which is worth quoting at length:

I argue that the teacher's professionalization movement has the potential for doing more harm than good in its impact on U.S. education, and on the teachers, students, and citizens who have a stake in seeing this situation carry out its goals effectively. My fear is that the movement will inadvertently have two effects that are not in the best interests of democratic education: augmenting the influence of the university over primary and secondary schooling by reinforcing the authority of those who teach teachers and accepting the rationalization of classroom instruction by reinforcing a research-based model of teaching practice. This pessimistic conclusion is based in part on the movement's appeal to the cultural ideal of professionalism, whose historical baggage weighs in on the side of expert authority and technical rationality. But in large part, this conclusion rests on an analysis of the historical roots of this professionalization, which derives its character and direction from the professional interests of the research oriented teacher educators who lead the movement and from the intellectual constructs (formal rationality and the scientific method) that guide their thinking about schools (p. 125).

All the tendencies that Labaree notes are also visible to some extent in the public and the private debates on reforming education in Newfoundland. For example, a recent educational forum on classroom realities advertised as 'Classrooms In Crisis: Towards Cooperative Solutions' and organized by the powerful Newfoundland Teachers' Association (The NLTA, 1993) heard strong voices raised by some panelists representing various groups. To be sure, the audience did not necessarily endorse the ideas expressed by the panelists. There were tensions, uncertainties, resistance, and outright opposition. One important claim of the panelists was that the crisis in the classrooms is mainly due to the presence of disruptive students. Several meanings of disruptive students emerged in the course of presentations by the panelists and during the subsequent discussions. On the whole, what they meant was that disruptive students have social, psychological, or medical problems, that they cause management

and disciplinary problems in the classrooms, that their families do not care about how well they do in the schools, and that they come from broken family backgrounds. Broken seemed to mean poor, single or divorced parents, unemployed or, battered members. The thrust of these discussions appeared to be that too much time in the classrooms is spent trying to subdue disruptive students. The president of the NTA summed their concerns in this way: "In protecting the right of one individual to an education, there is a significant impact on the rights of the majority. Time spent dealing with the needs of the 32 others." (The Evening Telegram, March 22, 1993, p. 1).

Some student panelists criticized the schools for supporting mediocrity at the expense of excellence, a practice which put them at a disadvantage. Similarly, some parent panelists echoed the voices of these students by criticizing the education system for undermining excellence in education by paying too much attention to the needs of the disruptive children. These parents seemed to idealize their own middle-class family values and believed that proper socialization of disruptive students could be a solution to the classroom management problems. In its extreme form, their argument tended to advocate and support segregationist or separatist policies. In their views the management and disciplinary problems in the classrooms could easily be solved by separating the disruptive children from the normal ones. Further, once the "disruptive" children are separated and removed from the classrooms, they can be put somewhere else where they really belong. Once this has been achieved they can be subjected to strict disciplinary regimes or "technologies of self" (Foucault, 1988; DeLauretis, 1987). The panelists were lawyers, social workers, psychologists, counsellors, educators, parents, students, school board officials, and members of some other professional groups. All of them wanted to have access to the classrooms. They all readily offered their own directions for restoring management and discipline in the classrooms. Issues concerning equal opportunity, encompassing principles of just, fair and equal treatment of all students were barely mentioned. In fact, these issues are seen by the new intellectuals as *passé*, as the legacy of Smallwood political era. The panelists wanted to change the education system in the post Smallwood era by arguing that too much equality of opportunity has been achieved at the expense of excellence, that too many children have been given access to the form of education which is beneficial neither for them nor for the society, that these students should be tested, that standards should be raised, that eventually these disruptive children should be excluded from the mainstream of schooling, and that the school should then concentrate on providing education to the real students. In short, the classrooms should be filled by children of those parents who have already prepared them for learning in the schools. Taxpayers' money should be spent only to educate real students who deserve to have excellent education. In this way society's scarce resources will be efficiently and productively spent.

At the level of higher education, the discourse is something like this - a university should be a place for excellence in education. All students cannot benefit from the form of education offered at a university level. Therefore, everyone should not be admitted to a university. One way to achieve this goal is the artificial raising of admission standards. If admitted to university, those who do not meet new admission standards could be risking failure. Putting students at risk in society would be too expensive as well as unjust. Few people at the Forum seemed to think that schools should be seen as social and cultural forms, that schools are places where children learn social relations which will help them to build communities and teach them how to survive in their environments by adapting to ways of life that are sustainable and democratic. They failed to see that schools should not be used as instruments for particular interest groups and that schools are not simply instructional sites. Needless to say, at this

moment, the instrumentalist arguments dominate in most discussions on reforming public education in this province as in other places.

In 1920, Dr. Arthur Barnes characterized many teachers in Newfoundland as having "a minimum of intellectual preparation and no professional qualification." (Andrews, p. 76). As we have seen, this is not the case any more. Newfoundland now has its own different types of intellectuals who are demanding emphasis on accountability schemes, management pedagogies, and rationalized curricula. This agenda, we believe, reflects the agenda of the so-called education reform movement of the 1980s in the United States. Ironically, the agenda of the so called reform movement is under critical scrutiny in the United States in the 1990s. Perhaps the fact that structurally we are on the periphery in the of North America has something to do with what we say about and do in education in this province. It seems that we accept ideas that were popular at least ten years before in some parts of the United States and elsewhere, for example, in 1994 we actually want to return to the basics (The Evening Telegram, February 16, 1994, p. 1).

In this paper we have described in some detail the present social conditions in the province which impinge on the education system, encouraged those involved in the internship program to produce local theories about education of teachers through analyzing current debates on schooling and society, reflected on complex nature of the internship program and made our reflection public. We conclude by saying that, in the existing conditions in the province and in the context of prevailing thought on education, it is not possible for each teacher intern and his or her supervisor to become transformative intellectuals in the strong sense. It is, then, only ethical on the part of supervisors to be realistic and not expect every would-be teacher to function in such a mode in every site in his/her daily life, whether inside or outside the school. This does not mean there is no hope. In fact, the hope lies in being able to identify and at times create sites which are safe for all actors involved in the building up the Reflective and Critical Internship Programs in education we have discussed in this book. In the current conditions in this province and elsewhere, it is indeed possible, we believe, to educate teacher interns who can function at least as moderate intellectuals taking into account their own contradictory and specific situations. In this way, all can move toward a more democratic society.

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CHAPTER FOUR

COUNSELLING: A REFLECTIVE PROCESS

William J. Kennedy

In recent years the concept of reflective teaching has come to the forefront in much of the literature related to teacher education. The assumption underlying this movement is that teachers, if given the opportunity, can be taught to reflect their own experiences, in their own experiences, or both on and in their experiences. This reflective practice will positively enhance their own, and their students' personal and professional growth and practice (Osterman, 1990; Argyris and Schon, 1983). When reading this literature, I was challenged to ask: What are the implications, if any, for this concept of reflective practice in counsellor education? It appears that the basis of counselling theory is rooted in a reflective/analyses/ experiential process. Implicit in the belief of most counselling theorists is the opinion that counsellors should encourage the client to reflect on his/her particular situation and experiences so as to be empowered to act. Counselling is seen as not doing for or doing to, but as a releasing of potential (Frankl, 1955; Ellis, 1962; Rogers, 1951). This process appears to be germane to the very essence of counselling. Similarly, within our groups, we were not concerned with what they do in teaching as much as what they think about teaching. The question is whether counsellor or teacher interns are asked to conform to what is or to challenge, through critical and reflective thought, the status quo. Is the goal of counselling/teaching that a person seek out self-fulfillment, driven by social righteousness or effect social change driven by critical reflection? It is this dilemma that occupies much of the thinking in the education of professionals today. There is the belief that the goals of education institutions are not necessarily in agreement with those of the hiring agencies. Thus, the concept of reflective practice is often perceived as a waste of time or a frill indulged in by those who do not have to hire.

In our research with teacher interns, we decided to work with them in light of what they think about teaching as much as what they do in teaching. This process is a foundation principle of the Schon (1983) thesis underlying the role of the reflective practitioner. Through this reflective process we tried to establish a link between theory and practice that is not only transformative personally for the intern but also for the students with whom they are and will be working. In a way, we tried to empower our interns by acknowledging their voices and stories as valid for their own professionalism. However, we also are cognizant of the transferring of this empowerment to the students and co-teachers with whom they work. It is a process of giving voice to interns who, in turn, will acknowledge the voice of all those with whom they meet in their profession.

In this paper, I will review some of the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of reflective teaching and attempt to relate this process of reflection to the idea of counselling as a reflective practice. I will look at counselling literature to ascertain if there is a link.

Teaching, like other professions, is affected by too quick fixes or fads. Reflective teaching, when introduced, was seen as no exception. However, during the past ten years or so there has been a surge of literature which has changed that opinion. It has now become an accepted way of thinking and practice in teacher education. Possibly the most influential writer in the field, though not an educator in the strict sense of the term, was Schon (1983). In his book Schon gave the process of reflection the impetus

it needed, and hence it has become a professionally sound and integral part of many teacher education programs.

Feiman-Nemser (1990) makes the point clearly when he states one can hardly pick up a professional journal or attend a professional meeting without encountering the terms reflective teaching and teacher education. Fifteen years ago the same would have been true of the terms competency-based and performance-based teacher education. These conceptual alternatives reflect different views of teaching and learning to teach and suggest different orientations to the preparation of teachers (p. 212). This comment makes sense when we give but a cursory glance at the literature, and one can instantly come up with a list of writers researching and writing about this topic (Gore & Zeichner, 1991; Clift, Houston and Pugach, 1990; Calderhead, 1989; Ross, 1989; Smyth, 1987; Cruickshank, 1985; Cruickshank and Applegate, 1981).

Reflective teaching is not a new idea. Socrates emphasized the inquiry and reflective practice in his teaching. Piaget believed that learning depends on integrating experience with reflection. John Dewey was obviously thinking along these lines since his philosophy of education emphasizes student-centredness, individualization of learning, and indeed the empowerment of the learner to take hold of his or her process of learning (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Embodied in this philosophy of reflective teaching is the concept that a person holds the potential to think about and act on ones' own thoughts and actions. According to the Dewey philosophy, restrictions on or disempowerment of the individual's freedom to learn as an individual would necessarily restrict the act of true, as opposed to institutionally sanctioned, reflection. Houston and Clift (1990) state that, to reflect, an individual must not only be free to think but also feel empowered to think. When we permit our interns to give credence to their own voice, we also give them a sense of belief in the power of their thoughts. Greene (1986) states that empowerment involves the person inspiring hitherto unknown voices to rediscover personal memories and articulate them in the presence of others whose space they can share. This demands the capacity to unveil and disclose.

Some general attempts have been made to put degrees of reflective practices on a scale (Gore & Zeichner, 1991; Van Manen, 1977; Simmons et al, 1989). They generally fall into four steps:

1. reflection on what is taught,
2. reflection on strategies of teaching or pedagogical intervention,
3. reflection on the social/cultural milieu of schooling in general and more specifically classroom dynamics, and
4. reflection on the needs, interests, and developmental maturity of clients.

These steps raise the question of what level or levels of reflection the student counsellor or teacher needs to practise. More to the point, a counsellor and teachers might want to think about reflection within the variety of presenting problems and situations in which their clients/students find themselves.

Reflective practice by its very nature is not a technique or tool to be pulled out when the situation demands it. Indeed, it has to be accepted into one's professional repertoire as a natural way of thinking. It has to become the *sine qua non* of one's professionalism. Socrates was revered not for his knowledge as much as for his ability to help students know themselves and analyze the learning situation and then to

challenge his students to analyze and reflect and arrive at their own solutions or at least alternative ways of seeing the problem. John, one of the interns with whom we worked, captured this thought when he said:

but there will come a time when you won't have other people around and you have to make decisions for yourself ... get your views in and see how far they go and what reaction you get to them...

This is no doubt a common understanding of the practice of the 90s counsellor. Today the counsellor is not necessarily appreciated solely for his/her knowledge as much as for the ability to bring the client to an understanding of the client's own problems. To have this ability, the counsellor must be able to reflect in action: think divergently and critically and recognize shades of distinction within problems (Schon, 1983). It is this sense of reflection that enables the counsellor/teacher to look beyond professional knowledge and training, that is, the content to which he or she has been exposed. Through this process of questioning, challenging, and reflecting, counsellors are given permission to question the technical, rational approach to professionalism and to bring to their professional lives their own thoughts and feelings, and indeed actions, which will enhance their understanding and their knowledge. One intern, Joan, stated it this way:

"I want to be a teacher who can not only teach but learn to be able to communicate with others in a way of making sense of what we are doing ..."

In a sense it offers the opportunity to counsellors to see their profession from a metacognitive and metaphysical dimension. It requires thinking about their thoughts on their professional activity and development (Kimmins, 1985). Also Roger (1951) alludes to this when he talks about listening with understanding or active listening (p. 331). Schon (1983) makes the same point stating that when a practitioner makes sense of a situation he perceives to be unique, he sees it as something actually present in his repertoire:

To see "this" site as "that", one is not to subsume the first under a familiar category or rule. It is rather to see the unfamiliar unique situation as both similar to and different from the familiar one; without at first to say similar or different with respect to what (p. 62).

This is, in a sense, a reflection on one's own reflection in action. It is the kind of meta-thinking which Kimmins (1985) talks about and is the crux or quintessence of the process of reflective practice.

It is important to note that reflection in the Schon sense is not totally an individual process, "it is not a process devoid of social interaction" (Schon, 1983). To some degree, then, it is a product, enhanced and cultivated by the two-way semi-permeable sac which separates persons. That is to say, the individual doing the reflection is influenced by the social web and networking of systems in which he/she lives. At the same time the person's social milieu is influenced by his/her reflection on it. This is to say that the person not only sees what the social context demands (technical rationality) but changes or adds to it by his/her own thinking about it. Rod refers to this in this way:

...you bring something with you from the university, right, but you have to put your own experience, etc., in this to the way you want it. So you can

reflect on an issue and see how you're going to contribute to this thing.
You see what I mean...each of us has to have something too, you see.

It is this process of bringing one's own voice that Schon (1983) speaks of when he discusses professionals being indeed out of step with changing situations and practices. Existing bodies of knowledge or ways of acquiring such knowledge are unable to handle the complexity, uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflicts which are increasingly perceived as central to the world of professional practice (p. 14).

This idea is apropos of counselling. The social context in which counselling takes place today is complex and diverse. It is not sufficient for the counsellor to "learn" all that is to be known about current counselling theory or all the angles of therapeutic intervention or indeed to be familiar with research that, for the most part, is dated when published. It seems reasonable to expect the counsellor, who works in a milieu that is ever changing and complex, to be capable of and to have the professional competency to exercise the process of reflection on and in action within that socio-cultural cosmos. Counsellors ought to have a sense of the sometimes multiple impingers which come to bear on a client's life. They must then not only be able to draw on knowledge as learned from texts; but they must, while in action, be able to analyze the assumptions of their knowledge base and indeed generate their own knowledge base given the general framework of their cultural/social/economic/ educational milieu. This will enhance a critical and positive look at the presented problem and should facilitate the process of helping. This process, in the Rogerian (1961) sense, will have the effect of allowing the counsellor and the client to be free from the shackles of what was and what will be and, given the realities, open the way for the search for solutions in a what could be sense. Counsellors are thus empowered to be truly professional, and clients are empowered to be an integral part of the solution. Joan spoke to being part of the solution when she said:

Yes, I did get to know the other teachers and staff within the staff room. I took every opportunity I could to talk to them about the "school situation," where they have experience within that school. I was able to talk to them and see the situation, the administrative roles and basic policies and procedures which helped me understand a bit more and helped me relate to students and adjust ... I was able to go on retreats with the staff ... on these I found out about things that normally you would not discuss in the school rooms ... help to make your teaching much better.

This interaction is important for the education of future counsellors who should be able not only to practise skills and learn theory and should be made cognizant of the need to critically reflect on the practice and application of these skills and theories. There should be ample time in their education to analyze, redefine, and re-evaluate the various skills and theories put forth as if carved in stone and/or foolproof. This point I believe could be added to the necessary conditions for counselling as laid out by Rogers (1961).

In professions such as counselling, teaching, and medicine, there has always been and still is the controversy of integrating theory and practice. It is in the interest of counselling with its strong social/cultural underpinnings that its professionals be able, not only to acquire and utilize existing knowledge but also be capable of generating new knowledge. If this new knowledge is arrived at through reflection in/on action, then it will encompass in its structure both the theory and practice of the past and present and bridge the gap that gives rise to the dilemma of theory versus practice.

If we are to assume that part of being a professional counsellor is to be able to bring about new knowledge from already existing knowledge and practice, then we must assume that the counsellor does possess a practical theory. This assumes a sagacious life incorporating a person's private, integrated--but ever changing--system of knowledge, experience and values relevant to teaching practice or counselling practice at any time. It differs from craft knowledge or receipt knowledge which often assumes knowledge to be static. It is bringing to bear on situations one's total life experiences. It is, in a sense, a meta-cognitive process superimposed on the totality of one's integrated life experiences (Handal & Lauvas, 1987). John refers to this experiential knowledge in this way:

It is like we bring to our teaching theory from the university but also of my own experience. If it was related, then they saw me as being more of a person, not just "sir" or something like that...

The bringing together of the totality of one's experience or practical theory helps by enhancing the necessary condition of empathy (Rogers, 1961). This relationship or oneness with another's mind/self is greatly facilitated by the presence of one's practical theory. We constantly live in conflict of the two worlds of being and becoming. Through the art of empathy we can look at the world of being and see where the client is in her/his here-and-now existence. True empathic understanding necessarily includes our ability to see our world and that of our clients where we and they are *hic et nunc*. Empathy is more than a simple scan of the person's inner thoughts. It is an in-depth, deep understanding of the values and ideals, feelings and experiences of the person. This like-minded responsiveness can empower the client to participate in the therapy process as active learners. This enables the clients or interns more clearly to develop and reflect on their own practical theory thus empowering them to become reflective practitioners in their own right.

The challenge of the counsellor is to help the client move from a static place or status quo in his/her life, that is from a place of "stuckness" to a place more in tune with what could be or to move from the specific context of self to a world which has greater interpersonal scope and to a place where he/she is free from accepting predetermined outcomes. The existentialists May, Angel & Ellenberger (1958) bring out this point in defining the relationship of self to include self and the world. The idea is also linked to the third level of the three levels of reflection which Van Manen (1977) outlines with the following scale of reflection: (1) the reflection of rationality concerning the acceptance of and reflection on the status quo; (2) practical reflectivity in a recognition that action is somehow related to an outcome or value; and (3) reflection that is critical and analytical with concern for the outcomes as it relates to broader, more global moral/ethical issues. It is in a sense the client weighing outcomes in terms not only of self development but with broader understanding and concerns for such things as justice or moral right and self in relation to others.

Rogers (1961) and other humanistic approaches to counselling talk about the phenomenological world of the client. This essentially says that each person has a private world (practical theory) of experience of which he/she is the center. The counsellor can help clients restructure and/or reframe through reflection a personal theory in light of his/her cultural milieu. In Rogerian terms the main aim in therapy is to help the individual client, in the safety of the therapeutic relationship, to experience to the limit of what he/she is.

They can be and are experienced in a fashion that I like to think of as a "pure culture" so that the person is his fear or he is his anger or he is his tenderness, or whatever (pp. 111-112).

It is in this pure culture that I, the counsellor, can help clients find personal growth through reflection on their personal theories and private worlds. The reconstruction of assumptions and personal beliefs through reflection will enable the counsellor to be critically reflective and thus allow the clients to challenge in a constructive way their beliefs and feelings about themselves; these otherwise get in the way of the therapeutic process. It is interesting to note here what Kierkegaard, the Danish philosopher, said about the exigency of finding and knowing the real self without the trappings and assumed cultural indicated thoughts. Rogers (1961) discusses Kierkegaard: He points out that the most common despair is to be in despair of not choosing, or willing, to be oneself; but the deepest form of despair is to choose 'to be another than himself.' On the other hand, to will to be that self which one truly is, is indeed the opposite of despair (p. 110). It is in the critical reflective process that we can challenge many of the assumptions we have about ourselves, thus freeing ourselves of these many-faceted, culturally-induced belief systems or misconceptions; thus, we are enabled to enhance our commitment to change, growth, and the acceptance of self as changed.

The counsellor as reflective practitioner, like the concept of reflection itself, is not new. When one reads the established theories of counselling, one sees throughout a distinct strain of reflection in and on action (Rogers, 1961; Perls, 1969; Frankl, 1963; Ellis, 1962). In these theories, there is the recognition of the individual's need to reflect on his/her total experiences and to have the freedom to choose values and goals and pursue one's own lifestyle in a manner that is congruent with the outcomes of this reflection.

The existentialists May and Sartre no doubt relate well to the thought embodied in the meaning of reflection since existentialism is concerned with the individual importance within self. Existentialism recognizes, as does the process of reflection, that every person has a unique experience (personal theory); but people can react and add to their situations by recognizing the value of another individual's formal theory. We exist in a world of reality and we bring our own personal meaning to that reality. The recognition by the reflective practitioner of this basic inner quality that I posit begs an existentialistic view of our world in the therapeutic process.

Indeed, conflict often arises in the counselling process between the goals of self and those of the greater group. Reflection in and on action implies that the practitioner becomes aware of three things: (1) what effect the action or thought has on self and self growth; (2) its impact on the profession; and (3) its impact on those with whom he/she is working or living. Reflection on action in counselling similarly impacts on the practitioner, the client and again impacts on those within the social milieu of both.

In the affective approach to counselling, Rogers (1951) speaks of the phenomenal field of the individual, his/her private world, and the sum of his/her experiences. In therapy the counsellor has to be aware that the client is reacting to his perceived experiences and not necessarily to a reality as perceived by others. This perceptual field, internal frame of reference, or, as called in the reflective theory, practical theory greatly affects individual's interaction with his/her present reality. In a similar way, Ellis (1962) speaks of the ABC approach to counselling. He contends that it is not A--the behaviour--that is the real problem, nor is it C--the outcome of our behavior; instead, it is B--our perception of the outcome--that creates our anxiety. What we bring to the outcome, that is, the totality of our experience, influences how we

react/feel about a given action. This is apropos of our handling discipline in schools. According to one intern named Mark:

We have bad days. I was concerned how I would be able to handle students ... so you don't worry about it too much. I have learned that you don't have to be in total control all the time. So why fight it? I am going to get through this day which is what I did yesterday. They were not really listening to anything I had to say. So I just finished, sat down, gave a big sigh and waited for class to end.

These theories do emphasize the importance of the practical theory of the individual in assessing, understanding, and giving meaning to situations or new experiences. This emphasis is in line with the statement of Schon (1983) that when a practitioner makes sense of a situation he perceives to be unique he sees it as something actually present in his repertoire. In other words it is or becomes part of the perceptual field of that person. Kimmis (1985) refers to this as a dialectical process in that the thinking of the individual is shaped by a cultural/social context and that the social and cultural context is itself shaped by the thought and action of individuals. As counsellors and clients or teachers and interns pursue their goals, they must be able to find ways of helping each other reflect on this process, and in the existential sense find their own existence within it. This, in the Rogerian sense, is part of the process of self-actualizing. Hultgren (1987), similar to Rogers, talks about reflection, and sees the process from a phenomenological perspective. She stresses the idea of reconstruction of the self as teacher. In this sense to be reflective is to do an intrapersonal search in order to give meaning to the process of teaching and the person's place in that process. Reflection then can redesign and shape one's feelings and knowledge about counselling and the client as part of the process. Through reflection, the client and the counsellor can redirect energy and redefine their thinking about behavior or problems. It also affects counsellors in so far as it entices them to construct and reconstruct their ideas of the self as counsellor and the self as caring professional. It is evident that the role of the counsellor was never that of assuming the curing or healing role. Rather the role has been to empower the client to take control of his/her development as a person. In this empowering process the recognition of the client's and counsellor's development of practical theory is essential. Reflection here plays a key role helping both the client and the counsellor come to an understanding of the ability of the client to come to grips with how he/she sees his/her own thought processes and behaviors. In reflecting on and thus learning about these processes the client would be encouraged to take self initiatives and become responsible, that is, self-directing his/her life. The question is: Who owns the problem? The process of counselling is aimed at empowerment of clients and having them become self-directed in their developmental process. This self-direction is meant to be holistic in the sense that the client with the assistance of the counsellor ought to be able to plan, execute, reflect on, and evaluate his/her own behaviour from personal experience. This process is closely linked to what Rogers (1961) describes as the continually changing world of experience in which the client exists. This private world which constitutes the practical theory of the individual is not always in the awareness of the individual but needs to be brought to consciousness. It is through the process of reflection that the person can react to his/her private world not as the counsellor sees it but as the client perceives it. This, of course, implies that the reality for the client as he/she perceives it is not necessarily similar to that which the counsellor sees or perceives. It is the recognition of this fact by the counsellor or any other helping professional that will help facilitate growth in self-awareness and also professional growth and development. This recognition of the understanding of the inner, private world of the individual requires what I have referred to earlier as empathy,

that is, the ability to understand the person's internal frame of reference or private world or practical theory. Coupled with this understanding must be the ability to let the person know that you do understand this world and that this world is an OK place to be. Truax and Mitchell (1971) have described this ability to identify with the client's world as similar to the relationship we build with the main character of a novel:

As we come to know some of his wants, some of his needs, some of his achievements and some of his followers, and some of his values, we find ourselves living with the other person much as we do the hero or heroine of a novel. We come to know the person from his own internal viewpoint and thus gain some understanding and flavour of his moment-by-moment experience.

Empathy described in this way shows how we by letting the other person speak to us from his/her own personal frame of reference, can allow that person to show us his/her personal world in his/her terms, rather than ours. This freedom enhances learning in both parties and implies listening without making judgments as to the rightness or wrongness of the person's experiences. By establishing this non-evaluative climate, clients can be free to become more understanding of themselves and consequently of others. Rogers (1961) describes this process in this way:

If I am truly open to the way of life is experienced by another person. If I can take his world into mine - then I run the risk of seeing life in his way of being changed myself, and we all resist change, so we tend to view this; other persons word only in our terms, not in his. We analyze and evaluate it, we do not understand it. But when someone understands how it feels and seems to be me without waiting to analyze or judge me, then I can blossom and grow in that climate (p. 90).

This empathic process is closely related to the third level of reflection explained by Van Manen (1977). The counsellor is in a position where he/she is unable to be removed from the realities in which the client lives or perceives he/she lives. The act of counselling cannot take place without co-existing within the aspirations, hopes, cultures, and difficulties of the client. Certainly we must have the client describe the problem, but we have to get at the meaning behind these descriptors. In a way the evaluation that I put on the description is not necessarily the real truth behind these descriptors. It is rather the client's experience that is the better informed. It is his/her personal, practical theory that gives real meaning to his/her discourse. If we can provide a kind of empathetic relationship, then the person will discover within himself/herself the capacity, based on his/her own experiences, to use the counselling time for growth, change and personal/professional growth.

CONCLUSION

The counsellor as a reflective practitioner is not using a new concept but neither is reflection simply a new handle on an old pan. The act of reflection has always been part of counselling; but in the past, reflection was focused on the client. The change in focus to include the counsellor puts a new spin on the process. By encouraging or suggesting that the client be reflective, the counsellor must become a reflective practitioner himself/herself. This can be done conjointly with the client in counselling, or during post sessional discussions with other co-professionals. If counsellors are to facilitate change, they must adopt a theory of action which enhances human activity,

responsibility, self-actualization, learning, and effectiveness (Argyres & Schon, 1974). The application of this reflective action theory will inhibit the counsellor from simply following his/her own thoughts and feelings in a robotic fashion, without questioning or exploring the undercurrents which drive them. It will prevent a simple exchange of ignorance. Lack of reflective practice by the counsellor in counselling can simply lead to a personal inward seeking connection with the problem thus focusing instead on the client, his/her feelings and understanding to personal experiences and denying his/her relation to family and/or society in general. Clients do not usually enter counselling with a disposition to reconstruct their existence or behaviour and thereby impact positively on society. They come because they want to fit in as they are or to ask society to fit their agenda. They want to be fixed so that they can be happy. The assumption is that a purely technical, rational efficiency of attaining means without due consideration of the ends will secure peace and social acceptance. Zeichner and Gore (1991) in summarizing Van Manen's domains of reflection refer to cultural reflection. This term goes beyond merely technical/practical reflection and includes the moral and ethical criteria in discovering practical plans of action. In a sense then it is a question of whether our actions fit our agenda for happiness but also our reflection on our experiences, activities and goals leads toward a life that is characterized by justice, caring, and compassion. If positive growth is to take place in our clients'/students' attitudes and behavior, then a counsellor/teacher must personally be involved in and empower clients/ students to be active participants in a reflective process. The best vantage point for understanding behavior of an individual is from the internal frame of reference of the person and how some of this inner self becomes externalized. The "self" is structured and developed through interactions with the environment, with self and with others (Rogers, 1961).

Comments from three interns make a fitting conclusion to the points made in this chapter:

Yes, I have grown. Through interaction with others--I found myself with more confidence. I look at students differently--with a little more compassion. That is good for them and me. I have found through interaction that I do care very deeply. I found myself wondering why students were or were not doing so well at midnight. So I think I have benefited from them more than they ... from this experience (John).

A good teacher is not only well prepared but understands the individual student and sees [them] as a fellow human being. She lets everyone feel some degree of success...(Denis).

I want them to say they learned from me and me from them...and they will remember being here with me. In a way it's scary, but I want to have a positive influence on them and their future...(Joan).

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CHAPTER FIVE

A FIELD STUDY OF INTERNS' PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS SOCIAL STUDIES

Keith W.W. Ludlow

Introduction

Since the early part of the twentieth century educators have agreed that the goal of social studies is to educate the young to be effective citizens (Allen & McEwin, 1983; Banks & Glegg, 1990; Barr, Barth & Shermis, 1977; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Jarolimek, 1990; Nelson, 1992; Shaver, 1992). The nature of citizenship as claimed by Shaver (1992) is the transmitting of values and encouraging competencies in decision-making. Good citizenship generally and citizens' participation in public life is essential to the growth and development of our democratic system. Effective social studies programs help prepare young people who can identify and understand the problems and work to solve them that face our increasingly diverse nation and interdependent world (National Council of Social Studies, 1981). Thus, it certainly seems that social studies should be held in high regard by educators and students. Preparation of the young to be active and worthwhile citizens of tomorrow's society must be seen as essential in any educational system.

Research has shown that, although student teachers are aware of the citizenship aspect of social studies and the methodologies that promote the development of citizenship, these have little or no bearing on their classroom practice (Alder, 1982; Alder, 1984; Barth, 1991; Goodland & Adler, 1985; Ludlow, 1992; Shaver, Davis & Helburn, 1979). What meaning or purpose do social studies interns give social studies? There is a paucity of research on field experiences and social studies. The major focus has been on teaching strategies and curriculum (Barth & Shermis, 1992). In essence, with the exception of Alder's (1984) study, little is known about social studies interns and their classroom practice. Alder (1984) claimed that interns' perspectives towards social studies are set in the real world and can be classified as the conceptualization of a practice teaching style.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the educational practices of a sample of social studies interns.

Methodology

Research took place during the winter semester, January to April, 1993. Data were collected through interviews and observations of a sample of fifteen social studies interns in nine elementary, junior and senior high classrooms in St. John's, Newfoundland. Structured interviews were conducted at the beginning and end of the semester. Interview questions were developed from the Social Studies Preference Scale. This Social Studies Preference Scale, developed by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977), examines the three philosophical approaches to social studies that teachers tend to support. The interview questions probed the interns' understanding of social studies, its definition and purpose, and the strategies that the interns thought ought to be utilized in a social studies classroom.

Interns' definitions and interpretations of social studies were also explored by classroom observations throughout the semester. The actions, thoughts and perceptions were the main foci of the investigation.

The data were analyzed on three levels:

1. The perspectives of social studies held by the interns prior to teaching.
2. The perspectives of social studies held by the interns after they had experienced some teaching.
3. Individual profiles describing the interns' evolutionary processes during the field experiences.

Findings

The sample of interns used in this study expressed four major perspectives on social studies education. These perspectives aligned very closely with the three social studies traditions as defined by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977); social studies taught as citizenship education, social studies taught as social science and social studies taught as reflective inquiry. An analysis of the data revealed that the majority of interns advocated that social studies be taught as reflective inquiry. There were, however, no clear demarcation lines separating the various definitions.

The four major perspectives that emerged through the interns' field experience program deal with social studies as the phantom subject, a study of interrelationships, knowledge as transmission, and social participation/social action.

Social Studies - The Phantom Subject

Early in their program interns claimed that both the definitions as well as the purpose, of social studies was the promotion of citizenship education. In their classrooms, however, social studies lessons were conducted when other assigned work was completed. Special social studies projects designed by teachers, such as exchange of information with teachers in other countries, were conducted during lunch or after regular school hours.

Reading and mathematics were considered much more important than was social studies. Even though time for social studies was allocated on the timetable, interns did not award it much attention. When asked why they did not change such a set-up, they responded that all teachers need to raise the reading, science, and mathematics standards of the students.

Intern #1's response was:

I know that social studies should teach about citizenship; I learned that in a methods class. But how can one teach citizenship when there are much more important things to learn like math and language?

Intern #2's reaction was similar:

I kind of think social studies is important... at least we were told... but we have to get the students ready for the standard math exam...

Another intern noted:

We learned a lot about the importance of social studies at the university. However, I think students can read a lot of this information on their own. The reading and extra math classes... This gives the students help in the important subjects (math and reading).

In summary, the social studies interns' perspective on social studies as an important subject area was not evident in their classroom instruction. In the classroom setting there was an obvious tendency to treat social studies as no more than a phantom subject.

Social Studies - A Study of Interrelationships

The understanding of world cultures, global citizenship, and interrelationships was emphasized through group activities rather than through the prescribed textbook.

One respondent defended the grouping strategy by declaring that global citizenship could be learned by working cooperatively together in the classroom: "We do not need any textbooks on world cultures and interrelationships to help the students develop interpersonal skills... they are working together in groups." Interns under this perspective did not incorporate any units of study around a given body of knowledge or prescribed textbook. Sometimes social studies classes or lessons were replaced by what were considered other more important subjects such as mathematics and reading.

Social Studies as Knowledge Transmission

For interns in the study knowledge transmission involved the presentation of textbook content in an inept manner. There was little discussion, debate, or critical analysis of the subject matter. Students were expected to learn and give back verbatim the information contained in the text. Interns used the textbook exclusively, seldom questioning its content. When questioned about this approach, interns responded: "Students need to know this important information for later in high school or university."

In summary, social studies was limited to teaching content. There was a complete lack of active instruction or dialogue between teacher and student. In some cases this approach to teaching was seen as a means of keeping students quiet. One respondent reported:

We would give students extra reading if they were not quiet; and if they knew that, they would do worksheets and mini-quizzes from the guidebook prior to unit exams. That is better than wasting a lot of time discussing some minor problem which could turn this class into a mad circus.

Social Studies as Social Participation/Action

Only two of the fifteen interns advocated social studies as a social participation. Intern #10 stated: "I like social studies because I think the students should become active participants in society. They need to learn to question and debate issues". Another intern, #11, offered: "They (the students) have to be active and question social issues." Both Intern #10 and Intern #11 who wanted their students to be more aware of societal needs, involved students in debates on social issues moving well beyond the prescribed text. Field trips were planned around a specific social concern and students explored constructive social action maneuvers. In summary with this perspective interns explored the theory that social studies is best taught as reflective inquiry. Throughout their internship some student teachers dynamically moved from one perspective to another in what we call the quantum leap.

Portrayal of Intern #9 - The Quantum Leap from Social Scientist to Reflective Inquirer

Early in the semester Intern #9 was a strong believer that social studies was a social science. A geography major, he saw social studies as a way to impart knowledge via the textbook. He was advocating that students could become real geographers if given more social studies. After seven weeks of classroom experience, Intern #9 moved towards social studies as reflective inquiry and social participation. Having gained confidence and security and receiving encouragement from his cooperating teacher and university supervisor, he began to use a variety of activities in his classroom. This individual moved beyond the definition of social studies as social science to social studies as reflective inquiry and social participation. This intern wrote:

I can now see where my old teaching philosophy of expecting students to learn facts with little discussion... was boring the students. Memorization for exams is not the way to go. Discussing geography and relating it to social concerns in the community... gets the students involved and they are loving it. Every day I try something new with them... this is really teaching. I love it.

Conclusions and Implications

The analysis of the data revealed that in the beginning of the semester interns had a sound understanding of the definitions and purposes of social studies. Interns advocated that social studies should involve student participation and the development of citizenship education and should be taught as reflective inquiry. This corresponded very well with other research findings that eighty per cent social studies teachers preferred that social studies be taught as reflective inquiry (Bennett, 1980; Bonar, 1977; Ludlow, 1992). However, the classroom experience illustrated a different picture. It appeared that social studies taught by interns had little to do with the development of critical thinking and decision-making skills. Interns proceeded as if they had not heard

of reflective inquiry. These findings support the studies of Alder (1984), and Barth (1992) who reported that a majority of their respondents' philosophical foundations of social studies never translated into real social studies action in the classroom.

These findings indicate that method courses need to explore continually ways of incorporating the goals and purposes of social studies into classroom situations. Interns need to equate goals and purposes of social studies with what is workable in social studies classrooms and see themselves as stakeholders in the social studies discipline within the school setting.

Further research should look at how social studies perspectives develop. Alder (1984) claimed that perspectives may be influenced by the development of one's belief in the importance of social studies gained through methods courses, past experience, and society's expectations of what is important in the school curriculum. Perspectives such as treating social studies as a phantom subject and a transmission of knowledge call for a greater understanding of the foundations of social studies and a broader picture of the whole curriculum of the school and the role social studies plays in that curriculum.

To become an effective social studies teacher requires a belief in the nature of social studies and in its underlying purpose. It also requires a commitment to teach such a belief in a sometimes difficult environment. Developing and expanding on the existing beliefs of social studies interns and uniting social studies interns with social studies teachers committed to reflective inquiry methodologies will help eliminate such perspectives on social studies as phantom subject and knowledge transmission.

This study showed that some interns perceived social studies as a passive unimportant subject, while others advocated that their role was to transmit knowledge to the students. Also, a majority of the interns had very little to do with teaching critical thinking and decision making skills. A small percentage advocated that social studies be taught as reflective inquiry. The general school practices of social studies interns, it appeared, consisted mainly of disciplining and training passive citizens to be uninquiring armchair spectators.

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CHAPTER SIX

A REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP IN MUSIC EDUCATION: ISSUES AND POSSIBILITIES

Andrea M. Rose

An important and ongoing challenge for education is to find new and appropriate ways to deal effectively with the ever-changing nature of culture and society. A part of this challenge is to consider the needs, interests, beliefs, traditions, and values of individuals and of groups of people. As an integral component of culture and society, education must always strive for relevancy and meaningfulness to the wider community. Teachers play an important part in this search for meaning. It is the belief of our research group that in order for teachers to be productive and transformative in their practice, they need to have developed a critical pedagogy. Such a pedagogy stems from a social and cultural consciousness that encourages self knowledge, and social knowledge, political awareness, educational relevance, and productivity.

This paper examines teacher education as a potential site for the nurturing of individuals who are conscious, knowing and active participants in their society and in the ongoing production of their culture. Such a consciousness, we believe, requires reflection, analysis, and critique. The task of our research group was to examine the internship experience as a site for interns to begin the process of developing a critical pedagogy that has as its foundation reflective and critical teaching practice.

The purpose herein is to underscore the need for reflective and critical internship programs in teacher education, to examine a reflective internship program in music education, and to make recommendations for the incorporation of reflective practice in music teacher education. I have drawn upon our experiences with the Music Education Internship at Memorial University of Newfoundland as a means to examine both the possibilities and potential of such an approach. Inherent in music and the arts in general, are ways of knowing ourselves and our world so that we can form a basis for the development of social and cultural consciousness and the production of culture. Therefore, music education serves naturally and readily as an excellent site for the existence of a critical pedagogy.

To begin this examination of the internship program in music education, I will provide an overview of our research group's work with interns toward the development of a reflective and critical internship program. This overview includes a discussion of the internship experience generally, as well as aspects of the specific concepts of critical pedagogy and reflective teaching practice that are pertinent to this paper. Issues stemming from this literature are addressed herein as they pertain to the development of social and cultural consciousness as well as to the formation of teacher identity within music teacher preparation. From such broad perspectives stem more specific issues regarding social and cultural context, cultural capital, cultural reproduction and production, praxis and empowerment. As part of my examination, I have selected from music education interns a number of quotes that I feel not only substantiate many of the points discussed but also give real life meaning to them. These references have been pulled from the larger pool of rich data collected from our intern interviews, group reflective sessions, and journal writings. I will then discuss implications for the development of reflective internships in general and provide recommendations for the ongoing development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

I. THE NEED FOR A REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP

The Internship Experience

One of the most important facets of teacher preparation has to do with the development of both personal and professional knowledge. This includes awareness as to how individuals interns and students fit into a superstructure of educational, political, cultural, and social ideals. A basic premise of our work with interns is that the development of such an awareness stems from the process of reflection and continuous critical examination of the various components of education, culture, and society.

An excellent opportunity to nurture the process of critical reflection in teacher preparation exists within the internship program. The internship experience can serve as an important step toward the bridging of theory and practice, the formation of teacher identity, and the development of social and cultural consciousness. Such a step is, we contend, vital to the ongoing development of a critical pedagogy.

The internship experience represents a crucial and transitional time for interns in that they are juggling many pieces of a complex whole. They are asking questions and seeking answers; testing theory; discovering rules, expectations, traditions, and beliefs; developing new values and meanings; searching for roles and identity; and attempting to build a practice that is relevant and meaningful for them and their students. Given the complexity of this experience, our research group identified a need for, and ultimately felt a responsibility to develop, a context for the internship experience that not only allowed for the process but also nurtured those individuals acquiring personal and professional knowledge and skills in their own development of a critical pedagogy. Such a context would include many of the already existing and successful components of the internship experience at Memorial University. These included, for example, three-month school placements with a cooperating teacher, weekly observations and analysis by university supervisors, individual journal writing, and shared analysis and evaluation of video-taped lessons.

In developing our Reflective and Critical Internship Program we felt it was important to provide opportunities for interns to connect and make sense of these varied experiences. Therefore, we developed reflective sessions in the form of four cross-disciplinary group seminars, encouraged and directed the building of a reflective and interactive journal, and conducted a series of individual interviews with interns and supervisors. Our intention was to develop a cross-disciplinary and structured medium through which interns could share, communicate, analyze, and reflect upon, that is, in some way package, their experiences, beliefs and ideas.

Our overall goal was to facilitate and nurture interns in their personal and professional growth primarily through the enhancement of both self and social understanding. By sharing, examining, viewing, questioning, and analyzing, all those involved in the internship program were actively engaged in the process of reflection and analysis. We felt that this structured process provided the framework for interns comprehensive program that would be supportive, facilitative, and challenging. The need for a dialectical process in the development of reflective and critical practice is pointed out by Kemmis (1985) who states: "Reflection is an action-oriented process and a dialectical process ... it looks inward at our thoughts and processes and outward at the situation in which we find ourselves ... it is a social process, not a purely individual process in that ideas stem from a socially constructed world of meanings" (p. 145).

The Development of a Critical Pedagogy

At this point it is important to highlight regarding the process of reflection and the development of a critical pedagogy some of the ideas that form the basis of the remainder of this paper. Since much of the literature, as well as our group's best thinking, has already been summarized earlier in this book, I refer only to some additional thoughts in this regard.

One of the basic tenets of a critical pedagogy describes teachers who integrate theory and practice, analyze critically their roles in schools and in culture, and implement change. Because teacher education exists within political and social spheres, it is as important to understand the effects or influences of educational, social, and cultural ideals on teacher education as it is to understand the effects of teacher education on these same ideals.

A critical pedagogy is one which combines critique with possibility. It provides an insight, as well as a theoretical basis, that allows educators to experience teaching in a critical and potentially transformative way. That critical pedagogy is also a form of cultural politics (Trend, 1992) is particularly true in regard to the formation of knowledge and to the construction of classroom pedagogy. Education is not a neutral process. Consequently, curricula and teaching methods are not apolitical, nor are they free from social and cultural demands and expectations. In relation to cultural production, it is important that teachers, administrators, curriculum developers and all the other educators understand the practices and the politics that produce educational forms and subjectivities through the variety of experiences characterizing teacher education. Cultural politics are lived out quite clearly, in the curriculum developed, the resources selected, and the methodologies used in classrooms and rehearsals.

As part of a critical pedagogy, teachers need to understand that work with students is to be transformative rather than reproductive (Quantz and O'Connor, 1988). It is not enough for teachers to deliver certain pieces of knowledge and values to reflect a particular culture that might, in fact, be alien to students. Rather, some part of the curriculum should deal with the knowledge, values, and practices that students use to reflect and build their own culture. As Gramsci (1971, 1985) and Freire (1973, 1987) state, one of the most important pedagogical tenets is that teachers respect the culture and consciousness of their students and create situations in which students can articulate their understanding of the world.

The issue of teacher and student empowerment is also an important one in the formation of a critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1988c). Critical pedagogy begins with the teacher. The recognition of the need for teachers to have self knowledge -- to know thyself (Giroux, 1983a, 1988c; Freire, 1973) -- is a starting point in the process of empowering students. The challenge for teachers to be transformative individuals is significant when we begin to realize, for example, that traditions underpinning education are often seen as immutable. Unfortunately, they are rarely examined because teachers often are not prepared, encouraged, nor given the time, to be analytical or reflective. In order to act as transformative intellectuals (Giroux, 1988c) in relation to their students teachers must, however, first feel free to appreciate and affirm their own cultural ideals. But often there are discrepancies between an individual's own culture and that which is affirmed or acquired in teacher preparation. This often leads to further discrepancies between the cultures of universities, schools, programs, teachers, and students (Rose, 1990). If teacher education is to be authentic and transformative, these discrepancies need to be addressed as part of a critical pedagogy.

In viewing teacher preparation in a broad context of social, cultural, and political ideals, our research group recognized the need to develop an internship program for students that could begin to address the many issues surrounding the development of a critical pedagogy. The act of becoming intelligent practitioners (Schon, 1983, 1987), cultural workers (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Giroux, 1992) and transformative intellectuals (Giroux, 1988, 1992) seems to demand ongoing reflection, analysis, and examination. Also, in order for interns to begin to understand the language and practice of possibility and transformation, there needs to be ample opportunity for them to participate actively in the process of not only solidifying beliefs and practices but also creating new knowledge, values, and beliefs. The overall goal is to empower interns to be active participants in the ongoing production of their culture and society.

The Process of Reflection

According to Edmundson (1990): "the skills and habits of reflection and inquiry should be deliberately taught, consistently nurtured and rigorously applied" (p. 722). He also states: if teachers are to learn to be thoughtful and reflective, the student teaching experience should be carefully planned to let students see teachers functioning as decision-makers and to offer students many opportunities to develop and refine their own skills in problem-solving and reflective inquiry (p. 720).

Ross and Hannay (1986) recommend the adoption of a critical-reflective stance in preservice teacher education. Teachers need to be encouraged to reflect on knowledge and skills as well as the many taken-for-granted facets of everyday school life. Such reflection can lead to action-research in teaching which involves the need for teachers to think, redefine, and make changes (Gore and Zeichner, 1991).

Reflective teaching, according to Kim (1991), is related to self-directed, continuous learning (p. 25). With increased emphasis on the empowerment of learners, teachers need to be more responsible for their own professional development. The goals of reflective teaching include enabling teacher interns to develop pedagogical habits and skills necessary for self-directed and professional growth. The approach is to encourage teacher interns to reflect on the origins, purposes, and consequences of their actions, as well as on the material and ideological constraints and encouragements not in the classroom, school, and societal contexts in which they work (Zeichner and Liston, 1987).

The role of reflection is crucial to interns' determining their capacity to develop understanding of their own thoughts and actions. Such developmental perspectives on reflective teaching and self-direction in teacher preparation are important because they prioritize teaching that is sensitive to interns' needs, interests, and thinking in response to their environments (Kim, p. 21).

Integral to the development of a reflective practice is the acquisition of certain qualities and skills. Grant and Zeichner (1984) state that the prerequisites to reflective teaching include openmindedness, responsibility, and wholeheartedness in conjunction with skills of keen observational inquiry, reasoned analysis, systematic problem-solving together with actions consistent with foresight and responsible decision-making.

Educational experiences need to be genuinely critical, or students might simply reflect the knowledge they have been taught. There needs to be more than teaching teachers to reflect (Romanish, 1987). We believe strongly in providing opportunities for

interns to be exposed to and involved with open and shared communication. Communication opens doors to possibilities; for example, through dialogue, cross-disciplinary group seminars, interviews and interactive journals, interns can begin to forge links, critically analyze, negotiate, and resist--all necessary moves towards empowerment.

Some music education interns expressed remarkably positive reactions to being involved with experiences that provided opportunity for communication. Concerning the reflective seminars, one intern stated:

I found the seminars to be really helpful. If I didn't have those, I would not have thought about things too much. Even trying to get my thoughts together before the seminars was really helpful. The questions that other people came up with and the differing points of view broadened my own point of view. I find that if I just write (journal) it doesn't help that much ... it is just one perspective. It's better for me if I can talk about it to someone and sometimes even better if they disagree so I can get a wider view on it (Music Intern #1, post interview).

In regard to the reflective and interactive journal writing, another intern discussed his own use of the journal as a means of basic organization and as a means for critical examination, analysis, reflection, and problem-solving:

It (journal writing) really helped. It's not until you have to articulate something or write it down that you have to clear your thoughts. And nothing forces you to organize your thoughts more than having to write them on paper ... day to day, over a month or a semester. It's a way to look at problems, ideas, and other areas to work out (Music Intern #2, post interview).

II. ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP IN MUSIC EDUCATION

The Formation of Social and Cultural Consciousness

Within music teacher education the possibilities for developing a social and cultural consciousness are substantial. This is due primarily to the inherent nature of music in that it is a lived expression of society and culture as well as an outlet for human feelings and emotions. Music is always present as a reflection of what we are doing. As B. Lundquist (1985) states: "Music is a way of knowing about life, of being human" (p. 55). Therefore, music keeps us conscious of our culture and shows us who we are. Through active participation in the various musical experiences of listening, playing, performing, creating, composing, and analyzing, music in education provides a site not only for social and cultural interaction but also for the continued production of musical culture. Social barriers and inequalities can be softened through the experiencing of music as a common language and means of cultural expression.

Culture, in its widest sense, is lived experience (Apple and Weiss, 1983). Culture, ever-changing, continues to be produced. As far as cultural consciousness is concerned, the challenge is to produce a culture that is somehow new, developed and improved. As indicated in earlier research, people want to be active shapers of their culture and not just passive recipients of the handed-down culture of established traditions (Rose, 1990).

Culture, as an expression of human consciousness shaped by social living, (Doyle, 1993) is evident in the content--materials, traditions, practices--and in the process--daily living, spirit, communication. These aspects, diverse through interdependent, form a unified whole. Teacher education contributes to both the content and process of culture. In addition to certain knowledge, beliefs, skills and attitudes being reproduced within it, teacher education is a site in which lived cultures and ideologies are actually played out and produced (Apple, 1982b). Teachers and students are actively involved in the negotiation of their own cultural meanings, identities, and values. As Weiler (1988) suggests, teachers and students produce meaning and culture through their own individual and collective consciousness.

Educational theorists, such as Apple and Giroux, provide a lens through which it is possible to view and examine various aspects of education and culture. Particular attention is given to how culture is expressed, that is, produced or reproduced, and legitimated through the educational system. As these and other theorists would suggest, a cultural consciousness may be obtained through an awareness of the complexities of schooling generally, and by a consciousness towards knowledge and power relationships that inform and constitute dominant ideology and traditions in education (Apple, 1982, 1983; Freire, 1973; 1987, Giroux, 1983, 1988; Gramsci, 1971, 1985).

The importance of the critical examination of social and cultural consciousness lies in its potential to enable future educators to view themselves as producers and transformers of culture. Underlying this premise is the need for educators to become critically conscious of who and what they are, how they fit into the larger scheme of society and culture. They need to examine their historical genesis and their critical role as gatekeepers of cultural meanings, values, attitudes, and behaviours.

We believe a starting point in the process of developing social and cultural consciousness might be the Reflective and Critical Internship Program. In viewing the internship program in light of potential and possibility in this regard, it is important to ask: How do we nurture individuals who are reflective, expressive, creative, analytical, and capable of being independent participants in the educational process? How do teachers become equipped to make informed and creative decisions concerning various aspects of education, including the development of personal and professional philosophies, the design and implementation of curricula, and the development of teaching strategies and pedagogies? How do we challenge individuals to accept responsibility for the shaping of their own beliefs, knowledge, values, and practices?

Social and Cultural Contexts

Being a human activity, teacher education does not exist as an isolated phenomenon any more than human beings exist as isolated individuals. Classroom practices and curricula in teacher education are influenced by outside factors, such as the economy, politics, and cultural and social expectations, and in turn have significant impact on the values, beliefs, knowledge, and practices of culture and society. The certainty of this impact points to the need to understand the role of teacher education as a producer as well as reproducer of culture. Such an understanding stems from the realization that teacher education is part of a larger social, economic, political, and cultural world.

One of the outcomes of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program should be that interns develop an understanding of how their practice fits into the broader context of family and community. In our research there was evidence that some interns had begun the process of making educational, social, and cultural connections. For example, one intern addressed the importance of knowing about students' home life as it may have impact on their school life:

I found parent-teacher night to be an invaluable experience--to see the childrens' parents, to know their home life and see how that reflects on their school life. We should have more of them (Music Intern #1, post interview).

Another intern expressed the need to work within the broader context of the environment of family and school in order to make appropriate or relevant decisions:

I think I have learned to deal with the environment, work in the environment, and make the best decisions for everyone. We have to make decisions that are best for the student, their family and the school (Music Intern #3, pre interview).

An important aspect of teacher preparation that leads to the development of a social and cultural consciousness has to do with helping interns understand themselves and their worlds in interconnected ways. The goal is to nurture individuals who, through critical thinking, reflection, and analysis, are able to grasp social and cultural meanings and values. These interns should be able to recognize contradiction, inconsistency, and consistency as well as shared meanings and values. They should feel equipped to deal effectively and creatively with this knowledge.

Some music education interns indicated an understanding of the importance of placing music within a wider context of knowledge, traditions, and beliefs. For example, this one intern expressed a need to get beyond the teaching of subject-specific knowledge only, to the teaching of life skills, understanding, and knowledge. The idea of teaching through an integrative and balanced and varied approach is implied in this comment as well:

I have learned that you don't have to always teach concepts. I can incorporate some teaching about life. I can bring in other aspects of the world around us - math, science, history, geography or whatever - to get them (students) to look at the music with regards to the whole world (Music Intern #4, post interview).

Another intern noted the importance of knowing students as real human beings:

I've gained an awareness that these students are real people. You are dealing with real human beings and they have lives outside a busy classroom (Music Intern #5, post interview).

This same intern also addressed the need to maintain open communication with students as a means of knowing and appreciating the many facets of their lives as they are manifested both inside and outside the classroom. She stated:

It is really important to keep up communication with your students and to get to know them as individuals, outside the classroom as well, and to get to know something about them other than the fact of whether they know this note or that technique (Music Intern #5, post interview).

Another issue about which interns expressed concern has to do with gender roles and gender stereotyping. Some experienced feelings of fear and discomfort in dealing with this complex societal issue. One intern, for example, expressed his feelings of discomfort while coaching a high school girls' soccer team:

I think my biggest fear is knowing, being aware of, what to say at times, and being very conscious, especially with the abuse stuff these days. Coaching girls' soccer is an experience. Every time I'd say 'take a man - take a person!' And when they would win the game, I felt like going out and hugging them all and giving a high five like I would if it was a bunch of fellows, but I just had to stand back on the sidelines and clap (Music Intern #4, post interview).

Another intern expressed hope that he may be a catalyst for change regarding the understanding that school music is often viewed as a predominantly female-oriented activity. He said:

Being a guy and being in music is probably good for the program because there aren't a lot of guys in the music program. Maybe I can get the guys on my side, because the girls are easy, they go along anyway. The guys are too cool to be in music (Music Intern #3, pre interview).

Hence, a Reflective and Critical Internship Program needs to provide not only the sites in which interns can face issues such as this but also the means through which interns can come to understand and ultimately deal with these issues within a broad context of philosophical, political, cultural, and social ideals. Dialogue, exploration,

sharing, reflecting, and analyzing will, we believe, provide a solid foundation on which interns can build knowledge and skills that will enable them to face the many challenges inherent in the educational process.

Cultural Capital

The definition of cultural capital given by Bourdieu (1977) is helpful in our understanding of the value-laden interests embedded in schooling. Cultural capital refers to those languages, meanings, behaviours, and skills that characterize different classes and groups. Bourdieu argues that education favours the cultural capital of the dominant class. It is that particular culture which is made official, confirmed, and reproduced in education. Giroux (1983a) suggests also that schools subtly reproduce power relations through the production and distribution of a dominant culture.

It is interesting to note that the cultural capital of one's own background may indeed determine the cultural tradition(s) a music educator will transmit through his or her program. However, music teachers generally seem to mirror in their practice those traditions and methods which they learned or acquired in their formal music education, and not necessarily those which reflect their own personal ideals (Rose, 1990). This phenomenon points to the power of a learned ideology over an inherited one. It indicates also a need for music education interns to come to know and value their own cultural capital. In this regard, we need to address the fact that music teacher education may or may not reflect the interests, values and backgrounds, that is, the cultural capital of its students. Promoting a dominant culture may serve to disaffirm and exclude those students not in possession of the proper cultural capital as it is determined by dominant expectations.

Within music teacher education we need only to look at the required audition process in schools of music to understand the important issue of who gets to be a music educator in the first place. Generally, only those already in possession of a particular cultural capital, for example, Western European classical training, will be given this opportunity. Hence, there is a need to examine teacher education generally in terms of what and whom it includes or excludes, affirms or disaffirms. This categorizing is a critical issue in the development of social and cultural consciousness within music education (Rose, 1991).

As part of the process of developing a Reflective and Critical Internship Program, we are encouraged to ask these questions: Is there a cultural capital belonging to teacher education generally? What constitutes one's own cultural capital? In order for one to be successful in the internship program, is it necessary for that person to acquire a new cultural capital? Are interns given the opportunity to know their own cultural capital as well as to appreciate and work with the cultural capital enriching the lives of others? Do interns respect the cultural capital of colleagues, students, and parents; or do they discount this culture through their choice of language, curricula, and methodology?

In our research, we discovered evidence that many music education interns came to understand throughout their internship experience the need to be conscious of students' individual differences. For example, one intern stated:

I know that they (students) are very different, all of them. This is the first time I've been in the position to take into account learning styles, personalities, and all that stuff (Music Intern #2, post interview).

A good teacher is someone who is able to effectively deliver instruction ... that encompasses organization, knowledge, preparation and all that ... and at the same time see the students as people and take their differences, their needs, their concerns into account and work with that (Music Intern #2, post interview).

As part of the development of social and cultural consciousness, interns need to understand the importance of recognizing student voice. As Doyle (1993) states, "If critical pedagogy is to be effective, it must start with students' culture" (p. 10). Therefore, interns need to come to value the cultural capital of all school members and build on the diversity that exists, rather than possibly ignore or disaffirm a certain cultural capital or way of knowing. This valuing of cultural capital is a starting point for interns in coming to view themselves and their students as critical agents in the production of their own culture (Rose, 1992).

There was evidence from our research that, for many music education interns, a shift in emphasis from being teacher-focused to being more student-focused occurred throughout their internship experience. Such a shift in emphasis calls for the interns' continuous development of self-knowledge and skill. The process of individual and group reflection throughout the Reflective and Critical Internship Program appears to have played a major role in bringing these music education interns to the point where they were able to demonstrate awareness of student needs, interests, and backgrounds.

One intern related his experience regarding a change of focus from dealing with strategies for his own survival to addressing the needs of his students:

Initially the focus of lesson plans was on how I could do things, how I could be effective as a teacher. The emphasis was on survival. I feel the focus has now shifted to what the students need to learn (Music Intern #6, post written).

Another intern expressed the importance of knowing the students as individuals before attempting to teach them. Implied in this comment is that effective teaching begins with the child/student:

In the beginning of my internship I was very concerned about "doing things right" so that I could be a "good teacher." But now I have realized that the teacher is second in line to getting to know the individual. I feel you need to know and understand the child/student first, then teach them (Music Intern #7, post written).

Previous research has revealed that despite being surrounded by indigenous cultures lived by students, schools remain in large part unaffected by them. Schools often operate in isolation from the wider cultural milieu in that the influence of family, peers, and student culture does not always penetrate the ideology of educational institutions (Rose, 1990). This study revealed also that music teacher education, and consequently school music programs, generally reproduce and objectify a particular musical tradition, most often Western European classical music. Therefore, music

education is often viewed as being at odds with music as it is lived outside formal education and considered irrelevant to the wider community and culture.

Our work with interns as part of developing the Reflective and Critical Internship Program shed light on this issue of relevancy and meaningfulness of music education to students and the wider community. It was interesting to discover that music education interns were by and large quite aware of the importance of developing a practice that attempted to reach their students. One intern stated:

I have an interest in the people and teaching the kids ... making it meaningful for them ... to reach the students and not just to teach (Music Intern #2, pre interview).

Another intern expressed the importance of developing with students a level of communication and rapport that is built upon mutual appreciation and respect. He said:

There are too many teachers who are there just because they have to be, and the kids pick up on that. So I think of the children first and they appreciate that you appreciate them (Music Intern #3, pre interview).

As far as the development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program in music education is concerned, we need to consider the following questions: Is there a dominant ideology within teacher education? How is it objectified in our language, attitudes, course content, and practices? Does teacher education operate in isolation from the wider culture? Do we prepare interns to perpetuate this isolation and, indeed, widen a gap between cultural traditions, or do we encourage and prepare them to take into account the lived culture(s) of students and attempt to narrow possible gaps and form bridges between various cultural traditions and values?

Cultural Reproduction and Production

Issues pertaining to cultural reproduction and production have a particular relevancy to the development of a critical pedagogy in music education. Music, a universal language, is a powerful medium through which people can be actively engaged in both the reproduction and production of cultural ideas and traditions. The fact that music education can serve naturally as a window on culture and a door to transformation makes the music education internship program an important site for the development of a reflective and critical practice that has as one of its basic tenets the nurturing of transformative intellectuals and cultural workers (Giroux, 1988, 1992).

One of the goals of music education is to enable individuals to participate in the understanding and expression of music and culture. Experiences in music aid the development of awareness of personal feelings and understanding as well as the broader spectra of learning: cognitive and skill development, musical understanding, social and cultural interaction, communication, interpretation and response, creation, and the understanding and expression of emotions and ideas. Hence, active participation with music in the making provides a sound basis on which to build a relationship with a living, growing, and productive culture. In regard to music teacher preparation, one of the challenges inherent in the development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program is to provide experiences that enable transformation from dominant modes of reproduction and encourage active participation in the ongoing production of culture.

At this point, I would like to distinguish between cultural production and cultural reproduction within the educational setting. Theories of social and cultural reproduction, as espoused for example by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Bowles and Gintis (1976), and Althusser (1971), view schools as functioning in part to distribute and legitimize the knowledge, values, and modes that constitute the dominant culture and its interests (Giroux, 1983a). Dominant culture in this instance refers generally to the dominant class whose power has been derived from its position within the capitalist economy. Within the school system, the dominant class reproduces its own culture and imposes it on other classes, thus assuring the continuation of a stratified society (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Therefore, the inequalities of society are often reproduced through schooling. However, within these theories of cultural reproduction, little consideration is given to the complexity of, and possibility for, human action that may involve conflict, challenge and resistance. Hence, little opportunity exists for change, transformation, or even the production of culture.

Theories of cultural production, as represented in the writings of Apple (1982a, 1982b), Giroux (1983a, 1983b, 1988a, 1988b) and Willis (1977, 1981), are more concerned with ways in which individuals and groups actually produce meaning and culture. Recognition of human agency, both in the reproduction and production of knowledge, brings with it an understanding that schools are not merely places in which dominant cultures and ideologies are imposed and reproduced. Teachers and students are actively involved in the negotiation and ongoing production of their own cultural meanings. This leads to the development of a language of possibility for education; that is, the domination of knowledge is not complete without resistance, imagination and creativity (Giroux, 1983a). We know that not all individuals conform to expectations and norms imposed by dominant cultural traditions. Those who are prepared feel free to explore possibilities often leading to change and transformation. Within this context we can look to a Reflective and Critical Internship Program for its real potential in developing and nurturing interns and students toward a transformative cultural consciousness.

Part of being able to be a participant in the ongoing production and creation of culture is the ability for interns to get beyond a practice that may be limited to the reproduction of other people's ideas, values, and beliefs. A Reflective and Critical Internship Program provides an invaluable site for encouraging and aiding interns' initial exploration of themselves and their practice. Of course there are inherent difficulties and limitations built into the internship experience in terms of interns having to work within the parameters of another teacher's classroom and general school environment. One intern stated, for example, that she did not feel free to be as creative as she would have liked to be and found herself basically reproducing the cooperating teacher's practice. Implied also in her statement is the change that occurred throughout the semester. This intern found ways to explore and develop her own style of teaching. She said:

To a certain degree at the beginning I was kind of doing what my cooperating teacher did. I wasn't doing what I wanted to do. I felt the need to be more creative (Music Intern #8, post interview).

Another intern told us of a dilemma in which he found himself while conducting the school band. His experience points to the struggle that many interns have in trying to get beyond the reproduction of the cooperating teacher's style and practice. This particular situation represented a starting point in the intern's formation of his own teaching style and approach. He recalled:

I found myself up there imitating my cooperating teacher, especially conducting all the gestures. I'm up there thinking 'Oh my God, I can't do that, he's going to think, and the students are going to think, that I'm trying to be like Mr. ...' (Music Intern #4, post interview).

This intern also shared with us his feelings of inadequacy and intimidation. It is important to note that it is often these feelings that limit interns to a practice that is reproductive and comparative in nature. He stated:

I don't feel I'm innately on the same musical plane as she is (cooperating teacher). What is intimidating is you wonder if the students know. How big a gap do they see? (Music Intern #2, post interview).

This same intern indicated an awareness that his cooperating teacher had developed a successful teaching style that was unique to her goals, philosophy, and personality. He acknowledged also that his own practice would have to be a different one, that is, one built upon his own personal and professional skills and knowledge:

I found my cooperating teacher a bit intimidating. For what she does and the way she thinks, she does an excellent job. Even if your way is different ... (Music Intern #2, post interview).

Toward the development of productive and transformative practice, some music education interns expressed understanding concerning the importance of getting beyond the notion of reproductive teaching, that is, merely passing on knowledge or transmitting it to students. This music education intern demonstrated an awareness of the importance of human agency in the teaching/learning process:

I hope that I have an interest in people, more so probably than in just teaching to pass on information (Music Intern #2, pre interview).

Reflecting on some humanistic concerns in teaching and learning, this same intern emphasized the importance of nurturing the student in self-esteem through the development of an affirming practice. He stated:

You talk about teaching in terms of passing on information, material and activities [re university courses]. That's not even 90%, not even 70% or 60%, of what you have to do. It's the reason you're there, but there are so many other things that need attention, so many little things in the run of a day like smiling at the person you got mad at so they know you don't hate them as a person ... just little things like that. Letting someone know that you heard them singing and it sounded really good ... Before [the Internship] I thought about the rehearsal plan, or how to get the strings to play in tune (Music Intern #2, post interview).

Another intern expressed an understanding that teachers play an active and important role in the preparation of students for life experiences. Implied in his comment is the need for a teaching/learning process that nurtures those individuals equipped with skills necessary for lifelong learning and active participation in culture and society:

I see teaching as being the most important job in society today. You teach them [students] and you have to prepare them for life no matter what they

are going to be. You get a chance to make a difference. I think you can really make a difference (Music Intern #1, post interview).

It is interesting to note we discovered within the education system evidence of some general understanding concerning the nature of negotiation as well as the production of one's own knowledge, values, and traditions. One statement made in a written journal entry at the end of the internship program indicates the development of a language of possibility for this intern as well as recognition of the need for ongoing critical examination, reflection, and analysis in the processes of decision-making and problem-solving. This intern's indication of readiness for dealing with the issues of resistance and change may well lead to a productive and transformative practice. She stated:

As I look forward to working in my own school I hope that I can make certain changes that I feel need to be made and that these changes are positive for everyone. I hope I never maintain or accept the status quo if I feel it is unacceptable (Music Intern #9, post written).

One other statement made by a music education intern pointed to a realization that one may not necessarily want to or be able to fit in to a given situation. Implied here is the truth that no situation should be viewed as fixed or immutable. The need for self-knowledge and understanding as a basis for individual empowerment is acknowledged also by the intern. Such empowerment is essential to the process of change and transformation and necessary toward the achievement of being true to oneself. As this intern stated:

Well ... Obviously you don't fit in. No one person fits in 100 percent anywhere I don't think. So you have to be flexible. You have to be true to yourself (Music Intern #2, post interview).

As we work with interns in the development of a reflective and critical practice that addresses the issues of cultural reproduction and production, we need to consider these questions: Is teacher education productive and transformative, or is it limited to reproductive forms and traditions? Are there possibilities within the internship program for the production of knowledge, values, beliefs, and meanings? Is there room to contest and resist, or do interns perceive their situations to be unalterable or fixed? Are interns empowered and equipped to be agents of production and transformation?

The Formation of Music Educator Identity in Teacher Preparation

Developing a critical pedagogy in music education requires examination of teacher education not only as a form of cultural expression but also as a means to the formation of individual and cultural identity. We know that it is primarily through formal and informal education, as well as family and community life, that we formulate and define ways of knowing ourselves and our world. Accordingly, we need to consider how a Reflective and Critical Internship Program might contribute to the formation of both personal and professional identities.

An important phenomenon occurs throughout the internship experience for music education interns. The transition from being a musician to becoming an educator is perhaps at its most critical stage in the interns' overall formation of a music educator identity. Generally, as music students first and education majors second, music education interns must undergo a transformation so as to integrate both disciplines.

Some of the literature regarding the construction of musician identity (Lofland, 1969; McCall and Simmons, 1978; L'Roy, 1983; Kingsbury, 1984; Roberts, 1991, 1993) reveals a complexity surrounding the issue of becoming a music educator. For example, Roberts (1991, 1993) in his study of Canadian music education students addresses the questions of how potential music teachers make themselves into musicians and what social processes are involved in the construction of a musician identity (1993: 204). Pertinent is his finding that music education students seek to be labelled musicians and depend upon a positive societal reaction to validate their ongoing claim as musicians in their own socially constructed version of their identities (1993: 211). Most music education students want to be seen as good musicians over all else. In fact, for these students, feelings of self-worth and success are dependent mostly upon their ability to perform well in a particular medium. Therefore, the individual's need to be affirmed and acknowledged as a 'musician' by others is an ongoing social action.

These comments made by music education interns at the end of their internship experience stress the importance of performance:

I have to keep being a good musician and keep playing different instruments (Music Intern #5, post interview).

At this point I don't know if I have made a transition...my heart is in getting my instrument back in shape (Music Intern #10, post written).

Other interesting perspectives regarding the issue of the formation of a music educator identity were brought to light through interns' interviews, seminars, and journals. Some interns, for example, indicated the existence of a dichotomy between musician and educator. These particular interns still viewed themselves primarily as musicians at the end of their internship program:

I consider myself a musician first and an educator second (Music Intern #7, post written).

I think first and foremost I am a musician, because in order to be an effective music educator, I have to be a musician (Music Intern #11, post written).

Some interns viewed themselves primarily as educators:

I think my focus right now is that of a teacher who happens to use music as the medium (Music Intern #12, post written).

Others saw themselves as music educators even prior to their internship experience:

Seventy-five percent of what I did at University was music ... methods courses felt like twenty-five percent, but now it's one hundred percent. I'm a music educator in training, and the fact that I can play all these complicated pieces doesn't really matter. It now feels like real life (Music Intern #3, pre interview).

It is interesting to note, however, that many music education interns indicated an understanding of music education as an integration of and balance between the disciplines of music and education. To cite two examples:

I feel it is important to be both a good musician and a good music educator. The most effective music educator must also be a good musician (Music Intern #13, post written).

I find that being a musician and a teacher are not two separate aspects of my life. I am a musician and I am a teacher. I feel I can maintain a healthy balance between what it takes to be successful in both areas (Music Intern #14, post written).

Other interns indicated an awareness of the transitional nature of their experience in becoming a music educator throughout the internship program. These statements speak to this realization:

It seems like one part of your life is about to sort of close and another part of your life is going to start. It is a transition, as gradual as it is (Music Intern #1, post interview).

The progression from musician to music educator happened rather quickly (Music Intern #15, post written).

I have undergone a change from regarding myself as a musician to a music teacher (Music Intern #16, post written).

In attempting to understand finding an identity as 'music educator' in music teacher preparation, we cannot overlook the fact that, whatever the priority of the day or the pressures of school life, nearly all of the music education interns indicated a need to maintain a certain degree of proficiency in their applied performance areas. These interns felt a need to continue their personal involvement with music, that is, experiencing it through performance and believed that such personal musical experiences could be had only outside the realm of teaching music. The following statements make reference to this issue:

I really feel the more removed I get from actively creating and experiencing music, the harder it will become to draw on that experience and lead my students to it. As I become slightly removed from myself as musician, I become more removed from the joy I feel in creating music. Since this joy is what I want to foster in my students, I think I need to keep in touch with this feeling so I can best communicate it to my students (Music Intern #17, post written).

Since I started my internship I realized that if I am not fully knowledgeable and proficient in the area of music, that is, experiencing it, how can I teach it? (Music Intern #7, post written).

A concern that a career in music education would not allow them the time to maintain performance abilities or pursue further performance opportunities was expressed by some music education interns. One particular intern noted that she might actually lose something by pursuing a career in music education:

I'd like to do more performing. It's something I don't want to lose and I find that other music teachers don't have the time to do performing. Do I want to devote my entire life to teaching and not have a lot of time, you know,

three or four hours a day to practice? I won't have that time if I teach. It's still something I have to think about (Music Intern #8, post interview).

Another important issue regarding the formation of a music educator identity that arose from intern interviews has to do with the place of music in the general school curriculum. Questions and concerns relating to this issue focussed on what the real curriculum is and who the real teachers are in education generally. One intern's early perception of this ongoing and universal dilemma about arts education and the curriculum is perhaps indicative of a pervasive and limited view regarding quality education. His frustration is clearly evident in his comment:

You're the teacher of music but you're not really a teacher because you're not in class ... you're not part of the curriculum. So you're a teacher, but you're not. You're getting paid as a teacher, but you're not in class time. The students aren't getting credit for what you're teaching so that bothers me a bit because ... Are you a teacher or are you not a teacher? (Music Intern #1, post interview).

Another facet of music education as it relates to the formation of a music educator identity was brought to light in an intern interview. It has to do with the unfortunate, but still common, adage: "Those who can, do; those who cannot, teach." This particular intern began his internship experience searching and hoping for confirmation and legitimacy of his career choice:

I think it [Internship] is going to tell me if I really want to be a music teacher ... like as opposed to someone who is a musician who has to teach (Music Intern #3, pre interview).

In dealing with these issues pertaining to process of becoming a music educator, we feel it is important to develop a Reflective and Critical Internship Program that nurtures and facilitates the formation of interns' personal and professional identities. This search for identity is very important in music education because the ability to understand oneself within broader educational and cultural perspectives stems from self awareness and understanding.

Cross-disciplinary reflective seminars that our research group developed, in conjunction with the experience of living in a total school culture for three months, we feel, enabled music education students to gain a broader perspective of music, education and culture. As a result of being exposed to new relationships, participating in ongoing dialogue, and developing skills in reflection and analysis, many music interns' eyes and ears were opened to the varied curricular areas, ideas, beliefs, values, and attitudes existing within the education system. This comprehensive and reflective program proved valuable to the professional growth of music education interns whose worlds for many years revolved primarily around music practice rooms and recital halls. One intern described her growth in this way:

I realize now that being a music student, you spend a fair amount of time talking about music ... I didn't realize how much I talked about music until I went out and realized there are other things in life. It was interesting just seeing and talking about other things ... and relating in other ways (Music Intern #5, post interview).

It was evident in our work of developing a Reflective and Critical Internship Program that many music education interns struggle to come to grips with this identity crisis throughout much of their internship experience. Some complete their experience having dealt successfully with this issue and others are left still searching for their professional place in life. The process of reflection and critical examination can, we believe, help facilitate this transition period for music education interns. Critical to this process is the need for each intern to become an active and knowing participant in the formation of an identity as music educator. Through self-knowledge and awareness of social and cultural meanings and values of music and education, interns are more likely to be successful in establishing a music educator identity that is consistent with personal and professional goals.

Praxis in Music Education

Included in the development of a critical pedagogy is the need for teachers to achieve a praxis in which philosophy, theory, and practice meet and complement each other. It is only when personal philosophies and professional goals are matched with appropriate pedagogical practices that genuine praxis is possible and a critical pedagogy is likely.

The process of reflection, we contend, is crucial to achieving praxis. As mentioned earlier in this paper, a Reflective and Critical Internship Program can provide an initial opportunity for interns to test theories and experiment with various strategies and methodologies. This program can also be an important site in which dialogue, group sharing, and reflective writing can provide a means for interns to explore such issues in teaching and learning as relevancy and meaning. The overall goal is to aid interns in their melding of personal, professional, and pedagogical ideals and practices. A Reflective and Critical Internship Program can also be invaluable in helping interns begin to understand themselves as individuals who are but one of many agents or agencies involved in schooling. Such awareness will provide the basis on which to build further understanding of and relationships between themselves, their students, and the wider community.

About the development of praxis in music education, many interns indicated an awareness that the internship experience was a crucial step in connecting theory and practice. Some interns noted also the importance of human agency in the decision-making process that underlies praxis. One intern indicated, for example, that not all theories and practices will be appropriate or relevant for all individuals and/or situations. Implied in his statement is the need for openmindedness, flexibility, and adaptability in the development of praxis:

It [internship] couldn't have come at a better time because I was sick of doing courses. It was a chance to see theory in practice. Sometimes the theory is true, and sometimes you see the theory is not true at all because people are all different. And what might be supposed to happen, for some, just doesn't work (Music Intern #1, post interview).

To achieve praxis teachers need to invent a curriculum that speaks to students' needs and affirms their cultures. Some music education interns, we noticed, felt free to mold their own programs by improvising and being creative in this regard. From such cultural consciousness and personal liberation a praxis, which has as its foundation a concern for establishing relevancy and meaningfulness, will emerge. One music education intern described his efforts to address student needs and involve the students in the teaching/learning process:

I think about making the subject matter relevant and stimulating. I think of interaction in terms of a lecture, an activity. in terms of questions, answers, discussions (Music Intern #2, pre interview).

Another intern indicated a need to establish a practice that extends beyond theory and technique. Her ongoing efforts to strive for an effective practice that is broad in scope and understanding are noted in the statement:

This past term has opened my mind to realize that there is more to teaching than just standing up in front of a class and preparing, making conscious, reinforcing and assessing ... You must give it everything you

have to be effective. I am ready for this now, but I am still learning (Music Intern #18, post written).

The impression that the dialectic of teaching and learning needs to be a two-way process was evident in music education intern interviews and writings. A practice which recognizes and accepts the idea that students need to be actively engaged in their own learning would include facilitation and interaction along with direction and transmission. One intern acknowledged that students bring their own knowledge and experiences, that is, cultural capital, to the classroom. She felt that this phenomenon could not be ignored if she was to deal with students in ways that are relevant and meaningful to them:

I don't want them [students] to be saying, "Well, she's the teacher and we're the learners". We're learning together. I mean, they know more about "Guns and Roses" than I do (Music Intern #8, post interview).

Along similar lines, these interns indicated the importance of developing a practice which allows for student involvement and self-discovery when they stated:

I feel it is important now to have children question and derive for themselves. It is not my job to just give them facts (Music Intern #19, post written).

To say that I teach music makes it sound too much like a one-sided affair ... teacher states and children absorb ... rather than a discovery by the students (Music Intern #20, post written).

Another intern recognized the complexity of developing a practice that attempts to meet the varying needs and interests of many individuals. The necessity of having to be different things to different people at different times was noted by this intern. Implied in the following statement is the need to recognize and consider human agency in determining teacher action:

It's so complicated when dealing with people. You're a counsellor sometimes, and comforter (Music Intern #3, post interview).

We are reminded by these interns' comments and reflections that we as teacher educators need to address these very issues as we strive to achieve our own praxis within a Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

Teacher/Student Empowerment

Empowerment is important to consider in the developing of a critical pedagogy in music education. Underlying a pedagogy that has as its basis a continuous striving for cultural consciousness and production, praxis, and transformation, is the demand for both teacher and student empowerment. During the internship experience interns need to realize that empowerment begins with the teacher. Therefore, one of the goals of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program needs to be the empowering of the individual intern. A starting point in this empowerment should be the development of both self and social awareness through serious reflection and analysis. As Freire (1973) and Giroux (1983, 1988) suggest, teachers' self knowledge is crucial to the formation of a critical

pedagogy. From self and social knowledge stems the ability of teachers to foster awareness and empowerment in students.

Several educational theorists assert that individuals and groups should be in control of their own lives or determine their own destinies (Apple 1982, 1983, 1985; Freire, 1973, 1985; Giroux, 1983, 1988, 1989). If this self-determination is the case, there exists an incredible challenge for teacher educators to help interns develop their cultural and spiritual potential, and to be informed, active, and independent participants in the formation of teacher identity and practice. Interns who have acquired personal freedom and empowerment are better able to help their students do the same. Hence, we need to ensure that the Reflective and Critical Internship Program plays a significant role in the development of reflective, critical, and independent individuals.

One of the most significant findings of a previous study (Rose, 1990) was that music educators paid little attention to the development of critical and reflective individuals. This shortcoming is not surprising, given the fact that many music teachers themselves feel powerless within the education system. This powerlessness needs to be addressed in teacher preparation generally. Critical thinking, independence, and reflection can be nurtured and enhanced only within a framework of personal empowerment and liberation which become the starting point for the development of the same within students.

In music teacher education, through active listening, creating and performing, exposure to varied musical traditions, and the development of awareness of music in history, culture and society as lived moments of production, students have the opportunity to come to know and express themselves in an effort to realize their potentials and interests. The particular challenge is, however, to nurture the individual in an environment that is often group-oriented. A study of effective teaching (Kennell, 1989) indicated that the appropriateness of goal setting is a critical factor in student success. An extension of this study to large-ensemble settings (Buell, 1990) revealed that individuals can be accommodated and nurtured when teacher-conductors understand the members of their ensembles as individual learners. This understanding includes an awareness of the backgrounds and values of the students.

These issues related to the empowering of the individual need to be addressed throughout the internship experience as music education interns are developing goals and philosophies, implementing curriculum and experimenting with methodologies and instructional strategies. The overall goal is the development of self-empowerment because with individual empowerment teachers are most effective and education holds its greatest promise for the development of individuals who are critical thinkers and doers.

In dealing with the issue of empowerment within a Reflective and Critical Internship Program, it is helpful to ask the following questions: Is the teaching/learning process primarily interactive, facilitative or directive? Do interns participate in their own learning in meaningful ways, for example, decision-making, reflection, analysis, and dialogue? Are interns encouraged, and given the tools to be innovative and creative? Are interns nurtured so that leadership qualities such as ability to problem-solve, independence, creativity, sensitivity, positive self-esteem, and confidence can be developed? Is individual growth given adequate attention amidst the pressures and constraints of group settings associated with music education?

Throughout the Reflective and Critical Internship Program our research team developed, there was evidence that some music education interns experienced a shift in focus from being almost totally absorbed in such issues as self-management and organization to being more aware of the needs of their students. Although this is not a surprising phenomenon, it does highlight the need to help interns deal with this transitional process as effectively and efficiently as possible throughout their internship experience. Once interns are freed from the initial coping with identity and method, they will be well on the way to dealing with the many other, broader issues discussed throughout this paper.

Some music education interns identified such a shift of emphasis in their focus throughout the internship program. The following statements indicated not only an awareness of the students' needs but also a concern for students' overall success. What is implied is that empowerment of both teacher and student is integral to student success:

I find that as I began to know more about the students that I was becoming more concerned about them ... I've realized that teaching is not about me anymore, but about the students and whether they have what they need to feel successful (Music Intern #21, post written).

Initially, the focus of lesson plans was on how I could do things, how I could be effective as a teacher. The emphasis was on survival. I feel the focus has now shifted to what the students need to learn (Music Intern #22, post written).

As Freire (1981) states, a critical pedagogy is one in which teachers act as intelligent practitioners capable of reflective thought and take responsibility for their own professional development. Toward the development of such a pedagogy, these interns recognized the need for continuous and ongoing analysis and reflection as part of the teaching/learning process.

I am concerned about curriculum, resources, new material. However, how I use it and how I learn to teach it to each individual student is an ongoing learning process for me that I feel will always be built on, and will never end during my career (Music Intern #7, post written).

In the continuum of student to teacher, I find myself more of a teacher now, but I know I will never stop being a student (Music Intern #23, post written).

Also, as Freire and Giroux suggest in Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power, at the core of critical pedagogy is the asking of new questions and the making of new connections (Livingstone, 1987). One objective is to realize the complexity of the multi-faceted relationship between education, culture and society. According to Giroux (1989), it is necessary to identify shared values and meanings as well as contradictions and inconsistencies in education. It is necessary also to question the social and cultural control that is operational in schools and society. Therefore, an important part of a critical pedagogy is to examine the cultural traditions and values passed on in universities and schools, the curricula used to reproduce these selected ideals, and the administrative and classroom/rehearsal management techniques and practices used to secure them (Doyle, 1993). When the histories and cultures of students or interns are ignored or denied, these people are often removed from their grounding and left to be

passive receivers of a curriculum that actually disempowers them (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985).

One music education intern noted that, as a result of his internship experience, he was encouraged to keep learning. Implied in his statement is the need to keep asking new questions, making new connections, and finding new or alternate ways of staying abreast of the times and the changing needs of students and society. At the heart of his comment is the issue of empowerment. In order to feel personally empowered and in turn help students learn and ultimately feel empowered, he has recognized the need to develop a practice that is relevant, current, and meaningful:

I see that through my internship that I'll have to keep learning, keep finding new things because ... the teachers who still teach the ways they did ten years ago, the students don't listen to them. They are outdated (Music Intern #1, post interview).

III. RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAMS IN MUSIC EDUCATION

Specific issues in music teacher education, as they emerge from a broad context of social and cultural ideals, have been identified and examined. The objective was to place the music education internship program within a socio-cultural context conducive to the development of social and cultural consciousness and the formation of music educator identity. This examination is an initial step toward a broader understanding of the role that the internship program plays in the development of reflective and critical teaching practice. The overall goal is the creation, within education generally and teacher education specifically, of an environment that has as its basis a critical pedagogy. Such an environment is characterized by enlightenment, relevancy, meaningfulness, openmindedness, and creativity.

As a result of this examination, it has become evident to us that the interns were transformed in several important ways. Many of the ideas and beliefs expressed by music education interns at the end of the Reflective and Critical Internship Program reveal that these interns have obtained relatively high degrees of social and cultural consciousness. However, many of these interns, as one might expect, were left still struggling with professional identity, praxis, and empowerment. Required for further development in these areas is experience. It is important to note, however, having achieved at least a sense of consciousness at this point in their careers has built a foundation on which interns might continue their own professional maturation.

Transformation was not limited to interns alone. Through dialogue, sharing, and interacting with interns, cooperating teachers and administrators, we as supervisors, individually and collectively, experienced transformation. This fact speaks to the immense possibility that the establishment of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program holds for enhancing and improving our own understanding of teaching and learning.

The following is a summary of how each of the components included as part of our Reflective and Critical Internship Program contributed to the development of the interns' social and cultural consciousness, and personal and professional identity. As mentioned earlier in this paper, many of the elements of the internship program

regarding methodology, content, resources, and evaluation are not new to the internship program at Memorial University. However, we believe that the activities and opportunities for reflection and analysis that we developed and provided within these various components cause this internship program to stand apart from more traditional models.

Journals:

Interns were required to maintain journals in which they recorded daily experiences, feelings, emotional responses, and analyses of observations and teaching. These journals were interactive in nature in that supervisors regularly responded to issues raised by interns by writing back to them in the journals. Also, issues or questions raised by interns were used as a basis for discussion in both individual meetings and group seminars. Journal writing provided an opportunity for interns to take time away from their busy schedules to make connections or discover discrepancies between practice, theory, personal feelings, and values. It provided a means for interns to explore and articulate their current understandings and feelings about the production of new knowledge, meanings, and ideas.

Cross-disciplinary Group Seminars:

These seminars, held on the university campus, had as their purpose to provide time for interns to come away from their school placements so they could engage in guided reflection and analysis with some objectivity. The seminars provided a forum for communication through which interns and supervisors shared experiences, stories, knowledge, feelings, reactions, and ideas. Such sharing often resulted in problem-solving as well as self-discovery. These sessions were also opportunities for interns to examine their own experiences within broader educational, economic, political, cultural, and social contexts.

Weekly Observation/ Meeting:

Interns were observed in a teaching situation on a weekly basis. These observations were either preceded or followed by a meeting with the intern and/or cooperating teacher. The purpose of the observations and meetings was to gauge the interns' progress throughout the semester as well as to provide an opportunity for all three participants in the internship experience to communicate, share, provide feedback and examine various issues. This active involvement by others in the process of reflection, analysis, and interaction helped interns in their development of personal teaching styles and approaches. Because of the open communication, interns became aware of expectations and gained further understandings of classroom and school cultures. Such knowledge led to confidence and an empowerment that allowed interns to experiment with various methodologies, strategies and techniques and test educational theories, and to create situations in which they could begin to develop identity and praxis.

Intern Interviews:

These private interviews with interns were held prior to, and immediately following, the internship experience. The purpose was to develop intern entry and exit profiles as a means to examine the extent of change and growth throughout the Reflective and Critical Internship Program. Specific questions were devised to probe feelings, ideas, beliefs, and knowledge relating to their experience. Both the interviews and resultant profiles were extremely valuable in helping supervisors and interns get to know each other as well as in examining and establishing both personal and professional goals for each intern. Consequently, the post-internship interview served as an excellent means for both the supervisor and intern to evaluate the overall success of each intern's experience.

Analysis and Self-Evaluation of Video-Taped Lesson:

At least once throughout the internship semester, a lesson or rehearsal was video-taped and interns were required to provide a self-analysis and critique of their lesson. This exercise provided an opportunity for interns to achieve a certain amount of distance and objectivity from the lesson itself and view their teaching from a variety of perspectives. Interns were encouraged to examine the lesson in relation to philosophies, goals, objectives, instructional strategies, and evaluation. In terms of helping interns come to understand themselves and their practice, this process of self-reflection and analysis helped toward their development of praxis, identity, independence, and general consciousness. The self-evaluation was used then as a basis for discussions between the intern, cooperating teacher, and supervisor. This process helped interns place the particular experience and their own best thinking in broader educational, social and cultural contexts.

Recommendations

As a result of the research and work with interns, our research group discovered that, although the various aspects of the internship program we developed were very successful, there is room for refinement and improvement in the ongoing development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program. To this end, we put forward two major recommendations. We believe these need to be considered by all agencies involved with the development and delivery of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program.

First, there needs to be a general acknowledgement that the delivery of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program requires carefully deliberated methodology and pedagogy, neither of which can be presumed. Nor can it be presumed that previous or current methodology or pedagogy is appropriate or relevant to the ever-changing needs of education, culture, and society. Hence, we believe that all participants involved in the development, delivery, and monitoring of internship programs, namely, university personnel, supervisors, cooperating teachers, and administrators need to be given the opportunity to participate in workshops, seminars and/or inservice in order to gain an appreciation and working knowledge of the many, varied and complex issues surrounding the internship experience. Such opportunities would also encourage and facilitate general communication and liaison among the various individuals and/or agencies involved in teacher education generally.

Secondly, there needs to be continued research regarding the development of a Reflective and Critical Internship Program. This research should include the interviewing of cooperating teachers, administrators, and university personnel to obtain information about their perceptions and understandings of, experiences with, and needs concerning the internship experience. Also, the nature of relationships as they exist within the internship program needs to be carefully examined. Relationships such as those between intern and supervisor, supervisor and cooperating teacher need to be addressed. The links between the internship program and teacher education generally, as well as between teacher education and school practice need also to be addressed.

Summary

It follows from ideas and issues presented in this paper that teacher education would be well served by the development of a critical pedagogy that has as its foundation a social and cultural consciousness. Such a pedagogy empowers educators to be aware, informed, and knowing participants in the process of teacher preparation. Classrooms and rehearsals are revitalized and transformed into teaching and learning sites that are culturally and socially relevant and meaningful. In this regard, teacher education needs to be practised, as well as viewed, as an active participant in the lived and ongoing process of culture in the making.

The issues, questions and challenges raised throughout this paper are complex and many are not new. Their importance, we hope, has been renewed in light of the powerful role that the internship program plays in the formation of reflective and critical teaching practice.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM (RCIP MODEL) AND THE QUAD RELATIONSHIP

Andrea M. Rose

The general purpose of this paper is to underscore the need for reflective and critical internship programs in teacher education. To this end, the underlying premise of the Reflective and Critical Internship Program is described briefly, and each of the four main components of the internship experience (intern, cooperating teacher, university supervisor and context) is examined in light of its unique role in, and contribution to, a reflective and critical internship experience. As part of this examination, I raise a number of issues regarding the very complex relationships that exist between these individual components, and propose that this Quad Relationship (Rose, 1997) is a critical feature of a reflective internship program. In this regard, many basic issues and practices surrounding the development, administration, and evaluation of internship programs, might be clarified by first examining the fundamental nature of each of the individual components of the Quad, and then exploring the many and varied interactions that occur between them. As a starting point in this process, it is my intention in this paper to raise questions surrounding the general development and delivery of an internship program that strives to be comprehensive, meaningful and effective for all participants and stakeholders.

In putting together this paper, I have drawn upon research undertaken by a research group established in the Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, a number of years ago. Both as a member of this group, and as a Faculty member still actively involved in working with music education interns, cooperating teachers and supervisors, I am reminded continuously of the exciting possibilities that the internship program holds as it is identified as being the most important experience of the teacher education program.

It has been the belief of our research group that, in order for teachers to be productive and transformative in their practice, they need to have developed a critical pedagogy (Doyle, 1993; Giroux, 1989; McLaren, 1989; Weiler, 1988; Kirk, 1986; Apple, 1982b). Such a pedagogy stems from a social and cultural consciousness that encourages both self and social knowledge, political awareness, educational relevance and productivity. It is our belief such a consciousness requires reflection, analysis and critique.

One of the most important facets of teacher preparation has to do with the development of both personal and professional knowledge. This includes awareness as to how individuals, e.g., interns and their students, fit into a super-structure of educational, political, cultural and social ideals. A basic premise of our work with interns is that the development of such awareness stems from the process of reflection and continuous critical examination of the various components of education, culture and society in this volume.

We have found that an excellent opportunity to nurture the process of critical reflection in teacher preparation exists within the internship program. The internship experience can serve as an important step toward the bridging of theory and practice, the formation of teacher identity and the development of social and cultural

consciousness. It is our contention that such a step is vital to the ongoing development of a critical pedagogy.

At the heart of the internship experience is the intern. This particular experience represents a crucial and transitional time for interns in that they are juggling many pieces of a very complex whole. They are asking questions and seeking answers, testing theory, discovering rules, expectations, traditions and beliefs, developing new values and meanings, searching for roles and identity, and attempting to build a practice that is relevant and meaningful for them and their students. Given the complexity of this experience for the interns, our research group identified a need for, and ultimately felt a responsibility to develop, a context for the internship experience that not only allowed for but also nurtured the process of acquiring personal and professional knowledge and skills toward the development of a critical pedagogy. Our overall goal was to facilitate and nurture interns' personal and professional growth primarily through the enhancement of both self and social understanding. Through structured and pedagogically devised sessions involving dialogue, sharing, examining, viewing, questioning and analyzing, the interns, as well as all the other 'players' involved in the Internship Program, e.g., cooperating teachers, supervisors and administrators, were actively engaged in the process of reflection and analysis. We felt that this process provided the framework for a comprehensive 'program' for interns that was supportive and facilitative, yet challenging in nature and design. The need for such a dialectical process in the development of reflective and critical practice is pointed out by Kemmis (1985). He states, "Reflection is an action-oriented process and a dialectical process... it looks inward at our thoughts and processes and outwards at the situation in which we find ourselves... it is a social process, not a purely individual process in that ideas stem from a socially constructed world of meanings" (p. 145).

The Reflective and Critical Internship Model (RCIP)

The primary outcome of our research to date has been the development of the Reflective and Critical Internship Model (See Chapter One). Building on the work of Smyth (1987, 1989) and others, the basic framework of this model includes five pedagogical categories, or forms of action, through which pre-service teachers travel in their construction of knowledge, skills, identities, beliefs, values and practices. Specifically, these categories provide a lens and a means through which teacher educators and students can examine the development of teacher thinking within a broad context of educational, socio-cultural and political ideals and practices.

These five pedagogical categories or forms of action are:

- *Describing/contextualizing*, e.g., what is the context, case, situation, orientations and realities of a particular practice? These questions include the elements of who, what, when, where, and how.
- *Bringing and recognizing cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1977), e.g., what do the various partners bring to, and ultimately come to value throughout the internship program? What theories, ideologies, practices, prejudices and taken-for-granted realities are brought to the process of teacher professionalization?
- *Engaging in communication*, e.g., what are the various forms of engagement involved in the internship process? How do we

recognize different voices, communicate effectively with self and others, and reflect on the political and social nature of schooling?

- *Problematizing dominant practices and discourses* (Phelan and McLaughlin, 1992), e.g., is there a willingness and ability to ask questions, entertain doubts, be disturbed about teaching and learning worlds and the discourses that pervade them? How do we create a process of meaning-making in which teachers infuse dominant discourses with their own purposes and intentions?
- *Functioning as transformative intellectuals and cultural workers* (Giroux, 1988, 1992), e.g., how might we transform our practice in a fashion that marks a real difference between being an educator and a trainer? How do we come to view pedagogy as a form of cultural production, as opposed to basic transmission of information and skills? Do we encourage interns to examine the relationships between schooling, pedagogy, cultural practices and social power? Do we strive for a language and a practice of possibility and change?

The Quad Relationship

It is within the context of the RCIP Model, briefly described above, that I now discuss the underlying issues that comprise the Quad relationship in the internship program. The interconnected and interdependent relationship(s) between the intern, cooperating teacher, intern supervisor and local context are at the heart of an internship experience grounded in critical pedagogy. These four 'players' are in constant engagement and interaction. The success of the individual internship experience, in its design, development and facilitation, is very much dependent on the nature and quality of the interactions between each player in the Quad relationship. It is when the intentions and actions of these players are fused in conscious, well planned and organized ways, that the potential for a reflective and critical internship experience may be realized.

As a starting point in understanding the complexities of the Quad relationship, I have outlined some of the primary roles and/or issues surrounding each player in a reflective and critical internship program. These roles/issues stem from the needs of the RCIP Model as it may evolve into practice:

The **INTERN** is:

- exploring, observing, examining and critically analyzing teaching practice
- searching for, and attempting to establish, a professional role and identity
- seeking to work safely and effectively within inherited spaces and practices merging personal and professional philosophies and theories with practice (toward praxis)
- developing skills in fundamentals of teaching (communication, classroom management, methodologies, evaluation...)
- attempting to operate 'successfully' within a very complex environment of expectations, traditions, values and beliefs (often involving conflict and contestation)

- making connections between, and developing understandings of, teaching and learning
- recognizing the influence of past experiences and knowledge on current practice
- learning to value the cultural capital of self and others
- striving for success and excellence (e.g., evaluation/recommendations).

The **COOPERATING TEACHER** is:

- providing a context and setting for the internship experience
- demonstrating expertise in teaching (i.e., knowledge and skill)
- facilitating hands-on teaching experiences for the intern
- nurturing the intern's development of professional practice
- providing consistent feedback and general support for the intern's developing skills and understandings
- encouraging and assisting the development of reflection-in-action (e.g., cycle of observation-reflection-action; turning awareness into action)
- encouraging the intern to incorporate own ideas and experiences into the teaching experience (e.g., experimentation, trial and error)
- raising critical questions and challenges about issues and practices inherent in the teaching/learning process (i.e., to aid in the development of critical thinkers and doers)
- assisting the intern in his/her development of understandings about the schooling process (e.g., culture of school, teacher-student relationships, connections to parents and the community, political considerations, economic realities...).

The **INTERN SUPERVISOR** (university-affiliated) is:

- operating as the main link to the University (Faculty of Education)
- guiding both the intern and cooperating teacher through the various process-related and administrative details of the internship program
- working with both the school and university to provide a supportive, safe and meaningful environment for the intern
- assisting the intern in his/her connecting of current teaching experiences with existing knowledge in various educational, social, cultural, political theories and paradigms
- providing safe spaces/sites for the intern, through pre- and post-conferencing and reflective group seminars, to work through and 'make sense of' issues, practices and experiences as they arise
- facilitating opportunities for quality interaction between the cooperating teacher, intern and supervisor (i.e., planning, goal-setting, ongoing evaluation, analysis...)
- nurturing and guiding the intern in his/her formation of teacher identity and professional practice
- providing consistent, appropriate and relevant feedback to the intern regarding teaching experiences throughout the semester (e.g., relating to current issues and practices of a particular subject matter and/or context)
- engaging the intern in critical and reflective analysis (e.g., raising critical questions and challenges about ideologies, belief systems and

practices; helping the intern to locate his/her work within both subjective and objective frameworks).

The **CONTEXT** considerations are:

- nature of the site (e.g., rural/urban; large/small)
- history and traditions relating to the context (e.g., values, beliefs, expectations...)
- individual and collective personalities/cultures existing within the context
- the philosophies, concepts, skills, practices, beliefs, traditions and value systems associated with the particular subject area
- the interconnectedness of subject matter with the teaching and learning process (i.e., philosophies, pedagogies, methodologies...)
- the context and setting in which the subject matter is being experienced (e.g., social studies classroom, music/mini/multimedia/computer workstation, biology lab, choral rehearsal)
- the expertise required of all participants (intern, cooperating teacher and supervisor) in the subject matter, in order to provide the most comprehensive, relevant and meaningful internship experience
- all that influences what teachers and learners do within the discipline or subject matter (e.g., constraints, perceptions, expectations, traditions... that may be peculiar to the subject matter and context).

Implementing the RCIP Model: Guiding Principles

Having identified the main components of the Quad relationship, I will now highlight briefly some guiding principles that underpin the fundamental nature of the RCIP model.

- The importance of the development of a partnership model involving the university, school districts and individual school communities. The partnership model must have as its foundation the realization of, and commitment to, the internship experience as an integral component of teacher education.
- The recognition and need for establishing a partnership program that has as its basis the development of critical, reflective and intelligent practitioners. Such a program would recognize and value the internship experience as more than an apprenticeship program.
- The recognition of the intern as the central figure in the delivery of the internship program. A relevant, meaningful and pedagogically sound internship experience needs to be designed and implemented for each intern.
- The need for expertise in each 'quadrant' of the internship experience - intern, cooperating teacher, intern supervisor, and context. Expertise in this instance would be characterized for example by such elements as appropriate intern preparation and background (intern), identified excellence in teaching and subject area competence (cooperating teacher), appropriate academic preparation regarding

the nature of the internship experience (intern supervisor) and, appropriate school/community placement (context).

- The need for the development of a 'system' of partnerships that recognizes and values the contribution of each participant to the success of the internship program. Such a system would require regular consultation, communication, interaction and program evaluation.
- The recognition of the important role of, and need for, ongoing research at the core of the internship experience (e.g., classroom pedagogy, the pedagogy of supervision, the nature and development of teacher thinking and practice...).
- The need for an efficient and effective administrative component in the Faculty of Education that would serve primarily to support the academic and pedagogical nature of the internship program.
- The need for ongoing professional development for cooperating teachers, intern supervisors and administrators involved with the internship program. The establishment of a standard of academic, pedagogical and administrative excellence would provide the foundation and rationale for the establishment of an agenda for professional development designed to meet the needs of a reflective and critical internship program.
- The need for a renewed commitment to excellence in education, and particularly to teacher preparation.

Summary

Underlying the RCIP Model and Quad relationship are some very important questions about issues such as personnel, expertise, administration and program evaluation that need to be explored and analyzed by all parties involved in the internship program. Some of the questions I pose here will serve to stimulate this process as we strive continually to refine and improve current internship programs. As we realize, some of these questions may not be new, but they do represent the complex issues surrounding the development of an internship program that is grounded in critical pedagogy.

- Who is the intern? What are his/her particular needs and interests?
- Who are the cooperating teachers?
- Who are the intern supervisors?
- How is the expertise of all 'players' identified? How, and by whom, are cooperating teachers and supervisors selected/appointed for their role in the internship program?
- Is there consistency in the delivery of the internship program between urban/rural, small/large school contexts?
- What is an appropriate system for intern placement? (e.g., how are issues relating to expertise and appropriate context accounted for in placement procedures?)

- What is the role(s) of the Faculty of Education? How might the university contribute to professional development programs, research, university-based supervision when possible and/or appropriate, and the overall administration of the internship program? How might an appropriate balance be struck between academic and administrative needs and agendas?
- What is the role of school districts as they partner with the university to provide appropriate and excellent internship experiences for interns and their supervisors.
- How should we deal with the complex issue of intern evaluation in a manner that is fair, consistent and meaningful?
- What are the needs of each partner in the internship program? For example, is the intern matched with a cooperating teacher who has identified expertise? Is supervision occurring on a regular basis? Is there a clear understanding about the pedagogy of supervision? How are workload concerns addressed for both cooperating teachers and intern supervisors?
- Are cooperating teachers and intern supervisors provided adequate time in their general workload allocations, as well as adequate resources, to meet the needs of the internship program generally, and the individual intern specifically?
- Is there a system in place that provides for ongoing professional interaction between all key players in the internship program? Is there time devoted to professional development in the form of seminars and workshops that focus on the various aspects of the internship experience?
- Is it possible to establish a formalized system within the teacher education program that addresses the issues and questions raised above? Such a system would include for example, provisions for a) the selection of cooperating teachers and supervisors, b) the formation of appropriate partnership connections involving 'official' affiliations, and designations, c) the recognition of excellence within the educational system as it relates to the internship program, d) the development of connections between the internship program, teacher certification, and general professional development plans and policies within professional teacher organizations (e.g., Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association).

Conclusion and Implications

The internship program plays an integral part in teacher preparation. The Reflective and Critical Internship Program can provide an effective site for the nurturing of aspiring educators, as well as for the continued nurturing of many individuals who are already involved in the educational system. The overall goal of the RCIP is the creation of teacher education programs generally, and internship programs specifically, that are focussed on, and engaged in, the development of conscious, knowing, and active participants in the educational process. A critical form of this engagement involves reflection, analysis and critique. A process of engagement that is structured to encourage and facilitate such activities can be a very powerful means toward individual and collective empowerment, leading ultimately to change and transformation.

It is my hope that by exploring the RCIP Model, in conjunction with the Quad Relationship, that we will be encouraged to address, with some urgency, some of the issues and questions raised in this paper. As mentioned earlier, some of these issues are new, others have been with us for awhile. Ultimately, I hope to challenge all participants and stakeholders in teacher education to work toward the continuing development and delivery of internship programs that are characterized by intellectualism, creativity, open-mindedness, flexibility, responsibility and systematic reflection, analysis and evaluation.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

LINKING THREE CULTURES IN TEACHER INTERNSHIP

Amarjit Singh

The Context and Introduction

Several recent reports on educational reform in this province provide a discourse on school improvement. The reports suggest the need for developing a positive school culture, since such a culture is necessary to attain the following outcomes:

- educational excellence
- high retention rate
- high graduation rate
- high achievement
- high employability of graduates, and
- school accountability.

The reports also talk about transmitting to students a set of personal, spiritual, cultural and critical values for citizenship and democracy. They also suggest that the school improvement process should be student centered and should take the developmental needs of students into account. For an in-depth review of the reports one should read Katherine Dundas' (1997/1998) Master's thesis in which she critically evaluates many other points in those reports.

Following the discourse presented in the educational reform reports, I suggest we can talk about the need to develop reflective and critical internship cultures to attain goals set in the reports. Not only should the focus be on developing reflective and critical internship cultures, but such cultures should be built on the real and anticipated needs of teacher interns. After all, the internship exists mainly, if not solely, for teacher interns.

The way I see it, there are many internship cultures, and therefore I suggest that we should not think or talk about the culture of internship or a culture of internship. I say this because it is obvious that teacher interns grapple with multiple contextual and situational realities which constitute the total internship process.

For the purpose of discussion in this paper, I would like to mention three predominant cultures which the teacher interns and those who work with them during the internship process need to fully understand and learn about. These three cultures are:

- the culture(s) of partnership
- the culture(s) of collaboration
- the culture(s) of reflective and critical internship in teacher education.

It should be noted that each culture identified above can itself be conceptualized as having many sub-cultures, and so on. This is so because the total internship process and teacher education themselves are embedded in multiple and complex social, cultural, political, economic and organizational realities.

Before I discuss these three cultures, a few more general comments on the interns, the internship process, the school, and the society are in order.

Teacher Interns, the Internship Process, and School Improvement Initiatives

Both our own research and other research in these areas show that teacher interns will sooner or later inherit complex school and classroom cultures. In these contexts, as the reform reports points out, they at least would need to know the following:

1. How to translate provincial learning objectives with practical learning experiences in the classroom
2. How to prepare instructional plans
3. How to prepare lesson plans
4. How much time to spend on different tasks in classrooms
5. How to manage the classroom
6. Different teaching practices and strategies
7. The prescribed curriculum content
8. How to build a strong foundation in literacy and numeracy skills
9. How to persevere
10. The effort and time required for high achievement.

Preparation of programs for school is a very important task. Therefore, teacher interns should be able to prepare programs to be used in schools. The structure of these programs must provide their students a structure of intellectual skills which will include inquiry, inference, reflection, critical and creative decision working, analysis and evaluation. Moreover, these programs should enhance students' technological competence and prepare them as good citizens. Similarly, teacher interns also are expected to learn how to address and nurture students' physical, emotional, social, spiritual and moral needs.

In the final analysis, the school and the internship process are expected to produce educated persons in this province. The educated person, according to Learning for All: The Foundation Program Report (1996), is

...one who is equipped to respond appropriately to the intellectual, social, aesthetic, emotional, moral, spiritual, and physical dimensions of life, such that he or she is enabled and motivated.

The reports suggest several school improvement initiatives in order to produce educated populace. For example, the Challenge for Excellence Reports (1990) states:

A school improvement initiative should not focus solely on enhancing academic achievement but should also focus on a continual transmission of personal, spiritual, and cultural values, values which have enriched the lives of Newfoundlanders for many years.

A change process can be evolutionary or revolutionary. In democratic societies, an evolutionary change process is often more effective. This is accepted by the above report as it points out:

It must be recognized that change is a process which is carried out over a period of time. All initiatives cannot be effectively implemented at once.

And it should also be realized that

School improvement initiatives are not a top down, or bottom up exercise, but form a shared responsibility which requires a shared response.

The report recognizes important roles played by educational personnel and other partners in the change process. It states:

Educational personnel involved with the school improvement process must receive adequate time, personal and technical support, and the encouragement to undertake the tasks required to improve conditions for students.

The discussion presented above clearly leads us to conclude that it is obvious that teacher interns have to learn an integrated approach to curriculum which allows them to do all the things mentioned above in the context of the school. These expectations held for the teacher interns clearly put great responsibilities on the shoulders of cooperating teachers, internship supervisors and school personnel. All these people, as partners, are expected to enable teacher interns to learn a lot. To meet this immense responsibility, a great deal of thinking, talking and doing is required. For it is through conversations with each other that we are able to resolve our problems critically, creatively, imaginatively and reflectively.

The Three Cultures of the Internship

A. The Partners and Their Cultures

I return now to the discussion of three internship cultures: cultures of partnership, cultures of collaboration and cultures of reflective and critical internship in education.

As discussed above, our schools are expected to produce well-rounded educated persons to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century and beyond. Such educated persons can not be produced without the help of various partners involved in creating, managing, implementing and evaluating the curriculum in schools and the internship process. Who are these partners? These partners are (the list is not meant to be exhaustive or in order of importance):

- The Department of Education and Training
- Newfoundland and Labrador School Boards' Association
- The schools
- The school councils
- The school districts
- The Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association and its various interest groups including SAC
- Memorial University
- The Faculty of Education
- Educational consultants from the Department of Education and Training
- Newfoundland and Labrador Home and School Federation

- Newfoundland Association of School Superintendents (SAC)
- School Administrators' Council
- Teachers and internship cooperating teachers
- Parents and their organizations (school councils)
- Program specialists.

All the partners have their own groups, organizations and cultures. There is a need to understand their cultures in a systematic way, if the goal is to improve our schools and educate the populace in a desired direction. This will require, among other things, creating new forms of institutions and communication networks so that we all can have pragmatic, open and endless conversations with each other. For it is through unending interactions with each other that we develop our self. The self in turn enables us to create new forms of knowledge. Based on new awareness we are able to imagine new societies and hope to create them through our actions.

B. Cultures of Collaboration

I have just identified many partners involved in the internship process in the previous section. Many of these partners regularly collaborate with each other to achieve certain educational outcomes in this province. For example, the school districts, the schools, the cooperating teachers, the internship supervisors, the teacher interns and the Faculty of Education collaborate in the delivery of the teacher internship program.

The point is that collaboration, as a form of interaction and conversation, creates its own culture. A great deal has been written in this area and the research is extensive. We have reviewed some of the research in this area and have produced "local knowledge" which shed light on what it means to be a cooperating teacher, internship supervisor and teacher intern in this province and what it means to collaborate with the Faculty of Education as the only institution of higher learning in this province. These meanings become part of the total internship culture, which in turn affect the degree to which the internship program in this province can be implemented successfully.

Therefore, we need to understand various elements of cultures of collaboration. We have, like many others, come to realize that any collaboration is based on trust, give and take (exchange), respect, care and continuous dialogue among all parties involved on an equal basis. It is based on a sense of humility among the participants, acceptance of differences and tolerance of many previously unheard voices. The "global village" built on the foundation of collaboration is not a village built on the unified voice of the people who live in it. This village defies any single true common canon. On the contrary, it is a village built on people's ability and skills in recognizing and incorporating into their daily actions the contradictory voices and experiences of many people who live in it. Collaboration is based on reciprocal exchanges in which participants feel empowered, enabled and socially mobile. It is based on a set of attitudes which encourages inclusion of all partners rather than their exclusion. Collaborative practices and life styles thrive on democratic principles of participation, fairness, justice and equality.

C. Cultures of Reflective and Critical Internship

Similarly, much is written on reflection, reflective and critical education and internship. A rich and extensive literature also exists in this area which links reflective education and internship to larger issues of social policy and nation-building. We have

reviewed some of this literature and how it impacts on the locally generated internship process in this province.

Briefly, cultures of reflective and critical internship thrive on conversations of hope and possibilities. These cultures are capable of transcending discourses of despair, gloom and doom. Dooms day talk characterizes many of the education reform reports produced in this province and elsewhere. The reports use piles of statistics to create a profile of the educational system in this province in which very little good is seen to be happening. The numbers are used to create images of crises in society, rather than positively portraying the life styles of people in this province. The reports are more interested in creating an image of Newfoundland society which corresponds to the self-images of those who have produced those reports. Instead of re-affirming the self-images of many people in this province, the reports just do the opposite. More often than not they have become instruments of social policy which undervalues the self-confidence and self-concepts of people in this province.

On the contrary, cultures of reflective and critical education and internship aspire to build a democratic society and to encourage democratic living. These cultures do not shy away from the radical meaning inherent in the idea of democracy by adopting a cynical set of attitudes which re-inforce the idea that issues related to inequalities - social, political, cultural, economic and gender - are unproblematic, and therefore, need not be taken too seriously in education policy formulation and implementation.

In addition, cultures of reflective and critical thinking in education encourage continued conversations among all members of society. They encourage unchecked (except for extreme hate speech) freedom of speech and communication in all forms, specifically they encourage previously nonheard and unrecognized voices to be heard and recognized through creating new safe spaces and rights.

Not only this, these cultures encourage all partners involved in the internship process to raise critical questions which challenge the existing status quo or one-dimensional thinking, e.g. schools should be changed to meet the demands of global economy and nothing else. Instead of seeing downsizing and school closure as the only solutions to problems created by a global economy and technological changes, reflective and critical cultures empower people to think in terms of the possibilities of creating new forms of communities, sets of relationships and desired goals.

The Need for Systemic Thinking

In order to understand these three cultures in a meaningful way, we need to resort to systemic thinking as a perspective. Through this perspective we can attempt to comprehend institutional and organizational contexts of the three cultures of the internship discussed above. A series of questions can be raised in achieving this goal. For example, we can start by asking the following questions:

- Are the organizations, where these culture are located, learning organizations?
- Do these organizations promote authentic dialogue?
- What kind of culture do these organizations, in fact, create, maintain, promote and perpetuate?
- What kind of cultures do they discourage?

As we all know, the internship process in this province has undergone a fundamental change. Dennis Treslan (1997) has presented the historical account of this transition in his article in an earlier issue of *The Morning Watch*.

The new model of the internship which has emerged in this province is called the Partnership Model of the internship. Andrea Rose discusses some of the characteristics of this model as they relate to reflective and to critical perspective in teacher internship in her articles in this book.

My point is that we know very little of this new model. Therefore, we need to learn more about this partnership model through research and candid observations. We will be better served if we produce "local knowledge" about this model. In order to achieve this, cooperating teachers, internship supervisors and school personnel ought to make their observations of the internship process public. This they can do either through presenting their ideas at conferences, in-service programs or through writing in journals.

In addition, we should know the following:

- What kind of studies have been done by others about those three cultures, if any;
- What form of knowledge is available in linking those three cultures;
- Who has access to what form of knowledge, in relationship to various partners involved in the internship process?

For example, what do we publicly know:

- about cultures of the Department of Education in this province;
- about cultures of the school councils;
- about cultures of the NLTA;
- about cultures of program developers;
- about cultures of consultants;
- about cultures of school administrators;
- about cultures of teachers at various levels in this province;
- about cultures of the Education Faculty at Memorial University and other faculties at Memorial University;
- cultures of schools in rural/urban areas of the province.

Linking the Three Cultures: A Proposal

We can build an effective internship process in this province by linking various cultures - cultures of partnership, cultures of collaboration and cultures of reflective and critical internship. This can be done through team building. If done properly, a team building process will create "locally" produced "cultures of teacher internship." This internship culture will enable us to produce an educated person in our province, as articulated in many recent reports on education reform published in this province. Some points made in those reports were discussed in this paper for the purpose of making this proposal.

A huge amount of research exists in the area of building teams. We have reviewed selected studies relevant to constructing a reflective and critical internship through team building in Chapter Nine.

Basically, as we all know, you cannot make people work together by just putting them together in a group. Team building requires systemic thinking and doing. Team building should be based on the experience of people who have tried to build various types of teams in the process of their professional work, as well as on the research done in this area.

In the final analysis, I believe we desperately need to be talking with each other endlessly about whatever we desire to do in our province. Patience, tolerance and an evolutionary perspective on change should be the central focus when we converse with each other. And we must always remember that it is mostly through conversations that we learn how to live together, how to build democratic communities, positive self-concept and caring relationship.

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CHAPTER NINE**COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH AND THE VOICES OF SECONDED
TEACHERS AS INTERNSHIP SUPERVISORS**

**Amarjit Singh
Andrea Rose
Clar Doyle
William Kennedy**

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe ongoing collaborative research concerning the internship program at the Faculty of Education, Memorial University. In particular, we wish to focus on one aspect of this research involving seconded teachers who supervise interns. This research is done within the context of educational reform in the province generally and of the development of various delivery models for the internship program within the Faculty of Education specifically.

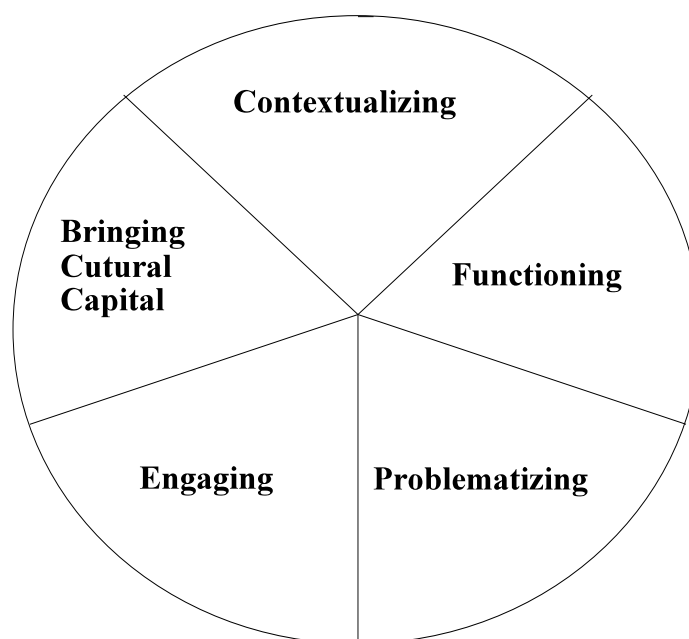
An underlying premise of this paper is that the teacher internship experience, as one component of the teacher education program, can be examined within the framework of an interdisciplinary education team development process. We believe there are a myriad of issues related to this conceptual framework and process that can inform the development and implementation of an internship program. Teacher internship programs are constantly changing in response to new developments in educational methods and research, as well as to new instructional and developmental models. Therefore, the focus of this paper is on the emergent values of team interdependence and collaboration as they relate to our efforts in developing a Reflective and Critical Internship Program: The RCIP Model (See Figure 1). At this stage of our work, we are attempting to test the efficacy of this model in the field. Specifically, our aim is to explore more fully the potential of the RCIP Model to resocialize students, cooperative teachers, supervisors and school personnel into the norms of interdisciplinary team-work. Hence, we are interested in issues relevant to the formation and continuation of an interdisciplinary and collaborative service and/or research team.

This paper makes no attempt to classify the numerous issues related to the conceptual framework for interdisciplinary education, interdependence and collaboration. Instead, the paper is organized in the following way. First, we review selected literature on collaborative action research as well as selected conceptual, theoretical, and practical approaches to the development of interdisciplinary teams. This type of work is being done in health care fields

**THE RCIP (REFLECTIVE AND CRITICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM)
A MODEL FOR TEACHER EDUCATION**

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- Describing/Contextualizing
- Bringing Cultural Capital
- Engaging
- Problematizing Dominant Practices and Discourses
- Functioning as Intellectuals and Cultural Workers

Figure 1 - RCIP Model

to achieve comprehensive and coordinated geriatric care by bringing professionals in many disciplines to work collaboratively. As Toner, Miller and Gurland (1994) have pointed out, "the structure for this collaboration is often the interdisciplinary team, and the collaboration itself is called interdisciplinary team-work" (p. 53). Secondly, we briefly describe our own involvement in collaborative and interdisciplinary action research. Thirdly, we highlight one aspect of this research as it relates to issues surrounding seconded teachers as university supervisors. The voices of these seconded teachers point to the complexity of the internship program as well as to the need for the

development of collaborative research models as part of ongoing development and delivery of the internship program.

Collaborative Action Research

Collaborative action research has been conceptualized and practiced in different forms (Sagor, 1992; Calhoun, 1994). This section reviews ideas from selected research which informs our view of collaborative action research in the field of education.

As Oja and Smulyan (1989) have pointed out, action research (a term first used in the 1940s by Kurt Lewin), has recently emerged as a method which addresses both researchers' needs for school-based study and teachers' desires to be involved in more effective staff development. Both university researchers and teachers were looking for an alternative to linear models of research and development in which theory and practice remained unrelated to, and therefore unaffected by, one another: "The participation of both teachers and researchers on an action research team was expected to lead to a connection between theory and practice through which theory would be enriched and practice improved" (pp. 203-204).

This research methodology suggests that participants who take part in the research process be involved from the very beginning in the planning, implementation and analysis of the research and that each participant should contribute his or her unique expertise and unique perspective to the research process. It suggests also that participants recognize that the purpose and value of collaborative research is to learn about those actions which would improve one's school or classroom. We relate to this particular approach because it encourages us to work with school-based educators and continue the development of a reflective and critical internship program. Further to this, such an approach may well improve communication and collaboration between various educational personnel and institutions. This in turn will allow all of us to be actively involved in ongoing educational and reform agendas.

According to Oja & Smulyan (1989), action researchers have realized that "it may be difficult to produce traditional educational theory and change classrooms or school practices all within the same project. However, the two goals are not mutually exclusive, but they may be difficult to achieve simultaneously. Perhaps some of the difficulty lies in our approach to educational theory" (pp. 205-206). They suggest that a first step in addressing the theory/practice issue may be to redefine educational theory to include teachers' understanding of the problems and practices in their classrooms and schools (Cummings and Hustler, 1986; Street, 1986). At present, as Carr and Kemmis (1986) point out, much educational theory is produced by people outside the school community who use the "straightforward application of the scientific disciplines to educational problems" (p. 124). Elliot (1985) describes this as research for products rather than understanding; Carr and Kemmis (1986) claim that it produces a body of knowledge unrelated to practical situations. Action research, in particular, offers a different kind of educational theory, one which is "grounded in the problems and perspectives of educational practice" (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p. 122) and made up of insights, and practical methods to address their concerns. Oja and Smulyan (1989) claim that if this theory is recognized as legitimate, then action research will be closer to meeting its goals of both improved practice and educational theory.

It is interesting to note that besides generally recognizing the power of the action research methodology to connect theory and practice, many researchers in this area

have sought alternative ways of evaluating the outcomes of collaborative research. For example, Kemmis (1980) points out one potential outcome regarding the development of critical communities of practitioners:

Preliminary analysis suggests that the theoretical prospects for action research are only moderate, if 'theoretical' payoff is measured in terms of the literature of educational researchers...If the theoretical payoff is defined in terms of the development of critical communities of practitioners, then the results are more encouraging. (p. 13)

In our own efforts to develop the RCIP model, we have sought to develop critical communities of practitioners through working collaboratively with cooperating teachers, teacher interns and university-based supervisors. We have attempted to incorporate their understanding of the problems and practices in their schools in our analysis of the educational practices in Newfoundland and Labrador. Our focus has been on encouraging teacher interns, cooperating teachers and university supervisors to participate in the reflective and critical process in order to build a more effective internship program in the Faculty of Education at Memorial University. For the purpose of this paper, we will highlight some of the reflective and critical processes involving seconded teachers as they work as university internship supervisors.

Collaborative Interdisciplinary Team Building

Researchers in the health care area (DePoy & Gallagher, 1990; Hagle et al., 1987; Sweeny, Gulino, Lora & Small, 1987; Whitney, 1990) have defined team work as an in-depth cooperative effort in which experts from diverse disciplines, clinical experiences, or settings work together to contribute to the study of a problem. In effective collaborative teams, experts from the same or different disciplines are linked together in such a way that they build on each other's strengths, backgrounds, and experiences and together develop an integrative approach to resolve a research or educational problem. This integrative approach enhances the capabilities of members of the team to examine and understand issues from many perspectives and develop innovative solutions to the multiple and complex health issues of older persons (Kapp, 1987; Selikson & Guzik, 1986).

Many people have come to recognize the benefits of, and need for, collaboration. However, researchers show that the structure of many educational institutions may not facilitate cooperative approaches to research, education, and service. According to Gitlin, Lyons & Kolodner (1994), this is so because "traditional educational models tend to foster individualism and competitiveness and create a gap between knowledge and development" (p. 16). Their work is based on the major key constructs of this social exchange theory: exchange, negotiation, role differentiation, and an environment of trust. In regard to exchange, for example, the theory suggests that individuals join work groups because of the benefits available to them as a result of membership. These benefits vary greatly and may include social support, help in solving a particular problem, or professional advancement (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Jacobs, 1970; Thibault & Kelly, 1959).

Gitlin et al. (1994) suggest that an individual must assess his or her willingness and ability to work cooperatively with others. Flexibility in thinking and work style, the ability to relinquish or take control in a group process, and an openness to the ideas of others are "just some of the characteristics an individual must possess in order for an

environment of trust and successful collaboration to emerge" (Bergstrom et al., 1984; Singleton, Edmunds, Rapson, & Steele, 1982).

They suggest as well that "through ongoing negotiation and role differentiation in shaping the research question or educational project, a culture should emerge that promotes and rewards collaboration" (p. 25). They call this a "culture of collaboration." According to them, such a culture is characterized by an environment that supports:

- flexibility and respect for differences of opinion;
- mutual trust, respect, and cooperation;
- open, relaxed communication;
- conflict and disagreement centred around ideas rather than personalities and people;
- decisions derived through consensus; and
- clearly defined and agreed upon tasks (McGregor, 1960, p. 26).

The collaborative learning approach to education focuses on the importance of community, not individualism. Consequently, many new collaborative learning models and methods have been developed and a variety of challenges have emerged. Frameworks such as role theory and role conflict (McKenna, 1981), cognitive maps (Petrie, 1976), models of professional functioning (Qualls, & Czirr, 1988), and small group dynamics (Kane, 1975) have been developed for understanding these challenges.

Toner et al., (1994) state that "self-education in the interdisciplinary team setting is best achieved in an environment that is informal, encourages face-to-face interaction among members, and uses a structure that is determined by consensus" (p. 57). Further "the purpose ... is to improve communication and facilitate more effective interdisciplinary team relations. Team members are most often not strangers to one another. They share a history as staff at their work site and bring to the team meetings their perceptions of that history. In fact, the team members' perceptions of their shared history are bound to influence their actions and interactions in the team. The team members also come in contact with one another outside the team meetings, and the team facilitators are most often totally unaware of these external interactions. Another fact to be understood is that team members are not accountable and responsible only to themselves; they are accountable to the larger group, the institution or organization. Consequently, some members arrive at team meetings with authority, power, and status. This can exert an overwhelming influence on the functioning of a team, depending on team types" (p. 58). They state also that

Although there are numerous types of teams, including unidisciplinary, intradisciplinary, multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary (Takamura, 1983), the influence of history, power, and authority is less problematic for the well-functioning interdisciplinary team. (p. 58)

The RCIP Model: A Case in Collaborative Action Research

As mentioned earlier in this paper, collaborative action research assumes self-education and cooperative learning. The Reflective and Critical Internship (RCIP Model) also assumes that reflection is a social process and not purely an individual process. The reality is that prospective teachers, supervisors, cooperating teachers, seconded teachers and administrators are all active learners. Hence, in terms of the data we examine in this paper, we want to learn from the voices of the seconded

teachers. We want to identify aspects of their particular interests, motivation and general ambitions at this stage of their professional development and careers. Our overall objective is to identify windows of opportunities and conditions that might enable us to collaborate with those in the field in building interdisciplinary teams for the development and delivery of a reflective and critical internship experience, as one aspect of the teacher education program.

As part of our effort to build interdisciplinary teams, we were required to develop an environment of trust and respect so that various participants involved could feel safe to voice their concerns. We knew that participants bring their own histories and specific concerns to the interactive settings, and that incentive to participate in team-work varies from participant to participant and is, of course, connected to their past experiences. Also the participants' willingness to participate in interdisciplinary team work is very much dependent upon the structure of the institutions in which they work, the stage of their career development, and their future plans as individuals and professionals. These and other factors influence participants' willingness to relearn new roles in order to become team players.

In the long run, the RCIP Model aspires to engage in the development of critical communities of practitioners. Given the changing nature of the delivery of the internship program in the Faculty of Education, it is envisioned that such communities would be developed through the building of interdisciplinary teams in various school districts and regions. The role of collaborative interdisciplinary teams would be to reflect on, and deal critically with, current issues and dilemmas faced by teacher interns, and those who work with them, during the internship period. The overall goal is for all participants involved with the delivery of an effective, reflective and critical component of internship programs in teacher education in this province to be engaged in both individual and collective professional development. For example, interdisciplinary and collaborative team work may improve conditions in which teacher interns work by improving the teachers' work place in general. It is within this context that we now describe our efforts to build an interdisciplinary team in the Faculty of Education.

On the Nature of Doing Reflective Interdisciplinary Team-work in the Faculty of Education

As an interdisciplinary research team, we realized from the beginning that it would be unrealistic to think that our work could be carried out in any meaningful way without others, i.e., we needed external collaboration. We invited cooperating teachers, seconded teachers, interns, administrators and our colleagues in the faculty, whose responsibility it was to deliver the internship program, to participate in this project. We never underestimated the fact that each category of people brought its own cultural capital to the internship program and had much knowledge to offer about the culture of schools. Our own orientation was to establish reflective sites in which we could share, dialogue, listen to others, examine what they had to say, and ultimately learn from their experiences. We realized that respecting others' local theorizing, and genuinely trusting their insights about the complex nature of schooling, were the key factors in establishing good communication and working relationships.

One of our focus areas was to specifically work with seconded teachers. To this end, we contacted twelve seconded teachers and discussed our intention to build a Reflective and Critical Internship Program in the Faculty of Education. They cooperated with us by consenting to let us interview them in depth regarding their reflections and

perceptions about the internship program based on their own perceptions about, and experience in, the Newfoundland school system. Each interview lasted approximately two hours. In the informal setting of our offices or theirs, we explored issues pertaining to their roles and experiences as internship supervisors. We recorded their responses and made extensive notes. Our purpose was to sensitize ourselves about how seconded teachers analyzed dominant practices and discourses concerning not only the internship program, but also the larger issues of teacher education. We learned how each of us, through the process of dialogue, questioning and reflection, was able to add a critical aspect to our respective involvements with the internship program.

Another way we attempted to make the internship critical was to function as cultural workers. We tried to insert in the ongoing conversations our own concerns about the difference between teacher education and teacher training. We saw the internship program as a site not only for learning classroom management techniques, although we fully realized the fact that these techniques formed the overriding concern of many teacher interns and seconded teachers. We asserted that pedagogy was a form of cultural and political production rather than simply a transmission of knowledge and skills. Part of our intention was to share with others our understanding of pedagogy. We wanted to share how pedagogy helped all of us to recognize our own relationships with each other and our environment. How else could we establish working, collaborative relationships with all those involved in teacher education in this province? How else could we understand the relationship between schooling, education, and the dynamics of social power? How else could we understand the consistencies or inconsistencies between what we say and do? How else could we understand what we agree to exclude or include? How else could we accept the authority of some experts and deny that of others? How else could we accept the privileging or legitimizing of one form of vision about the future of this province over another?

Yet another way we attempted to insert a critical aspect towards building the Reflective and Critical Internship Program was to encourage others at the interview sites to produce local knowledge and a language of possibility through the process of local theorizing. Our interviews with the seconded teachers, the cooperating teachers, and the teacher interns are filled with local theorizing on various aspects of the complex nature of schooling and classrooms. Learning to conceptualize one's own everyday life experiences in one's own voice is a step toward becoming a reflective and critical person. Recognizing that one has the ability, the linguistic resources, and above all, the courage and confidence to theorize, is another step in opening windows of possibility.

Our transcribed material revealed to us that, to an extent, we were successful in creating safe spaces for the participants who were then able to create a language of possibility for themselves and others. This form of practice enabled participants to create sites where they could imagine the possibility of achieving their desires and fulfilling their wishes. The seconded teachers, for example, saw the Reflective and Critical Internship Program as a site where they could genuinely contribute to the advancement of teacher education in this province. These experienced teachers could see their roles and visualize structural changes that could be brought about in the existing educational system so as to build bridges between teachers in schools and professors at the Faculty of Education... bridges that could lead to a stronger linking of theory and practice. Specifics of these ideas can be found through the voices of seconded teachers.

We also involved the cooperating teachers in these mini-reflective sites. Inviting the cooperating teachers to share extensive notes on teacher interns, we opened

ourselves to the critique of the practising cooperating teachers. How else could we find out what the practising classroom teachers bring to the internship? In our orientation seminars, and in reading the literature in the area of teacher education, we heard repeatedly that university-based supervisors often have little knowledge of real classroom situations and that what they often have to offer as advice is too theoretical. We compared and contrasted our notes, recognizing and respecting each other's situational authority as experts at different levels of the schooling process. The teacher interns and their cooperating teachers also compared and contrasted their notes separately. Then at the mini-reflective sites, we entered into the reflection process. Our intention was to accord recognition to the different voices, privileging each of them in their own authentic ways.

Besides creating the mini-reflective sites in the school settings, we created other sites for reflection in the Faculty of Education, e.g., group sessions with interns and supervisors. We saw these reflective sessions as sites away from school routines. The main purpose for using the group setting was to create a site and opportunity where the teacher interns could voice their experiences of the internship, reflect together on those experiences, and also share their experiences with others at different levels of reflectiveness. We conceptualized the reflective sessions as being sites in which we would be enabled to practise reflection-in-action. These reflective sessions have since become a regular feature of the internship program in the faculty.

The Voices of the Seconded Teachers

In this section we describe the results of one of the areas from our research with the Internship Program. In our reflective sessions with seconded teachers as supervisors (ST's) and cooperating teachers (CT's), we focused primarily on listening to their assessment of the unfolding nature of teacher education generally and the teacher internship program in this province specifically. We now share some of their ideas and concerns about these areas.

It is clear from data collected that the supervising teachers and cooperating teachers perceive the internship experience to be a significant element in the professional and personal development of all parties involved in teacher education. Following is typical of the statements ST's and CT's have made in their interviews:

I think it's invaluable to any intern to get some practical experience before they launch off on their own careers on their own. Because they do develop some idea of what it takes to plan and I mean what it takes to deal with classroom management, what it takes to deliver a lesson, what it takes to evaluate homework and to evaluate exams and so on. This is all practical experience and the advantage of doing it through an internship is that if they make mistakes there's two or three people available to help bail them out...There's the cooperating teacher and there's the university supervisor. (D-35)

Generally, these teachers recognize their contribution to the continuing development of the internship program. For example, this seconded teacher said:

Well, I think the internship programme is definitely one of the most important things that students do in becoming teachers... I worked on this last year with six teachers and at that time, we did really put a lot of

thought into how we felt the internship programme could be developed, you know, in the way that it would suit the schools and the teachers and the interns best. (M-1)

The seconded teachers' perception of their role in the internship process is a very positive one. They believe strongly that they have something very special to offer, i.e., the skills and competencies which the university-based professor/supervisors and the cooperative teachers, may not be able to offer. They believe they bring a unique perspectives from teaching experiences in the school system. The following quote from ST's typically represent this type of perception held by them:

I think the very nature of the two experiences [teacher vs. professor] makes the difference and I'm going to say that my view is that the active teacher who is seconded, to be a supervisor might have the edge over the university professor who hasn't been in the classroom situation for some time. I feel very strongly about that as a matter of fact. (D-4-5)

The ST's claim also they have a sense of classroom realities which the university professors and interns do not seem to have. Following are some typical statements made by the ST's during the reflective interviews we conducted with them:

I think they [seconded teachers] have acquired a lot of insights through their experience. And the experience is not just contained, or limited to a school. Many of us have been on Department of Education meetings or committees and many NTA committees and special interest councils... I've given conferences, I've been involved in curriculum development. These are all the things that you do that are sort of high - level things, and yet at the same time you've got to learn how to deal with the menial tasks of everyday life within the school. (P-29)

These [seconded teachers] are the people who know where it is at. These are people who are not at arm's lengths from the education of children in whatever level you're talking about. They haven't been distanced from it and therefore they know exactly what you talk about when you talk about the stress of having somebody in your class who may be a behaviour problem, you know. (A-5-6)

The ST's also believe their relationship with school-based cooperating teachers can be more objective than the relationship between cooperating teacher, university professors and interns. They feel their ability to be objective enables them to reduce the tension that often exists between cooperating teachers and teacher interns. The belief of ST's is that, in many cases, both teacher interns and cooperating teachers prefer supervisory involvement by the ST's over that of university professors.

The ST's also attach some degree of status, prestige and pride to the position of seconded teacher as university supervisor. They seem to view this position located somewhere between the cooperating teachers who are still in the classroom and the university-based supervisors who are structurally located at in Faculty of Education, Memorial University. To summarize briefly, they seem to believe they were selected as internship supervisors because in the eyes of their school boards they were the most effective teachers, a "model" or "master teacher", in terms of personal and professional abilities and competencies. They were the best suited teachers to carry out the role of supervising interns at the University level. They also felt ethically responsible to correct

what they perceive to be weakness in the pre-service programs offered to students in the Faculty of Education. Following are typical statements by ST's conveying this type of perception:

It's nice to be recognized for your contribution and they can say and they can look at you and say you're good, you're a very effective teacher. You've been involved in many aspects of with our board and we're, here's a little bonus for you... We're giving you four months in at the university. Again the staff looks at it ...as status to know that you're going in there, you've gotten this opportunity, you're working at the university. All these things mean a lot to other people on staff. (P-3 2)

It gave me some recognition... to the extent that other people asked my advice on different things that came up within the school and that sort of thing. Well right now the seconded teacher and the university supervisor are playing the same role basically. (C-4-5)

In this role of supervisor, you have more autonomy as compared to in the schools... You probably would not be looked up as closely and watched... You have been given this intern because you are perceived as being a good role model and so on. (J-18 -19)

The ST's envision a valuable role for experienced teachers in the internship program. They believe recent initiatives surrounding current educational reform in this province can provide new vistas or windows of opportunity for creating new roles for school-based experienced teachers. However, throughout the interviews, they have addressed a number of issues that underscore the complexity of their potential involvement in the internship program as supervisors. These include the selection process, teacher evaluation, defining a "good" or "master" teacher, and ongoing professional development.

Regarding the selection and acceptability of seconded teachers as university supervisors, the following claim was made:

I'm going to assume that when a teacher is seconded to become supervisor of interns that he has been selected very carefully and that he's reputable... when the seconded teacher comes to somebody else's school with an intern there's no question if he comes to them, with a poor reputation that precedes him, I don't think he's going to be well accepted. Well let's assume a good reputation precedes or no reputation at all and he's given the benefit of the doubt. My experience is then that he is accepted quite readily. They seem to like the idea that, "Oh, here's an active teacher, somebody who just got pulled out of the classroom to do this job, coming in now to watch this intern as he attempts to become an active teacher. (D-8-9)

So do I want my effectiveness...as a teacher evaluated? Who do I want to be evaluated by...who do I feel is suitable to evaluate me? I don't know. I've had real problems with that. (M-21)

In relation to defining a "good" or "master" teacher, these comments were made:

So what I perceive as being a good model for supervising internship programs is to have the school board identify so called master teachers, teachers who have shown effectiveness in the classroom, who have good classroom management skills and just seem to be able to deal effectively with the students and with the teachers in the school because it's all part of the whole dynamics of what goes on. And it's part I feel of being a master teacher, not only being able to get along with your students but , you know, to be an active part of the whole school system. So you have your school board identify your so called master teachers, teachers who are effective in many aspects. (C-1)

I would suggest that if you asked six people for a description of a good teacher you might get six different things. And then I might suggest that the good teacher might fit into all six categories. He might be all six of these. I'm not sure if you know when you ask an individual what does a good teacher do, if they listed down all of the characteristics of the good teacher. If each of the staff members and let's suppose there were ten staff members involved, and if they listed all of the characteristics of good teacher then I believe you would have some common things but if you asked them for one or two, you might find that they'd all give you different ones. I think there is, there is some consensus. (D-11-14)

Some seconded teachers envisioned that their experience gained through the role of ST's would have an impact on their future practice and ongoing professional development. These comments reflect some of their ideas in this regard:

I'm going back to a classroom when I finish this job in April, and I'm going back with some good ideas. I'm going back with some new combinations of pieces of literature that I have never put together before, some new insights... I think I'm going back a little bit revived. I believe, too, when the school board selected me, or when my principal selected me, they may have had that in mind. It's not exactly been retraining, but I think it has been a source of revitalization and so it's been good for me, as I hope it's been good for my interns. (D-28-29)

Seconded teachers are aware of the dialectical relationships between university supervisors, cooperating teachers and interns. Such an awareness is an essential component of effective collaborative and team-work. This seconded teacher states:

Now, cooperating teachers are sometimes very hesitant because that they don't feel comfortable in telling the intern that they think what they were doing was really wrong or really shouldn't have been done... It's almost like a buddy relationship develops between them, between the cooperating teacher and the intern whereas I have no difficulty... So I think the supervisor has a different relationship with the intern in that it's not this buddy-colleague thing that's going on between the intern and the cooperating teacher. So I think that we, coming in from the university, I don't know if you could call it more of a detached relationship than they already have. (J-10-11)

We have a hands-off policy. It wouldn't be professionally ethical to approach you and say, excuse me, have you ever thought about... We very much respect the autonomy of teachers in their classrooms with their

students, and I think sometimes that carries over in our relationships with teacher/interns. We find it easy to praise the strengths. We find it very difficult, somehow, to address the weaknesses and find ways of changing that behaviour. And sometimes that's what causes a lot of cooperating teachers stress, I think. Even as a teacher/supervisor, a teacher/intern, that's the one thing I find myself that I struggle more with. When I see a need that should be addressed, I really have to think about it a lot and try to determine what is the very best way of approaching that particular thing so that it is a positive experience. (M-10)

While the above quotations from seconded teachers are revealing, it is important to remember that these perspectives represent a limited portion of the complete data. This data are rich and, as indicated above, speak to the complexity of the internship program as well as to the challenges of working within collaborative research models.

Conclusion

In this paper we have described briefly the nature of collaborative research as it applies to our work with the internship program at the Faculty of Education. Specifically, we focussed on that part of our collaborative research efforts which involved seconded teachers as university supervisors. Data from this research informs us of some of the attitudes, perceptions, understandings, experiences, beliefs, and values that this sample of seconded teachers bring to the internship experience. This data also indicates a myriad of issues related to the nature of collaboration and team-work that can inform ongoing development of the internship program. Such data highlights the need for team interdependence and collaboration as a means to further developing a reflective and critical internship program.

As noted above, seconded teachers are fully aware of the contribution they can make to the continuing development of the internship program. Further to this, they perceive the internship experience to be a very significant aspect of their professional development. They see their involvement in a very positive light and believe they bring a unique perspective to internship supervision. These seconded teachers indicate that there is some degree of status and prestige given to the position of university internship supervisor. They see these positions as windows of opportunities for creating new roles for school-based teachers. This is very much in keeping with transformative aspects of collaborative action research as outlined by Oja and Smulyan (1989).

It is important to note that, in addition to feelings of pride generated from their involvement with internship supervision, there are also some concerns. These stem from insecurities as expressed through comments and questions about the selection process. Many seconded teachers were, in fact, unaware of how they themselves were selected to be supervisors. They note the potential for politics, as well as the realities and challenges surrounding teacher evaluation, in the selection process. However, these seconded teachers realized that the experience gained through supervising in the internship program would have a positive impact on their own teaching and professional growth.

Seconded teachers indicated to us that they are very aware of the delicate relationships between university supervisors, cooperating teachers and interns. Given the nature of these complex relationships and working arrangements, it is incumbent on those of us working in the Faculty of Education to take responsibility in building a

"culture of collaboration" (Gitlin et. al, 1994) between all parties involved the development and delivery of the internship program. In this way, we can help develop critical communities of educational practitioners.

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POSTSCRIPT

Clar Doyle

As we have indicated earlier, the preparation of reflective teachers is a growing direction in teacher education (Pultorak, 1993). In addition, the literature in this particular area is growing. It is our intent to add to this literature with the long-term, in-depth critical ethnography shared in this book. We have claimed from the beginning that we are most interested in helping teaching interns use their own voice in the struggle for reflection. As we know, the process of education is a most complex one. It is not easy for interns or tenured teachers to articulate this complexity in a form that does justice to the problem and offers transformative moments from their daily teaching. The restraints are well documented (Shulman, 1988; Richert, 1990) and confirmed by this present research. Despite the restraints, we have begun to put into writing some images from this complexity we call schooling. What has resulted is a rich diversity of interns speaking about and researchers negotiating with their own cultural capital and educational assumptions.

This book is a detailed example of how we wanted to address reflective practice with all the differences we bring to the enterprise. There has been no attempt to homogenize the way, as different researchers, we probe, structure, and articulate our understandings of reflective practice. What remains in common are the voices of the teaching interns and the methodology employed to tease out these voices. The very form of the book allows and encourages us to place a different lens over the shared thinking and practice of the interns and appreciate what comes into focus.

Despite this, we are quite aware that this type of inquiry has been ongoing for some time. It is our understanding that we are building on a legacy from Socrates, Dewey, and Schon. Each different researcher, in each of the discrete chapters, accepts the premise that teachers can think about and act upon their own practice. It is also part of our belief that teachers do reflect in an almost automatic fashion about their work. Even though teachers do not always critically think in any structured way, questions such as; "How can I improve on that lesson?" and "What can I do to help my students?" are part of the parcel of instructional planning. In blunt terms teachers probe at their own teaching on a daily basis. In these chapters we tried to remind ourselves that critical reflective practice is not a technique or a tool to be pulled out for occasional use. Reflective practice should be the pedagogical oxygen of schooling. If teaching was a simplistic functional technical process then there would be no need to analyze, reflect and hope for transformative practice. This latter process is one way for teachers to build on their academic and professional information.

It is also part of our agenda to help teaching interns to deal with the conflicting messages they get from academic professors, internship supervisors, cooperating teachers, school administrators and students. Interns feel the weight of these conflicting messages. Teaching interns are bombarded with diverse expectations. Many of these expectations are contradictory. Interns need to be helped to go beyond the dictates of others to empower their own best thinking and decision making.

Pedagogy is the department store of education and there are many alternatives to be chosen from. Interns not only deal with knowledge but they deal with attitudes and values; their own and their students. This calls for confidence. We believe that instructional confidence can be greatly aided by a reflective practice. A reflective practice that interns make their own. Reflective practice, as we have seen in our work

with interns, cannot be a gift. As university professors we can offer paradigms and encouragement but the taking on of a reflective mantle has to be personal for each intern. As Kemmis (1985) claims, such practice requires interns thinking about their own thoughts in relation to their professional activity and development. It should not only be reflection about someone else's thoughts and activities. It has been our intention to tease interns beyond supervisors' narratives and case studies. Some of this teasing is reflected in the foregoing chapters from different members of our group.

We believe that teachers become truly professional when they are able to take charge of their own work. A first step towards such professionalization is in realizing that they can go beyond the given to construct the possible. In many ways teachers are often limited by the possibilities they give themselves. So often in education we share in a discourse of limitation. If we only look at the limitations imposed on schooling we may not get beyond the time-table, the teacher-student ratio, the bus schedule, and the public examination. The discourse of limitation must be tempered with what can be hopefully done despite such limitations. It is possible to break the obvious constraints of instructional reality and transform classrooms and students. Our on-going contact with teaching professionals confirms this. One of the promises we have for our work on reflection with interns is to more closely examine the discourse of limitations evident in teacher education and at school sites.

In this book we have given a glimpse of how interns can work at constructing meaning out of their own knowledge and experience. The voices of the interns presented in the various chapters show that such construction is possible. It is only fair to say that we have just begun to allow interns to speak for themselves about their own work. We have found that given the opportunity to use their voices in a reflective manner they are most willing to do so. We have also found that it helps for us to have our questions focused and our agendas out front. Interns have told us about what they bring to the school setting and what meaning they can produce while working with their students. Here is where interns can readily see the power of teaching. Many of the interns we have worked with realize that it is possible to collaborate with their students despite the burden and preoccupation with classroom management.

One of the messages we try to articulate in this book is to realize that the notion of transformation does not have to compare to Paul's experience on the road to Damascus. Transformation can come in gentle ways with relatively small movements that indicate quality change. When students can be helped to appreciate their own histories and place in the community, transformation is present. It is our belief that many of the interns we have worked with are beginning to appreciate the value of gentle transformations. They are beginning to realize that it may take years for one of their students to realize that they are "of worth", or that they "can do it". Of course interns have to first realize this about themselves and their own professional work.

One of the other realizations becoming clearer in our research is that interns appreciate that their own personal, cultural, and social backgrounds greatly contribute to their own perceptions and actions in instruction. This realization also spreads to their attitude about teaching as well as the influence that their backgrounds have on selection of content, resources and methodology. In other words interns are better realizing that they are grounded in their own personal, cultural and social backgrounds. It is also hoped that they will realize that this background can be a foundation for their own teaching. They can build on their own foundations, as well as the backgrounds of their students, to produce new understandings, knowledge and meaning. This is where reflection comes in.

It is also our hope that the model of dialogue we used with the interns can be transferred to their work with their own students. Despite industrial and bureaucratic claims to the contrary, the work of schools can not be limited to a place for learning objective information. They must also remain sites for creativity and personal growth. Interns can appreciate that they have tremendous opportunity to elevate the level of learning to the personal, cultural and social needs of their students. In our interactions with the interns involved in this research we attempted to provide them with critical categories that allowed them to analyze their schools as well as their own thinking and practice. It is hoped that one of the messages that interns received during this dialogical process is that their own work with students can be a shared rather than simply transmissional process.

In our own reflections concerning this process and these chapters, we have been encouraged by the recurring claim of interns that they were viewing some facets of schooling in a different light. It is our contention that involvement with the Reflective and Critical Internship Program contributed to personal and professional growth.