

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
SUBSTITUTE TEACHING, LEGITIMACY
AND MARGINALITY

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF EDUCATION

BY
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JULY, 1984

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA SUBSTITUTE TEACHING, LEGITIMACY
AND MARGINALITY.

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore a theoretical model that can help explain the problems in substitute teaching. The model proposed was that substitute teachers are in a marginal situation. That is, substitute teachers lack legitimacy. More specifically, substitute teachers lack the authority of the regular classroom teacher and they also lack knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom situation.

Participant observation, interview and written essays by students were used as sources for data. The subjects included thirty substitute teachers, four superintendents, five assistant superintendents, ten principals, four vice-principals, twenty regular teachers, and twenty-three students. Analysis of data involved transcribing, coding and classifying data according to the theoretical perspective.

The findings of this study indicated that substitute teachers lack authority because they do not hold official positions in the school. Substitute teachers are neither subject to assigned parking nor a niche in the staffroom; they are not welcomed or oriented to the school; they rarely know the school personnel or students; they are often treated in a cold and unfriendly manner; and they have problems finding things in the school.

Substitute teachers are perceived as lacking expertise and experience by administrators, regular teachers, and students. They are rarely allowed to teach; instead they principally are asked to supervise the students and maintain control of the classroom. On occasions when they are asked to carry on with the program, they find it almost impossible to do so because they lack adequate preparation time, or

proper planning by the absent regular teacher, or they are not qualified in that subject area. Students invariably view their presence as time for a holiday and discipline problems tend to increase. Administrators constantly supervise and evaluate substitute teachers in some schools. Finally, substitute teachers are paid a lower daily salary than regular teachers.

The results of the study indicated that substitute teachers lack knowledge of the rituals which apply to teaching and control of disorderly behavior by regular teachers. Substitute teachers have their own personalities and teaching styles which may be in direct contrast to the pupils' regular teachers. When substitute teachers try to impose their rituals on the students, it often results in confusion and frustration on the part of the students. Substitute teachers find it difficult to identify disorderly behavior and match disorderly behavior with suitable punishment. Often they are not given the same authority as regular teachers to use severe means of punishment.

This study indicated that substitute teachers need to have legitimate roles within the school system. In order that they have authority, substitute teachers must be assured of official positions in the school, with all the rights and privileges as regular teachers. Then administrators, regular teachers, and students will view them as experts. Substitute teachers will then be able to spend more time working with regular teachers learning their classroom rituals. By having authority and knowledge of the classroom rituals, substitute teachers will be able to contribute to the students' education in a constructive way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is highly indebted to the members of the thesis committee for their encouragement, support, and guidance during all phases of this research project.

First, I wish express my gratitude to Dr. S. Rosenstock for the constructive criticism and suggestions he offered throughout the developmental and the completing stages of this study. I also acknowledge the effort and patience of Dr. Rosenstock for co-ordinating my Master of Education program and instructing me in three courses. His concern and interest in my welfare were a valuable source of motivation.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness and sincere gratitude to Dr. R. Clifton in his capacity as principal supervisor of this study and as a course instructor. His encouragement, his guidance, and his genuine interest have made this thesis a rewarding experience.

I am appreciative of the understanding, accessibility, and constructive advice offered to me by Professor K. Osborne. My only regret has been that he was unable to attend the oral examination due to a commitment at another university.

May I also thank Dr. C. Walley for his willingness to serve on the committee as a replacement for Professor Osborne. His understanding and interest in the topic have provided further insight to the thesis.

In addition, I wish to express my appreciation to my other course instructors who also made my graduate program enriching: Doctors J. Keselman, D. King, H. May, N. McDonald, H. Rubenstein (Anthropology Department), J. Seymour, and J. Von Stein.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. T. Meadows, Dr. H. Rubenstein, Dr. J. Seymour, and Dr. D. Jenkinson, as well as Mr. Phil Bury, for their assistance during various stages of this study. Similarly, I express my sincere gratitude to all the superintendents assistant superintendents, principals, vice-principals, regular teachers substitute teachers, and students in various school divisions, without whose assistance this study could not have been conducted.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my father, Rambaran Sidwah, and my mother, Phulbass Ramrekha. Your sweat, blood, and tears have not been wasted. One day we will meet.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
THE PROBLEM

When a regular teacher is absent from school on either a temporary or prolonged basis, a substitute teacher is usually called in as a replacement. Parents and the general public, who are concerned about the welfare of school-age youths, realize the importance of having a competent educator in the classroom at all times. In this sense, the job of the substitute teacher is extremely important.

However, the responsibility of stepping into the classroom and taking charge of affairs as the replacement for the regular teacher is an exceedingly trying task for a substitute teacher. Generally substitute teachers encounter numerous problems once in the classroom, and find it extremely difficult to proceed with the work of the regular teacher. Perhaps this situation tends to prevail because substitute teachers do not have authority in the classroom or knowledge of the classroom rituals to the same extent as the regular teacher. In other words, substitute teachers may be in a marginal situation.

Marginal situations are prevalent in our society. Various individuals and groups are characterized as being in marginal situations. Essentially the marginal situation implies the co-existence of something wanted and the denial of that want. The marginal man* concept was first formulated by Robert Park (1950) and later popularized by Everett

* Although the researcher recognized that the concept Marginal Man seems to be sexist language, he would like to be consistent with the professional research literature in the social sciences and use the same concept the professional experts in the field use.

Stonequist (1961). Park and Stonequist defined a marginal man as a person who has been socialized in two or more distinct sets of cultural norms and values and does not consistently follow either one of them (Park, 1950: 345-356; Stonequist, 1961). They indicated that the marginal man may be found in a variety of locations and conditions. The Eurasians, Mestizos, Mulattoes, Jews, children of Jewish-Gentile marriages, and individuals in the process of passing from a traditional to a more modern society are all examples given by Park as marginal men (Park, 1950: 370-376). Some marginal peoples, or at least those of mixed races, may experience social rejection, negative stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination in interpersonal relations.

Stonequist, however, has restricted the marginal situations to racial and national conflict. He maintained that the source of the distinctive personality characteristics of the marginal man was an ambivalence, or a loyalty divided between the two cultures to which he or she was marginal. Other writers, including Hughes and Hughes (1952), have applied the concept of marginality to a much wider field of group relations than the relations of races and nations. At one time or another, adolescents, career-women, migrants, chiropractors, anthropologists, bilingual persons, monks, the hard-of-hearing, middle-income groups, Catholics, church participants, factory foremen, druggists, the economically mobile, emancipated men, and sociologists of knowledge, have all been considered as being situationally marginal (Mann, 1958).

Gist and Dworkin (1972) have noted three forms of marginality: cultural, social and political. Cultural marginality occurs in situations in which individuals or groups find themselves sharing cultural

values and behavior patterns of the dominant and one or more other groups, or in situations in which hybrid or marginal cultures arise to insulate such individuals from psychological strains. Social marginality occurs when individuals are refused full participation in the groups and institutions of the dominant culture and are rejected, stereotyped, or discriminated against by the indigenes. Political marginality occurs when discrimination and prejudice are sanctioned not only by informal group pressures but by laws preventing the minority from participating as full citizens of the society.

Walter Wardwell (1959) points out that there can be marginality to a single well-defined social role. As an example, he cites the citizenship role of the American Black. While the American Black is not in conflict over whether to adhere to American culture patterns, he or she wants to be accepted as a full-fledged American citizen, with all appropriate rights and privileges. However, in attaining this goal, he or she has only partially succeeded and this constitutes the marginality of his or her role.

Wardwell also argues that a marginal role could represent an imperfectly institutionalized role. In this case, there is some ambiguity in the pattern filling the role and the social sanctions attending it tend to be inconsistently applied. The reason for this, according to Wardwell, is that the role's very marginality implies inadequate fulfillment of some of the expectations associated with it. In his article, Wardwell argued that the role of the chiropractor is structurally comparable to that of the Black, for it is marginal to the well-institutionalized role of the doctor. He points out that the chiropractor's role is marginal in regard to the following factors:

the amount of technical competence which chiropractors possess; the breadth of scope of their practice; their legal status; their income; and their prestige standing. Finally, chiropractors want acceptance as doctors (of a special kind), but society at large does not accord them this status. Therefore, their role is marginal.

In writing about student teachers, Clifton (1979) explained that practice teaching is a marginal situation. He explained that student teaching may not be integrated in a systematic way with the functioning of the school, as an educational institution, and he argued that this lack of integration may cause the self concepts of student teachers to become deflated.

In general the concept of marginality has been used to define roles within an institution which are peripheral to the main functioning of that particular institution (Stonequist, 1961). That is, a marginal person is someone who is not integrated into the formal structure of the institution and, as a result, does not contribute to the achievement of the desired goals. Thus, a marginal situation is one in which there is an absence of clearly-defined rules which legitimate the behavior of the individual and this results in his or her role being unrelated to the achievement of the desired goals of the institution.

Clifton observed that in practice teaching the lack of legitimacy may be identified by two interrelated factors. In the first instance, student teachers do not have authority in the classroom. That is, student teachers do not have an official position in the school. Their position is artificially created, usually after the school year has begun and it is extinguished usually before the school year ends.

Student teachers also do not have authority in the classroom because they are seen by both their co-operating teachers and the pupils as being neither experts nor competent.

In the second instance, student teachers do not know the rituals of the classroom. More specifically, student teachers do not know what are the co-operating teacher's rituals which apply to teaching, and they do not know the rituals which apply to the control of disorderly behavior. Consequently, as Clifton argued, these two specific factors account for student teachers being in a marginal situation. Schools do not have set rules which legitimate the specific behavior of student teachers, therefore their role is considered to be unrelated to the achievement of the desired goals of the school. ✓

of the
school

One would hypothesize that substitute teachers are another group that seems to be in a marginal situation. In reviewing the literature on substitute teaching it is evident that there are many complaints about substitute teachers, of which the following are typical:

Drake (1981: 75) comments that:

the saddest reality of all is that substitutes of every type, including the most qualified and dedicated available are seldom successful in their stand-in role.

Freedman (1975: 95) writes that:

Too often substitutes do not teach at all, they 'baby sit', 'police', or simply 'mark time'. Too often the lesson plans left for them are carelessly prepared, no materials are available for their use. In many schools, substitutes are not viewed as teachers at all, but as the subjects of jokes and stories.

Stephens (1969: 229) observes that:

The typical substitute teacher program today remains loosely organized, inefficient and ineffective...the substitute teacher has been viewed as a stop-gap, emergency measure, used as a baby-sitter, and relegated to the outer limits of the school staff.

Washington (1972: 152) claims that:

The regular full-time school staff, collectively tends to perceive the substitute teacher as an incompetent unqualified professional - someone who does not have the necessary credentials to become a regular teacher. The substitute teacher is regarded as a fill-in, second best, second-rate teacher, and in some cases as a mercenary soldier - one who comes to fill in only because it is a profitable venture. Teachers, also, tend to feel that the pupils are short changed whenever they have had a substitute teacher, that the day or days spent with him or her have been lost or wasted, and that the unfortunate consequences of this circumstance will be heaped upon the regular full-time teacher when he returns.

Capitan et al (1980: 1) report that:

...research and practical experience show that substitute teachers are less effective in keeping students 'on task' than are regular teachers.

Robb (1979: 30) from his experiences, and from years of observing substitutes in action while he was a full-time high school teacher, says:

I must submit that substitute teaching is primarily a useless, expensive service doing more harm than good... Little teaching and learning takes place! It is a rather outrageous indignity, emotionally draining to the substitute.

From this brief review, it is evident that substitute teaching is being projected in an unfavourable light. There is hardly anything positive to read about substitute teachers and their role in the school. While all these complaints are being made, there has been little attempt to find out why so many people are voicing dissatisfaction with substitute teachers. Furthermore, there has been little attempt

to explain the problems of substitute teaching in any meaningful theoretical framework. That is, there is an absence of a theory that can serve as a rationale for these complaints and ultimately for the improvement of substitute teaching.

Perhaps one explanation that could be given for the existence of so many problems with substitute teaching is that substitute teaching may not be integrated in a systematic way with the functioning of the school as an educational institution. Substitute teachers often experience anxiety and do not feel satisfied, competent or recognized as belonging to the educational community (Jentzen and Vockell, 1978). Substitute teachers perceive themselves as holding low status and prestige (Rawson, 1981). They feel isolated, unguided and ignored (Keller, 1976; Rawson, 1981; Collins, 1982). Substitute teaching seems to be a harrowing and painful task, one that is emotionally and physically draining (Stashower, 1974; Hayes, 1975; Keller, 1976; Winandy, 1977; Condra, 1977; Repas, 1981). Substitute teachers are not only acutely conscious of their low status, but they also feel little job satisfaction (Bear and Carpenter, 1961; Reynolds and Garfield, 1971; Kraft, 1980; Rawson, 1981). They feel that their efforts are worthless and unappreciated. They regret that they are never around to observe the progress pupils have made under their instruction, and rarely get any feedback and evaluation from their teaching efforts (Woodbury, 1960; See, 1978; Stashower, 1974).

The specific research problem of this study is this: does the theory of marginal situation apply to substitute teachers? That is, do substitute teachers lack legitimacy? More specifically, do they

lack authority of the regular classroom teachers? Also, do they lack knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom situation?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of this study is that it investigates the relatively unexplored area of substitute teaching. There seems to be a dearth of research in this area. This study is worth pursuing in order that we may attain a greater understanding, from both theoretical and empirical perspectives, of the whole area of substitute teaching.

Furthermore, the information derived from this study may help suggest ways to improve substitute teaching. That is, the research may lead to more efficient and effective ways that substitute teachers can replace the regular teachers.) why

This study may prove to be of some importance to school boards and administrative staffs, as well as full time and substitute teachers, who seem to be in need of information about how to provide better service to substitute teachers in school divisions (Bear and Carpenter, 1961; Bruno, 1970; Freedman, 1975). This research may also provide a reference for school boards in re-examining their school policies as they directly affect substitute teachers.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter one of this study presented an introduction to, and a brief review of, the literature on substitute teaching and the theory of marginality. Specifically, Clifton's study of student teachers and practice teaching, together with a brief account of the problems of substitute teaching, are highlighted. Following this, the significance of the study is presented.

Chapter two will present the methodology of the study. The research strategies of observation, interview, and written essays from students will be discussed. The research setting and the sample will be described. Also, the analysis of the ethnographic data will be explained.

Chapter three will present the findings and discussion of the study. The first part of the argument will focus upon substitute teachers' lack of authority in the school system. That is, substitute teachers do not hold official positions in the school and they are perceived by administrators, regular teachers, and pupils as lacking expertise and experience. The last part of the argument will deal with substitute teachers' lack of knowledge of the accepted classroom rituals which apply to teaching and the control of disorderly behavior. Before the evidence is presented, there will be a brief discussion of some aspects of the theory of marginality. These topics are role behavior and the marginal situation, legitimacy, marginal situation and authority.

Chapter four will present a summary of the study outlining the research hypothesis, the methodology, the analysis of the data and the results and discussion. Then recommendations for educational practice will be made. Specific suggestions will be made in terms of professionalizing and integrating the role of substitute teachers in the school system so that they may have authority just like regular classroom teachers, and be in a position to gain knowledge of the accepted classroom rituals of regular teachers. Also, recommendations for further research will be made. These recommendations will stem directly from

the theory of marginality. Specific research studies will be recommended that may help to further validate the findings of this study, and perhaps add knowledge to the theory of marginality.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the research strategies, research setting, and the analysis of the data are discussed. This research uses the method of participant observation as its main strategy for collecting data. Within this context, substitute teachers have been interviewed and observed. Moreover, regular teachers, principals, and senior administrators have been interviewed, and students have written essays about substitute teachers. All of this data has been analyzed in order to address the role of substitute teachers. The research setting was in seven schools in different school divisions in Winnipeg. The analysis of the data involved transcribing, coding and classifying the material into suitable categories of a typology derived from the theory of marginality.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

In this study, a blend of methods or a triangulation of methods was used in the data collection. Specifically, observation, interviewing, and essays written by students were used. Many authors, including Denzin (1970), McCall and Simmons (1969), Trow (1957), Webb et al (1966), and Zelditch (1962) have suggested the use of a triangulation of methods in social research. Here, a triangulation of methods means a combination of research methodologies under the rubric of participant observation.

Observation

The researcher played the role of participant-as-observer (Gold, 1958). This means that the researcher is in the research setting itself, but is not directly or intimately involved in the activities that

are taking place. Also, the nature and purpose of the information that the researcher seeks are often obscure from the point of view of the respondents. Permission to observe and interview substitute teachers and regular teachers was granted by a few superintendents and principals in different school divisions in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The researcher was able to observe substitute teachers nine times in seven different schools. Two schools were visited twice, once when a substitute teacher was teaching in the classroom, and once when the regular teacher was in the classroom.

The initial step in observing is deciding what to observe and how to observe. Once the researcher was in the school, he observed who the substitute teacher interacted with, where the interaction took place and generally what happened. The substitute teacher was observed as soon as he or she entered the school building, the halls, the principal's office, the staffroom and the classroom. The researcher observed who greeted the substitute teacher and what was said, and later in the classroom itself. Notes on his observations were taken.

Observations were made in a variety of grades, including grades one, two, four, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and twelve. During the time the researcher was in the class, he sat at the back, and took detailed notes on the events that transpired. Sometimes, the researcher interviewed the substitute teacher informally immediately after an observation period. Critical events that took place were discussed. At the end of the day, notes were written on many incidents that were observed and discussed.

By sitting at the back of the classroom, it was possible to observe interactions in the classroom unobtrusively. While taking notes, the researcher tried not to keep his eyes focused too long on his notebook so that if any significant event occurred, it would not escape his attention. He also avoided talking with the teacher and pupils while observing in the classroom. In summary, it may be said that although an outside observer inevitably becomes part of the system of interaction, steps may be taken to keep extraneous effects to a minimum.

Interviewing

As part of the triangulation design, interviewing was used to collect part of the data for this study. Prior to the interviews, the researcher received expert opinions regarding the face validity of the interview guides that he developed. He rehearsed the interview introduction and questions with two graduate students to check for ambiguity, jargon, leading questions and bias as recommended by Borg and Gall (1971). The interview guides were then pre-tested on two substitute teachers, one superintendent, two principals, two regular classroom teachers and two students, who were then excluded from the study. This exercise was helpful in evaluating and improving the interview guides and procedures. Also, the researcher had experience in using the procedures before any research data for the study was collected.

The majority of the interviews were conducted over the telephone and were tape-recorded. A few interviews were conducted in face-to-face situations with the respondents. Some of these were tape-recorded and some were recorded by handwritten notes. The major advantages of

the telephone interview are low cost and fast completion with relatively high response rates (Sudman, 1967). Research indicates that there is no difference in the quality of responses to telephone and personal interviews (Selltitz et al, 1959). In this study, telephone interviews were particularly advantageous since it was necessary to interview individuals who were scattered throughout the city.

When conducting the actual interviews, all respondents were given the opportunity to refuse to participate, although no one refused. In the introduction to the interview, steps were taken to reduce possible bias. In this case, respondents were asked not to discuss the interviews with their colleagues until all interviews were completed.

Interviews ranged in time from one and a half hours, with a few substitute teachers and one superintendent, to about twenty minutes, with most averaging approximately thirty minutes. During the interviews it was necessary to probe and ask for clarifications. As soon as possible after the personal interviews, notes taken during the interviews were checked for clarity and any detail that may have been omitted was filled in while it was still fresh in the researcher's memory. Also, all tape-recorded interviews were transcribed in full.

Written Essays

As part of the triangulation design, written essays from students were also used to collect data. Some regular teachers had volunteered to have their pupils write an essay on substitute teachers. These essays were gathered from one grade three class in an elementary school, three grade seven classes in a junior high school, and two grade nine classes in another junior high school.

By using these three methods, observation, interviewing and written essays from students, the researcher was able to collect a copious amount of data. The triangulation design proved helpful in the collection of data for this study. The reason being that the more the methods of data collection differed, the more confident the researcher was in the quality of the data.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

The researcher collected data from students, substitute teachers, regular teachers and school administrators in elementary, junior high, and high schools. The schools were from all areas of the city Winnipeg. Some schools were from middle class neighbourhoods, while others were from lower class and lower middle class neighbourhoods. The school administrators, staff and general school population were from different racial and ethnic background. The classrooms in some schools were closed: that is, each classroom was separated by walls, and doors. The classrooms in other schools were open: that is, several classes were located in a large open area. The researcher also collected data from senior school administrators. Their offices were in various school board buildings that were situated in different parts of the city.

The Sample

The subjects for this study comprised of thirty substitute teachers, four superintendents, five assistant superintendents, ten principals, four vice-principals, twenty regular classroom teachers, and twenty-three students. Some of the substitute teachers, principals and regular teachers were obtained through the use of the snowball

technique; that is, the researcher was able to gain access to other subjects from the present subject(s) with whom he was interacting. Some of the substitute teachers were picked randomly from lists of substitute teachers from two school divisions. Some of the principals and vice-principals were chosen randomly from a 1983 schools' list. The superintendents and assistant superintendents came from seven of the eight different school boards in the city. The pupils were selected arbitrarily from six different grades in four schools, which include elementary, junior, and senior high levels.

The superintendents and assistant superintendents have held their positions for over three years and their ages ranged from forty to fifty-five years. Two of the assistant superintendents were females. The principals and vice-principals have held their positions for over two years and their ages varied from thirty-five to fifty-five years. One principal and one vice-principal were female. The regular teachers were of both sexes. Their ages varied from twenty-five to fifty-five. Some of them had recently been appointed permanent teaching positions while others had been teaching for over twenty-five years.

The substitute teachers were of both sexes. Some had recently graduated as teachers and because of a tight job market were substitute teaching. Other substitute teachers had been substitute teaching for as long as five years. Some substitute teachers were young mothers who had quit full time teaching positions to raise a family and some were mothers with grown-up children, and were trying to get back into full time teaching. The ages of the substitute teachers ranged from

twenty-two to forty years of age.

The pupils included in this study came from a wide variety of family backgrounds from different parts of Winnipeg. According to their regular teachers, the majority were described as average pupils. Their ages ranged from eight to eighteen years.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This study utilized the ethnographic method of research incorporating participant observation, interview and written essays by students. The following authors provided the researcher with useful suggestions to help analyze the data: Adams and Preiss (1960), Borgan and Taylor (1975), Selltiz et al (1976) and Spradley (1980).

The analysis of the data involved several steps. First, all tape-recorded interviews were transcribed on paper. Second, the notes from observation and personal interviews were recorded in detail. Third, a useful classification scheme for coding the data was developed. The classification scheme or typology emerged from the theory of marginality, and deals specifically with lack of legitimacy of the substitute teacher's role. Fourth, the data was read several times, coded and classified into suitable categories of the typology. Finally, the material in the categories was reviewed, and reorganized. The argument was written and specific examples from the ethnographic material were used as supporting evidence.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the first chapter, it was hypothesized that substitute teachers are in a marginal position. That is, substitute teachers lack the authority of the regular classroom teacher. Substitute teachers do not hold official positions in the school and they are perceived as lacking expertise and experience. Substitute teachers also do not have knowledge of the rituals which apply to teaching or knowledge of the rituals which apply to disorderly behavior. Since substitute teachers lack the authority of regular classroom teachers and they lack knowledge of the classroom rituals, their role in the school, as a bureaucratic institution, is not legitimated and they are in a marginal situation. In this chapter, the hypothesis that substitute teachers are marginal people in the school is evaluated.

ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE MARGINAL SITUATION

Bureaucratic institutions, as described by Ellis (1956), are composed of a number of integral status positions with constant patterns of authority and communication. In educational institutions, such as schools, various individuals hold different status positions and play different roles, such as principals, department heads, teachers, laboratory assistants, teacher aides, secretaries, librarians, pupils and custodians. These positions are interrelated in an orderly manner. In fact, there are definite patterns of authority which are relatively permanent and are maintained through set patterns of interaction.

The primary structural feature of institutions, according to Weber (1947), is the presence of a hierarchy of authority. In the typical case, offices are arranged in a pyramid of ascending authority, each lower office being under the control and supervision of a higher one. A certain amount of authority is distributed and institutionalized in the various offices. This means that the person who occupies an office has the authority vested in that office. The interaction patterns that developed through the various lines of authority help to create and maintain role behavior. That is, individuals in these institutions interact with each other in accordance with the office that they hold. According to Getzels (1963: 310), this whole process includes a "nomothetic" or institutional dimension as well as an "ideographic" or individual personality dimension. These two dimensions are necessary for the development of specific role behavior. In other words, while certain regularities (nomothetic) in role behavior are required and desirable, individuals tend to play their roles with a certain amount of uniqueness (ideographic).

In the school, for example, the role behavior of principals, teachers and pupils reveals certain regularities. These regularities emerge partly out of shared expectations which group members have with respect to each other. Also, these regularities are developed over a period of time and are not automatically assumed by the individuals from the initial stage of their interaction. This process results in individuals behaving in particular ways which generally conform with their official status positions.

The major purpose of most public institutions, especially those relating to education, is the achievement of important social values. Schools in particular are responsible for imparting knowledge, skills and values. The pattern of interaction that develops among individuals in terms of their roles helps to realize the achievement of these values. Schools are specifically organized to facilitate pupils' learning of academic subjects and desirable modes of behavior, which in general are highly valued by society.

Legitimacy

The term "legitimacy" is the subject of formidable literature and ongoing discussion. The precise definition of legitimacy has been at least vague and the indices unclearly stated (Merelman, 1966: 548). Gellner (1974: 25) states that the term legitimacy does not apply only to the political sphere but also to many other spheres of social life. Friedrich (1960: 540) describes legitimacy as both a state of affairs and a process. That is, legitimacy is both a desirable and necessary element of a stable and effective legal order. On the one hand, it involves explicit or implicit justifications for the authority of an order and on the other hand, the development of a concomitant sense of obligation on the part of subjects. Also, on a pragmatic level, legitimacy involves the generation of expectations relating to the performance of the official order and of varying degrees and kinds of support associated with their fulfillment.

Legitimacy is the right to exercise power within and for an organization, as voluntarily granted to an actor by other actors (Olsen,

1968: 181). Legitimacy is often granted through formal procedures, such as the procedures used to install an individual in an official position within an organization. It is common for leaders in some organizations to employ force, dominance, and attraction to supplement and support their formal authority.

Legitimacy is also a property of the system (Kelman, 1970: 228). According to Olsen, authority can be described as the exercise of legitimacy within a social organization. Legitimate authority implies that power is exercised with certain limits and according to certain rules, rather than in an arbitrary fashion. When a social actor is granted the legitimate right to make decisions, direct activities or otherwise exert influence and control, he is exercising authority. Authoritative dictates are voluntarily complied with because they are seen as legitimate by subordinates and superordinates.

Marginal Situation

Stonequist (1961) used the concept "marginality" to define roles within an institution which are peripheral to the main functioning of that institution. In other words, a marginal person is one who is not integrated into the formal structure of an institution and, as a result, does not contribute to the achievement of the desired goals. Hence, a marginal person may be in a situation which is structured so that it is not integrated within the institution and as a result cannot contribute meaningfully to the successful achievement of the desired goals of the institution. Therefore, a marginal situation is one in which there is no clear set of rules which legitimate the person's

behavior and consequently his or her role is not related to the achievement of the desired goals of the institution.

Considering what has been said about role behavior, legitimacy, and marginal situation, the role of the substitute teacher in the school may be considered as being marginal. Substitute teachers frequently find themselves on the fringe of the teaching profession and this constitutes the marginality of their role. While regular teachers are more often than not fully recognized and accepted in their professional role by the education community, substitute teachers seem to have attained little acceptance and, as a result, their role may be marginal.

Two interrelating factors may help account for the lack of legitimacy of substitute teachers. In the first place, substitute teachers do not have the authority in the classroom of the regular teacher; and in the second place, they lack knowledge of the rituals of the classroom. These two factors are interrelated in the sense that not having authority means that the substitute teachers have difficulty participating in forming the rituals which undergo continuous change and evolution as new situations arise. Because substitute teachers never know all of the rituals, they have to be continually reminded of those they do not know by reluctant pupils, and in some instances by regular teachers or even school administrators. This illustrates their lack of authority.

AUTHORITY

Weber (1947) defined three types of authority: traditional authority, charismatic authority and rational-legal authority. The first type, traditional authority, is legitimated by the sanctity of tradition, as in the divine rule of kings. The legitimacy that an individual has in traditional authority is based upon his or her and his or her followers' attachment to established customs and practices. In other words, it is tradition which sanctifies the authority of an individual.

The second type of authority, charismatic authority, is legitimated by the charismatic character of the leader, such as the person who inspires great loyalty and confidence among his followers. That is, charismatic authority is based mainly upon the respect that people have for the extraordinary powers and performances of a person. It is generally believed that these powers and performances are beyond the capabilities of ordinary people and tend to fulfill the perceived needs of both the authority figure and his or her followers.

The third type of authority is rational-legal authority which is based on a belief in the supremacy of the law. Several writers including Olsen (1968) and Spady (1977), for example, contend that Weber's conception of rational-legal authority in fact contains two separate dimensions: official (legal) and expert (rational) authority. Official authority is inherent within an organizational position; a person who occupies such a position in the structure of the organization is bestowed with the legal or official right to exercise power by virtue of the office. Expert authority, which is based upon technical know-

ledge and experience, gives the individual the legitimate right to exercise power within a defined set of activities.

In the public schools, as they presently exist, it seems that the only mode of authority that may be generally relied upon by both regular teachers and substitute teachers is derived from their official position, expertise and experience. Charismatic authority is based upon the extraordinary powers and performances of a person. Since most regular teachers and substitute teachers are quite ordinary people, by definition, they cannot generally rely upon this mode in order to maintain authority within a classroom. Only a very few teachers, who are endowed with this special quality, might be able to exercise charismatic authority, even though it may be very effective (c.f. Spady, 1977: 370).

Bona fide teachers may find it relatively easy and convenient to rely on their official position, expertise and experience in order to maintain authority in their classrooms. In fact, regular teachers have official positions and are paid on the basis of their expertise (qualifications) and experience. However, the same cannot be said for substitute teachers. They do not have official positions in the school nor are they paid on the basis of their expertise and experience. *some schools / yes / some no*

Therefore, it may be almost impossible for substitute teachers to maintain their authority within the classroom. In essence it is noted that substitute teachers do not have authority in the classroom because they do not hold official positions in the school and they are perceived as lacking expertise and experience.

Official Position

The first reason for the difficulties encountered by substitute teachers is the fact that they do not have an official position in the school. Substitute teachers are asked to provide their services only when members of the permanent teaching staff are absent. As a result, substitute teachers hardly ever know when they may be called out on an assignment. Often, substitute teachers have to undergo an anxious and sometimes frustrating morning, waking up very early and waiting for the telephone to ring, anticipating a call requesting their services at a school. One substitute teacher was speaking for more people when he said:

As a substitute you don't know when and where you would be substituting. You are always anxious about whether you will be working today or not. You get up in the morning all ready to go and find out there isn't anything available.

The fact that substitute teachers must sit at home and wait for someone to hire their services indicates their lack of official position in a school. Many of them have expressed frustration about the unstable lives they must lead. Because of the unpredictable nature of getting called out on an assignment, substitute teachers cannot plan other things.

The absence of demarcated parking stalls is another indication that substitute teachers lack an official position in the school. Substitute teachers do not enjoy the same privilege as school administrators and regular teachers, who, by virtue of their permanent status, have their parking stalls clearly demarcated in most schools.

Ans 100

Substitute teachers are often reminded of their peculiar status when they have to park in another person's parking stall. Sometimes they may not find a vacant stall in the parking lot. They have to park on the street and may end up paying for parking tickets at the end of the day.

Within the school the substitute teacher often has problems. Since the substitute teacher does not hold an official position, he or she is not considered part of the regular staff and consequently is often overlooked by administrators and regular staff members. There may not be the awareness among them that the substitute teacher should be made to feel more a part of the routine. When substitute teachers arrive at the school, often the principal is not available to meet and show them around the school and give some brief introductions. Generally, little attempt is made to escort the substitute teachers to their classrooms and brief them about the school. One superintendent, who was asked to comment on this situation, said:

Some principals look at the substitute as a one day employee who isn't worth all the fuss. They see no real commitment to helping that person out. They really see that person as just putting in time...The substitute teacher is not part of the regular staff and often tends to be overlooked by principals.

The comment made by this superintendent gives a clear indication that substitute teachers lack an official position in the school and indicates generally the type of treatment they receive from school administrators.

Substitute teachers say that when they arrive at the school, often there is no one in the office to greet them. They said that they have resigned themselves to the fact that substitute teachers are

treated in this manner. When a specific substitute teacher was asked whether administrators greet substitute teachers on arrival at the school, she replied:

You are not important and nobody is going to worry with that sort of thing. It's the sort of situation where you are called in and they say, "OK, she's just here for a day " - so maybe they don't consider it important to show you around.

Some substitute teachers claimed that the only type of greeting they get in some schools is the query: "Who are you today?" or "Who's sick?" from some regular teachers. Observations by the researcher support this claim. This query calls forth a different response each day and signifies the tenuous and temporary nature of the position.

In many instances, substitute teachers say that they may be going to a school for the first time and no one instructs them about the school's philosophy of education, school objectives, role of the substitute teacher, discipline problems and procedures, fire drill routines, and so forth. When substitute teachers lack knowledge of these things, they are helpless in their position in the classroom. Without a proper welcome and orientation, substitute teachers may not feel as if they are a necessary and important part of a school program.

The substitute teacher's lack of an official position comes more clearly into focus by his or her interaction with the permanent staff, especially in the staffroom. The substitute teacher's presence evokes a feeling of indifference on the part of regular staff members. Almost every substitute teacher in the sample said that in many schools the general attitude of regular staff members appears to be cold and unfriendly.

Some of them mentioned that regular teachers consider them as transient intruders in the school and don't make an effort to be friendly towards them. The kind of treatment substitute teachers receive from regular staff members can be summed up in the words of one substitute teacher who made the following observation:

You go into the staff room and you feel so cold just sitting there like you're not welcome. The staff will be there in their little groups playing cards and chatting and they ignore you. You almost feel as if you are listening in on other people's conversations. You're there for a day. Some of them might say: Why bother? Why should we make an effort to be friendly?

As a result of this unfriendly attitude on the part of regular staff members, substitute teachers have to sit by themselves, apart from the well-established cliques, and eat their lunches alone.

Within the staff room, a substitute teacher's lack of an official position is also noticeable in other ways. In some schools, all regular staff members have their own drinking (coffee) cups in the kitchen rack. Some of them have the initials of certain teachers' names printed on the side. The substitute teacher does not have a coffee cup. It was observed in a couple of schools that there were not even styro-foam cups available for the substitute teachers.

There is more evidence in the staff room that indicates substitute teachers do not have an official position in the school. Some substitute teachers reported that when they enter the staff room they have to be the last ones to know where they can sit. In this respect, one of them noted:

When you walk into a staff room, you don't know what to do first. Often people have their own places to sit, and if you sit in somebody's place by accident they get all upset. So you have to be one of the last ones to know where it is alright to sit.

Since substitute teachers lack an official position in the school, they are excluded by practice, if not fact, from most professional activities in the school. They are excluded from staff meetings, parent-teacher meetings, social activities and other functions that are held during the school year. Some regular teachers pointed out also that they get to attend inservice workshops but substitute teachers, by and large, do not get the same opportunity.

The classroom is the other area within the school itself where the substitute teacher's lack of an official position becomes very noticeable. From the students' perspective, the fact that the substitute teacher is in someone else's classroom on a temporary basis indicates his or her lack of an official position. The substitute teacher may be free to conduct the class as he or she sees fit; in the eyes of the pupils, this is considered to be usurping the place of their regular teacher. The following comment by a grade seven pupil underscores this point:

The problems with substitutes, who are taking the place and space of our regular teacher, are that they never know what to do. They try to lay down the line and make a fool of themselves. Some hard-bitten subs are very strict and they think they own the classroom, and one actually rearranged the desks in our class just for one day.

Another indication of substitute teachers' lack of an official position is that they are usually strangers in the classroom and are

different rooms

unfamiliar with its physical setting. Several students reported that when a substitute teacher takes over their classroom they have to show the person where everything is kept. In discussing some of the difficulties substitute teachers have in the classroom, one grade nine pupil remarked:

Lots of times I tried to help substitute teachers because they often ask me questions like where is so and so because they don't know where things are in the classroom. Some kids will lie and make up stories or something but some will help the substitute teacher out.

The fact that some students "lie" and betray the substitute teacher when he or she asks for assistance to find things in the classroom, or for information regarding assignments, or about routine procedure and schedules, is an indication that substitute teachers are in a marginal role. The person lacks authority in the classroom. The reason why the substitute teacher lacks authority is, in part, because he or she does not hold an official position in the school.

Substitute teachers are not only strangers to the classroom setting but also to the pupils. Because substitute teachers do not hold an official position in the school, they are unfamiliar with the students' names, their background, and their routines. The substitute teacher enters the classroom without any knowledge of the relationship between the students, the group performance, personality, and behavioral style. Substitute teachers have to cope with the anxiety generated by their newness to the situation and by the inter-personal responses of the pupils.

Some students pointed out that substitute teachers do not stay long enough in their classrooms to really get to know them. While students

have a close relationship with their regular teachers and can discuss confidential matters with them, the same cannot be said for substitute teachers. Students indicated that they do not feel comfortable discussing their problems with substitute teachers because they do not know them. In response to the question, "What are the differences between the regular teacher and the substitute teacher?" one grade seven pupil pointed out:

Regular teachers you get to know. I'm used to them. Substitute teachers you don't know, so it's hard to get along with them. You are not used to seeing them and talking with them. Sometimes you have never seen the substitute teacher before and if you have a problem you're afraid to talk to them about it.

The comment made by this student not only indicates the substitute teacher's lack of an official position in the school, but it also implies the great amount of difficulties the person encounters in the classroom as well. Generally, students realize that the substitute teacher is someone who lacks an official position in the school. Consequently, they try to see how far they can go with a new teacher, whom they know is going to be there only for a short time. The comment made by one principal helps to encapsulate some of the problems substitute teachers face:

The substitute teacher does not have a position in the school like a regular teacher, and when she comes in, she doesn't know how to deal with the kids. By this time of the year, regular teachers know who are the kids in the classes and how to get along with them. A class has a lot of personalities. You need to be there consistently to know each individual student, if they are emotionally-disturbed, et cetera. If a substitute comes in, first of all she doesn't have the same methodology and the same mannerisms as the classroom teacher and some classes, even the primary grades, tend to take advantage of the substitute. There's always one or two kids who use this for attention.

In summary, one reason why substitute teachers do not have authority in the school is due to the fact that they do not hold official positions in the school. There are many factors within the school environment which indicate this fact. For example, substitute teachers do not have their own parking spots; they do not have their own coffee cups or their own chairs in the staff room; they do not know school administrators, regular staff members or students; and they do not know where to find things in the classroom. As a result, substitute teachers find it almost impossible to maintain their authority in the school. However, their lack of official positions in the school is only one reason that accounts for their lack of authority. Another reason is that substitute teachers are often perceived as lacking expertise and experience by administrators, regular teachers and students. This will be discussed in the following section.

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Expertise and Experience

The second reason for the difficulties encountered by substitute teachers is the fact that they are often seen by administrators, regular teachers and pupils as not having expertise and experience. Substitute teachers are often asked by administrators and regular teachers to act as babysitters and "keep house" until the "real teacher" gets back. From the administrators' perspective, once an adult person is in the classroom and he or she prevents class members from leaving the building, making excessive noise or from injuring themselves or one another, they are satisfied. One principal, who was asked what her expectations are for a substitute teacher in the classroom, replied:

not sure what it is

As long as the substitute teacher prevents the children from making noise, fighting and destroying the classroom we will be satisfied with that.

The comment made by this principal seems to indicate that the substitute teacher is expected to be more of a classroom custodian or patrol officer rather than a teacher. The attitude of some administrators and regular teachers is that the pupils will not learn anything while the regular teacher is away so all the substitute teacher has to do is maintain a reasonable degree of order and discipline. When substitute teachers are asked to act as babysitters, the pupils are often given study periods, or some busy work to complete. In the eyes of the pupils, substitute teachers are perceived as being incompetent teachers who cannot do anything else than just supervise students. The comments made by two grade nine students were typical of many pupils:

Substitute teachers are not very intelligent. They just sit there and do absolutely nothing. They have no control, no sense of authority, no brains. They don't know how we do our work and all that stuff.

I think subs are really dumb. They don't know their left side from their right. Subs are people who weren't good enough to make it as real teachers.

Consequently, many students say that they do not attend classes the day or days a substitute teacher takes over their class. The students do not seem to find it useful to attend classes when they have a substitute teachers, and consequently they often skip classes.

Some regular teachers are very apprehensive about leaving their classes in the hands of substitute teachers. They do not view substitute teachers as competent professionals. They also believe that little productive work will occur in their absence. Before leaving

their classes in the hands of substitute teachers, some regular teachers warn the school administrators about everything the substitute teacher can and cannot do. In this respect, one vice-principal pointed out:

Some teachers have said to me, look, it would be better for me if nothing happens in that classroom. Like I don't want them to give tests, notes or essays ... On the other hand, it's best in many cases to say, here are some worksheets or some assignments people can do and you just supervise.

This attitude on the part of the regular teachers indicates that substitute teachers do not have authority in their classrooms. They consider substitute teachers as incompetent people who are infringing on their territory and unnecessarily upsetting their program. Therefore, as a precautionary measure, they just ask them to babysit the students.

Substitute teachers have to be very careful and tread lightly on the home turf of the regular teacher. They do not have the freedom to do as they please. Regular teachers try to secure all their materials safely and warn pupils about what the substitute teacher can and cannot use. When substitute teachers walk into such a classroom environment, they have little sense of belonging. When they need material to teach their lessons, it is not easily accessible. Instead, they have to seek permission from the school administrators before they can obtain any resource material. This situation could be very annoying to substitute teachers. It demonstrates to everybody that they do not have authority in the classroom. One substitute teacher described the situation this way:

You have to keep running around to get keys to get materials to use. When you come into the classroom, everything is locked away in cupboards and filing cabinets. You are not given a key and you can't find things on your own.

Not only does this situation remind substitute teachers of their behavior in the classroom, but it informs them in a subtle way that they do not have authority in the classroom. The classroom belongs to the regular teacher and they are there only to follow directions. If they do otherwise, it is considered as trespassing on someone else's domain.

Some regular teachers, especially at the elementary level, indicate that when they know they have to be absent, they leave loose sheets of paper for the pupils to write on rather than using their workbooks. They argue that the children often do poor work with substitute teachers and they cannot show this to the pupils' parents when they present their work on parent day. When asked what kinds of problems they encounter with substitute teachers, one regular teacher noted that:

I leave loose sheets for the children to write on when a substitute teacher is coming in. So if it's not up to my standards it's not there for the parents to see. I don't want the children doing a lot of work and scribbling their workbooks or head them up in a different way. The neatest kid can just do a scribbling mess for a substitute because they think they can get away with it.

This situation clearly indicates that regular teachers do not perceive substitute teachers as experts, who are capable of conducting their classes in a responsible manner. This is one of the ways in which the legitimacy of the substitute teacher's authority in the classroom is undermined.

Some regular teachers do not allow substitute teachers to teach any of their classes. Some of them said that substitute teachers ignore their instructions and proceed to do other things, or according to one regular teacher, misconceptions are taught by substitute teachers, who are unqualified in the subject area. He said:

They upset my program. I've never had a substitute who knew what he was doing. In my last experience with a substitute, he interfered with my teaching of mathematics and taught the wrong things. So I do not allow them to teach any lessons when I'm absent.

Many substitute teachers report that they are frequently asked to cover a class in a subject area and grade level in which they have had no training. Regular teachers said that when substitute teachers are unfamiliar with the subject they may look at the lesson plan and not have a clue where to begin. If they cannot teach the lesson, pupils often think of them as incompetent teachers. Substitute teachers are often unable to assist pupils when they ask for help in relation to the subject. One grade seven student captured the implications of this situation when he noted:

In general, substitute teachers don't know about the subject they are supposed to teach. So if a student has a question, they can't help. They are a problem for some students who want to learn because they waste a whole class trying to figure out what to do and when the class is over you haven't done a thing.

When substitute teachers are not given the opportunity to teach lessons, their authority in the classroom becomes questionable in the eyes of the pupils. When substitute teachers find themselves just babysitting and not teaching lessons, students not only think of them as incompetent but become very concerned about their education. This situation

prompted one grade nine student to make the following statement:

If all that the substitute does is just sit at the teacher's desk and wait until the day is over so she can go home, I don't think the kids will learn very much. If we had substitute teachers all the time we would probably fail that subject.

Substitute teachers are also perceived as lacking the proper training and experience by some regular teachers. Several regular teachers at the elementary level complained that substitute teachers lack the proper training and experience to work with pupils at that level, especially in open areas. One regular elementary teacher argued:

A lot of substitutes lack the experience and also the proper training. They haven't been out long enough to see how different children react to different teachers. A lot of them lack the experience to work in an open area. There are different tactics you have to use and they don't have the experience to relate to little children ... Like a lot of them have a loud voice when they are teaching, that's insecurity on their part. If you keep yelling at the kids they will ignore you anyway. I have found that in any classroom often a soft voice does a lot more good.

From their perspective, substitute teachers argued that regular teachers adopt a negative attitude towards them. Substitute teachers perceive that regular teachers think that they are unprofessional and incompetent. Many substitute teachers said that regular teachers think that they are incapable of teaching their lessons properly, and consequently pupils get confused. In response to why substitute teachers are not given any opportunity to teach, one substitute teacher replied:

They (regular teachers) may say that substitute teachers are professionals but there's a very negative attitude which I find really offending that you don't know what you are doing, and if you really knew, you wouldn't be a substitute teacher. I've actually heard some teachers say that they don't want substitute teachers teaching their lessons because they can't do it properly. I've heard things like they don't want substitutes messing around with their stuff.

Some school administrators would like substitute teachers to continue with the instructional program, but in order to continue, the substitute teacher must be properly oriented and lesson plans must be available in a complete and intelligible form. In the absence of instructional plans, some substitute teachers said they conjure up something to do with the pupils, while others said they let the pupils study on their own. In either case, pupils perceive substitutes as being incompetent teachers. One grade seven pupil felt that the activities substitute teachers improvise are irrelevant and boring. She commented:

We once had a substitute who played his guitar non-stop during math class. Another time a substitute played the best of Lawrence Welk on his accordian the whole day. Talk about being bored!

The substitute teacher who fills in for the regular teacher destroys the continuity of the work which the regular teacher is presenting. Thus, whatever he or she attempts to do is seen as unimportant because students realize it does not relate to the work they have been doing with their regular teacher.

Sometimes, regular teachers do not leave lesson plans that may assist the substitute teacher to take over the class smoothly and continue with the work. Such a situation can present a real dilemma

for substitute teachers who lack experience. When an inexperienced substitute teacher is faced with such a situation, he or she may spend an inordinate amount of time trying to figure out how to prepare something for the class members. In frustration, the substitute teacher may just end up babysitting the class. One superintendent said:

In some instances, the substitute teacher is someone with very little teaching experience. You have substitute teachers who have never taught in a classroom before and high school kids, if they realize the substitute teacher is unprepared, then they feel the teacher is wasting their time. They feel they aren't going to be doing anything worthwhile so they fool around.

As a result of this situation, the authority assumed by the substitute teacher is jeopardized because the person is considered to be neither competent nor experienced.

However, the lack of proper preparation on the part of regular teachers does not really pose a major problem for some substitute teachers. Some substitute teachers said that they have learned from past experience that whenever they are called out on an assignment they will carry along units of work that they have compiled while substituting. This material can be easily adapted to various grade levels. When regular teachers do not leave specific work to be completed, the pupils' time will not be wasted because the substitute teacher will have something to teach them and their time will be spent doing something. One substitute teacher noted that she always takes along forty-five minutes of prepared work.

On occasions where lesson plans and other assignments are lacking or seem to be inadequate, some administrators may welcome the innovativeness of the substitute teacher to do something constructive with

the pupils. However, some substitute teachers may lack the experience to match appropriate assignments with appropriate grade levels, or may lack the experience to judge what topics are suitable for discussion in the classroom. In this respect, a grade nine pupil observed:

Substitute teachers don't know what level the class is at and it's hard to tell. So they just give you easier work without even knowing if it's easy or not. One substitute teacher gave us a whole bunch of work to do that we did in grade five.

When substitute teachers make errors like these, their legitimacy often breaks down. The pupils look upon them as people who do not seem to know what they are doing.

One common mistake with inexperienced substitute teachers, according to regular teachers and experienced substitute teachers, is that, when they come to school in the morning, they are afraid to ask for information and assistance and they just walk into the classroom without proper orientation. In this regard, one regular teacher advised that:

When you get there in the morning and there is no timetable or whatever, you are afraid to ask because you are too anxious and nervous. It's important to ask if you don't know anything. You shouldn't guess because you could get into trouble. If you don't ask for assistance no one bothers with you.

In the absence of instructions and proper orientation, the substitute teacher may not be aware of the necessary schedule and duties for which he or she is responsible. It is difficult to be an expert when you do not know these things. One substitute teacher reported an incident where another substitute teacher was unfairly criticized when she was not informed about her supervision duty. She reported:

The (regular) teacher neglected to leave any information as to what times you were supposed to do what. The substitute sat in the staffroom not realizing recess was over. It was her first time in the school and there were comments made about the stupidity of the substitute teacher. She was not really told that she was on supervision.

Many substitute teachers complained that the lesson plans left by regular teachers are carelessly prepared with sketchy and vague instructions. When substitute teachers have to spend an inordinate amount of time trying to decipher what the regular teacher wrote in the day book, it makes them look and feel incompetent in front of the pupils. Sometimes, substitute teachers said they have to leave their classes unsupervised and go to the principal's office or to the teacher in the next classroom to get the lesson plans clarified. One substitute teacher explained her predicament as follows:

Some (regular) teachers leave something that is vague but what does that help? Nine to ten spelling. Ten to eleven physical education. Ok, fine. Do I teach the physical education or does someone come and get the children? ... When I went to the office, "No, you're teaching it." The first fifteen minutes I had to know what I was supposed to be doing.

Even with lesson plans it may not be possible for the substitute teacher to do a satisfactory job teaching the lesson. The substitute teacher, who is given very little notice of his or her assignment, may not have adequate time to revise the work before teaching it, and as a result his or her performance may be less than adequate. When this happens, the substitute teacher's authority in the classroom becomes tenuous. One substitute teacher, who was caught in this situation, explained:

If even the day book is there, you have a little notation like: Read chapter ten and discuss with the class"... How do you teach something you don't know about? It's almost an exercise in futility to come in unexpectedly and try to do what the regular teacher normally does.

It becomes difficult for the substitute teacher when he or she is thrown in the middle of a program and is expected to continue in the same way as the regular teacher. The substitute teacher does not know what the goals and objectives for that lesson are and how it fits into the general program. The substitute teacher does not know the abilities of the students and general class proficiency. He or she is in an awkward position not knowing whether it is new material he or she is supposed to cover. One substitute teacher explained her dilemma:

There was a review lesson, that's what it looked like to me. The students told me afterwards that they really just started that section and they needed a lot more explanation than I had been giving .. so there was some mix up and confusion there.

As a result of this type of situation, substitute teachers are often perceived as being incompetent. They are unable to do an adequate job and pupils complain about their poor quality of teaching.

Some substitute teachers, who lack teaching experience, may not be able to teach the lesson properly. Many students have testified that some substitute teachers seem to know the material themselves but they just cannot teach it effectively to the students. Consequently, the students are unable to understand what the substitute teachers are attempting to teach. The following comments made by one grade nine student and one grade twelve student illustrate this point:

Most substitute teachers know what they are saying themselves but have trouble in teaching it. Students usually have trouble in picking up what the teachers are trying to teach. They can sense that the substitute teacher knows what they are teaching but also know that the message isn't getting across.

You understand your normal teacher, it's a lot more clearer. The regular teacher has been teaching there for awhile and taught the same subject for a number of years. She knows the stuff and knows exactly what she wants to say. Whereas a substitute .. come in and sometimes they (sic) are so nervous .. the last substitute, she was trying to tell you something but she didn't know how to explain it to you .. she seems to know it herself but when it comes to teaching it, she has a problem explaining herself.

When substitute teachers lack the experience to teach the subject matter in a manner so that learning can take place, students who are willing to learn become bewildered and frustrated trying to understand what is being taught. Consequently, the students lose confidence in the substitute teachers and when this occurs, the legitimacy that has been assumed by the substitute teachers often breaks down.

Establishing a good climate and rapport with the class are essential if any work is to be accomplished on a short term basis. The substitute teacher, who lacks the necessary experience may not be able to do this, or may find it to be an exceedingly difficult exercise. Therefore, the short term substitute teacher could be ineffective when he or she lacks the experience to establish a good climate and rapport with the students. One principal, who was asked why substitute teachers encounter problems in the classroom, replied:

The inability or lack of time to establish a good climate, one of trust between the student and the teacher, usually results in a lot of problems. It usually takes an experienced teacher a few days or a week to establish a good working climate. A substitute coming in cold, with little or not preparation, is really at a disadvantage to establish a good climate. Unless he or she has some experience to do that, the day is usually wasted.

The fact that substitute teaching, in most instances, is a short term exercise does not help the substitute as a competent and expert teacher.

One of the reasons why substitute teachers are perceived as being incompetent is the fact that most regular teachers reteach many things that the substitute teacher had covered during their absence. When regular teachers discount the efforts of substitute teachers in this way, students cannot help but think of them as being neither experts nor competent. Substitute teachers also complain that students do not want to cooperate with them and do the work that they assign. Students emphatically say that when their regular teacher returns they will do the work. Regular teachers who make it a habit of reteaching the work covered by the substitute teacher unconsciously help to foster in their pupils' minds that they do not have to listen to the substitute teacher and do any work. Thus, one grade nine student remarked:

Every time we get a substitute teacher our teacher makes us do over the work. What's the sense of doing over the same work twice? Kids do not bother to listen to the substitute. They just talk and fool around the whole period .. It's just a period to get over with.

Sometimes the unwitting belittling of the substitute teacher in the classroom by the regular teacher conveys a distinct message to

students that substitute teachers are incompetent teachers. Some regular teachers, on returning to their classrooms, sympathize with the students for having had a substitute teacher and then proceed to tell them they will have to work hard to make up for the "lost time". Students invariably pick up on this attitude and speak negatively about the substitute teachers. One substitute teacher, who had previous experience as a regular teacher, commented on this situation:

Kids will give you a line. No matter who was in, and how good that person is, they'd say that person was terrible and they didn't understand anything she did ... The teacher listens to the kids and says, "Oh well, of course, I'll do it for you." They're saying to the kids that that substitute teacher was no good.

Another way substitute teachers are projected as being incompetent is when they are continually being supervised and evaluated by administrators and even regular teachers. As both substitute teachers and pupils know, competent and expert people do not have to be supervised and evaluated especially in front of pupils who are supposedly their subordinates. Several substitute teachers mentioned that administrators and regular teachers make it a habit of checking up on them in certain schools. Many of them consider this attitude to be threatening and irritating. In some schools it was observed that the vice-principal made several trips to the substitute teacher's classroom. Sometimes he would stand at the back and stare for a few minutes or just open the door and inquire from the substitute teacher whether there were any problems. This behavior serves as a clear indication to both substitute teacher and pupils that the substitute teacher is incapable

of handling the situation by himself or herself. Moreover, it cannot help but undermine the legitimacy of the substitute teacher's authority in the classroom.

Some substitute teachers claim that when they are managing their classes fairly well administrators and regular teachers would sometimes barge in and scold some students or engage in a tete-a-tete without even acknowledging their presence. The comments made by the following substitute teachers capture the implications of the situation when they noted:

I've had principals and teachers barge into my classes and just yell at the kids when I thought I was managing ok. You just feel like a piece of furniture when they do that. They think they're helping but they just make it worse for you. That could be embarrassing because it cuts down on your authority. It makes you feel like you can't do anything.

I don't mind the evaluation but I don't like when somebody pops in unannounced last period of the day and tries to blame you for everything that he thinks is wrong in front of everybody ... I've been in some schools where no one checks and in others where an administrator is always sticking his head in the room all day ... making you feel as though you're incompetent.

When this happens it becomes obvious to the students that the substitute teacher has to rely upon authority which is granted by administrators rather than authority which has been assumed by virtue of his or her own competence, expertise and experience.

Some substitute teachers reported that they are unfairly criticized and evaluated by administrators. They felt that administrators sometimes try to use them to boost their ego and status. One substitute teacher claimed that she was evaluated by a principal, who

never came into the classroom to see her perform. Another substitute reported that she was humiliated in front of the pupils when a vice-principal began discussing different tactics she should use to maintain classroom discipline. She commented:

... he was trying to say I couldn't handle the class. I was hurt. He just kept going on and on, well maybe you should do this and this ... I felt he wasn't understanding as an administrator. He wants to be principal of the school so he wants to be a big shot over me. He couldn't do that with the regular staff.

In response to this type of behavior one regular teacher argued:

Don't forget that you're a teacher, you're a professional person and it's embarrassing for a substitute when a principal tries to help her in front of the students. I don't think it's ethical for him to come in and say, "Ok, this isn't right. I'm going to show you how to fix it." That's not right for him to do that.

When a substitute teacher is continually supervised, and evaluated by administrators and regular teachers, students may not think of that person as an expert. They may not treat him or her with all the due respect as someone in authority in their classroom.

One way of determining whether substitute teachers have authority or not is by looking at what happens when they walk into the classroom.

When a substitute teacher arrives in the classroom it becomes an entertaining diversion to the students from their daily routine.

According to one grade seven pupil: "I relate to a substitute as a party teacher." Pupils view the substitute teacher as a temporary occupant of the regular teacher's desk instead of the replacement of their regular teacher as a full-fledged member of the teaching force.

Their invariable reaction is to test his or her tolerance and patience. One grade nine student, who was asked to describe the pupils' behavior when a substitute teacher enters the classroom, said:

When a substitute teacher comes in everybody thinks it's a holiday ... The whole class starts goofing off ... Well you saw how the kids acted yesterday, how they shot spitballs and threw paper airplanes ... When the normal teacher is there, they're like angels you know, but when the substitute teacher comes in they're like devils.

Students often view the substitute teacher as providing an opportunity for challenge, even though with their regular teachers they are well-behaved. Their behavior illustrates that the substitute teacher lacks legitimacy in the classroom. Regular teachers claim that students often show open disdain for substitute teachers. In response to the question of why students' behavior degenerates with a substitute teacher, one regular teacher commented:

It's shocking. I've seen the best kids, I mean lovely students, their academic standards so high, behave in such shocking ways with substitute teachers, and I don't know why. With these students I always have to tell them that these people are guests in our school.

By informing the students that substitute teachers are guests, perhaps this teacher is only reinforcing the notion in the students' minds that substitute teachers do not belong to the school in the same way as regular teachers and students make it their duty to disturb them because they appear powerless in their tenuous positions.

The substitute teacher is responsible for the behavior of many students, whom he or she does not know, and feels insecure in his or her position. Students, for their part, seem to realize that the substitute teacher is tense and nervous and take advantage of the situation.

One grade nine student said: "Students know the substitute is tense and nervous, therefore they like to make the sub even worse." Students generally perceive the substitute teacher as being inexperienced. One grade eight student, who was asked to point out the differences between the substitute teacher and the regular teacher, observed:

The substitute teacher is inexperienced ... She does not know how to work with rowdy kids like us ... For one thing, if she's a younger teacher, she's less experienced in teaching. The kids think, oh well, she's just learning and ... she's probably a bad teacher. We can teach better than her. So they'll try to take over the class. They'll goof off and stuff like that.

Some substitute teachers said that in some schools they tried to exert their authority over the students but to no avail. They claimed that administrators and regular teachers did not support them and as a result they could not establish firm control. A number of substitute teachers reported that when they referred unruly pupils to the office, the principal sent the students back to their classroom during the same period without any reprimand. This serves as a clear indication to the students that substitute teachers have little authority.

Administrators, for their part, seem to believe that if they have to go into the classroom to settle discipline problems, it is because the substitute teacher is incompetent to handle the situation. When asked why principals fail to support substitute teachers in the classroom, one superintendent replied:

Some administrators feel it's a lost cause to give any support to substitute teachers, who seem to be incompetent. Once the substitute shows he is incapable of handling the classroom, administrators' support wanes. They don't want

to spend a lot of time propping up the substitute ... The principals don't want to be bothered by somebody who can't do the job. I'd say they should get through the day as best they can and not bother the principal.

As a result of this situation, the fact that substitute teachers have little or no authority in either the classroom or the school is brought clearly into focus. Because of the uncooperative attitude of students, and the lack of support by administrators, some substitute teachers reported that they refuse to accept further assignments at certain schools. SHU

From their perspective, administrators and regular teachers believe that most substitute teachers lack experience and are incapable of handling classroom discipline effectively. Some regular teachers claim that inexperienced substitute teachers are afraid of not having the students on their side. They do not make firm enough demands and they let things get out of control. They claim that inexperienced substitute teachers tend to lose their patience too quickly and handle discipline problems in an unprofessional manner.

Some administrators and regular teachers claim that some substitute teachers lack the experience to work effectively with different groups of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. They observed that substitute teachers are not perceptive enough to know the problems specific students have and how to handle these problems. Instead, they adopt a dictatorial and autocratic approach and this invariably sets the whole class against them. According to one regular teacher who has some experience as an administrator:

I find substitute teachers are not perceptive enough to know what are the problems of the students. Kids in the core area are very aggressive. If you decide to fight them, you better be prepared for a fight. Many substitute teachers will tell the kids, you better do this or else. The kids will say, to hell with you, I'm not doing it. You back yourself in a corner and have to fight to save face, and then you create problems ... If the kids don't know you and you don't know them you can't push them around and expect to get the best behavior out of them.

The pay that substitute teachers receive in school divisions in the city is yet another indication of their apparent lack of expertise and experience. Substitute teachers are usually paid less than the daily equivalent of a regular teacher's salary. The vast majority of substitute teachers in the study mentioned this as an area of discontent. They felt that their wages do not reward them for a professional job. The pay substitute teachers receive for a day's service is much lower than what a regular teacher of equivalent education and experience gets. They also get the same pay for differing levels of experience. In discussing some of the major problems of substitute teachers, one specific substitute teacher brought up the issue of pay. His following comment speaks for the vast majority:

Your scale of pay is low. You get ten dollars an hour, which is considered ordinary unprofessional work. Your pay is not linked to your qualifications. You don't get called out regularly even in a big division like ... so you never know how much money you will make for the month.

Some superintendents acknowledged that substitute teachers are paid low wages, but mentioned that some incentives are made for substitute teachers who remain on an assignment for a long period of time. For instance, if a substitute teacher is on an assignment for a week or

more, adjustments are made in the salary so that the person receives more than what he or she would normally receive on a daily basis. However, it is only when a substitute teacher is on a long term assignment, like a whole semester, that he or she will receive the equivalent salary of a regular teacher.

Substitute teachers also are not eligible for benefits, including salary increase and pensions to which regular teachers are entitled. Even when substitute teachers are on a long term assignment they are not granted all the rights and privileges as regular teachers. One substitute teacher who experienced such a situation, commented:

If you're on a term position, you're classified as a substitute teacher. I wasn't allowed any kind of leave or benefits because I wasn't on contract. When I had a funeral to attend I wasn't allowed to go to that because I was a substitute. Especially if you're in for a length of time, there's a lot of things you don't get. You don't get benefits like other regular teachers.

From the above discussion it seems as though administrators, principals, regular teachers and pupils are saying that substitute teachers lack expertise and experience. Substitute teachers themselves seem to internalize this perspective and are saying they are less competent and experienced than regular teachers. This whole situation is structured in such a way that substitute teachers do not have official positions in the school and they are perceived to be less competent and experienced than teachers who are hired permanently. When substitute teachers find themselves in this situation they are not granted the same authority as regular teachers. Since substitute teachers do not have authority their role is not legitimate. Authority

is one aspect that legitimates an individual's role in an institution. Knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom situation can also help to legitimate a person's role. The discussion thus far has been focused only on the first aspect of legitimacy: authority. The next part of the discussion will deal specifically with the other aspect of legitimacy, which is rituals.

RITUALS

of schools

There is a considerable amount of debate about the use of the concept "ritual" (Leach, 1968: 526; Lukes, 1975: 290). The word "ritual" conveys a wide variety of meanings to many people. For a clergyman, all rituals take place within the confines of a church in accordance with formally established rules and rubrics; to a psychiatrist rituals may refer to the private compulsions of individuals; an anthropologist may refer to ritual as "a category of standardized behavior (customs) in which the relationship between the means and the end is not 'intrinsic'" (Goody, 1961: 159).

In this study, the anthropological definition is used. The concept implies that there are certain types of behaviors and expressions used by both the teacher and the pupils in the classroom setting, which are not formally defined so that they relate to obtaining the pupils' best performances but they are thought, at least by the teacher, to assist in achieving that end. Therefore, rituals in this context are not the formally defined rules and regulations which apply universally to all pupils in the school but they are the informally defined "customs" which apply within the classroom environment and are determined to a certain degree by both the pupils and the teacher through mutual interaction.

In almost every case, the rituals of the classroom are established at the beginning of the school year; they are then negotiated within set limits throughout the year (Martin, 1976). In the opinion of one specific regular teacher, this is what happens:

Every time in September when I walk into a classroom I'm faced with thirty kids, and all thirty of them are going to test me out to see how far I will let them go before I will clamp down on them. The same thing happens when a substitute teacher walks in. For me it takes a month or two to get it straightened out how far they can push me, and yet, every day they'll still try something. For the substitute teacher it's like walking in for the first day. It's like brand new every time they go into a classroom.

This teacher seemed to be referring to the fact that the rituals of the classroom must be established before the pupils know what their limits are, and how to interpret the cues and the responses they are supposed to give as a result. It is only when the rituals are established will the teacher know how the pupils will respond; if they responded in a negative or inappropriate way the class may not be enjoyable.

The rituals which operate in any class can be divided into two basic types. First, there are those rituals which apply to the teaching situation, and second, there are rituals which apply to the control of disorderly behavior. There are literally hundreds of rituals which may be classified into these two categories, and also there is likely to be some overlap. Generally, those rituals which apply to the teaching situation may include such things as the manner in which a teacher structures his or her lessons, his or her style of teaching, the

type of encouragement and reinforcement provided, and the type of evaluations used. Those rituals which apply to the control of disorderly behavior may include the responses a teacher uses to control such things as inattentiveness, mischievousness, and unacceptable behavior. Furthermore, the manner in which a specific ritual may be performed may depend upon the individual pupil or the group of pupils the teacher is focusing upon. In other words, some pupils or groups of pupils may be treated differently by the teacher.

Teaching

For substitute teachers it may not be easy to follow either the rituals which apply to the teaching situation or those which apply to the control of disorderly behavior. In the majority of cases, the substitute teacher who fills in for the regular teacher is a total stranger. The substitute teacher is rarely around to observe how the regular teacher functions in his or her classroom. Therefore, it is rarely possible for the substitute to come in and know the rituals of the classroom.

Even if the substitute teacher is able to observe the rituals used by the regular teacher while teaching a class, it still may not be very easy for him or her to follow those rituals. Some regular teachers use techniques and procedures that are not congruent with the principles and procedures substitute teachers have learned in their university training. Such a difference can create real problems in the classroom, especially when the majority of substitute teachers seem to be younger teachers who have recently graduated. In this respect, one principal noted:

A lot of substitute teachers are young graduates who are aware of new methods and techniques of teaching. Some substitute teachers also want to go back into full time teaching so they also have to keep up to date. I know a friend of mine who is substituting, and she feels that there are better ways of doing the spelling and math than the classroom teacher is doing, and that is always good. I suggested that she talk it over with the teacher.

On the other hand, there are some substitute teachers who may use teaching techniques and procedures that are somewhat obsolete, and not congruent with those the regular teacher is using. Some administrators and students said that they occasionally get substitute teachers who are persistent in using obsolete and traditional techniques and procedures, that are no longer used in certain subject areas. One principal related an incident regarding this matter. She said:

My grade one teacher felt that the substitute teacher she got for language experience was too traditional, so when she was away for two or three weeks, she asked for someone else who could handle the atmosphere in the classroom a little easier ... I suggested to this substitute teacher that she look into the new language arts curriculum and try things in the class that she was comfortable with.

In regard to this same point, one grade nine student commented:

When they (substitute teachers) are brought in to teach math, they give us our assignment with no explanation. When you ask them for help they teach you it the way they were taught twenty years ago.

While it may appear obvious to the students and other school staff that the substitute teacher's style of teaching is incongruent with the regular teacher's style, the substitute teacher may not know how the students are taught. He or she may not know what are the regular teaching style and rituals. Therefore, when the substitute lacks this information and

proceeds to teach according to his or her own style, it may appear to be traditional or obsolete to the students.

The different teaching techniques and procedures used by regular teachers and substitute teachers are not the only reason why substitute teachers may not find it easy to follow the rituals which apply to the teaching situation. Another reason is due to the fact that some substitute teachers may have personalities which differ significantly from the personality of the regular classroom teacher. If the substitute teacher's approach is consistent with the personality of the regular teacher then things may go well. But no two people have the same personality. It is commonly argued that every teacher has his or her own personality and style of teaching. Consequently, a substitute teacher may have difficulty presenting himself or herself to the pupils because of the differences between his or her personality and the personality of the regular teacher. In relation to this one principal observed:

Where you find the conflict arises is when the personality of the substitute teacher is at variance or even conflict with the personality and basic teaching characteristics of a regular teacher ... It is much easier to teach if the children know your name and personality and the same thing in reverse. The children need to find out the personality of the substitute before they work with him.

In relation with this same issue, one regular teacher noted:

So much of teaching is related to a person's individuality and personality. The kids have adjusted to my ways as a person and how I behave and operate as a teacher. The substitute being a new and different person has never been in my class to see how I operate. The kids first of all have no idea who you are, what your methods are and they don't know what to expect from you.

The substitute teacher's personality may not be the only thing that is different from the regular teacher. According to some regular teachers, there may also be differences in values in teaching and teaching philosophies between substitute teachers and themselves. One regular teacher noted:

The substitute teacher, who is very often a rookie, is not familiar with me, my kids or my routine. He is often a person who has differences in values in teaching and teaching philosophies ... There are certain things I stress when I am teaching but substitute teachers don't have the same emphasis. Substitute teachers will come in and allow students to do things I will not allow. There's a vast difference in the way I deal with the students and the way the substitute teacher deals with them.

Because of their personality, values in teaching and teaching philosophies, regular teachers may set up their rituals and expectations for their pupils in their own unique ways. However, the substitute teacher, who is unfamiliar with these established rituals and expectations, is prepared to operate in one way and the students in another, with difference methodologies and expectations. Until there is some congruency established between the procedures and expectations of the substitute teacher and the normal operating procedures of the class, there is bound to be some kind of friction. Therefore, when the substitute teacher who is thrust in front of a group of unknown pupils and does not know how they normally function attempts to do things according to his or her own way, invariably, conflict arises out of this situation. One substitute teacher outlined her dilemma this way:

Because I'm not familiar with the classroom routine and how the classroom teacher functions, I go ahead and do it my way and this sometimes causes a few problems. It results in a lot of confusion and this snowballs into a lot of other problems. It appears to the students that you don't know what you are doing.

From their perspective, school administrators argue that every time a new substitute teacher is placed in the class it amounts to readjusting the variables and creating instability. When this happens, effective learning does not take place. In the words of one superintendent:

The regular teacher establishes an environment where teaching and learning can take place effectively. If you alter the conditions of that environment, specifically by changing the teacher, you are readjusting the variables and breaking the chances of stability. Then teaching and learning do not take place effectively. The regular teacher would have established routines and expectations and suddenly the substitute comes along and there's a whole set of different expectations and the kids react to that.

Pupils tend to rebel against a substitute teacher whom they are suddenly faced with and who teaches the lesson in a different way. Pupils at various levels indicated that when substitute teachers teach the lesson in a style that they are unfamiliar with they often get confused and sometimes frustrated. In response to whether the substitute teacher's style of teaching causes any difficulty, the following students, from a variety of grade levels, noted:

Substitute teachers are always teaching the subject differently. Like in calculus, the substitute's teaching style is a lot different from the regular teacher's. When she writes out her math equations differently, that really confuses me.

If they try to explain something they do it differently. Like in math, they tell you to do a problem this way. When the regular teacher comes back, she tells you to do it differently and this happens quite a few times, it confuses you and you don't know what to do. Then you get frustrated and you just don't do it. You sit there, look around at everybody, wondering should I do it this way or should I do it that way?

With substitute teachers it's always harder to understand them because they don't say it the same way as our regular teachers do ... The way our teachers are teaching we know. When a substitute teacher comes in with a whole new way of teaching, how the heck are you supposed to know what they are saying? When you ask them to explain something you don't get the same amount of help and that frustrates you.

When they (substitute teachers) teach, they always have a different set of rules you must adapt to. Some subs try to teach you in a whole different way than your teacher taught you, so all you do is get confused.

When substitute teachers use a style of teaching that differs dramatically from the style used by the pupils' regular teachers, the pupils tend to be confused because the rituals they had previously learned were discounted and new rituals were being required, rituals which they knew would only last for a short period of time. It seems likely then that the pupils would question the legitimacy of substitute teachers who impose upon them new requirements of this type. It would be quite obvious to the pupils that these new requirements were not closely related to their learning experiences. According to a specific regular teacher, this is the reaction of the pupils when the substitute teacher attempts to impose his or her requirements on the pupils:

When a substitute comes in and says, this is how we are going to work today, you are going to do things my way, and this is what you have to do, the kids find it extremely difficult to function. They have to adapt to the new ways of the substitute teacher and this throws them off completely. So the kids on the other hand are saying "Fuck off whoever you are, I'm not changing."

Not only may pupils get confused and feel frustrated when a substitute teacher uses a style which differs from the style used by their regular teacher, but regular teachers may also get irritated when this happens. A regular teacher may have spent a long period of time and energy establishing acceptable response patterns for his or her style of teaching and it may be very difficult, in a psychological sense, for the person to know that a substitute teacher has disregarded those response patterns and established other patterns. Furthermore, the regular teacher may sincerely believe that his or her rituals are much more effective in obtaining acceptable performances from the pupils than the substitute teacher's rituals. Consequently, he or she is most likely to insist that the pupils follow as closely as possible the rituals which have previously been established. In this respect, one regular teacher noted:

Sometimes, when you return, you have to reteach everything that you left for the substitute to do because half the class complain that they didn't understand. Then when you try to teach the lesson, you hear students say, "That's not how the sub taught us to do it" and that irritates you. I say do it my way now. I have my own "language" with them. I mean I'm the one who is responsible for seeing them complete the whole program.

In the discussion thus far, it has been noted that there are many rituals which apply to the teaching situation. Substitute teachers

indicated that they have difficulty knowing these rituals. Consequently, they encounter problems in the classroom. The discussion will now focus upon the rituals which apply to the control of disorderly behavior.

Disorderly Behavior

While teaching rituals are evident on a relatively continuous basis, the rituals which apply to the control of disorderly behavior are only brought into prominence when a teacher judges pupil behavior to be disorderly. The identification of what constitutes disorderly behavior is relatively difficult. An example of this fact that there are great differences between teachers is the amount of discussion and noise they allow in their classrooms (Stebbins, 1974: 50). What this suggests is that a teacher may be very sure of the distinction he or she makes between various types of disorderly behavior but these distinctions are likely to vary from teacher to teacher. The pupils who have been with their regular teachers since the beginning of the year understand how each of their teachers makes these distinctions and the punishment they can expect if they are disorderly. As a result of the difficulty in simply identifying disorderly behavior, it may be practically impossible for substitute teachers, who are rarely around to observe regular teachers, to discipline the pupils. In this respect, two grade nine pupils observed:

A lot of kids take advantage of substitute teachers including myself. I'm no angel you know. Substitute teachers don't know the class like the regular teacher and they don't know any of the kids, so you can do things and get away with it.

Most of the subs I've had, had many problems controlling the class. We try to take advantage of them because they don't know anything about us. They don't know who are the "smart alecks". They don't know anything about what's going on because they are not there all the time like the regular teacher. So you can get away with almost anything.

From their perspective, substitute teachers also noted that they are unfamiliar with the routines and have difficulty in identifying disorderly behavior. In the opinion of one substitute teacher:

Kids are going to try and see how much they can do and get away with. They are aware that there are many things they know that you don't. They know you are not familiar with the routines. They know for sure you don't know who the trouble-makers are until you realize all those who aren't going to toe the line. They have a real strong advantage over you. You are not their teacher that they have to answer to two hundred days of the year ... so you are vulnerable.

In the classroom itself, several regular teachers indicated that there are certain incidents that the substitute teacher would have a difficult time determining whether or not it is disorderly behavior. Teachers have mentioned things such as going into drawers and cupboards, chewing gum, moving from one's seat, access to certain materials, leaving the classroom without permission and whispering as examples they would consider to be acceptable behavior. However, they felt these behaviors might pose problems for substitute teachers. Some substitute teachers may get upset about what the students are doing, but their behavior is considered legitimate in the eyes of their regular teacher.

Even if the substitute teacher can identify the different types of disorderly behavior, he or she may not be able to match the behavior with the type of punishment which is appropriate for the situation.

In some instances, substitute teachers may receive a minimum amount of information about the class or classes they are taking charge of, but that may not be adequate and consequently they may still lose control of the situation. One regular teacher commented on this situation:

Although substitute teachers are briefed about the situation, they are still unsure of themselves. They come in and allow the students to do things I will not allow. There's a vast difference in the way I deal with the students and the way the substitute teacher deals with them. Substitute teachers cannot control these students the way I do, they walk all over the substitute ... Substitute teachers fall victims to the cunning ways of the students.

In several classes the researcher observed a number of incidents where students were obviously misbehaving and the substitute teacher seemed unsure and reluctant about how he or she should handle the delinquent students. In one grade seven class, students were observed making several trips to the garbage bin at the front of the class during the lesson. On one occasion, as one student was about to leave his seat to go to the bin, the substitute teacher asked him to sit down and save the garbage. The student blatantly ignored the directions of the substitute teacher and proceeded to throw the waste paper from his desk to the bin at the front of the class.

In two grade ten classes, several students were misbehaving but the substitute teacher did not bother to mete out any type of punishment to these students. Students were grinding away their pencils at the pencil sharpener and the substitute teacher had to stop the lesson and make several appeals to the students to get back to their desks. After a few minutes, the same students went back and continued grinding

away their pencils. This time the substitute teacher ignored them and continued with the lesson. At other times, students were using obscene language, throwing objects at each other, walking in and out of the class as they pleased and combing their hair. All of this was taking place while the substitute teacher was trying to teach a lesson. When one principal was asked why students misbehave like this with a substitute teacher, his response was:

Because the regular classroom teacher would know where the line is drawn and if they step over that line, that's it. In the case with substitute teachers, students take more liberties. They feel the substitute does not know what the hell is going on and you don't know if to send "me" to the principal, you don't know if to give "me" lines to write, you don't know if to detain "me". You don't want to detain me and so on, so they feel relieved that they could misbehave and get away with it.

At the same time, the expectations that a regular teacher has for his or her class may vary from day to day and throughout the year. Therefore, punishment which is applied to various forms of disorderly behavior may also vary. There are periods of fluctuation within a classroom. Before holidays, for example, students are much more boisterous and difficult to handle than during other times (Fuchs, 1969: 192). Through experience, a regular classroom teacher is generally aware of these periodic fluctuations in the moods and behavior of the students, and can usually adjust his or her responses accordingly. The substitute teacher, on the other hand, may not only have a difficult time understanding these subtle changes in the students, but he or she is even more likely to have difficulty adjusting his or her disciplinary action to take this into consideration.

Substitute teachers who are new to the classroom situation invariably encounter discipline problems. They are at a further disadvantage because they do not know the students and the set of procedures that are followed. Therefore, when students misbehave they may not know exactly what type of punishment they should mete out to the different types of disorderly behavior. Moreover, in extreme cases of unacceptable behavior substitute teachers may not be given the same authority as the regular teacher to use severe measures such as physical punishment or expelling the pupil from the classroom or the school. In some instances, substitute teachers claimed that as soon as they arrive at the school the principal warns them that they are not allowed to touch the pupils. School administrators also mentioned that in some cases where the substitute teacher had reacted in a rash manner by striking a child, using obscene language, or giving unreasonable late detentions, their names were stricken off the substitute teachers' list and they were not sent to that school again. Therefore, while the education act states that a substitute teacher is responsible for the pupils' welfare while he or she is in charge of the class, in practice it is the regular teacher who really has the authority and the power.

As a result, rituals which are a natural part of the classroom for the regular teacher constitute for the substitute teacher barriers to what should be the main focus of attention, namely the learning experience of the students. Due to the complexity of the classroom situation, the substitute teacher may find himself or herself paying more attention to the rituals, just in order to survive, than to the actual learning experiences of the students. If a substitute teacher

does not know the rituals of the classroom, he or she will probably find it difficult to exercise authority. Furthermore, if the substitute teacher has difficulty exercising authority, he or she will probably find it difficult to learn the rituals of the classroom. Because of this, substitute teaching is a marginal situation in which there is no clear set of rules which adequately legitimates the substitute teacher's behavior in terms of the defined goals of the school.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, a summary of the study is presented. The summary deals specifically with the research hypothesis, the research methodology, the analysis of data, and the results and discussion. Also, certain recommendations for educational practice are made in terms of professionalizing and integrating the role of substitute teachers in the education system, so that they may be assured of legitimate status positions with full authority, rights and privileges as regular teachers. Moreover, suggestions for further research studies are made. These suggestions focus upon studies relating with the theory of marginality that may help to validate the results of this study, and may also help to provide new information about substitute teachers and the theory of marginality.

SUMMARY

For more than forty years numerous complaints have been made constantly about substitute teachers and their role in the school system. While all these complaints were being made there has been little attempt to find out why so many people are voicing dissatisfaction with substitute teachers. Moreover, there has been little attempt to explain the problems of substitute teaching in any meaningful theoretical framework. That is, there has been an absence of any theory that can help explain why so many problems exist in substitute teaching.

This study emerged out of a concern to find a viable theory that may help to explain the problems of substitute teaching. The study was conducted to enquire whether the theory of marginality could be used to

understand the problems of substitute teaching. That is, do substitute teachers lack legitimacy? More specifically, do they lack authority of the regular classroom teacher? Also, do they lack knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom?

The subjects selected for this study were gathered through the use of the snowball technique (vide page 15 - 16) and in part, through random selection. They were secured during the latter part of the fall term, 1983, and the early part of the winter term, 1984. Thirty substitute teachers, four superintendents, five assistant superintendents, ten principals, four vice-principals, twenty regular teachers, and twenty-three students from elementary, junior high and high schools participated.

It was not the researcher's intention to assume that a sample of this size and nature represents the complete range of responses for deriving grand generalizations about the role of substitute teachers in the school system. On the other hand, the sample may be adequate for the development of further insights about substitute teachers in the public school system in Canada. Of course, the generalizations which accrue from this study must stand the test of further empirical research.

Three data collection methods were used in this study: participant observation, interview, and written essays by students. This combination of research strategies or triangulation techniques was chosen because of the greater reliability that is given to the findings. A triangulation of methods means a combination of research methodologies under the rubric of participant observation. The method includes observation on the part of the researcher, informant and respondent inter-

viewing, and written essays by students.

In the role of participant-as-observer, the researcher spent nine days observing substitute teachers in seven different schools in Winnipeg. The researcher also spent two days, in two schools, making follow-up observations when the regular teacher was in the classroom. Further information was collected in part from a series of interviews with people who were directly involved with substitute teaching. The researcher developed and used semi-structured interview guides that were pre-tested. The majority of the interviews were tape-recorded. Some were conducted over the telephone and some took place face-to-face with the respondents in the school setting, in their homes and in school board offices. Essays written on substitute teachers by students in an elementary and two junior high schools were also used to gather part of the data.

Analysis of the data was carried out by first transcribing all tape-recorded interviews on paper in full and writing out all observation and other interviews in full. Then, using a suitable typology derived from the theory of marginality, all ethnographic data was read carefully, coded and classified into suitable categories according to the typology. Finally, in the presentation of the argument specific examples from the suitable categories of ethnographic data were selected and used as supporting evidence.

This study has attempted to provide a simple explanation, from a theoretical perspective, for the numerous problems that exist in substitute teaching. Basically, it is argued that substitute teaching is

a marginal situation in which substitute teachers do not fill roles which allow them to adequately legitimate their behavior. More specifically, they do not have authority in the school, and they do not know the rituals of the classroom. Hence, substitute teachers find themselves in a situation which is structured so that they are not integrated within the formal structure of the school, and as a result cannot contribute meaningfully to the successful achievement of the desired goals. Substitute teachers find themselves on the fringe of the teaching profession and this constitutes to the marginality of their role.

The findings of this study indicated that substitute teachers lack authority partly because they do not hold official positions in the school. Substitute teachers do not have demarcated parking stalls; they do not have their own coffee cups in the kitchen or their own places to sit in the staffroom; they do not know the school administrators, regular staff members and the pupils; they are often treated in a cold and unfriendly manner. Substitute teachers generally are not properly greeted and oriented to the school's physical plant and their assignment. In the classroom, they are strangers to the pupils and have difficulty in finding supplies and instructional materials.

The evidence also suggested that substitute teachers lack authority in the school because they are perceived by administrators, regular teachers and students as not having expertise and experience. From their perspective, administrators and regular teachers view the substitute teacher as a babysitter, whose main function is to maintain discipline and supervise until the "real" teacher returns. Substitute teachers are rarely given the opportunity to teach lessons that are

integrated in the present curriculum. Instead, students are given busy work to do or they are just left to mark time. As a result, many students skip classes the day a substitute teacher takes over the class. Sometimes substitute teachers are asked to continue with the regular program. However, they may lack adequate preparation time, or they may not have accessibility to supplies and instructional materials, or they may lack training in the specific subject area. As a result, it becomes almost impossible for substitute teachers to do an adequate job. The presence of a substitute teacher in the classroom invariably brings about a holiday atmosphere on the part of the students. Administrators and sometimes regular teachers often supervise and evaluate substitute teachers in front of students. Substitute teachers also receive a much lower daily wage than regular teachers. They are not paid according to their training and experience like regular teachers.

The results indicated that substitute teachers also lack knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom ^{School} situation. Substitute teachers do not know the teaching rituals because they are rarely around to observe the performances of regular teachers. Therefore, substitute teachers may use different teaching styles. Moreover, their personalities may also differ from those of regular teachers. As a result of this situation, students are likely to be confused and even frustrated.

It is difficult for substitute teachers to know the rituals used by regular teachers to control disorderly behavior. Even if substitute teachers can identify the different types of disorderly behavior, they may not be able to match the behavior with the type of punishment which is appropriate for a situation. Furthermore, the expectations that a regular teacher has for a class may vary from day to day and throughout

the year. Therefore, punishment which is applied to various forms of disorderly behavior may also vary. Substitute teachers may find it difficult to understand these subtle changes in the students and to adjust disciplinary action. Also, in extreme cases of unacceptable behavior, substitute teachers may not be given the same authority as regular teachers to use severe means of punishment.

When compared to the well-institutionalized role of the regular classroom teacher, the role of substitute teachers in the school may be considered as being marginal or imperfectly institutionalized. Substitute teachers often find themselves on the margin of the teaching profession where there is no clear set of rules which legitimates their behavior. Their situation is structured in such a way that it is not integrated within the school and hence cannot contribute to its desired goals. There is no doubt that substitute teachers want to be accepted as full-fledged teachers with the same power and authority, rights and privileges. While regular teachers have integrated roles within the school and are fully accepted and recognized in their professional role by the community at large, substitute teachers have remained on the periphery of the teaching profession and have attained little acceptance, and, as a result, their role is marginal.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

A change toward improvement and integration of substitute teachers in the teaching system must be attempted. Administrators must be committed to improving the educational program in making substitute teachers an integral part of the education system. Perhaps the substitute teacher's service must be professionalized to the extent that the substitute

teacher's role is legitimized in the schools so that substitute teachers can assume the teaching responsibilities of regular teachers with little apparent loss of education opportunities to students. Administrators must treat substitute teachers as professional members of the staff with special working conditions. Taking into consideration the findings derived from this study, the researcher would recommend the following:

School boards should identify clearly the purpose for substitute teachers. In the study, a number of substitute teachers had indicated that they were not clear about their role and responsibilities.

If administrators want substitute teachers to be integral functioning members of schools, they must ensure that they have an official position with all the rights and responsibilities of regular teachers. When the position of substitute teacher is legitimized within the school it will probably have more authority.

It may be advisable for substitute teachers to teach only in subject areas and grade levels that they have been trained. In this way, they will be familiar with basic subject matter and can draw from a background of continuity and familiarity with students' needs and skills. Thus, they will be more likely perceived as being expert and competent teachers.

It may be advisable for school boards to assign substitute teachers to work in a small group of schools. Substitute teachers will be familiar not only with the students and staff members, but they will also be familiar with teaching techniques and discipline used by regular teachers and as a result, have more authority in the classroom.

School boards may want to provide substitute teachers with opportunities to improve their expertise. They should develop inservice training programs specifically addressed to the special demands that face substitute teachers. Administrators should include substitute teachers in the professional and social affairs of the school and provide them with the same opportunities to join and attend workshops, meetings, professional organizations and be on the mailing list as regular teachers.

School boards should adopt a salary plan for substitute teachers that provides credit for training and experience, and provide them with tenure and fringe benefits.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From the researcher's experience, and judging from what some respondents had indicated, the inhabitants of rural communities generally are closely knitted together. In such settings, the people who are involved in substitute teaching are likely to be known on a personal basis by the school administrator or the regular teacher and may be known by most of the students. If this is the case, the interaction patterns that develop between students and substitute teacher may be different from what occurs in a metropolitan classroom. Therefore, it is recommended that a similar study be carried out in a small community to determine whether or not the results of this study are generalizable to such settings.

Generally, the basic structure of authority in private schools is different from public schools. From the researcher's experience in a

private school, and according to the literature, private schools tend to focus more on the traditional type of authority. In private schools, students may be indoctrinated into accepting traditional authority. If this is the case, then substitute teachers may have less difficulty exercising their authority. From this perspective, it is worth investigating whether or not substitute teachers in private schools are in a marginal situation.

A longitudinal study may be worth pursuing with a sample of recent graduates from teacher education programs who are substituting, to find out whether there is any congruence between their teacher training and their work experience. Such a study could help determine whether the teaching system is losing good teachers as a result of some people's intolerance to role ambiguity.

This study used a triangulation of methods for collecting the data, which included participant observation, interview and written essays. Another study designed to gather the same information but from a different perspective may be worth undertaking. Such a study could include survey instruments to study a larger sample of administrators, regular teachers, substitute teachers, and students. The findings of such a study may help to validate the results of this study.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction:

The purpose of the semi-structured interview guide is to serve as an overview for the detailed discussion of the theory of marginal situation as it applies to substitute teachers. The general questions will be used to interview respondents in an effort to gather data that might help answer the specific questions of the study, which are: Do substitute teachers lack the authority of the regular classroom teachers? and, Do substitute teachers lack knowledge of the accepted rituals of the classroom situation?

The various categories of respondents are superintendents, assistant superintendents, principals, vice-principals, regular classroom teachers, substitute teachers, and students.

The interview guide makes it possible to obtain data required to meet the specific objectives of the study and to standardize the situation to some degree. The guide lists, in the desired sequence, the questions that are to be asked during the interview. The questions asked by the interviewer will vary along the continuum from highly structured, semi-structured to unstructured.

Although some of the questions in the interview guide appear to be highly structured, they are intended to lead towards a general explanation of the relevant issue. At this level, the interviewer will first ask a series of structured questions and then probe more deeply using open-ended questions in order to obtain more complete data. After the

respondent gives his or her initial reaction to these open-ended questions the interviewer will use the resulting information to probe deeper for additional insight into the central concern of the study. At the same time, if some of the questions appear to be provocative and threatening, this is not the deliberate intention of the interviewer. They are meant to be used only as probes when there are inadequate responses. The questions in this interview guide have been pre-tested and the length of time it takes to complete an interview varied from twenty minutes to one hour.

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents,
Principals and Vice-Principals

- 1) What are some of the problems that you feel exist in substitute teaching?
- 2) Are there any specific policies in regard to substitute teachers in your division? What are they?
- 3) Are you responsible for hiring your own substitute teachers?
- 4) How often do substitute teachers serve in your school(s)?
- 5) Do substitute teachers get any greetings and orientation from anyone when they first come to your school? Why or why not? Who does this?
- 6) What sort of orientation do substitute teachers get?
- 7) Do you experience any difficulty procuring substitute teachers? Why or why not?
- 8) Do you feel it is necessary to introduce substitute teachers to their classes in the morning? Why or why not?
- 9) Do substitute teachers complain about discipline problems in the classroom? Why do they experience these types of problems?
- 10) Substitute teachers feel that they do not get support or "back up" from administrators sometimes. Why would this be so?
- 11) I have noticed that students, even in the higher grades, take a lot of liberties with substitute teachers. Why do they do this?
- 12) Sometimes substitute teachers experience many difficulties with students in the classroom and they hesitate to call the school administrator or anyone else for help. Why do they prefer to suffer in the class and not call for help?
- 13) Some substitute teachers complain that the regular staff members treat them in a cold and unfriendly manner. Why does this happen?
- 14) Substitute teachers tend to rely heavily on the dictatorial or autocratic approach in the classroom. Why is this the case? Are other methods less effective? What are the advantages of these methods? Would you recommend the use of these methods? Why or why not?
- 15) Do you feel regular teachers deliberately pass on some of their duties to substitute teachers sometimes? Why or why not?

- 16) Why do many students stay away from classes the day a substitute is in charge of their class? Do you know about this?
- 17) Do you have certain expectations that substitute teachers should fulfil? Do they achieve this? Why or why not?
- 18) Some people say that it is the rules and regulations of the school regarding student behavior and discipline that maintain the substitute teacher in the classroom rather than his or her personal abilities and personality. Could you comment on this?
- 19) Do students (principals, teachers and parents) complain to you about substitute teachers? Why or why not? What are some of the common complaints you get? How do you attempt to deal with them?
- 20) Do you evaluate your substitute teachers? Why or why not? How do you attempt to do this? Do substitute teachers complain about this sometimes? Why or why not?
- 21) Do substitute teachers tend to work in special grades or specific classes over others? Why or why not? Have there been occasions when substitute teachers declined coming to work in your school? What were the reasons for this?
- 22) Are the duties and obligations of substitute teachers similar to regular teachers? Why or why not? Do substitute teachers complain about being overloaded with work sometimes?
- 23) Are substitute teachers expected to live up to and reinforce the norms and values of the school? Why or why not? Do they do this?
- 24) Do you have regular discussions with superintendents about substitute teachers? What are some of the issues that you all talk about?
- 25) Generally what can you say about the performance about substitute teachers so far?
- 26) Do you or regular teachers ask for specific substitute teachers? Why? What are they looking for?
- 27) Some substitute teachers complain that the job is frustrating and aggravating. Could you comment on this?
- 28) What recommendations can you make that might help alleviate some of the problems of substitute teaching?

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Regular Classroom Teachers

- 1) What are some of the problems you encounter with substitute teachers?
- 2) What are your expectations of substitute teachers? Why may substitute teachers have difficulties meeting these expectations?
- 3) Substitute teachers complain that many times regular classroom teachers do not leave any preparations (including lesson plans) for them. Do you feel this is true? Why or why not? Do you leave any preparations for substitute teachers? Can you describe what kind of preparation you leave for them?
- 4) Do you always leave detailed lesson plans for the substitute teacher to follow? Why or why not? Do you allow the substitute teacher to teach whatever he or she wants? Why or why not?
- 5) Why do substitute teachers encounter so many problems in the classroom? Why do students misbehave so much for the substitute teachers? Why do students take so many liberties when their regular teacher is absent?
- 6) Do you inform your students about your absence from the classroom? Why or why not?
- 7) Substitute teachers feel they encounter discipline problems in the classroom because the regular teachers only leave busy work for the students to do. Could you comment on this? Do you leave lessons that are integrated with your curriculum or present unit of work for the substitute teacher to teach the students? Why or why not?
- 8) Do you feel it is important for the substitute teacher to know about the way you work with your students and about the general operation of your classroom? Why or why not? How would this help the substitute teacher?
- 9) Is the substitute teacher expected to help reinforce the values and norms of the school? Why or why not? Do they do this?
- 10) I observe some substitute teachers in the classrooms and they tend to mainly use the dictatorial or autocratic method. Why is this so? Is it necessary? Would you prefer they use any other approach? Why? What might that be? What are the advantages of this approach? Why do substitute teachers not use the liberal approach?

- 11) Students claim that substitute teachers confuse them by their rules and regulations that they impose on the classes, and they also get confused by their explanations of the lessons and so forth. Are these valid complaints? Do you feel students really make an effort to get along or to work with substitute teachers? Why or why not?
- 12) Substitute teachers claim that they do not get the necessary "back up" or support from administration or regular teachers. Why is this so?
- 13) What are some of the problems you encounter with your class when you return? Why do you encounter these problems? Do you get any complaints from students (regular teachers and administrators) when you return? What do they complain about? Do you believe them? Why or why not?
- 14) Substitute teachers claim that sometimes school staff are cold and unfriendly to them. Why is this so?
- 15) Do you usually pick up the work and proceed from where the substitute has stopped teaching? Why or why not? Do you have to go over everything you left for the substitute teacher to teach? Why or why not?
- 16) Are the duties and obligations of substitute teachers similar to those of regular teachers? Why or why not? Substitute teachers feel they are overloaded with work sometimes. Is this so? Why or why not?
- 17) Do substitute teachers leave any report for you? What do they say in the reports?
- 18) Have there been occasions in the past when you were not happy with the performance of substitute teachers? Can you describe one or two of these incidents?
- 19) Do you ask for specific substitute teachers? Why or why not? Are there advantages in doing this?
- 20) Some substitute teachers feel their jobs are frustrating and aggravating. Can you comment on this?
- 21) Are there any recommendations you would like to make that might help alleviate some of the problems of substitute teaching?

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Substitute Teachers

- 1) What are some of the problems you encounter in substitute teaching?
- 2) When you get called in the morning, what are some of the things you worry about in relation to your substitute teaching assignment? Why do you worry about these things?
- 3) When you arrive at the school, does anyone greet you and give you any sort of orientation regarding the ethos of the school and so forth? What usually happens?
- 4) What are some of the difficulties you encounter in the classroom itself? Why do you think you experience these difficulties? Whom do you turn to for help? Why? Do students take advantage of you? Why or why not? Do students mislead you sometimes? Why or why not?
- 5) What method or approach do you use to introduce yourself and orient yourself to the class? Why do you use this method of approach? How do students tend to react? Why?
- 6) Do students have any difficulty relating and communicating with you? Why? Do you have any difficulty relating and communicating with students? Why or why not?
- 7) Do students misbehave when you are in charge of the classroom? Why or why not? How do you deal specifically with discipline problems?
- 8) Do you seek any assistance from regular teachers and principals when you have problems in the class? Why or why not? Do they willingly try to assist you? Why or why not?
- 9) Do regular teachers leave adequate preparation for you to take over the class? Why or why not? What type of work do they leave you?
- 10) Do you get to teach lessons that are integrated with the present work the classroom teacher is doing? Why or why not? How do you manage in these situations? Do you get to teach whatever you want to sometimes? Why or why not? How do the students respond in these situations? Do you think regular teachers follow up on the work you start with the students the next day? Why or why not?
- 11) When there is no preparation left for you by the regular teacher, do you inform the principal? What do you do? Do you just go ahead and teach something or give a study period.

- 12) What kind of reception do you get from the school staff especially during coffee breaks and lunch time, as a substitute teacher?
- 13) As a substitute teacher do you reinforce the values and norms of the school? Why or why not?
- 14) Do principals and regular teachers outline their expectations to you? Why or why not? How is this done? Do you meet those expectations? Why or why not?
- 15) Do you feel the routines and structures that have been developed between the regular teachers and their students do you any dis-service? Why or why not?
- 16) Does anybody check on you during the day while you are in charge of the class? Why or why not? Do you prefer someone to check on you not not? Why or why not?
- 17) Does anybody evaluate you as a substitute teacher? Why or why not? How do they attempt to do this? What kind of feedback do you get?
- 18) Have there been instances when you felt you were given unfair evaluation? Can you describe one or two of these incidents?
- 19) Do you feel your duties and obligations are similar to those of the regular teachers? Why or why not? Have there been occasions when you have been unfairly overloaded? Why or why not?
- 20) Are there any particular schools or classes you do not wish to teach in? Why or why not? Do you turn down assignments sometimes? Why or why not?
- 21) What are some recommendations you would like to make that will help solve some of the problems of substitute teaching?

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Students

- 1) How often do you get substitute teachers?
- 2) Why do you think schools hire substitute teachers? Do you think the substitute teacher meets these expectations?
- 3) When a substitute teacher comes into your classroom how do you feel? How do other students feel? Why do you (or they) feel this way?
- 4) Do students stay away from their classes when a substitute teacher comes in to replace your regular teacher? Why or why not?
- 5) Does anyone introduce the substitute teacher to your class? Who is it? Why or why not? What do they say?
- 6) When a substitute teacher comes into your class for the first time do they ask students for help? What kind of help do they seek? Do students give it willingly? Why or why not? Why do you think substitute teachers ask for help?
- 7) Does your regular teacher leave any preparation for the substitute teacher? What type of preparation?
- 8) Do you know if your regular teacher lets the substitute teacher use the books and other materials and go into the cupboards or filing cabinets? Why or why not?
- 9) How does the substitute teacher introduce himself or herself usually? What does he or she say? How do the students react? Why?
- 10) Do you like to work with substitute teachers? Why or why not? Do students tend to "goof off"? Why or why not?
- 11) Do students willingly co-operate with the substitute teacher? Why or why not?
- 12) Do substitute teachers face specific discipline problems with the students? Do the students behave in the same manner with their regular teacher? Why or why not? What are some ways students take advantage of the substitute teacher?
- 13) Do substitute teachers give more detentions than your regular teacher? Why or why not? Do the students show up for these detentions? What are some other punishments substitute teachers give students? Do students complain to anyone about these punishments? To whom? What happens?

- 14) Do substitute teachers complain to students' parents or anyone else when they encounter problems with the students? Why or why not?
- 15) Do you feel substitute teachers tend to be mean? Why or why not? Do students co-operate better with them when they are mean? Why or why not?
- 16) Do substitute teachers assist students with their assignments when they experience difficulties? Why or why not?
- 17) Do you work better and learn more when a substitute teacher is in charge of the classroom? Why or why not? Do you make any adjustments when a substitute takes over the classroom? Why or why not? What are they?
- 18) Do you feel the work you do with the substitute teacher is meaningful? Why or why not? What kind of work do you do when a substitute is in charge of the classroom? Do you continue with your regular classroom subject as usual? Why or why not? Do you get free periods or study periods when a substitute teacher is in charge? Why or why not?
- 19) Does the substitute teacher attempt to teach the lesson or just give you work to do on your own? Is this work left by the regular teacher or work prepared by the substitute teacher?
- 20) When your normal teacher returns, does he or she say anything to the class about the substitute teacher? Does the regular teacher talk about work the class did with the substitute? What does he or she say? Does the regular teacher repeat the lessons or just continue from where the substitute teacher left off?
- 21) Do students or anyone else complain to the regular teacher about the substitute teacher? Why or why not? What do they complain about? What does your regular teacher say or do?
- 22) What are some recommendations you can make to help deal with some of the problems of substitute teaching?