INTRODUCTION
This paper discusses the problem of an external threat to occupational identity and its maintenance faced by tradespersons in the transition from tradesperson to teacher. In mid-1985, seventeen tradespersons, fifteen males and two females, chose a mid-career change and entered secondary school teaching in Victoria. Unlike most prospective teachers, each tradesperson entered teaching from a former occupation. They were skilled tradespersons of many years experience employed in industrial settings, predominantly in what are known as the `building trades'. They shared backgrounds in plumbing, sheetmetal, carpentry and electrical trades. Some came from trade backgrounds other than the building trades, such as motor mechanics, fitting and machining, and horticulture. Many were self-employed; all entered teacher training possessing highly developed trade skills and an extensive knowledge of industry. Thus they had ample time to develop a healthy occupational self-identity. Among other problems, the decision to change careers meant considerable financial loss and domestic strain. Statistical details indicate the group shared mainly working class backgrounds, worked an average of 16.4 years in industry and suffered an average loss of $4,800.00 per annum entering teaching. Their ages ranged from 26-40 years on entry to teaching. Most were married with families. They found Teachers' College onerous and they quickly bonded together into a tightly-knit
group to ward off attacks on their occupational identity of tradesperson. They also used humour in great doses as a way of strenuously fighting to maintain a former occupational status (and thus identity) as they passed through the Teachers' College.

THE CONTEXT: THE TEACHER EDUCATION MODEL
The internship model of teacher education as practised at the Teachers' College, situated in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, means that trainees take up positions of full-time classroom responsibility upon entering the programme. This means that everyone goes into schools immediately, both as trainees and as teachers totally accountable for the welfare and instruction of their own classes. Accordingly, the members do not undergo the usual anticipatory socialization in relative institutional isolation from the work context. Rather, they learn simultaneously workplace occupational norms and credentialling norms. The latter they find at odds with the former, with the result that the trainees experience considerable dissonance and role strain.

The students taking part in this study were enrolled in an institution undergoing rapid and discomforting ideological changes due to emerging issues within the Victorian Ministry of Education such as the demise of Victoria's secondary technical schools, and an emergence of curricula proposals aimed at reforming trade teaching in secondary schools. The Education Ministry envisaged relocating the subject as an integral rather than a peripheral part of each school's curriculum, thus hoping to bring about fundamental changes in the thinking of trade teachers concerning their role in secondary education. In short, the employing authority, the Ministry of Education, wished to move from narrow vocationalism teaching to a focus on what they termed Technology Studies, encompassing a broad, general approach to teaching practical subjects in secondary schools.

However, experienced trade teachers (the trainee's school supervisors) perceived the proposed curricula changes as a watering down of their subject area, thus threatening their specific aim of education as vocational job-preparation to becoming, in the words of more than one critic, 'teaching wishy-washy academic wank'. Such utterances (and there were many more) can only suggest that not only do the trade teachers perceive a difference between working with the hands and the head, but they see working with the hands as far superior to working with the head. This was based on their perception that secondary schooling should provide students with skills leading to direct access to vocational work. Thiers was a perception of education which differed substantially from the new emphasis in secondary schools of courses concerned with skills and competencies which, although related to working life (Hughes 1987:12), are not of a particularly vocational nature in the direct sense of leading to an apprenticeship in
Trainees themselves enter teacher education with a well-defined 'presenting culture', so clearly reflected in the words of one of the cohort: "I very nearly wore my overalls to the interview. I didn't want to dress up in any way, it's just not me". On the whole, their talk is of cars and motorcycles, and of jobs done on industrial building sites. Their point of reference is the workshop, making and doing things, solving problems of a certain practical type.

Among the tradespersons quoted here, some are licensed by external authorities (to the trade), for example the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, and the State Electricity Commission. This serves a number of purposes for the worker, not least of which are a higher salary compared with other trades, and therefore high status. It also makes possible a monopoly over the type of work done and control over admission to the particular trade. The State-sanctioned licence to operate as a tradesperson also implies that only those in the particular occupation are considered competent to do the work and to judge when the work is carried out properly. These are issues crucial to the self-identity of tradespeople.

Humour was the language of resistance for the group, and they used it in great lashings to cope with tension and stress raised by what they perceived to be an attack by the credentialling authority on their occupational identity (Mealyea, 1989).

Humour in various forms indeed helped sustain the group throughout the trials of the training period. They frequently resorted to anti-feminist, sexist, and racist jokes and used humour to relieve the tension of confronting challenging ideas. The joking induced strong solidarity and served as a powerful mechanism of adaptation to the demands of the College.

Thus the group's humour functioned as a panacea, for it was through laughter that group members gradually neutralized the alienating effects of the College who were mediating the Education Ministry's wishes for a change from vocationalism to Technology Studies. Due to the perceived attacks on their identity, humour in its various forms helped the group to regain that identity through a collective triumph over the enemy, the College. What resulted was mateship.

GROUP BONDING: A MECHANISM OF IDENTITY DEFENCE
Group Culture Versus The Teachers' College
The data clearly shows that following a period of adjustment to teaching and the College which lasted for about six months, the trainees began to perceive conflicting advice about practical
workshop teaching from various staff within the College. At about the same time the trainees also began to listen to, and consequently mirror, disparaging comments made of the College by their school colleagues. Initially they were somewhat confused by the apparent inconsistencies in the advice given, which was manifest in long and loud complaints to each other. They experienced this ambiguity as stressful.

`Splitting'
But as the course progressed and the months ticked by, they began to reject the College advice, and at the same time began to lean heavily toward the school's advice (advice which mainly took vocationalism for granted and consisted of hostile and negative views which focused on the College staff) more or less uncritically. This led to further trainee disenchantment with aspects of the College. As they began the second year of their program, however, they became slightly more discerning in their views, selecting only specifically what they wanted from the advice of the College and the school in establishing their role as teachers in practical studies. It follows that if trainees are making discerning judgements about potential role-models, then the possibility exists that they can also make selections from the competing College and school advice about vocationalism. This was indeed the case, and was the beginning of a `split', i.e., the trainees divided the College itself into good and bad parts, while at the same time affirming the school as good (see Diagram One [to obtain a copy of Diagram One, see end note]; a split within the school culture emerged months later). Understanding this splitting of the College into good and bad components, and what enabled them to do this, explains a great deal about their behaviour while becoming teachers.

During training they fought hard to sustain the occupational status they brought to education. They felt they had a justified status in their own right as tradespersons (a status also increasingly recognized in the eyes of the community as evidenced by `status-creep', a significant change in occupational social-class backgrounds of apprentices, a phenomenon occurring in the industrial building trades in Victoria.1 The trainees also spoke of a begrudging respect from the community which was based on the earning potential of tradespersons). Reluctance and (in their eyes) unnecessary attendance at the College put their feelings of status at risk. As a result, they fought against the influence of the College all the way, aided by the enormous strength provided by the cohesiveness of the group:

You know, if we didn't have each other to fall back on, this'd be a prick of a place all round....The only good thing about coming to the mushroom farm is the others really, we can sit and have a rap about our problems and
get it all off our chests, I see that as the main function of the College, really. Well it has been for me, anyway.

Concepts associated with Kleinian psychoanalysis (Klein, 1932;1955; Klein and Riviere, 1964; Jaques, 1955) present a felicitous theoretical framework for understanding group processes in an organizational context. The aim of the following discussion is to provide a vantage point from which the group processes which were adopted by the cohort as a sanctuary and support in a threatening situation can be further understood.

Wells (1980:165-199) writes that one way of studying a group is to focus on the group as a whole, studying the behaviour of the group as a social system with the co-actor's relatedness to that system. Concentration on group-level processes is one means of moving towards understanding the basis of the group formation and the nature of the interaction between it and the Teachers' College. The following discussion of the group's cohesive spirit endorses and extends the significance of the role of humour and mateship already described within the cohort.

The essential core of the trade group, in Bion's (1961) term, the group's elan vital, is that of tradesperson. This is the substance of how they view themselves. "In the long run, we're tradies, always will be and always want to be", was a comment universal to the cohort. Bion posits that a group's way of thinking about itself bonds the group members together. In describing this process, Gibbard (1975:7) believes that the group's mentality is best understood as:

...a process of unconscious collusion...`a machinery of intercommunication'...which is at once a characteristic of groups and a reflection of the individual's ability or even his propensity to express certain drives and feelings covertly, unconsciously, and anonymously.

Groups can behave in many ways. They can be effective problem solvers, they can demonstrate infantile, regressed qualities (Wells, 1980:170) or they can behave in a non-rational way, as suggested by Jaques (1955) by using infantile coping strategies. For instance, they can adopt projective identification to cope with overwhelming ambivalent feelings generated in the course of social relations. It is the mature-age cohort's propensity to display infantile coping strategies that the following argument addresses.

Group-As-Mother
Klein's (1932;1946) work, drawing on her intensive observations of mothers and infants, posits the infant experiencing inner ten-
sions and conflicts while feeding at the breast. Klein inferred that sometimes the baby experiences good feelings toward the mother and sometimes bad. These feelings are based on the mother as the source of nurturance and comfort. When the nipple is withdrawn (for whatever reason), the child becomes frustrated and experiences bad feelings towards the breast. When the milk flows the baby experiences good feelings. Accordingly, the infant experiences good and bad feelings towards the breast. As a result of its breast feeding one strategy for coping which child learns is to split its world into `good' and `bad' parts.

The transmission of good and bad feelings is facilitated by projection. Thus bad feelings like anger, hatred, and enmity are expelled. Introjection is the taking in of goodness because it is sustaining and warm. A simple transposition can be made, from the infant vis-a-vis its mother, to the trainees, vis-a-vis their group. By fighting the Teachers' College (the `Alma Mater' or bounteous mother), at a primitive level the group was splitting the College into good and bad objects. The `good mother' was the group, the nurturing object. The school was, in the main, another `good object'. The College was split off to become the `bad object'; it was scapegoated, a classic form of projection. Via splitting, the group psychologically and successfully resisted officially imposed change. It was the view of the group members that the College, by attempting to alter their former occupational selves, was also questioning their concomitant educational ideology and values. Their status was threatened by people for whom they had little respect, so obvious in the language they constantly used to caricature academics, such as `yak-kademics', `whackademics' and `stick-wankers'.

Anxiety, Coping and Defence Mechanisms
The hypotheses Klein (1946:99-110) put forward relating to the very early stages of development were derived from her early work (1932; 1935) with children and adults, arguing that in early infancy, anxieties characteristic of psychosis arise which cause the ego to develop specific defence mechanisms. Klein believed (1946:99) that it is in this period that the fixation points for all psychotic disturbances are to be found.

Klein believed that object relations are in evidence from the beginning of life, as presented in the argument above that the first object encountered is the mother's breast which is `split' from time to time into a good (gratifying) and bad (frustrating) breast. Splitting is "...the division between love and hate" (Klein, 1964:99). The term `splitting' (Klein, 1946:101) is used to define the earliest ego coping mechanism, used as a defence against anxiety.

In states of gratification, the ego accepts the mother (and the
breast) as loving and bountiful; when frustration and hatred arise then the reverse sentiments attach themselves to the object. Thus splitting is a two-way process. As a result, aggressive impulses are experienced by the infant, such as the urge to attack the mother's breast (for example, by biting) which further develops into attacks of a similar nature on her body because it is viewed by the child as an extension of the breast. According to Klein this happens even before the mother can be conceived of as a complete person. Phantasized attacks on the mother occur, with oral impulses "...to suck dry, bite up, scoop out and rob the mother's body of its good contents" (Klein, 1946:102).

Object-Relations Theory and the Mature-Age Cohort

Object-relations theory (Klein, 1946; Mahler, 1972) posits that in the early stages of development, an infant is unable to make a distinction between what is inside the self and what is outside the self. The infant, at this early stage of development, lacks an 'ego' to differentiate itself from the rest of the world and experiences self and the world as fused; everything is self. Thus, to the infant, self is omnipotent. Omnipotence is reinforced by the parent fulfilling every need. As the infant matures some needs are frustrated. Upset by these frustrations the infant develops a strategy to cope with this condition by projecting 'good' and 'bad' feelings into outside objects (Wells, 1980:171). In the same way, the hostile verbal attacks of the threatened and frustrated trainee teachers were directed toward academics, the Teachers' College or any other threatening object, as a defensive impulse. It is the group-as-mother paradigm that characterizes so well the cohort's hostility toward those particular aspects of teacher training which threatened them.

Thus, through the mechanism of projecting good and bad feelings into an object, the infant learns to both love and hate its mother. Experiencing difficulty in coping with powerful ambivalent feelings the infant uses splitting and projective identification (Klein, 1946) to maintain psychological balance and to cope with any life-threatening anxiety generated by encountering both bad and good in the same object. In this manner the cohort approached and dealt with the College and indeed their training schools (see Diagram One).

Klein (1946) uses the term 'projective identification' to indicate a slightly different process than the straightforward expulsion that is 'projection', by which parts of the self are split off and projected into an external object or part object. Splitting is a primitive psychological mechanism used where individuals disown parts of self that are undesirable. In splitting the object, the frustrating and persecuting phenomena are kept apart from the idealized or desired object. Thus Klein (1946:102) prefers the word into rather than onto to express the infant's
unconscious process of phantasied attacks on the mother which she claims follows two main lines:

...one is the predominantly oral impulse to suck dry, bite up, scoop out and rob the mother's body of its good contents....The other line of attack derives from the anal and urethral impulses and implies expelling dangerous substances (excrements) out of the self and into the mother. Together with these harmful excrements, expelled in hatred, split off parts of the ego are also projected ...into the mother...the mother is felt to be the bad self.

To summarize Klein's (1946) position: at infancy, anxiety is experienced as persecution which in turn produces certain mechanisms and defences which Klein believed characterize the paranoid and schizoid states. Dominant among these defences is the mechanism of splitting internal and external objects, emotions and the ego. While these mechanisms and defences form the basis of later schizophrenic illness, Klein believed they are also part of normal development. She described the processes underlying identification by projection as a combination of splitting off parts of the self and projecting them into another person, and detailed the effects this identification has on normal and schizoid object relations. The onset of the depressive position is the juncture at which schizoid mechanisms may be reinforced by regression.

The cohort complained consistently of hating the College. Indeed, one particular trainee's desire to project his bodily excrements into the 'bad' object was poignantly obvious in an incident which occurred during the trainees' Graduation Day ceremony at the College. Extremely hostile toward the College, Dave steadfastly maintained he would not attend the graduation ceremony. But surprisingly, on the appointed day he travelled hundreds of kilometres to do so. Asked when walking into the hall for the ceremony why he had bothered to come, he remarked: "I've come all the way here for only one reason today, and that's to spit on the fucking doorstep of this joint". Such are the feelings evoked when the self is threatened.

Regression
At the group level, according to Wells (1980:170), while groups can behave in effective problem-solving ways, all groups can regress at some point in their lives. Often when competent people are brought together in a group (as was the case in this study), they can regress to infantile behaviour and are unable to perform tasks at which they are normally competent. They may become emotionally segregated and blame others for their failures. For the group in this study, the tension generated by the threat of a
possible loss of their occupational identity, and therefore personal status, was intense and long lasting, spanning the entire course. The tension created strong ambivalent love/hate feelings toward the new situations in which the trainees found themselves immersed. Strong ambivalent feelings, argues Wells (1980:170), unconsciously return adults to their infant roots: "There is a need to resolve these ambivalent feelings, thus relieving the frustration about the same object - for the infant it is mother, for the individual-in-group the group".

Influence of Membership Groups
The trainees defined their experience at the College in terms of fear and loathing. They felt they were being forced to attend, being made to 'put in time' against their will, an unwelcome official requirement of gaining a diploma. They rarely discussed the experience in terms of value, of increasing their knowledge and personal understandings towards becoming professional teachers. Thus the Teachers' College staff sometimes described their behaviour as lazy, ignorant or stupid, often implying that because they disliked furthering their education it followed they were victims of their industrial backgrounds. One senior member of staff called them "knuckle-dragers". It is more accurate, however, to describe the behaviour of the trainees as outcomes of the influence of their membership group which was formed by them in the context of strains encountered during status passage transition within teacher education, rather than simply labelling them as victims of their social-class background.

Membership groups exert a strong influence on the attitudes and actions of individuals (Sherif and Sherif, 1967). Indeed, the trainees reported over and over again that they were able to function effectively only as a result of the group's support while attending the College, primarily because the group served as a secure sanctuary, allowing them to preserve their previous industrial workplace values, obvious in comments such as: "We are all tradies, doing the same thing and going through the same sorts of experiences, I don't think I could have made it without the others, or at least knowing I had their support". And: "I find real strength in the group, they are all like me, have my interests, it's a great help to be part of the group".4

While examples of the way in which the group attained solidarity and thus presented a united front to the world were explained by describing their use of humour, they also adopted other means of bonding. They quickly fended for themselves during the early settling-in days by organizing outings, barbeques and activities for the stated purpose of forging a group identity. The role the group performed for the individuals is also apparent in the way they resisted any attempt at division caused by the vagaries of the timetable and circumstances, e.g., although they sometimes
attended different sessions in the College they always sat together in the cafe. In short, they became active, enterprising and then supportive agents of their own group solidarity.

Grouping had its purpose, it aided the strategy of projecting good and bad feelings into the socializing agencies, the training schools and the Teachers' College, and had one essential characteristic: it served to bolster and support each trainee's identity in the face of pressure to change. They used projection to confirm the identity with which they entered teaching, and thus sustain their substantial selves. By establishing their own reference group, they then used the support provided to attack the College as a negative reference point; the College served the purpose of a container into which they could project their fears.

In constantly describing compulsory College attendance in the way they did: "It's like serving another apprenticeship"5 the group meant that as adults they were again and, worse unexpectedly, locked into living through something which they had previously passed as youths and wished to leave behind as a 'one-off' finished part of their lives. In defining the College experience negatively, they are stating that they have 'served their time' once already, and would not willingly choose to repeat the process. They also used a telling analogy to pinpoint and describe their feelings by likening the College to a prison: "It's like a goal, somewhere where you have to serve your time".6 This feeling is evident in a trainee's response, a bit of repartee directed at other members of the cohort as he was leaving early one day to attend a dental appointment:

Charles: Hey, where are you off to?

Paul: I'm escaping, mate.

Mario: Yeah, he got an early release for good behaviour (loud laughter).

By defining the College as a place of incarceration, it follows that it then became a place from which to seek to escape.

Splitting the School Culture
The trainees felt such an acute need for personal affirmation that when they perceived it was lacking in the College culture, they actively sought it elsewhere in the institution, principally by forming a solid supportive group. While preliminary analyses of the data indicated no evidence of the same process occurring in their schools, it became increasingly clear as the course progressed that the same process of splitting and projection into the school was indeed emerging. This bifurcation was based on exactly the same reason behind the College split: fighting status
disconfirmation within the training school settings, principally between the academics (the 'accos' as the tradies call them, see Gleeson, in progress) and the 'tradies'.

While settling into the training schools the former selves were retained, reinforced and subtly shaped by the trainees' interaction with their immediate colleagues, i.e., the other trade teachers. As with the College, they formed their various reference groups at the school level. But they universally disparaged the 'accos' within their schools, and in so doing received ample and enthusiastic support from the other tradies, with negative results regarding their development. While a reference group has the power to promote the professional development of the individual within it (Khleif, 1975:301-308), in this study the experienced trade teachers at the school level, the 'old hands', tended to successfully impede any such professional development of the individual trainees as far as the College viewed their personal development as teachers.

This process was aided and compounded in another way by one significant feature of secondary technical schools, the style of architecture. The physical layout of the buildings isolated the practical workshops from the scrutiny of other teachers. Thus, during their teaching the trainees are 'streamed', or kept together in what amounts to ghettos for most of the day in their training schools, just as they are while attending the College. Now, the College streaming takes two forms: the manner in which they are handled administratively keeps them isolated from other trainee teachers from non-industrial backgrounds, and the peculiar way in which they group themselves. In addition, they are isolated in the training schools from the influence of other subject teachers with differing views, thus their vocationalism cannot be challenged; nor can the individualistic teaching behaviour of workshop teachers be threatened by any outsider with different and competing educational ideologies.

Power of the Reference Group Within the School Culture
The cohort participating in this study sought to transmit their industrial worldview to their pupils. In this sense they are very individualistic in their pursuit of a certain sort of teaching content as an end in itself. By forming a reference group at the College they were able to share and defend certain taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching. This obstructed the open discussion of other, competing educational values. Those in the cohort who entered teaching because of a wish to pass on their industrial work values were less likely than those few in the group whose educational aims developed gradually away from vocationalism to enter into any practical discourse with other colleagues.
The main purpose of the group while attending the College was sustenance and succour in a time of stress, and as such it contributed in a powerful and significant way to the maintenance and protection of each individual's former self, and the same process occurred in their training schools. Few of the trainee's immediate school colleagues in the practical workshops acknowledged any commitment to educational goals other than those associated strictly with a narrow vocationalism. They too spoke consistently in terms of identification with the occupational trade identity which they themselves brought to teaching. Thus it became apparent that another reason why the trainees largely allowed their behaviour in school to be shaped in a similar fashion to their colleagues was that, apart from wishing to pass the formal teaching cycle programme, there was the important need to survive socially with their teaching colleagues.

From the point of view of those interested in reform in the practical workshop areas, this is a disturbing conclusion. Uncritical allegiance to, and acceptance of, the vocational values which formed the basis of the group's coherence leads to further ideological isolation already suffered by these teachers within education. The result is inward looking teachers with little in the way of divergent educational aims. Little sense of an open debate by the teachers on the goals of practical education emerged in this study and so the highly individualistic, vocational nature of trade teaching persists.

Sharing Uncertainty
Used to defining the former industrial workplace as 'clear-cut', 'black and white', and the 'real' world, the trainees had difficulty adjusting to the uncertainties found in teaching. They attempted to adjust by drawing on the emotional resources provided by the group’s support, and as mentioned a strong allegiance to the group emerged. This strategy of sharing and discussing problems helped the trainees to recognize, like the student physicians in Fox's study (1957:235-236), that if the uncertainty is shared by fellow trainees, then this enables them to meet it by at least knowing that other fellow trainees are in the same predicament. The trainee teachers drew enormous confidence and affirmation of the existing self from each other in the face of threat.

At the same time, a distinction can be made within the group between a small minority who always wanted a career as some sort of teacher (and those whose self-image included the possibility that, although they were in trades, they might one day become teachers), and the majority who entered teaching with a sense of identity which incorporated a well-defined core of industrial work values and attitudes. Thus, for the majority of mature-age tradespersons, the defence of their substantive former selves was
more important to them than the acceptance of the credentialling authority's educational norms and values which in the trainees' view presaged an unacceptable change to their self-identity.

BASIS OF STATUS CONFIRMATION
Compliance: a Coping Strategy
Superficially, the trainees appeared to comply fully with certain techniques about developing lesson plans given them by their teaching experience supervisors and the College staff. Their acceptance of what they were told was reflected in the painstaking way they wrote out lesson plans in the required format. In this way the trainees were giving back or reflecting to the supervisory staff what they believed it was they wanted. Whilst they appeared to follow directions on the surface, a great deal of trainee hostility simmered below the surface. While they went along with the supervisor's wishes concerning the proper conduct of classes at school, their compliance was often a strategy to avoid conflict. They often plotted how to do things in their own way. Thus a form of individualism based on resistance surfaced.

In the privacy of research interviews they proffered reasons for also seeming to adopt not only the College's, but also their supervisor's advice, although they were often strongly opposed to it. The main reason for trainee compliance centred around the fact that they saw the school supervisor as crucial and important, not so much to their personal progress as professional teachers for they considered that being fully-rounded, competent tradespersons was sufficient, but for the supervisor's imprimatur necessary to the phase one part of their teaching supervision contract. In the words of one: "He's my lifeline really, although I can't accept some of the things he does or tells me. For example, often he's wrong about some of the trade things he shows the kids without realizing it. But I'm not going to rock the boat, I bloodywell need his signature".

Here we see a common approach adopted by the trainees, the evaluating and selecting from information and advice given them by those around them, sorting and evaluating it on the basis of determining what will assist them in the process of status passage transition. In this, and the other ways already described, they constantly evaluated those actors around them. Indeed, this process included even each other. The interesting point is that the trainees rarely perceived any criticism they sometimes received of what they were doing incorrectly as at all relevant to their own sense of competence in becoming teachers. Indeed, their confidence in their competence as vocational teachers was so strong they used it to filter and sift every bit of information, selecting this or rejecting that depending on how they perceived the situation and its impact on the former self and on `getting through' College.
These three outcomes, that the trainees place considerable emphasis on their own self-evaluation, that they have an individualistic streak, that they commonly disparaged criticism received from others, would seem to defy common sense. Identity, it has been argued, is constructed in interaction with others7 and if a person is criticized by a supervisor who is important and influential to one's new career, then it would seem only natural that one modifies one's behaviour into a more acceptable pattern. The finding of this study seems to contradict this particular description of the socialization process. Since this is what the study uncovered, further discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings is necessary, and these are presented below (and diagrammatically represented in Diagram One).

Clearly, the basis of the trade teacher identity is located in the core of the industrially-formed self. However, it seems that if tradespersons are not challenged in ways sufficient to disturb the identity they bring to the process of becoming a teacher, then they tend to simply evaluate and judge their new experiences in a manner that favours, supports and maintains the old identity. Through the agency of the school culture, the internship model of teacher education unwittingly supports such a process, thus exerting a powerful confirming effect on the trainees.

The College fought and lost a battle with the school culture; it failed to remould the trainees in ways that seriously challenged their identity. Not once during the course of the teacher education program, from the pre-entry interviews through to the graduation ceremony, did the trainees ever define their change from industry to teaching as entering a new career, rather they believed themselves to be involved in a career switch, crystal clear in their description of the process and what it meant to them: "Let's face it, in this new job we're doing the same old things we always did at work, but this time around it's done with kids. Alright, the conditions are better than in industry, and there are different problems like [student] discipline to worry about, and a lot of the bureaucratic bullshit the school goes on with, but the actual teaching's as easy as having a shit, and that's not too bloody hard". By defining what is happening to them as a career switch rather than a career change no room is allowed for any challenge to affect the self.

A DIAGRAMMATIC MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS PASSAGE
The process of becoming a teacher as experienced by the trainees is represented by the model (Diagram One) derived from the data which incorporates the major components of the occupational transition. The diagram may be read in this way: Following a long and successful participation in trade roles, the tradespersons present for entry to teaching with aspects of the occupational self
which influenced them to become teachers. The diagram shows them undertaking a career switch, rather than a career change. They enter two formal organizations within which the teacher education program is located: on the left is the Teachers' College, on the right the School. Each of these two components of the teacher education program were embedded in larger formal organizational networks: the College as part of the CAE system, the schools as part of the Victorian Ministry of Education, each situated within their local communities. At the top of the diagram is the Former Self, the tradesperson prior to teacher education, working and living outside of the particular educational institutions.

The figure depicts the two major structural components of the teacher education program impinging on, and in turn being acted on, by the trainee teacher. Both the teacher education college and the schools attempted to place formal constraints on the autonomy of the trainees. The resulting bifurcation of these two cultures by the trainees is represented in each box and italics are used to represent the dominant definition of the situation, as perceived by the trainees.

Embedded within these two parts of the teacher education course are such things as the number and types of other actors present in each situation, their interrelationships with each other, their biographical details such as prior work experiences, ideological beliefs and cultural backgrounds, and the nature of their participation in the organizations and in the lives of the students and the trainee teachers. Each actor is wedded to either vocational or reformist ideologies. What became obvious as the study unfolded was that each situation was composed of a number of actors seeking to influence the trainees in various ways. Depending on their differing educational ideologies, each actor sought means of influencing the trainees as they were becoming teachers. However, the trainees themselves drew on past experiences to overcome their overwhelming and debilitating sense of confusion in an effort to stabilize their situations; they were interpreting events to suit themselves.

It is an expectation and hope of teacher educators that participation by novices in a teacher credentialing program will determine certain outcomes in terms of teacher identity and commitment. However, it is apparent that for tradespersons, the impact of the two contexts, the College and the school, is not at all uni-directional. And although seeking to 'get through' the College as painlessly as possible, nevertheless, mature-age trainees do not simply passively react to events unfolding around them. Rather, they evaluate those events and construct their own purposeful responses to them.

These outcomes of the trainees' responses, presented below, are
also represented in the diagram by use of the reciprocal arrow between the various categories dominating the top and the right hand side of the diagram: the Former Self, the School Culture, the Emerging Self, leading to Status Maintenance. The solid and broken lines represent the varying strength of the influence, and the arrows the direction of that influence.

Mature-Age Trainees' Responses to Teacher Education

While simultaneously under the influences of the College and school cultures, each trainee is actively appraising and defining both situations, and determining how he or she will construe the events. The teacher training course provided potential models of teachers, but the trainees evaluated each before deciding whether to accept or reject them as ways of becoming a teacher. This is reflected in the finding that the trainees are highly selective in choosing attributes of role-models to emulate or reject. The trainees also constantly evaluated each other, reflected in the strong finding that they consistently believed the main benefit of the College to be a meeting place for their group to discuss and evaluate the course they were experiencing. It is also clear that another of the peer group's main functions was to serve as a comparative reference group for the trainees to determine how well they were functioning. It was a 'good-enough' mother.

However, concerning teaching experience supervision, the trainees assessed what they were told, used some of this capital where they deemed it appropriate and necessary to gain a pass mark, or otherwise ignored it in favour of their faith in an unalterable belief in what students need in schools, i.e., vocationalism; a belief in fact reinforced by their own students. The logic of this process allows us to describe the trainees maintaining their occupational identities by either utilizing or rejecting the resources provided by the teacher education program, principally by drawing on the strengths of their own personal biography, and each other.

As newcomers to teaching, trainees take up certain positions in education, and their 'presenting culture' (Goffman 1968) can be expected to be modified to a certain degree to take account of the existing cultural patterns in education. However, Jaques (1951:253) points out that these existing cultural patterns are not immutable, and are themselves changed by interaction with the new 'presenting cultures'.

The trainees coped with impending status disconfirmation by developing both group and individual strategies. They did not make themselves students in the role desired by the credentialling authority although one or two attempted in the face of stiff opposition to do so. Becker et al's (1961) study of medical stu-
dents provides an instructive example of student adaptation to the demands of medical school. Becker's students had a strong commitment to a common aim - becoming doctors. As a result of the 'impossible' pressure of medical school, they possessed a greater commitment to learning to become students than learning how to become doctors. The intense pressure to pass examinations resulted in the students placing their aim of becoming practising doctors to one side and to develop the short-term aim of keeping their heads above water in medical school.

Becker used the term 'time-perspectives' to describe the medical students' cynical short-term measures devised to cope (while at the same time preserving their long-term aim of becoming doctors after graduation). The tradespersons discussed herein, however, developed no such short/long-term disjuncture necessary to compromise; each proudly retained their former identities as tradespersons, a self-identity also firmly tied to how they viewed their occupational futures. For this mature-age cohort continuity of self-identity is paramount, and in this sense, except for the tentative explorations of the one or two reformers, there was no status change, for there was no full status passage transition.

Becoming a Teacher

The transition from tradesperson to eventually becoming a teacher is the outcome of a particular sequence of events that begins with a student serving an apprenticeship in a trade, working as a successful tradesperson in industry, entering teaching and culminating in the graduation ceremony at the College. The most significant aspects of this career are moral ones in Goffman's sense (1959), for a successful apprenticeship, and industrial experience culminating in teaching are matters closely linked to conceptions of status, intimately connected to a tradesperson's conception of self.

Becoming a teacher is, for tradespersons, not a simple transition in status passage, it raises and calls into question the kind of person the teacher was and is. Important, if not central to the moral career of a teacher, are the social agencies with which the person comes into contact as a result of transition status, for they provide and enforce interpretations of the person's current situation, of the past that led to it, and the possibilities that lie ahead.

As the trainees passed through the training course, an early sense of confusion gave way to an increased sense of mastery over their own activities and development as teachers, based on their self-evaluation of events. They learnt to be selective and relied primarily on their own judgement. Further, the supporting and therefore strong influence of the school culture predominated.
over the College culture. With its very clear tendency to discount the College's influence the school culture enabled the trainees to be self-validating and autonomous.

Thus, while the interrelated levels in Diagram One are represented by double-arrowed lines, the primacy of the School Culture, well in existence before the trainees entered the course, mirrored the identities the trainees brought to the course. However, note in the diagram the lines representing the possibility that the trainees as graduates feed back into the system, and while their identities may be similar to those of the other actors in the situations (primarily the official significant others who along with their early, pre-entry mentors had the most influence on the trainees), they represent the potential for change in the system for they evaluated the system as they passed through it. But although the possibility exists for trainees and graduates to bring about changes in the system, it seems likely that trainees in the internship model are affected more by the school culture rather than by the College culture, for the reasons indicated.

While it is important not to overgeneralize the effects of prior socialization (Wrong 1961:183-193), the tradespersons in this study had a sufficiently homogeneous occupational past to make resistance to resocialization almost universal for the cohort. Only two or three quickly adapted (although all shared similar reasons for entering teaching) and one reason for their particular response lies partly in the fact that they found themselves in relatively novel situations in their training schools. Such individual variations in response, while they can be attributed to differences in training school experiences, can also emerge from their own personalities, and for two of those reformers who were immersed in traditional practical workshops, their own set of personal motives were critical. Indeed, Van Maanen and Schein (1979:254) advance similar arguments by adding to their theory of organizational socialization the qualification that outcomes such as accepting innovation in one's role: `...will probably only occur when an individual who is innovative in orientation at the outset encounters an essentially benign socialization process'. In this particular study, occupational transition was shaped largely by the trainees' motivational orientations. Indeed, during an address, critical in tone to the staff of the Teachers' College concerning the types of tradespersons selected for teaching, a local Regional Education Director familiar with the College and its clientele, stated: "...tradespeople who come in to do teaching are the inappropriate kind of people for the new environment. They are people who have breakdowns; who cannot cope; who are resentful of change; who rely on their subject expertise for their survival, and can't cope with a school environment which looks for something different".
SUMMARY
The findings in this study form a comprehensible pattern, namely, that occupational identity is fundamental to the way tradespersons view themselves and, as a result, any attempts to alter this perspective are risky, and will be resisted by the group. They enter teaching with a 'presenting culture' (Goffman 1968) an understanding and an evaluation of their position in the world, which is used as the basis for interpreting their new environment.

Their former worldview cannot be lightly discarded; the new cannot be instantly put on. In this study, the 'tradies' resistance towards attempts to alter occupational role was tenacious. They did not offer resistance in order to change the situation towards some desired end, notwithstanding Aggleton and Whitty's (1985:60-72) recent claims; rather it was a reactive way of distancing themselves from events. Role confusion is an unconsciously motivated defence to which individuals have recourse in order to avoid the anxiety produced by disjunctions between their personalities and the demands of the roles they carry (Jaques 1951:300). If Jaques' picture of role confusion is correct, one would expect to find in the data strong opposing forces to the College program. Indeed, this is what was uncovered.

When human beings face any form of change, tensions are sure to arise. It is possible to make certain general assumptions concerning people's anticipated responses when undergoing occupational transition. Examples of retraining programmes in which these propositions may provide a starting point to investigate where trainees are moving from a regularly ordered, tightly organized 'black and white' occupational world into a more loosely coupled, much more labile workplace lacking a unified worldview - indeed, experiencing conflicting views about the nature of the occupational tasks - might include: early-retirement armed services personnel seeking retraining outside of the services; law enforcement personnel (police officers, corrective services personnel, by-laws officers, industrial safety officers, etc,) undertaking retraining; nurses and para-professional personnel undertaking retraining; or any group of adults seeking to take part in a long-term retraining programme where there is disparity of occupational ideology between the new occupational task and that previously held.

This article concludes that, given situations similar to those examined, programs such as adult retraining programmes and adult education, internship models of training, or indeed where any mature-age cohort undertakes occupational redirection, will only change the outlooks or worldviews of the mature-age cohort if the following three factors are present: 1) a programme must be ideologically tight, with little perceived goal-disparity between
the training institution and the internship institution; 2) there has to be mutual commitment to certain particular occupational ideologies so that there is minimal dissonance experienced and; 3) the whole programme has to be sufficiently attractive and intellectually and practically demanding to cause those undertaking retraining to disavow their former occupational selves in favour of new preferred definitions.

To obtain a copy of Diagram One mentioned in this article, send request to Dr Robert Mealyea, Lecturer in Education, Hawthorn Institute of Education (Affiliated with The University of Melbourne), 442 Auburn Rd, HAWTHORN, Victoria. Australia. 3122.

NOTES

1 See details in Mealyea, R., (1985:27-36). A phenomenon called 'status-creep' i.e., trade apprentices from the middle, upper-middle and professional class socio-economic backgrounds are increasingly presenting for apprenticeships once the traditional area of work of working class students. One of the root causes behind this phenomenon is partially explained in Hughes (1987:5) who argues it is an employers' response to the problem of high unemployment: "...employers become more selective and put their selective criteria in the shape of higher educational requirements. These may be general, in the form of more years of education. They may be specific, in the demand for higher levels of basic skills. Students and parents, formerly seeing education as a direct access to work, express disenchantment when the link fails to work. Dissatisfactions formerly unexpressed become substantial complaints. For their part, teachers feel aggrieved as they see themselves being blamed for a shortage of jobs, a shortage they would explain in terms of structural changes in employ- ment, and not a lack of appropriate skills". I am indebted to Dr Peter Gronn, Education Faculty Monash University Melbourne for the label 'status-creep' to describe the phenomenon.

2 This comment was made frequently, it emerged almost from day one, gaining in repetition until Graduation Day, two year's later.


4 Comment universal to the group.
7 McCall & Simmons, 1966:77-78.

8 Research interviews with secondary students taught by the trainees in this study invariably came up with the same desire as an outcome of schooling, especially those in years 11-12.

NB Although not part of this particular paper, it is only natural that the reader will wonder about what finally happened to the members of the cohort. In all, 8 no longer work in teaching: 2 males resigned during teacher education claiming "it wasn't for me", 1 female left during the first year to travel to the UK with her spouse, 2 males resigned approximately one year following graduation, another one year later, 2 more recently. It would be correct to say that to date 50% of those remaining express strong dissatisfaction with teaching, but remain teachers for altruistic and other reasons. Their allegiance to the subculture and the findings in this paper remain powerful; feelings of marginality prevailed throughout the two-years and showed little sign of reformulation along the way.

REFERENCES


